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THE QUEST FOR THE  
NEW JERUSALEM,  
JEAN DE LABADIE AND  
THE LABADISTS, 1610–1744

*by*

T.J. SAXBY

MARTINUS NIJHOFF PUBLISHERS

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*Fig. 1.* Jean de Labadie (1610-1674). One of many engravings based on that by Gérard Lairesse of Amsterdam, c. 1669, original at Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

## Preface

The history of Jean de Labadie and the Labadists has received attention through the years. That attention, however, has more often than not fallen short in its tracing of Labadie's 'double migration'. Disaffected with the established church order of his day and motivated by a sense of prophetic mission to establish again the life of the primitive church, this spiritual nomad wandered from France to Switzerland, then to the United Provinces, Germany and Denmark, according to the vicissitudes of the times. As he went, he changed his affiliations from 'high' church ever 'lower', from the bosom of Rome to Calvinism, then to congregational separatism.

Thus there has been ample reason to treat Labadie's life and ministry episodically, be it a geographical or denominational episode, and a solid grounding could be had by piecing together several of these (all listed in bibliography part D): M. de Certeau on the Jesuit years; X. de Bonnault d'Houët on his stay at Amiens; A-L. Bertrand on the 'lost years' from Amiens to Montauban; J-H. Gerlach and W. Goeters on the schism at Middelburg; P. Scheltema on Amsterdam; L. Hölscher and G.E. Guhrauer on Herford; J. Lieboldt and H. von Schubert on Altona; B.B. James and H.C. Murphy on the colony in Maryland; L. Knappert on that in Surinam; and any number of authorities on the Labadists in Friesland. Yet there are significant gaps. Nobody has attempted the key periods of Labadie's Calvinist development, Montauban and Geneva, and only a few pages have been given to Orange. Again, while the life in Friesland until the suspension of community of goods is well documented, there followed a period of over thirty years before the judicial demise of the sect that has received no attention.

Nobody willingly claims a renegade, and this has been true

of those scholars who have written on Labadie's churchmanship and spirituality. He seceded from Rome, and that has been enough to brand him *ipso facto* a heretic, lunatic or madcap idealist for almost every Catholic scholar, until Michel de Certeau's article in the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* attempted to take him seriously. Labadie also separated from the Reformed Church, though claiming to his dying day to be Reformed in doctrine, and thus lost himself credibility among Protestant historians, who applaud his denunciations of Rome yet stand appalled at his castigations of mainstream Protestantism. Labadie has thus fallen victim to party spirit.

More serious, however, is that such an episodic approach has given the impression of a spiritual chameleon, changing his allegiance to suit his circumstances, and has not viewed his spiritual development as a process, complete in itself and having its own logic. His abjuration of the Roman faith was viewed, at the time and since, as a crude ploy to escape justice; his secession from the Reformed as a symptom of fanaticism and a trait of proud insubordination in Labadie's character. It is my contention, however, that such conduct has its rationale, which is crystallised in my title: *the quest for the new Jerusalem*. Not, perhaps, as many a prophet and millennialist would interpret it (though for a time Labadie did flirt with the millennium and apocalyptic signs), but in the sense of *the kingdom of God now*, a realised eschatology, for which the pentecostal church of the Acts of the Apostles was the timeless blueprint. A church comprising solely the regenerate, separated from the fallen spirit of the world, demonstrating a life of self-denial and active love one for another, such was the vision. In this, of course, he was not alone, for such was the aim of many an Anabaptist group, but Labadie had imbibed Calvin's wholesale rejection of Anabaptism and refused them any serious consideration, so to his own eyes he stood alone, a John the Baptist announcing the coming of one greater than himself, a 'Herald of High King Jesus', as he called himself, demanding an audience and convinced that one day his word would prevail.

The subject has therefore cried out for a detailed monograph, based on source material in several countries and in several languages, viewing Labadie's complex pilgrimage as a whole, taking into account the vast literary output of Labadie and his successor, Pierre Yvon, and exploring their links with



other figures and movements of the day. The work which I now offer is based on a large amount of unpublished material, both by and about the Labadists. It tells for the first time the story of Labadie's Calvinist début at Montauban, his reformatory exploits at Geneva, his abortive call to London, his showdown with William Penn, and not least throws light on the final decline of the Labadist movement in the early 18th century.

The task that I set myself was to present as comprehensive and documented a history of Labadism as possible, if possible free from the denominational and personal bias that has coloured prior research. After careful thought I finally chose the cinematic technique, a straight presentation of facts, with minimal interruption, leaving the reader to make his own conclusions but gently nudging him in the right direction. Aware of my own limitations, I chose not to embark on the complex matter of theological interpretation (though comment is made as salient points arise), or an analysis of the mystical vocabulary of Labadie's poetry, nor even an in-depth sociological study of the structure and workings of the Labadist community. Scholars of the history of ideas will therefore have to pardon me. I have neither the breadth of vision of Goebel, the theological perception of Goeters, nor the historical ideological insights of Certeau. Labadie is thus far from 'done'. My hope is that other minds more suited to such analysis than my own, will find in *Quest for the New Jerusalem* a mine of rich ore for them to refine, and that scholars of religious dissidence, communitarianism and Pietism will find Labadie reinstated as a figure of no little significance in the religious and cultural history of the 17th century.

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Pattishall, Northampton, 1986

## CHAPTER 1

### Early Years and Jesuit Training, 1610-1639

The name Labadie, or l'Abadie, originated in Gascony in South-West France, and it was from this region that Jean de Labadie's forbears hailed.<sup>1)</sup> His father, a soldier of fortune, Jean-Charles Labadie, was a Calvinist and had distinguished himself at the battle of Coutras, on 20 October 1587, where Henri de Navarre crushed the army of the Ligue under Duke Joyeuse; fighting in Turenne's squadron of Gascon cavalry, Labadie's arm was broken by musket-shot and his face cut by a rapier. His courage had been noted, however, and shortly after Henri's accession to the throne as Henri IV, Labadie was made *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du Roi*, an order of petty nobility reinstated by the monarch, carrying messenger duties.<sup>2)</sup> With the office came the title *sieur de Lasserre en Chalosse*, the only clue we have as to Jean-Charles' origins, for this was in all likelihood the place of his birth or residence, and there is a Lasserre in the *commune* of Monget (canton Hagetmau), on the borders of Chalosse and Béarn.

Jean-Charles was given the office of lieutenant to Bernard de Cassagnet de Tilladet, governor of Bourg-sur-Gironde, and took up residence at the citadel. In February 1599 he married a girl of the town, Marie Coybo (or Coibo, Coibot), also of Calvinist parentage, and together they raised a family of ten children.<sup>3)</sup> In 1601 Jean-Charles was selected mayor of the town and held that office on four separate occasions, the last as lieutenant of the duc de Luxembourg.<sup>4)</sup> Perhaps because it sounded grander, he was officially known as Charles Jehan de Labadie, and appears as such on an inscription commemorating the renovation of the choir of the *jurats'* church of St.-Girons in 1624.<sup>5)</sup> In common with all who hoped for preferment, he had joined Henri IV in abjuring the Calvinist faith on his accession, but a manuscript biography of Jean de

Labadie the son reveals that both parents continued to respect their former allegiance and that at family prayer the Lord's Prayer was always recited with the doxology, *à la huguenotte*.<sup>6)</sup>

The seventh child caused his mother much pain and his father considerable anxiety for her life. In February 1610 (the baptismal records saying 21st, while Jean himself and most other sources claim 10th or 13th) the baby was born, small and thin, and the midwife doubted it would live above a month.<sup>7)</sup> Nonetheless his father joyfully publicised the christening for a week, inviting all the citizens of Bourg to dine at the citadel after the service at St.-Giron. The child was called Jean, an older son of that name having died in childhood. He grew small of stature and had to be dressed in red so that he could be seen among the grass and flowers of the citadel garden. One day he went missing and his father had to pass an order for his return; a lady of the town, who had supposed him to be a waif, brought him back three days later. The child showed an early aptitude for learning, memorising prayers, the catechism, and several of Pibrac's quatrains, with their stress on the vanity of the world and the surpassing worth of knowing God.<sup>8)</sup> At the age of seven he was taken to join his brothers at the Jesuit college at Bordeaux, the collège de la Madeleine, where he was kindly received by the venerable Pierre Coton, formerly provincial of France and confessor to the king, and Jean Arnoux, subsequently confessor to the king and provincial of Toulouse.

The city had two colleges of repute, the other being the collège de Guienne, where Montaigne was educated. Older than the Jesuit establishment (1533 as against 1572), it had sympathies with the Calvinists, so there were frequent tensions. At the time of Labadie's entry, neither college was in good order. Brawls and looting were frequent, gangs of students from both establishments concealing arms beneath their gowns and warring on each other: Basques *versus* Bretons, *versus* Gascons.<sup>9)</sup> In 1614 two Jesuit pupils had been executed for murder. Within the collège de la Madeleine the older boys would force a newcomer to 'pay his welcome': two *écus* if he was wealthy, one if not, on pain of a good thrashing. Perhaps Labadie too had to endure it.

Though the Collège de Guienne was the more prestigious, it was losing its spiritual emphasis, and prayers were no longer

said before lessons. Perhaps this is why Labadie was sent to la Madeleine; he was already showing a *penchant* for spiritual matters, despite his father's attempts to rear him for a career of arms.<sup>10</sup>) Situated in the rue du Mirail, the college was built around six open courtyards. Opposite its entrance was the *prieuré* de Saint-Jammes, a property of the college, which operated as a hostel where pilgrims could be lodged and tended on their way to Santiago de Compostela. The college's physician, Charles Crelot, was active here. The college comprised some 1,200 pupils, with 80 students of theology, 20 priests, two porters, a librarian, a surgeon and the rector.<sup>11</sup>) There were some dozen professors, headed by those of theology: two taught scholastic theology, one scripture (known as *théologie positive*), Hebrew and Greek, and a fourth moral theology. In Labadie's day there was a fifth, *professeur de controverses*.<sup>12</sup>) The theology course was the same in content as that followed at the diocesan seminary of St.-Raphaël. Then came the professors of philosophy: logic, physics, metaphysics, mathematics. These two faculties formed the *classes supérieures*, while that of the Arts comprised six *classes inférieures*, two of arts and four of grammar. Rhetoric had two professors, humanities only one. Pupils arrived for eight o'clock prayers, after which lessons ran from eight till ten and from three till five, when the rector would close the day with prayer or verse recital. During Advent and Lent classes were later to allow pupils to attend sermons. Latin was to be spoken fluently as early as possible, certainly by the third class. There were disputations, prize-givings, speech-days, plays and dances. On the feast of the patron (22 July) there was an open day, with public exhibition of pupils' work.

On 22 September 1622, after his basic education, Labadie received the tonsure from Cardinal de Soissons in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace.<sup>13</sup>) The letters certifying the tonsure were immediately recorded, at the request of his parents, who knew this could lead to an early securing of a benefice.<sup>14</sup>) Within a year he had received the first two Minor Orders, namely porter and lector (9 June 1623), which is noteworthy in that the latter was not normally bestowed on one so young, since with it came the duty of reading aloud the scriptures at evening worship. This tallies with the biographer's assertion that the Society had designs to draw him into their order as one of exceptional talents; their Constitution did, after all,

make it clear that candidates of evident gifting were to be prized above the mediocre.<sup>15)</sup>

On 20 September 1624 Labadie completed the third Minor Order, that of exorcist. Perhaps it was this rapid rise which now worried his parents – there was still a mistrust of the Jesuits in many circles, despite their renewed favour with the king – but his father could not consent to him entering the order. He therefore withdrew him from La Madeleine and sent him to the Collège de Guyenne, where the rector was the noted Scottish hellenist, William Hegate. Labadie was not there for long, for in April 1625 his father died.<sup>16)</sup> Labadie then took it on his own initiative to return to the Jesuits and continue his path to the novitiate. His mother, hearing of this, travelled from Bourg to withdraw him, but it seems he was able to win her over and she left, having obtained from the *parlement* an order granting her liberty to visit him whenever she wished. So, on 28 December 1625 he entered the novitiate at Bordeaux to begin his two years of basic training. The house had been founded in 1593 and occupied a pleasant site with two orangeries; the average number of novices was ten, tutored by five priests. Labadie would also have assisted in the *prieuré* de St. Jammes and in catechising in the suburbs.

According to the Constitutions, fourteen was the youngest possible age for entry into probation, during which period it was to be ascertained whether the candidate was sufficiently gifted to be of value to the Society, and whether there was any impediment to his doing so. After two years a successful novice could join the Society. There were two possible vows, according to Julius III's Bull *Iniunctum nobis* of 14 March 1544: the *solemn* vow was binding to the Order, comprising pledges of poverty, chastity, obedience and loyalty to the Pope and the Society; the *simple* vow was limited to the first three and was not binding.<sup>17)</sup> Labadie joined the majority in choosing to start with the simple vow. Having received the final Minor Order, that of acolyte, on 28 May 1627 in the parish church of St.-Martin-de-Lormont, he formally entered the sub-diaconate on 1 January 1628. The ceremony took place in the house of the novitiate at Bordeaux, before Nicholas Villiers, provincial of Aquitaine, who celebrated Mass. Labadie signed the certificate 'Labadie', without the noble 'de'.<sup>18)</sup>

At the time of Labadie's entry, the Society of Jesus was undergoing a crisis of identity. Since the death of Ignatius



Loyola in 1556, the Constitutions of the order were more and more subjected to two conflicting interpretations. It was, essentially, a question of relations with an outside world which was increasingly hostile to the monastic ideal and to spiritual values as a guide to conduct. The first interpretation, taking as its standard Ignatius' maxim of finding God in one's neighbours as well as in Himself ('Deum ipsum in se propter Deum in proximis aliquando relinquat'), advocated greater secular involvement, the defiant practice of the 'solid virtues' of the Order amid the bustle of a challenging environment. The other interpretation argued that Jesuits were to withdraw inwards to concentrate on purity, rectitude of intention and docility to the promptings of the Holy Spirit; the order was essentially spiritual and its role in society was to preach, offer direction to pious souls in the confessional, and to teach the Ignatian *Exercises*. The Society had grown in number to more than 1,300 members, and it could no longer be assumed that a common will and purpose could be generated without specific guidance on its great choice between the weighty matters of exteriorisation and interiorisation of its God-given call. It was the eternal dilemma, the choice between liberal and radical views of the Church's relation to the world, but now grown urgent in an intensely spiritual order faced with a changing world.

It was under the generalship of Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1616) that these two positions defined themselves. There were political considerations: the hierarchy of the Society was Spanish, because the Pope needed the support of Philip of Spain, and other nationalities were voicing protests. Yet the deeper reasons were spiritual. Acquaviva was concerned that the rapid growth of the society could undermine the humility and spirituality of Loyola's original 'little company'. He charged his deputy, Lorenzo Maggio, to draw up a dossier on 'the warts of the Society and their remedies'; it was finished in 1586.<sup>19</sup>) Seven years later a commission was formed to investigate the *detrimenta* of the Order, and in 1605, while preparations went on for the beatification of Ignatius Loyola, Acquaviva took his biggest step. All Jesuit provinces were to examine the faults of the Society and send an account of their findings, outlining grievances and suggesting reforms. Each superior could, if he wished, send a personal memoir to Rome on the same subject. In France, this was taken very seriously,

all provinces replying and Père Coton, confessor to the king, writing a personal memoir. The longest report came from Aquitaine, where Bordeaux was situated. The most common criticisms voiced were directed against the leaders: superiors were less interested in spiritual formation than in the authority of their own office; *anciens* were setting a bad example; directors were not according to prayer and reading the amount of time specified in the Constitutions, neither did they practise these things themselves, passing them off as proper to novices. Attention was given to intellectual exercises at the expense of prayer, obedience and brotherhood. The whole was summed up as 'an excessive occupation with external things, which draw the whole man after them.'<sup>20)</sup>

One might think these to have been the 'new spirituals' of Labadie's day speaking, but they were the leading figures of a generation earlier. Notable among them is P. Coton, who admitted Labadie as a pupil. His personal memoir of 1606 attributes the blame to 'poor education in inward things'; there are those who become dissolved in external occupations and grow dissipated within.<sup>21)</sup> His suggested remedy is whole-hearted devotion to prayer, movements of the heart and rectitude of intention. Fifteen years later, when Labadie was a pupil (31 January 1621) Coton was still writing to the General that students were more concerned about their examinations than their souls.

Central to the problem was the very feature which made the Jesuits unique. A society of solemn vows of religion which yet lived mingled with the world through apostolic activities, was still a novelty; many found it hard to live with and left the society in favour of the more conventional contemplative orders. The various Generals continued to stress that the Society was apostolic and could not be contemplative, even ruling that prayer was to be active and pragmatic. This went for devotional literature too. The 'spirituals' advocated the Rheno-Flemish mystics: Tauler, Harphius, Suso, Ruysbroek; Belarmin championed their orthodoxy; writers like Antoine Cordeses and Balthasar Alvarez produced treatises in the same vein.<sup>22)</sup> Meanwhile, the 'orthodox', e.g. P. Mirón, pointed out that Ignatius had nowhere stressed in his normative writings the ways of contemplative prayer or mystical union, and writers like Suarez produced commentaries on the *Exercises* in the 'modernist' vein.<sup>23)</sup>

It was under the generalship of Muzio Vitelleschi (1615-1645) that matters came to a head. He was a man of piety, of prayer and tears, but erred on the side of excessive caution, while his predecessor, Acquaviva, had been adventurous. Perhaps for this reason the controversy over the 'new spirituality' was made to seem so devastating, whereas modern scholarship reveals it to have been isolated and sporadic. Vitelleschi was determined to be careful, and his correspondence betrays a phobia of what is 'new', 'novel', 'threatening', 'contrary to the spirit of the Society'.

There were, however, some grounds for apprehension. In 1624 the *Mercure françois* carried an article concerning the Alumbrados, the *Illuminés* of Spain, quoting an edict fulminated by André Pacheco, Inquisitor general, on 9 May 1623, which listed 76 points of error, adding that seven of these heretics had been burned at Seville that year. France, bordering Spain and the Spanish Netherlands, received the news with horror. Two years before, Pacheco had told the Doge that the Alumbrados were already infiltrating France, and this must have been a widespread fear. It was no new sect, having been anathematised in 1525, and it is to be noted that Loyola himself was once arrested on suspicion of holding the Alumbrados' doctrines. It has been left to Bremond *et al.* to point out how nebulous Pacheco's edict is: a flurry of confused questions, a fear of the unknown.<sup>24</sup>) All that can be reasonably taken as typical doctrine is that mental prayer is of divine ordinance while vocal prayer counts for little; that a sign of having the Holy Spirit is to know ardours and tremblings; and that it is possible for a soul to attain sinless perfection.

The Jesuits would also have learned of the Alumbrados in Gautier's *Chronologie*, a Jesuit history with a wide distribution, and would not have been consoled by news from Picardy, for it was here that the feared outbreak of illuminism occurred. Two schools may be distinguished, the first at Chartres and Montdidier, the second at Roye. Two ex-Capuchins, Laurent de Troyes and Rodolphe de Paris, began counselling in the former places, teaching the mystical tendencies of Harphius and Canfield. Nothing warranted alarm, but in 1632 another Capuchin, Archange Ripault, wrote against them and Père Joseph received a copy; he in turn persuaded Richelieu that these doctrines were dangerous, and the two were thrown into the Bastille.<sup>25</sup>) Meanwhile at Roye, a

preacher named Guérin and the two brothers Buquet were accused of propounding spiritual 'novelties'; in September 1630 their arrest was ordered. Despite declarations of orthodoxy from the Sorbonne and Vincent de Paul, P. Joseph pursued the 'Guérinets' also; the leaders were imprisoned four times, only to be released on each occasion. Finally plague and war claimed the Buquets, Guérin settled for a quiet life, and we are left with the impression of a storm in a teacup, a group of mild mystics harrassed out of an ill-founded spiritual phobia. Certainly there is no sound justification for the official story which would have reached Bordeaux, of 60,000 souls infected with this 'new doctrine'.

Thus we understand something of the alarm creeping into Jesuit cloisters at the time of Labadie's entry into the Society, when, for example, the college of Poitiers was found (in 1626) to contain priests who set great store by 'revelations and spiritual illusions'. A year later it was worse; Poitiers persisted in 'this new and strange spirit of devotion, so removed from the usual conduct of the Company'; Limoges was affected also; Lyon and Paris could tell similar stories. Bordeaux too had its proponents of the 'new spirituality', Pierre Cluniac and Jacques du Tertre, whom the General wished to be publicly reprimanded. By 1629 the fire had spread to Dijon and Nancy and was burning brightly at Paris and Bordeaux, so Rome decided on firmer measures than injunctions to superiors. On 5 April 1629 the General ordered the provincial of Paris to ban the new devotion to St. Joseph, who had been adopted as patron by the 'new spirituals', Seven years later he was to outlaw the very mention of the Alumbrados in Jesuit houses, even in jest.<sup>26)</sup> The general impression gained is of a fear of the unknown. 'New devotion' and 'strange spirituality' it may be, but we are none the wiser as to what it was. Yet a glance at several of the 'new spirituals' leads us closer to the truth. Claude Bernier of Paris, Jean-Joseph Surin of Bordeaux, François Poiré of Nancy and other speak of their devotional life having been revolutionised by the reading of St. Theresa's autobiography (or the biography by Ribera);<sup>27)</sup> here they read of miracles, visions and touches of God, the whole suffused with a joy which, to the eyes of these young men, seemed to have grown cold in the Society of Jesus. This became a justification for withdrawing into contemplative devotion and tending the soul.

A look at Ignatius Loyola's own spirituality might permit us to wonder what all the fuss was about, for here was a man whose devotions were shot through with 'illumination'. It seems strange that a Society whose founder regularly saw visions of the Godhead and the Virgin<sup>28</sup>) could, some fifty years later, throw up its hands in horror at some *père* who claimed occasional mystical experiences (known as *opérations*, e.g. in Surin's correspondence). The *Exercises* themselves state, in the instructions to counsellors, that anyone *not* experiencing 'spiritual movements in his soul', 'consolations and desolations' and who is *not* 'agitated by diverse spirits' is evidently in some need and must be helped.<sup>29</sup>) The Constitutions also, while warning against deception, make provision for regular 'spiritual visitations'. One is left to wonder how Loyola, who, at the stream Manresa, 'had the eyes of his vision opened and understood many things, and with so great an illumination (!) that everything seemed new to him', and who at Vicence in 1537 experienced 'many spiritual visions and almost continuous consolations', would have been received by General Vitelleschi in 1630! Seen in this light, and remembering the comments on the *Detrimenta* of nearly twenty years before, the 'new spirituals' certainly had something of the original fire of their order, which the present establishment had, for reasons of 'modernism', allowed to cool.<sup>30</sup>)

The answer lies in the change of ethos in the society, or rather in its inability to reconcile the apostolic and contemplative sides of Ignatian spirituality. A letter to the General of 10 November 1633 epitomises the gulf. The writer, André Baiöle, was no youthful enthusiast, being 42 at the time, with a wealth of professorial and confessional experience behind him. Now he is accused of devoting himself too much to inner piety and neglecting the gifts within him. He is refusing an offered chair of theology, believing he is called to save souls 'by purely spiritual means, as preaching, confessing and directing, in preference to others, more distant from piety, as the study of literature, disputations and the like.'<sup>31</sup>) Again the echo of P. Coton's judgement of 23 years earlier.

Such, then, was the background against which Labadie spent his Jesuit days. For three years he was at Bordeaux, studying rhetoric and philosophy, a pastime which he little enjoyed. 'He said that a Cicero and a Virgil were hardly books for a man of God and a labourer for the gospel.'<sup>32</sup>) By way of

spiritual exercise he gave himself, though as yet untrained in theology, to the writing of several poems and treatises, especially when set the task of a verse composition in Latin.<sup>33</sup>) During this period he read widely, citing as particularly influential on his soul three works where mystical joys were much to the fore: Ribera's life of St. Theresa,<sup>34</sup>) Surius' life of St. Catherine of Sienna,<sup>35</sup>) and the life of Balthasar Alvarez.<sup>36</sup>) His own devotions knew increasing touches of God. At Easter 1626, his first as a novice, he received a vision of Jesus, resurrected and glorious, yet 'caressing' and warm; at the Assumption, 1627, meditating on the Song of Songs, 'he felt marvellous things, and for several days knew ardours, languishments, swoonings and transports, such that he seemed to be in heaven.'<sup>37</sup>) The master of novices, Charles Venot, called him and told him that such a spirit was dangerous and foreign to the Order, with real risks of illusion and deception by the devil.<sup>38</sup>) There was even a move to have him dismissed, but no grounds could be found. In it all, Labadie says he felt a calming in his spirit.

In addition to his studies at Bordeaux, Labadie catechised in the suburbs and preached on occasions, once at his native Bourg. During the plague of 1629, in which several Jesuits perished helping the sick, the noviciate transferred for a time to Saint-Macaire, where Labadie again wrote a *traité* (unidentified).<sup>39</sup>) After three years it was proposed, according to the custom of allowing students of the *classes supérieures* to teach those of the *inférieures*, that Labadie be sent to the Collège de Saint-Louis at Angoulême to teach rhetoric and philosophy. This is significant, in that this college had grown so influential under the Jesuits that an apprehensive University of Paris sought to prevent it being granted university status. It was therefore a place for high-fliers, which corroborates the evidence that Labadie was being groomed for a glittering future. It was, however, not to be. The air did not suit Labadie's delicate constitution, so Ignace Malescot, provincial of Aquitaine, advised Arnaud Bohyre, his counterpart in Guienne, to transfer him to the college at Périgueux.

The air of Périgueux suited him better, so Labadie remained for two years, teaching rhetoric and philosophy. The college, a Jesuit possession since 1591, was in some disarray. Work on its new buildings had been interrupted in 1621, not to be resumed for fourteen years; the chapel had been demol-

ished, but the intended grander edifice was likewise unfinished; and the plague of 1629 had closed the college and slain several of its members. It was, by contrast, a time of edification for Labadie. Ejaculatory prayer grew dear to him<sup>40</sup>) and he experienced regular *opérations*: once it was the glory of God overshadowing him ‘comme un grand air’; on another occasion he felt himself ‘surrounded, illumined and clothed’ by the presence of God. He pondered on the Trinity and ‘felt himself filled with wonderful illumination’. Once he spent forty days meditating on the person of Christ: his economy, his mysteries, his offices and the stages of his life. A sense of being filled with the Holy Spirit came to him while at prayer, and a foretaste of mission in the days to come. The experience of divine love would also sometimes ‘burn’ and ‘wound’, giving him a sense of ‘sacred horror’. Visions of the Virgin came also, and he grew to see in her ‘the first vessel filled with the fulness of Jesus’; also of the Holy Spirit as dove, descending to him and clothing him with grace; and of God the Father, surrounding him like a globe of fire. Faced with these graces, his studies seemed worthless, and ‘he felt an infinite repugnance at giving himself to any other task than to know God and His ways’. He wrote his own theological booklets, sometimes writing for some hours while on his knees, and planned a major work on the life of Christ: the hidden life in heaven, the public life on earth, the suffering life of the Passion, and the glorious life of the Resurrection.<sup>41</sup>) Here also his growing spirituality began to attract others. One aged *théologal* said one could search many volumes of sermons and never find words as compelling as those brought by him; and an *ecclésiastique* confided in him that, despite his youthful and weak appearance, he had an aura that provoked respect and even fear. Labadie replied: ‘There is nothing as serious and majestic as God, and it is enough for him to be in someone for him to evoke reverence and fear.’<sup>42</sup>)

A manuscript *traité* on various subjects<sup>43</sup>) reveals that Labadie delivered certain addresses at the college of Tournon in August 1633. Whether this indicates a stay there is uncertain, but in 1634 he was sent for a year to the Collège de la Reine Marguérite at Agen, under the rectorship of Pierre de Bugis. Nothing is known of this period, nor of the whole year of 1635,<sup>44</sup>) for the next facts date from his return to Bordeaux and the *maison professe* there in 1636, to commence his theological studies.

Here the process continued. He could not agree with the tutors of theology, especially on matters of grace and predestination, but as yet he remained silent. He mixed with others open to the 'new spirituality', especially Surin and Baïole, and he made a good impression on the new provincial, Barthélemy Jacquinot, who himself had mystical leanings;<sup>45)</sup> in 1628 he had favoured the founding of a new order, planned by a young mystic whom he had directed, and this had drawn upon him all manner of denunciations. Now he was so struck by Labadie that he paraded him as something of a saint, granted him the privilege of visiting his relatives eight times a year, allowed him to counsel women and pay pastoral visits unaccompanied. And when Labadie converted an 'homme de condition' who was dying of gangrene, this esteem knew no bounds. The Provincial was not alone. Other Jesuits turned to Labadie as a leader, sought his counsel, agreed that 'w'ere long he would be the father of a multitude' and that whenever he preached, his face seemed aglow with the aura of God.

Labadie studied in scriptures deeply at this time. Once he saw a vision of the Gospel, open, huge and hovering in the air, which then descended and fell upon his hands and breast. This was why he had a clasp made for his bible, engraved with an open book and the words 'Evangile de Jésus Christ'. He also grew more aware of an inner vocation. On a visit to his family he was introduced to a village woman, who claimed that God had revealed to her that Labadie was to be a chosen instrument of renewal in the Church. Hereafter a sense of mission pervaded his spirituality: he saw visions of the world nearing its end and of God raising up evangelical and prophetic leaders to save the chosen from destruction; he sensed a divine plan to 'overthrow and renew the world, and restore the Christian spirit of the early Church'.<sup>46)</sup> He also meditated on Elijah and John the Baptist, seeing in them heralds of the coming of Christ, and became convinced (aided by visions and inner voices<sup>47)</sup> to this effect) that he was to move in their spirit and that of St. Francis Xavier, proclaiming moral reformation and the imminent kingdom of God.

He gathered a following: the physician, Jean Charpentier; a carter from Limousin, another Jesuit named André Dabillon<sup>48)</sup> and several local villagers. Two of his pupils at the college were also involved, who he said were to move in the spirit of St. Thomas and St. Stephen respectively. This little band



would travel the land, with neither stick nor staff, relying on God in spirit, confounding the pharisaical world and converting souls to the true gospel; the price would be suffering and martyrdom, spiritually and even in body.<sup>49</sup>) Such a trend did not, of course, remain unnoticed. On 20 March 1637, General Vitelleschi wrote to provincial Jacquinet, expressing his concern at rumours that 'a young *théologien* named Labadie was living *per modum puri spiritus*, had almost attained to the beatific vision, and other stories altogether foreign to the spirit of the Company'.<sup>50</sup>) This, he added, was to be kept quiet and not mentioned in the cloister. Jacquinet, however, was not shaken in his esteem for Labadie, which he crowned in 1638 by allowing him to proceed to ordination as priest after only two of the usual four years.<sup>51</sup>) Labadie saw two great advantages in the priesthood: the possibility of a greater union with God and men, and of greater freedom to preach the Kingdom of God. At the service, conducted by bishop Litolfi Maroni of Bazas,<sup>52</sup>) he claims to have seen the Lord himself presiding and laying hands upon him, so that a power was imparted to him which proved that his ordination was not of man, but God.

Now came the awareness that he was to leave the Company of Jesus. He saw that the corruption of the true spirit of Christianity was well evident in that Society, and further visions persuaded him of the advantages of being a *prêtre séculier*, free from ties to an order.<sup>53</sup>) To be sure he conferred with several of his *confidants*; his prime mentor, Charles Clusel ('un sage vieillard') had died in July 1636, but there were others, including Henri Gombaud, later *préposé* of the *maison professe*, and the *curé* of Ste. Eulalie, the saintly Oratorian Jean-Baptiste Gault.<sup>54</sup>) All were of the feeling that he should follow the guidance received; they also saw his physical infirmities, which had been increasing over this period, as a natural result of his exaltations and sent of God to enable him to leave the order. For final confirmation, Labadie sent his elder brother, with a notary and *théologal*, to visit the village prophetess already encountered. She gave a prophetic word, much of which is over-eulogistic, but whose more sober content was that he was God's chosen instrument for the shaking of His people in France, endowed with all grace and power necessary for the task of 'crying aloud in the wilderness' like John the Baptist, preparing the ways of God.<sup>55</sup>) Finally, he was spurred to leave by the arrest of St. Cyran and Claude Séguenot (1638) for

doctrines akin to his own. He vowed to continue their labours.

So it was that, late in 1638, Labadie wrote to the General to request his release. For all the spiritual issues involved, his stated reason was ill health, particularly lack of sleep. Some have seen in this a blatant deceit, yet it had foundation. One day, while walking in the garden, he seemed to lose his sight and was confined to bed at the *maison professe*; he had black-outs and fainted, even one Sunday during mass; and on medical advice he wore a skull-cap in winter, which in turn gave rise to malicious accusations of trying to be Pope.<sup>56</sup>) Once free of the Company, an old Jesuit would refer to him as an epileptic.<sup>57</sup>) Yet on 8 December the General replied, expressing amazement that he had not heard of this before and using the opportunity to chide him for his dangerous visionary devotions.<sup>58</sup>)

Simultaneously with Labadie's decision came that of General Vitelleschi to proceed against Jean-Joseph Surin, newly returned to Bordeaux after an eventful involvement in the *diableries* of Loudun, and a leading light of the 'new spirituality' His writings were collected at the close of 1638 and sent for examination to two of the 'old school' at Bordeaux, Jean de la Renaudie and Léonard Champeils. A total of 20 'novelties' was drawn up, which must have been typical of the 'new spirituals'. Some reveal the same confusion encountered with the Alumbrados already outlined (e.g. art. 18, that God wishes us to be free from all care – apparently an orthodox belief, but open to dangers of 'quietism'), but others carry a truer ring: that a soul progresses in holiness as it plays less of a human part in its devotions, but leaves all to God; that no request may be made to the Lord unless one feels definitely prompted by the Holy Spirit; that one must walk by faith and not trust what one sees.<sup>59</sup>)

Both examiners submitted reports to the General. La Renaudie was by now seventy, spiritual leader of the *maison professe, consulteur* of the province and notoriously intransigent. His report and letter are dated 22 January 1639. He attacks the provincial, Jacquinot, for his presumption in allowing novel and dangerous currents to enter Jesuit houses and their proponents to make disciples there. It is clear, however, that the real danger was not Surin: 'the standard-bearer and instigator of these *illuminés* is the very one who is now seeking, not without God's just purposes, to leave the Society

for reasons of health, but in reality to be able to spread his refinements with greater liberty: P. Jean Labadie, an epileptic adolescent, according to men of experience.<sup>60</sup>) Jacquinot, he adds, so valued Labadie that he had sent Surin, many years his senior, to him for help. Labadie was also involved with Jean-Jérôme Baïole, director of the *maison professe*,<sup>61</sup>) another 'new spiritual', whose approval he was constantly exploiting; the two of them were forever criticising monastic life in general, and the Jesuits in particular, both within and outside the cloister.

The second report was from Léonard Champeils, fifty-odd and tutor in moral theology, but no spiritual man; he would curtail or omit grace at meal-times, did not recite the divine office and was not master of his tongue. He too blames the provincial had his attitude to Labadie, 'whose conduct was puerile and whose humour melancholy, his character given to vanity and self-esteem'.<sup>62</sup>) He reveals that Labadie had penned a work at the *maison professe*<sup>63</sup>) and had distributed it among his adherents in the town. Baïole had approved it, but one *père* had passed it to the *préposé* of the *maison professe*, Ponce de La Devise. Champeils, who then saw it, calls it 'full of ignorance, errors, lies, obscure, affected and unintelligible expressions, of contradictions, of false interpretations of scripture, of heresies and melancholic inventions'(!).<sup>64</sup>)

While awaiting Rome's reply to his request, Labadie had increased dealings with Surin, and from these it becomes clear that Labadie's prime barrier to the Society was *obedience*. Surin regarded Labadie as 'one who did not hold to the maxims of faith and obedience', and records a meeting in the garden of the *maison professe*, at which he had sought to point out to Labadie the danger of being deceived in the heart, and Labadie stalked off among the bushes, deeply offended that anyone could call into question the validity of his spiritual promptings. On another occasion, once Rome had given permission for Labadie to leave (15 March 1639), Surin saw him and told him he was deceived. Labadie 'received this with so much pride and treated me with such insolence that I felt his ill to be irremediable'.<sup>65</sup>) Labadie told him that, although he (Surin) had many graces of the Holy Spirit, he could never serve God fully, since his vow of obedience to the Society bound the wings of a bird that could otherwise fly free.<sup>66</sup>) To another Jesuit, André Dabillon, however, who had only taken

the simple vow, Labadie said that he might one day have need of him.<sup>67)</sup>

General Vitelleschi wrote to Jacquinot on 25 February, bidding him dismiss Baïole from his office; the reason is clear: 'ne Labadianos nobis alios pariat'. He also sent word to Louis Lescaze of the *maison professe*: 'As for P. Jean Labadie, how the dreams have vanished of those who filled whole pages with his merits...; may they at least recognise now the nature of their precipitation to praise him.'<sup>68)</sup> At this point Labadie had been with his family at Bourg for a month, on grounds of ill health (this is why the General can speak of him as having left, even though not yet officially released); his adherents, sensing his departure to be his last, had escorted him to the coach, embraced him and bidden a sorrowful farewell. It was to Bourg that two *pères* brought the certificate of release when it was finally ready. Dated 17 April 1639 it was written by Jacquinot; it releases him from the Order, 'at his own request, for reasons of his infirmity'.<sup>69)</sup> Labadie signed it in their presence and told them of this plans to move as a *prêtre séculier*.

To celebrate his freedom, Labadie penned a poem giving an account of the Lord's guidance, put into His mouth.<sup>70)</sup> He had thus, with some machinations, achieved his purposes and was now free to set about the task of reform. For the Society of Jesus, however, the affair had become an object lesson, and there is something conclusive about the judgements of the two *pères* mentioned above; La Renaudie lays the blame squarely on 'those who gave to an adolescent, almost to a child, such self-esteem and such vanity',<sup>71)</sup> while Champeils concludes: 'I will add only that the error of those who have sung his praises to people outside has done great harm to the good name of our Company, for many people have been amazed to see depart from the Company one whom our people used to parade as a saint.'<sup>72)</sup>

It is significant that, until the *dénouement* of 1639, no objections were raised by the Society to Labadie's theology or basic spirituality. With regard to apostolic zeal, devotion to the Eucharist and the Virgin, and keenness for scriptural knowledge, Labadie adhered to the norm. The prime object of his devotions was Jesus, whom he revered especially as the fulfilment of the law, as God-man, as incarnate Word and as head of a new covenant people. The very name of Jesus could draw a poem from his pen before he had started theolog-

ical studies. He had a strong sense of personal relationship with Jesus and of a God-given vocation to follow him, and planned to write a four-part life of Christ. The Virgin Mary, whom he often saw in visions, he worshipped in orthodox Catholic fashion, prizing her especially as 'the first vessel filled with the fulness of Jesus and the first evangelical expression of his face'.<sup>73)</sup> His one innovation, a devotion to the Holy Spirit, whom he often saw as fire and water, was not sufficiently alien to warrant censure.

The points of departure were not therefore essentially doctrinal but practical, and he was by no means alone in this. His attacks on stultifying intellectual pursuits, on the restrictions set upon the Holy Spirit's operation by the rules of the Society, and on the doubtful nature of many vocations, all have parallels in French Jesuits of his day. Lallemand, for example, lost his post at Rouen for his outspoken belief in the inner guidance of the Holy Spirit and lamented the present climate wherein the gifts of the Spirit, scripturally available for all, are now reserved for a few higher mortals on rare occasions.<sup>74)</sup>

Again, Labadie's longing for greater spiritual vitality and mystical devotion was part of a general trend within the Society in his day. General Acquaviva's *Directory* of 1599, intended to accompany the *Exercises*, had redressed the balance in favour of contemplation by establishing a correspondence between the 'solid virtues' and the three mystical states of purging, illumination and union.<sup>75)</sup> De la Puente was writing of the value of contemplative devotions, provided its illuminations issued forth in fruits of active love and apostolic service. It was a Jesuit who produced a new edition of Harphius' *Mystical Theology* in 1617, albeit under a pseudonym.<sup>76)</sup> Labadie's reading of mystical writings was paralleled in many a Jesuit house,<sup>77)</sup> and even his visionary leanings were by no means unknown. In a society whose ethos was proving an anomaly to many young men, for reasons seen above, mystical devotions were both a retreat and a *raison d'être*. Among Labadie's contemporaries Jacob du Tertre of Bordeaux received visions of the Trinity, of Christ on the Cross and of the Virgin;<sup>78)</sup> Claude Bernier of Loudun experienced the whole gamut of mystical blessings, culminating in what he terms 'spiritual stupor' ('ivresse spirituelle'); Pierre Cluniac, Labadie's colleague at Périgueux and Bordeaux, frequently saw demons and the Virgin, experiencing desolations and ec-

stasies and what he called 'the gift of prayer'.<sup>79)</sup>

The only point of genuine divergence from the Jesuit norms of his day was Labadie's rejection of the very point which made his order unique: obedience and total commitment to the Society. Ignatius Loyola himself saw the dangers of seeking after spiritual visitations without true guidance, and never advocated the pathway which he himself had trodden.<sup>80)</sup> Lallemand too, for all his spiritual leanings, stated that in the last resort obedience to superiors was worth more than any number of mystical operations. Throughout the period, letters to the General from many parts of France related mystical experiences, consolations, divine woundings and the like, submitting them for scrutiny and declaring the writer's readiness to renounce them all should it be felt prudent.<sup>81)</sup> Here Labadie could not comply. So strong was his sense of vocation and so real the light received that he took any suggestion of submission as an affront to God, as in the aforementioned episode in the garden at Bordeaux with Surin. It was precisely this insubordination and inordinate self-centredness of devotion that gave the Society such misgivings and constituted their prime attack on him after his departure.<sup>82)</sup> Indeed this characteristic was to continue the stumbling-stone to Labadie's associates throughout his life-time and seems to indicate, alongside a profound reverence for God and for revelations received, a headstrong and self-sufficient trait of character in the Labadie who was now to set out into the world.

## CHAPTER 2

### Jansenism in Picardy. Labadie from Bordeaux to Amiens, 1639-1644, and his retreat at Port-Royal-des-Champs

On leaving the Society of Jesus as a *prêtre séculier* in April 1639, Labadie did two things which seem strange in the light of his love of spiritual independence: he wrote to a relative, who was discontent with the religious life in her convent, telling her to stay firm in her calling despite all temptation,<sup>1)</sup> and he made overtures to the Oratoire. Though it seems incongruous for one who had told Surin that the rules of an order tied the wings of a bird that could otherwise fly free, so soon to seek union with another order, a closer look at Oratorian spirituality offers some explanation.

Labadie was deeply concerned at the stultifying environment of the Society of Jesus, seeing in it men who followed Tacitus and Machiavelli more than Jesus Christ. His own spiritual life was shot through with devotion to Jesus and a burning desire for union with His every thought and action. And such spirituality was central to the Oratoire. Of its founder, Cardinal Bérulle, we read that 'he was so bound to Jesus Christ that Jesus was his centre and his entire circumference; if he spoke or wrote, it was of Jesus; if he worked, it was for Jesus; if he undertook anything, it was through the guidance of the Spirit of Jesus'.<sup>2)</sup> The Son of God was the centre of the Oratoire, and written into its constitution was its dedication to 'Jesus Christ, the Sovereign High Priest'; the word made flesh was a daily meditation for every Oratorian, and Pope Urban VIII called Bérulle 'the apostle of the incarnate word'.<sup>3)</sup> Such a christocentric ground was what Labadie was seeking, and the Oratorians' additional stress on sanctification, the shaking off of restrictive tradition, and the upholding of the perfection of the priesthood would also have found a response in the 29 year-old Labadie.

There was no Oratory at Bordeaux,<sup>4)</sup> but two brothers,

Jean-Baptiste and Eustache Gault had been called by archbishop Sourdis to assist in the preaching of the word. Eustache was made director of the diocesan seminary and Jean-Baptiste *curé* of Ste. Eulalie. Despite initial opposition from a suspicious populace, who called them ‘Pères de l’Attrapatoire’, Jean-Baptiste soon won its affection by his devotion and sanctity, and there was a move to put the Collège into Oratorian hands.<sup>5)</sup> Labadie had already met and conferred with Gault prior to his release from the Jesuits, and been much helped by him, and now, as he presented himself to the archiepiscopal council and gave an account of his life and his desire to preach in the diocese, Gault cried out: ‘Those are not the words of a lunatic and a demoniac!’<sup>6)</sup> – the reference being to Jesuit assertions, which began as soon as he left their house, that he was at best a madman and at worst possessed. Gault sought to secure for Labadie some benefice in the diocese, but opposition from Louis Lescases, *préposé* of the Jesuit *maison professe*, annulled this. Nevertheless, Labadie was given a licence to preach, which he did in the cathedral and various churches to general applause. He also combatted worldliness. One Sunday in May a travelling circus set up its stage at the very hour Labadie was to preach. He went straightway among the crowd, stopped the tumblers in their act and sent the people away to hear the word of God.

During Whitsuntide Labadie felt an inner prompting to go to Paris, and he confided this to his elder brother, who claimed to have received the same intuition. Though some saw clouds on the horizon, he determined to set out. After a final sermon in the cathedral of St. André, he left for the capital, armed with good testimonials from parish priests and the archbishop, and with the words of his mother ringing in his ears that he would be the glory of the family.<sup>7)</sup> He reached Paris ‘on the very day Etienne Binet died’ (the director of the Jesuit *maison professe*), 4 July 1639. He lodged with some clerics and was introduced to ‘several persons of condition and piety’, among them *Mère* Françoise de la Croix, the noted Ursuline, formerly of Louviers but now living at the Hôtel de la Place Royale.

Gault had recommended to him the church of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, which was open to Oratorians. That very year three of their most eminent figures, Olier, Caulet and Du Ferrier, had visited its seminary, run by Adrian Bourdoise,



who trained them in ecclesiastical procedures while Condren, the general of the order, directed their consciences. The priest in charge, Georges Froger,<sup>8)</sup> a member of the archiepiscopal council, examined Labadie's life and doctrine and stated that he found him 'not only knowledgeable but also pious, well versed in the faith and the scriptures, a man of good and fine talents.'<sup>9)</sup> Armed with this, Labadie gained permission from the archiepiscopal council, in the absence of the prelate himself, to preach in the diocese, which he duly did at St. Nicholas du Chardonnet and elsewhere. His biographer claims that some thought he sounded like Bérulle, others like his successor, Condren, another indication that he was being regarded as a fully-fledged Oratorian.

At this point Labadie came into contact with Charles de Condren, general of the Oratory, himself. Receiving good reports from Gault at Bordeaux, Condren sent for Labadie and invited him to stay at one of the Oratorian houses for a few days. The Oratoire was at this time conducting missions in Picardy under the energetic leadership of a Belgian, Etienne Meyster, and Labadie conceived a passion to join these labours. The memoirs of the Oratorian Jean Du Ferrier reveal that Labadie earnestly requested Condren to send him to join the small group of *missionnaires* at Marines, near Pontoise, under Denis Amelote and Du Ferrier himself. Condren was favourable but followed the normal procedure of sending a prospective missionary on a retreat at St. Magloire under the saintly Père Gilly; after ten days Gilly gave Labadie a glowing report, Amelote was pressing for him to be sent, but at the last minute Condren changed his mind, writing to Amelote 'not to believe every spirit', (1. Jn 4:1).<sup>10)</sup> Labadie's side of the story is rather more pious, suggesting little of the disagreements and stressing how he was concerned to exhort Condren, 'who was somewhat timid by nature', not to steer a path of compromise in order to avoid trouble. As for the energetic Meyster, whom he apparently met, he told him that he was troubled by tormenting spirits and needed to be rid of them through humility and prayer, lest he lose his senses; the biographer records that these forebodings seemed justified when, on a later mission to Metz, Meyster was seized with a violent depression and stabbed himself to death.<sup>11)</sup>

Late in 1639, a pious woman of Bordeaux, the *présidente* Nesmond, who had heard and approved of Labadie's

preachings there, came to Paris to visit her daughter at the convent of the Conception. While there, she encouraged a friend, bishop Caumartin of Amiens, to hear the new preacher. The prelate did so in the church of St. Severin, and whether or not we accept the biographer's account that he left his pew and spoke to Labadie as he came out of the pulpit, it is clear that he was delighted. He told Labadie that he needed a preacher for Advent and Lent (1639/40), and Labadie accepted.<sup>12)</sup>

Bishop François le Febvre de Caumartin, consecrated in 1618, was a man of zeal; he reformed the abbey of St.-Quentin-de-l'Isle, of which he was honorary abbot, authorised the foundation of several religious houses and was a stickler for church discipline. He was a regular visitor to Port Royal, and in this very year of 1639 had authorised a mission under Meyster in the diocese, which had been so successful that one contemporary claimed Meyster could have surrendered the city to the Spanish and nobody would have minded. So it is understandable that a gifted preacher and charismatic divine such as Labadie would have appealed to the 76th bishop of Amiens.

Before he left Paris in late November 1639, the Jesuits began to stir up trouble for Labadie; they sought to persuade Louis de Guiard, *vicaire-général*, that their former novice was a dangerous visionary, come to the capital to plot against Richelieu, and that once his preachings had gained popular support, he would stir the populace to revolt.<sup>13)</sup> They sought to have the archbishop expel him from the capital. Labadie went to Guiard to clear his name and make known his proposal to go to Amiens with Caumartin, and this seemed the most sensible step from all points of view. So Labadie set off for Picardy. On the way, they stopped at Montdidier, where Labadie preached and heard confession. Among the congregation was Jean Borghès (or Bourgeois), a canon of Verdun, soon to defend the *Fréquente Communion* at Rome and to be expelled from the Sorbonne for failing to attack Arnould. He wrote to Paris that there was a man of surpassing scriptural knowledge, whose confessional was fruitfully attended and whose preaching so inspired that he wished all other preachers could come and take lessons from him; the truths for which Saint-Cyran was languishing in the château of Vincennes, he concluded, were free at Amiens, and what could only be whis-

pered in dark rooms elsewhere was being shouted from the rooftops in Picardy.

Labadie preached at Advent at Amiens on a theme popular in his later years: the threefold advent of Christ: in flesh (in nature), in spirit (in grace) and in judgment (in glory). He received a licence to preach and confess throughout the diocese, and was made canon prebendary of St. Nicholas. He presented himself to the governor of the province, Honoré d'Albert, duc de Chaulnes,<sup>14)</sup> and for a time enjoyed his favour and protection, though the *intendant*, Louis le Maistre de Bellejamme, who favoured the Jesuits, was inimical.

In June 1640 the court arrived at Amiens, since siege was being laid to Arras as part of Richelieu's campaign in Artois. Many courtiers therefore heard Labadie preach at St. Nicholas and the cathedral. The biographer singles out one Marguérite Lombard as having been particularly impressed; she was a pious lady, regarded at court as a probable heretic 'because she was neither bigoted nor superstitious'. Others who favoured Labadie were the bishop of Rennes,<sup>15)</sup> the comte de Nogent,<sup>16)</sup> *abbé de Lescot*, future bishop of Chartres,<sup>17)</sup> *abbé de Beaumont (maître de chambre)*, and Richelieu's personal physician, François Citoys.<sup>18)</sup> Louis XIII himself took an interest; after the fall of Arras in August, the king found Caumartin and expressed his satisfaction at what he had heard of 'this most excellent ecclesiastic, who does wonders in preaching and good works', concluding: 'continue to make use of him.'<sup>19)</sup>

It was a busy year for Labadie. He wrote a book on the significance of the ceremonial in the Mass,<sup>20)</sup> besides embarking on a vigorous campaign of preaching and reformation of morals. The biographer records his prime concern as being to turn congregations away from superstition and towards a worship of God in spirit. One instance shows that he kept such inspirational spirituality within bounds, however. A woman from Anjou began to prophesy that Lucifer was presiding over the Court of France, with Richelieu as his mouthpiece. She came to see Labadie, feeling him to be the prophet who should warn the king; she told him she had seen Louis in a dream, with a gryphon's claw on his coat, signifying that the devil had power over him. Labadie refused it any credence. Undeterred, the woman sought to see Louis herself, only to be arrested and imprisoned by *intendant* Bellejamme.<sup>21)</sup>

During 1640 the plague struck Amiens with ferocity. Bodies

were piled at street corners to await the carts that would transport them to the cemetery of La Madeleine. Bishop Caumartin withdrew to Paris, but the clergy was kept busy. On 29 March a *Compagnie de la Charité* was founded, with *grand-vicaire* François Barboteau as superior, devoted to works of charity among the sick. Labadie too was involved. A letter he wrote to Caumartin on 2 November speaks of the touches of divine grace on both living and dying, 'several of whom breathe their last in our unworthy arms.' He has already given the last rites to councillor de l'Estau, 'to whom God seems to have shown some mercy', and that night had been called to the bedside of Anthoine Louvel, *curé* of St. Rémy, who now seemed to be dying after several months of sickness.<sup>22)</sup>

Labadie also makes mention in his letter of renewed troubles, divisions, persecutions. Few details are given, but we can reconstruct that the Jesuits were again responsible, and this time with allies in the Capuchins, who had led the campaign against the *Illuminés* of Roye and Montdidier eleven years before. The letter suggests rivalries and wranglings, with Labadie's preaching on vocation as a probable catalyst; as a postscript he requests the bishop to approve the taking of orders of a young man who was evidently a staunch 'Labadian', while earlier referring to the advisability of certain *curés* renouncing their benefices. Though Labadie was careful to stress his readiness to be 'a target for all darts', fearing only lest the bishop himself suffer from the calumnies, Caumartin was not satisfied. He sent for Labadie and sought an account of his actions, and Labadie offered to withdraw from the city if it would ease matters.<sup>23)</sup> On his return to Amiens, however, he changed his mind and wrote to Caumartin that it would be better to remain and endure sufferings on account of the truth.<sup>24)</sup> The very next day he wrote again of this desire, adding that it is 'on the advice of several upright and wise persons' that he remain and confound his opponents; he speaks of his readiness to 'spend my days in quietness and retreat, praying for the Church, when I am unable to labour for her.'<sup>25)</sup> Finally, as the biographer records, letters arrived authorising him to remain.

Nevertheless, for reasons of prudence, bishop Caumartin sent Labadie to Montdidier, where he preached a course of Advent sermons on John the Baptist as preacher of penitence, preparer of Christianity, renewer of the world [?], precursor of

divine judgement, and instructor of all men.<sup>26)</sup> Here also he had dealings with the Augustinian nuns of the *Hôtel-Dieu* which were to lead to a break with the Oratoire. This had been evangelised by the Oratorians under Amelote. Now Caumartin sent Labadie to visit and preach at the *Hôtel-Dieu*. ‘Sister Magdalène’<sup>27)</sup> was so taken with him that she compared him to John the Baptist, but others felt an inward reticence in conversation with him. Finally an Ursuline asked Du Ferrier to come and investigate. He did, and conceived a mistrust of Labadie, but rather than act himself, wrote to General Condren for advice. While awaiting a reply he secretly disabused the superior, saying that Labadie was not God’s worker. Finally Condren replied, upbraiding Du Ferrier for not having rebuked Labadie immediately, and sharing his own judgements: remembering his reservations with regard to the missions, he claimed God had given him the word ‘You were running well. What hindered you?’ (Gal 5:7). This was confirmed a few days later when Labadie told him of a vision he had received of the virgin Mary breast-feeding the infant Jesus. Condren, who had received many a vision himself, ‘told him that this vision was not of God, because there was in it a lascivious and dishonest object, and felt his view confirmed that this man was deceived and that his visions, *which were always sensual and corporal and therefore suspect*, ... were not of God but illusions.’<sup>28)</sup> Condren wrote to bishop Caumartin, Du Ferrier saw him personally,<sup>29)</sup> and Caumartin withdrew his preacher from Montdidier. There ended Labadie’s relations with the Oratoire, which, though short, stamped his spirituality with two Bérullian features that appear little in his Jesuit days but much hereafter: a sense of the grandeur of the office of priest, and a devotion to the forms, ceremonies and sacrificial nature of the Mass.

Labadie also had responsibilities in other towns. If we believe a reference to the ‘five years’ which he spent as confessor to the Bernardines of Abbeville,<sup>30)</sup> then he must have taken up this office early in 1640. Little is known of his activities here, but rumours circulated of a shady relationship with a young nun. He also preached at Montreuil, where several religious heard him proclaim that the scriptures should be read in the vernacular, without adding the usual proviso that permission from the priest was necessary. At Amiens, he founded a *confrérie* dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, whose statutes

bishop Caumartin approved. Though lost, the extracts quoted by Hermant reveal a Bérullian devotion to the Eucharist and the grandeur of holy things which he imbibed from Gault at Bordeaux. Labadie was to be the director and its members were to venerate the Sacrament of the Altar, be examples of piety and produce each year a new ornament for their meeting-place. All of which stands in sharp contrast to his later assertion, once a Calvinist, that he had sought to turn souls from *confréries* and church furniture.<sup>31)</sup>

In April 1641 Labadie gained a fellow-preacher after his own heart. André Dabillon had known Labadie as a Jesuit at Bordeaux and shared his spirituality. When Labadie left, he told Dabillon he might one day have need of him. Perhaps as a result of a personal summons from Labadie, Dabillon secured his release from the Society of Jesus on 5 April, came to Amiens and began to preach. As a former tutor of philosophy and a lover of his subject, he also published a popular course in that discipline, *Nouveau cours de philosophie en français* (Amiens, 1643)

In September 1641 the court was at Péronne to conclude a treaty with the Catalonian leaders. The cathedral chapter of Amiens decided to send delegates with a remonstrance, probably concerning the presence of troops on archiepiscopal lands. Labadie and another canon set off to seek an audience with Richelieu; thanks to his acquaintances at court, this was granted, and Labadie achieved all he wanted.<sup>32)</sup> Richelieu was taken by his erudition and invited him to dine with him each day and deliver a sermon on each occasion with only a few hours' preparation on a subject chosen by Richelieu himself.<sup>33)</sup> In later years Labadie looked back with a shudder at how everyone 'so caressed him'. All, that is, but two. Mazarin was still an *abbé* (his elevation as cardinal was not until 16 December 1643), but he was still eminent at court and was to hold a lifelong aversion to Labadie. François Sublet des Noyers, baron de Dangu,<sup>34)</sup> was Louis' Secretary of State for war. A pious man, he used to recite the breviary with the king, but his sympathies for the Society of Jesus (he was nicknamed 'Jésuite de courte robe') obviously biased him against Labadie. It is therefore an indication of the canon from Amiens' magnetism that neither Louis nor Richelieu let Des Noyer's opposition detract from their own affection for him.

It seems, however, that Labadie was not above the duplicity

and flattery of courtly ways. His biography contains a glaring example of this, as concerns his attitude to Richelieu. He had told Condren of the Oratoire, who disliked the cardinal intensely, that Richelieu was an Antichrist. Now at Péronne, asked by a courtier for his opinion, he said that he had long known Richelieu to have been ordained of God to hold power on earth and that he doubted whether there had been his equal since the days of the first Caesars.<sup>35</sup>) This could not fail to draw him closer still to the cardinal and he used this favour for a personal demand. His younger brother, Izaak, sr. de Lasserre, had been arrested and imprisoned at Paris for having left the service of the crown to enlist as a mercenary officer with the Duc de Luxembourg. Labadie now begged clemency on his behalf. Richelieu promised nothing, but when the court passed through Amiens on its return to Paris, Labadie met the cardinal and Des Noyers with their entourage in the street and reiterated his request. Richelieu laughingly granted it and ordered the hapless Des Noyers to draw up a *brevet* on the spot. Armed with this, Labadie went straight to Paris to secure his brother's release.

Meanwhile events at Amiens were gathering momentum. The bishop had long been at loggerheads with his chapter: the decor of the cathedral, organisation of worship, the selection of preachers,<sup>36</sup>) the position of the bishop's throne (which some felt to be higher than the altar), the order of processions, all had given ground for argument. The majority of the chapter followed the dean, Pierre de Louvencourt, of one of the most eminent families in the province, who defended traditional ways. The progressive faction sided with *grand-vicaire* François Barboteau, the bishop's right hand man, while the other *grand-vicaire*, Gabriel de Nail, was timid by nature and sought to please everyone. The Ascension day procession of 1641 furnishes a good example of the tensions. The bishop wished to be collected by his chapter and escorted ceremonially to the cathedral; he alone would be censed, he alone pronounce the benediction. The canons replied with grumblings that the bishop had missed the Christmas procession altogether. The St. Mark's day procession was even worse. The bishop away at Paris, Barboteau planned a procession as sumptuous as that of Noyon; he wanted cross and banners to be carried, and arranged the seating in the cathedral as he wanted it. The dean was only notified at the last minute. De

Nail informed the bishop that a heated altercation had ensued on the day of the procession, with accusations flying, and the governor had to be alerted to keep the peace. Dean and chapter protested strongly against what they saw as an infringement of their rights.

Against such a background of ecclesiastical ‘trades unionism’ Labadie pursued his ministry. 1642 saw the printing of another book, a collection of verses on the mysteries of the Mass.<sup>37)</sup> He preached the course of sermons for Lent at Abbeville, lodging with a merchant named Duchesne in the parish of St. Georges; here he had dealings with one ‘Sr. de Manicamp’<sup>38)</sup> and convinced him and his family of the need for ‘amendment of his life and effective renewal of heart and actions, and conformity to the will of God.’ He also met a woman who used to levitate, saw visions of angels and bore the stigmata on hands, feet and head; on Good Friday she spoke with Labadie, telling of how she heard voices telling her to have nothing to do with the preacher of Amiens. Labadie merely warned her of the dangers of pride and to wear gloves to cover the stigmata. The biographer records that the Abbeville sermons contributed to a moral awakening and a renunciation of vice,<sup>39)</sup> but his opponents retort with rumours of a dalliance with a Bernardine nun.

One pastoral letter is preserved (the only one known) from Labadie to the convent of Bernardines at Abbeville.<sup>40)</sup> Written for the Assumption (15 August), it encourages the sisters to see the mercy of God in leaving Mary on earth after Jesus’s Ascension, only to call her home once she had nourished and mothered the Church, as she had done the Lord.<sup>41)</sup> It is significant in the light of Condren’s judgement already noted, that some of the imagery used is sensual and physical to a questionable degree: the nuns are urged to gaze in spirit upon the eyes, face, lips, neck, bosom of Mary ‘and not only gaze, but touch, if you would, and kiss, though with infinite respect... that brow, those eyes, those hands, those feet, that bosom, remembering that the Word made flesh has consecrated her.’<sup>42)</sup> Perhaps Labadie’s degree of spirituality was such that this could be done innocently, but the reader senses a curious dichotomy between the austere zeal of the moral reformer and a trace of sensuality that borders on voluptuous.<sup>43)</sup>

The particular doctrines that Labadie was stressing become clear in a retrospective memoir and from reports of his critics:



the vocation of ministers; the sanctity of marriage; predestination and effective grace; correct reception of the Eucharist; biblical fundamentalism. And it was these that were causing all the trouble. At some point in 1642 the governor, duc de Chaulnes, sent for Labadie to warn him of the danger of persisting in his novel teachings and to press him to use his talents for better things. Labadie replied that he was not seeking a fortune and was prepared to suffer for the sake of God. De Chaulnes began to threaten, but Labadie reminded him that Jesus would be ashamed of any who were ashamed to be for Him.<sup>44</sup>) Bishop Caumartin was alarmed at the possible consequences, but Labadie urged him to boldness. He also wrote to Richelieu, who was at Perpignan as part of the Catalonian campaign, and when the Court returned in October,<sup>45</sup>) Richelieu decided in Labadie's favour. Secretary Des Noyers was furious. Urged on by his Jesuit associates, he denounced Labadie as a second Calvin and masked heretic, who ought to be arrested forthwith. *Grand-vicaire* de Nail was sent to appease him, but Des Noyers was not to be pacified. Richelieu told him he could hardly condemn a man untried, so he conferred for two hours with the bishop of Rennes (see p. 23 above) before pronouncing Labadie orthodox; the only cause for reprimand was that division had been brought into the church. He therefore bade his confessor, *abbé* Lescot, write to bishop Caumartin forbidding future quarrels.<sup>46</sup>)

1643 saw the eruption of the Jansenist controversy. The *Augustinus*, ready in 1636, was published in 1640 but created little stir. Pope Urban VIII condemned it in March 1642, but the condemnation was not made public until January 1643. In August of the same year, Antoine Arnauld's *Fréquente Communion* appeared at Paris, with the *privilège* of the king and the approval of sixteen bishops gathered over the previous months. It was this work, and not the *Augustinus* that had been its inspiration, which was to throw French Catholicism into turmoil. Initial opposition was largely political: Barcos' prefatorial assertion that St. Peter and St. Paul were the heads of the Church, was regarded as an open door to Gallicanism. Yet there came with it a mistrust of certain doctrines common to Port Royal and Labadie: effective grace, removal of superstitious tradition, a life of vital piety as proof of inner vocation, and a refusal to limit the omnipotence of God.

What had therefore been regarded previously as irregular

was now condemned as 'novel' and 'suspect'. Thus Labadie's Lent-tide sermons at Montreuil drew criticism. Fr. Dominique of Laon heard him advocate the reading of scripture in the vernacular and declare that Christ did not die for all men; that grace was irresistible; and that no preacher before him had presented Montreuil with the full gospel. Fr. Matthieu of Amiens, also present at the Montreuil sermons, heard Labadie advance that the Church was a gathering solely of the elect; that it is sin to serve God merely out of fear of hell; and that sexual intercourse was solely for procreation. Moreover Labadie had invited a bookseller to Amiens who would sell French New Testaments. Worst of all, the Huguenots were spreading the news that Labadie was one of their party.<sup>47)</sup> Despite all this, the bishop protected his preachers, and a sign of his tacit approval was his appointment of Dabillon as confessor to the convent of Ste. Austreberte at Montreuil.

Yvon, Labadie's chief disciple, reveals that there was personal contact between Labadie and St. Cryan. Firstly the prisoner at Vincennes sent word that Labadie should visit him, which was arranged, and the two conversed for some hours, St. Cryan confiding in him that he felt nothing more could be done for Paris. Then St. Cryan wished to know more of Labadie's preaching and, unable to attend himself, sent a friend to hear one of Labadie's Lent sermons at Montreuil; he was pleased with the report given. Through this meeting, Labadie was introduced to a prominent Port-Royalist, Jean Guillebert, *curé* of Rouville in Normandy. He also made contact with two other spiritual men persecuted for their doctrine, Laurent de Troyes and Claude Seguenot.<sup>48)</sup>

On 11 October St. Cryan died. With death came a return to favour and his funeral, two days later, was attended by royalty and archbishops. Claude Lancelot, in his *Mémoires*, gives an account of the service, which was held at eleven o'clock at St. Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, St. Cryan's parish. After Mass, the body was laid to rest near the high altar. Lancelot, who officiated, records:

Sr. de Labadie, who has caused himself to be so much spoken about since, wanted to assist me in everything and offered to don a surplice with me. The esteem in which he was held at that time, founded on the reputation he had gained through his sermons, and the protection given to him by the

bishop of Amiens, meant that he was welcome everywhere.<sup>49)</sup>

At this point Labadie took a retreat, presumably at Port-Royal-des-Champs, where he was already known. The evidence is in a letter which he wrote for All Saints (1 November) to the members of his *confrérie*, in which he takes the text 'all the saints greet you' (2 Cor. 13:13), adding that he cannot literally say it himself, '*being in solitude*'. In the letter he rues the fact that there are so few truly sanctified Christians and so little active faith, which is why he has always sought to preach Jesus and urge the 'reading, meditation and rumination of his gospel always.' His avowed aim is 'to see you living expressions of Jesus Christ, his speaking images, his living gospel.'<sup>50)</sup>

In late autumn Labadie received word from a hermit of Laon that a new wave of opposition was approaching. At Amiens the superior of the Feuillants, Jean de Mauroy, preaching at Advent at St. Martin's, denounced Labadie's teachings from the pulpit.<sup>51)</sup> Yet the chief opposition came from Labadie's old order, the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits were better received at Amiens than was usual, having restored from decadence the Collège de Saint-Nicholas; neither had they quarrelled with the *échevins* for ten years. They were not, however, beloved of the bishop, since they were regularly flouting the Act of their re-establishment in France (1603), whereby they were to do nothing to interfere with the jurisdiction of the bishop. Now the Society moved on to the attack. The rector of the *maison professe*, Antoine de Feuquières, charged one of his preachers, Christoph Le Juge, to preach against the new doctrines. At one o'clock on Quinquagesima Sunday (7 February 1644) Le Juge inveighed against certain unnamed 'Luthers and Calvins', who were preaching heresy and attempting to bring theological niceties to those who could never understand them, namely the poorer sort, 'the petty riff-raff who would seek to leap into the sanctuary,' although Christ had forbidden pearls to be cast before swine.

Labadie heard the sermon and made full polemical use of it two hours later at St.-Leu. 'What! The people are called 'simple'? Those two have the spirit of grace 'riff-raff'? (French: *canaille*), repeating the word *canaille* some twenty times. Replying to Le Juge's assertion that the bible was not fit reading for the masses, he retorted that it was foolishness

to let them read ‘a libertine Ovid and a prating Horace’ and forbid the very book which could lead to the amendment of their lives.<sup>52)</sup>

The town was set in uproar, with citizens asking each other if they were *Jésuitique* or *Labadien*. *Grand-vicaire* Barboteau informed the bishop, who returned from Paris on 24 February and summoned rector and preacher to appear before him three days hence. Feuquières arrived, but without Le Juge, and found the bishop attended by an array of notables to act as witnesses. The bishop asked directly whether any preacher had called anyone ‘heretics’ lately. Feuquières replied in a manner worthy of the *Provinciales* of Pascal: only the truth had been preached in his college; nobody had called anyone else a Calvin; nobody had been preaching errors; that he could say no more for fear of dishonouring his society; and he swore by his part in Paradise that nobody at Amiens was a heretic.<sup>53)</sup> The bishop ordered the Le Juge make a public retraction, in his presence, the following Sunday.

Feuquières appealed to *intendant* De Chaulnes,<sup>54)</sup> fearing a public riot. On the Sunday a troop of dragoons surrounded the Jesuit college; bishop Caumartin, intimidated, did not appear, so Le Juge was not obliged to retract. The bishop therefore decided on a new tack: a public disavowal of the supposed errors. He drew up a list of fourteen.

1. Attrition makes a man more sinful if it is not accompanied by true contrition.
2. Any action done in a state of mortal sin remains sin, even an act of faith.
3. Confession is null if a penitent returns to the same sin.
4. God calls some, by justice, to eternal torment, and others, by mercy, to eternal glory.
5. One assured mark of predestination is to abstain from Communion.
6. Any prayer other than to God (e.g. the Rosary) is claptrap.
7. Indulgences are worthless.
8. So are images.
9. We have no other freedom than that granted to us, as blessed or as damned.
10. One may not return from sin to grace more than four times.
11. It is a mortal sin to receive a benefice without a definite inner call of God.

12. Women should not be allowed to become nuns under the age of 42.
13. Everyone should read the bible.
14. That for a century past truth has been muzzled.<sup>55)</sup>

On 15 March the two preachers condemned and reproved the errors (even no. 13!), Dabillon in the morning at the cathedral, Labadie in the afternoon at St.-Leu, in the presence of many witnesses, and a *procès-verbal* was drawn up, stating that this was *not* a retraction, since the errors had not been advanced.

It was without effect. Three days later Louvencourt, dean of the chapter, summoned his canons and drew up a denunciation of the two preachers, which was sent to the governor.<sup>56)</sup> They also withdrew from Labadie and Dabillon their revenues on the grounds that only preachers appointed by bishop *and* chapter were eligible;<sup>57)</sup> disbanded Labadie's *confrérie* de La Madeleine and suspended certain of his adherents from communion. Meanwhile the Jesuits had sent a copy of the supposed errors to Court, complaining that they were being threatened because they denied them. This, accompanied by rumours of public penance in the streets of Amiens, of rosaries thrown in the river and of a man who hanged himself in despair after being refused absolution by Labadie, pressed the Queen Mother to order an enquiry. The task was given to Jacques de Chaulnes, *intendant* of Picardy.

De Chaulnes commenced his enquiry on 4 April and over one week heard the testimonies of thirty people<sup>58)</sup>: four *conseillers du Roy*, one judge, one *trésorier général*, four *échevins*, one *conseiller au présidial*, a jurist, a merchant, a saddler, a textile-weaver, one Dominican, five Capuchins, four parish priests, three Jacobins, one Minim and one Feuillant. Besides the errors listed above, he further elucidated that Labadie had defended the *Fréquente Communion*, decried scholastic theology as foolish, withheld absolution at whim and claimed that many monks never had a true vocation. Some witnesses attempted to explain the vexed issues. Councillor de l'Estocq claimed that in error 10 Labadie was referring to gross, wilful sin; that good works *were* of value when issuing from a penitent heart; and that his position on attrition was that of the Council of Trent. The man supposed to have hanged himself was there to testify (Adrian Lefevre, weaver); Labadie had denied him absolution three times, but he had then received it from the *curé* of St. Martin's and bore

Labadie no ill-will. We also learn of a gathering of devout women which took place daily under Labadie's direction, which some felt to be scandalous but which was praised by a judge, Jacques Vaquette, whose sister attended. One Pierre Chrétien said he had written to Jean-Baptiste Saint-Jure, *préposé* of the Jesuit *maison professe* at Paris, asking if Labadie's doctrines were correct. Saint-Jure replied that they were not. In the margin bishop Caumartin stated that Chrétien was a renowned madman.

The result was a hotch-potch: ten anti-Labadie, nine pro-Labadie, three undecided and seven indifferent.<sup>59</sup>) The impression given is that even the opponents were not too bothered. The only ominous note came from a Capuchin *missionnaire*, who claimed there was civil unrest in all the villages on account of the new teachings. The balance was in favour of tolerance, so we may believe the episode, recounted by one biographer, of De Chaulnes' reception at Court. Chancellor Séguier, on reading the report, declared: 'We thought you would have brought me the wherewithal to bring this man to trial, and you have brought me his justification many times over' (cited, without source, by Mollerus, *Cimbria litterata*, III, 36).

Meanwhile bishop Caumartin's confessor, Barthélemy Lesieur, accused Labadie of error on Quasimodo Sunday (3 April). Pressed by the bishop, he refused to retract. Next, a Capuchin named P. Ambroise published (anonymously) a pamphlet in which he claimed he could no more preach the truth at Amiens than at London. The bishop summoned the *gardien* of the Capuchins, Bernardin de Lannoy, and urged him to reveal the author. The trouble was that Lannoy had been offered the bishopric of Amiens before Caumartin, but had refused it, and now he turned this to advantage in refusing to give information.

At this point the bishop published an account of his dealings so far,<sup>60</sup>) in which he reveals that certain forged letters were circulating, purporting to be from the nuns of Ste. Austreberte at Montreuil and alleging gross errors preached by Dabillon. To allay this he reproduced genuine letters from the superior, Charlotte de Monchy-Moncarrel (of Bourbon blood), stating satisfaction with their preacher, and a notarial denial of authorship of the forgeries. This too was promptly challenged by an anonymous work,<sup>61</sup>) which analysed the bishop's

account and accused him, in barely veiled terms, of lying. This they gave to a bookseller, Charles de Gouy, and a leading lawyer, while copies were distributed by a 14-year-old pupil from the Jesuit college. Its authorship is clear from the congratulations sent by the Jesuit rector: it was the work of the Capuchins, possibly of Bernardin de Lannoy. The bishop, however, did not know this. On 23 July he gave order that all his parish priests read the *Récit véritable* to their parishioners, and *grand-vicaire* Barboteau heard 49 testimonies over a period of a month. They reflect the views of 64 people and reveal the division which Labadie's doctrines had precipitated.<sup>62)</sup> In favour of the bishop and his *prédicateurs* were: the superior of the Visitandines, various Jacobins, one Oratorian, a *prêtre habitué* of St. Jacques; Antoine Delattre, *procureur* at the treasury, four lawyers of the *bailliage*, one surgeon, one saddler, one 'writer in public life', two textile-workers and various leaders of guilds. Opposing them were: several of the influential Louvencourt family; François de Court and Antoine de Fléchelles, both wealthy merchants; Henri Cornet, *avocat*,<sup>63)</sup> Regnaudval, mayor of Beauvais, the *curés* of St. Rémy and St.-Leu, two book-sellers, the diocesan receiver of tithes, the administrator of the *bureau des pauvres*,<sup>64)</sup> and almost all the religious houses.<sup>65)</sup>

Here we note the opposition of the well-to-do and the attachment of the poorer classes. In his *Déclaration* of 1650 Labadie was to speak of his calling to the poor and humble as meaning more to him than the openings he had among the rich and influential. Yet the almost equal division among the dignitaries who earlier testified to De Chaulnes reveals that he found support at this level also.

In the heat of these skirmishes, the bishop began to suspect his colleagues. He feared that *grand-vicaire* De Nail had, under the guise of 'explaining' Labadie's teachings, actually refuted them, and that a recent visit to Paris had only been to denounce them before the Sorbonne. The mild-mannered cleric protested at the 'forced and constrained existence' that he was having to lead and at the spies who watched his every move.<sup>66)</sup> In short, Amiens was in turmoil, as was Montreuil, where Labadie seems to have been at this point. Amid interdicts and acrimonious letters,<sup>67)</sup> the bishop wrote to Pope Innocent X, requesting a ruling, the Jesuit rector did the same, and the stage was set for a battle royal.

The court was appalled. Mazarin had already expressed his disapproval to the governor back in May, but now he sent *lettres de cachet* summoning Labadie and Dabillon to Paris. Condé pressed for them to be put in irons, but Mazarin handled the matter diplomatically. He received them in his library and said he was sure they were pious and well-intentioned men, but that their troublesome preachings could not continue. Labadie pointed out that it was not their fault, but Mazarin referred the matter to chancellor Séguier, who informed them of the boy-king's wishes: Labadie particularly was to refrain from preaching for a while and from frequenting the court, on pain of grave displeasure. The Jansenist camp protested at the 'muzzling of an ox' (1 Tim. 5:18), but to no avail. Dabillon was to return to Picardy but Labadie was to withdraw.<sup>68)</sup>

Bishop Caumartin was receiving similar counsel. Charles d'Arcy, an Oratorian, wrote to him on 2 July, advising him 'on the advice of pious and devout persons', 'to withdraw forthwith, to a secret and safe place, him whom they would reprehend, and then come here<sup>69)</sup> with all speed... and testify that you would rather lose everything and your life than deliver him up, stressing that you alone are his judge.' Furthermore, d'Arcy counsels Caumartin to seek the support of other bishops, especially Gondrin of Sens, 'with whom you can achieve anything.'<sup>70)</sup>

So, while events in Picardy rumbled on amid *monitoires* and Papal Bulls,<sup>71)</sup> Labadie withdrew to Port-Royal-des-Champs. Before leaving Amiens, he drew up a will, dated 15 August, which he sealed with his own seal. He commends himself to God, the Virgin, to the Saints and Apostles, to Mary Magdalene, and to the Church militant and triumphant, desiring ever to live in the faith and love of the Church. His body is to be buried without pomp, his writings used by the church.<sup>72)</sup> He also wrote two letters of farewell, to his *confrérie* of La Madeleine and to the Bernardines of Abbeville. To the former he outlines the seven principles for which he and they must stand: truth (the *vérité* that was the rallying-cry of the Jansenists), love, the Word of God, the rigour of the gospel, the maxims of Jesus Christ, the renunciation of self, and the truths for which the martyrs perished. He knows they will be persecuted, but urges them rather to fear the inner assaults of Satan than the outer attacks of man, concluding: 'stay firm in



prayer, communion, retreat and solitude... God is sufficient... the world passes away. All men are false, God alone is true.<sup>73</sup>) To the nuns he says he is obliged to leave for three reasons: to allow the storm to pass; because their faith needs to be tested; and because he feels the call of God elsewhere. They are to expect affliction, and what he has taught them will be decried as error, new dogmas and heresies. In the face of it all they are to remain meek and resigned, thus 'heaping coals of fire' on their accusers (Rom 12:20).<sup>74</sup>)

Labadie went to Port-Royal-des-Champs and spent a month with the solitaries there. Guillebert of Rouville offered to resign his cure in Labadie's favour, but the move was opposed by Barcos. The latter was, to use Goldmann's term, an *extra-mondain*, who held that no interest should be shown in the world, and thus conceived scruples at Labadie's desire to move in the world as a reformer.<sup>75</sup>) Next came the attempt by the Jansenists to gain a bridgehead in the capital with the parish of St.-Merry. Details are clouded with Jansenist/Jesuit controversy, but it seems that the *curé*, Charles Hillerin, was persuaded to withdraw to Port-Royal-des-Champs, and three men were considered to replace him: Henri Duhamel, Robert (known as Constantin) de la Fraudière, and Labadie. Finally it was decided that, 'although he retained but few vestiges,' Labadie's Jesuit background rendered him unsuitable, and the choice fell on Duhamel.<sup>76</sup>)

Bishop Caumartin, far from washing his hands of a villain, as some would have it, remained in correspondence and sought to open new doors for Labadie.<sup>77</sup>) He came to Paris and introduced him personally to the Visitandines of the rue Saint-Antoine, firmly advising them to adopt him as their preacher. At the last moment, however, the superior (Louise-Eugénie de Fontaines) declined and appointed a Jesuit from the *maison professe* down the road.<sup>78</sup>)

At Port Royal Labadie met a significant figure: Henry de Litolfi-Maroni, bishop of Bazas.<sup>79</sup>) Son of a marquis and a brilliant scholar, he was active at Court to secure a bishopric, which was granted to him in 1634. He underwent a profound spiritual conversion and rendered himself notorious at Court by refusing to act as Richelieu's puppet at the *Assemblée Générale du Clergé* of 1641, where he was outspoken against state involvement in church affairs. A warm friend of Jansenism,<sup>80</sup>) (he had been the first bishop to approve the

*Fréquente Communion*, on 8 April 1643), he went on a retreat to Port Royal under Singlin. Told that his bishopric was a hindrance to spirituality, Maroni drew up a letter of resignation and disposed of his pectoral cross. Port Royal nevertheless saw the advantage of a bishop as ally, and so from December 1643 to September 1644, the abbey had its first and only episcopal solitary.

Maroni needed various helpers when he returned. He anticipated founding a seminary and Port Royal offered him Pierre Manguelin, former canon of Beauvais, as director. He also needed a preacher for Advent and Lent, so Labadie was approached and accepted the offer. So this party, along with Wallon de Beaupuis and De la Brouche, made arrangements to depart for the Midi. He left behind him at Paris a few doubts as to whether he was truly of the Jansenist party; indeed some held that he was only using Port Royal as a means for his own protection. And the question has regularly been asked since: to what extent was Labadie a Jansenist? From the outset it must be pointed out that in 1644 there was no official Jansenist party; rather was the term loosely applied to those who sympathised with the sentiments contained in the *Augustinus* and the *Fréquente Communion* or had dealings with the convent of Port-Royal-des-Champs – a broad denominator. Nevertheless the evidence for Labadie's Jansenism is apparent both historically and doctrinally. He knew Saint-Cyran, who approved of him, and was well spoken of by Arnauld as to his zeal and doctrine until his secession in 1650; his dealings with Port-Royal-des-Champs and his evident esteem among its circle have been mentioned.

In doctrine and practice Labadie tallies closely at this stage of his development with the early tenets of Jansenism. His urgency for vital piety and committed discipleship (see, for example, Appendix 1:22), echoes Saint-Cyran's recurrent plea for truth (*vérité*). Opposition to hidebound scholasticism; the value of experience over against reason; the utter helplessness of man; an outcry against condescending ecclesiastics who accept what God condemns; the need to restore reverence to the confessional by not pronouncing absolution lightly – all are there in the various lists of 'errors' attributed to Labadie.<sup>81</sup>) Saint-Cyran's allaying of superstition with regard to the sacraments, stressing instead the centrality of heart-purity in the individual recipient, is also a concern of Labadie's. Port

Royal's stress on the necessity of an inner calling from God as the sole criterion for religious vocation is paralleled in Labadie's attempts, already mentioned, to persuade incumbents to renounce their livings in favour of evidently (by his own standards), regenerate clerics. On the key question of grace and predestination Labadie's position is that of Jansenius and Augustine. The Jesuit Molina had stressed the *scientia media*<sup>82</sup>) as the key to the whole matter, whereby God was able to *adapt* predestination in each individual case. Free will in man was needed to give its assent, motivated by sufficient grace. This notion, evidently intended to counter the austerities of Calvin's rigid determinism, was countered by the *Augustinus*, which reiterated Augustine's belief in a *bound* will, the natural concupiscence of man and the need for a free act of sovereign grace for the regeneration of the human soul. Labadie follows the Jansenist line entirely: man is the victim of a supernatural determinism, for good or evil, which is not, however, violently coercive in the Calvinist sense. Man, in his adamic state, is necessitated, by his very nature, to sin, even when he wishes to do right or seek God; yet though necessitated, he is not *constrained* to do so. Hence any attempt, in such a state of natural concupiscence, to do the will of God, is nugatory.<sup>83</sup>)

Nobody, of course, wants to claim a renegade, and Labadie's eventual secession from Rome turned the Jansenist party firmly against one that they had formerly been keen to praise. The definitive account comes from the pen of Nicolas Fontaine, who came as a solitary to Port-Royal-des-Champs late in 1644 and may well have met Labadie there. He praises Labadie's 'composed manner, burning zeal, extraordinary facility for preaching, his strong desire to convert souls, and a great detachment', coupled with 'an extreme love for the most penitent of lives.' With the hindsight of some years beyond Labadie's separation, it is easy for Fontaine to dismiss all this as the deception of a wolf in sheep's clothing, but he is not convincing. More valuable is his account of the internal reactions of Port Royal to Labadie himself. Saint-Cyran found 'a peace and tranquility' in the union of spirit that he knew with him (Barcos noted in a letter that this would not have been so if his uncle had really known what Labadie was like – again, not very convincing); Guillebert could see no wrong in him; only Barcos demurred, seeing in the newcomer from Picardy

a token submission of the mind, without a true submission of the heart, a statement that bears comparison with Labadie's comments to Surin in his Jesuit days. Yet the most telling insight is into Labadie's own way of presenting his beliefs:

'He covered himself with general and ambiguous terms, and when one thought to have grasped his thought from one side, he would straightway escape at the other, fearing perhaps that in exposing his sentiments to their roots, they might not appear as good as might have been hoped. This could also have been because he had not sufficiently probed them himself and could not see well enough the principles and the consequences of his maxims. He stressed that he had conceived all his sentiments himself, and had not drawn them from the Fathers of the Church, but in prayer, as he put it, that is to say in his own imaginations; and he could not see that for this reason alone he ought not to love them as he did, but rather to treat them as suspect.'<sup>84</sup>)

The central point of departure, therefore, was precisely that observed in Labadie's Jesuit days: his intractability and his unshakable faith in visions and inner promptings as valid forms of guidance, allied with a sense of vocation so strong that, in the last resort, it overrode submission and denominational affiliation. Such, then, was Labadie's position on leaving Paris: a Jansenist by doctrinal persuasion with illuminist tendencies of a most un-Jansenist sort lurking within, which had already secured his ostracism from the Oratoire and the Society of Jesus.

## CHAPTER 3

### The Troubled Years. From Bazas to Montauban, 1644-1650

Though sources vary as to Labadie's travelling companions, it seems that he set off with Drilhole, second archdeacon of Bazas,<sup>1)</sup> and the latter's nephew, La Brouche, and that he travelled under the name of Saint-Nicholas, after his canonry at Amiens. He visited his family at Bourg, rejoined the party at Blaye and proceeded by way of Bordeaux, where they conferred with archbishop Sourdis, to Bazas, arriving on 10 October 1644. A letter from Paris to bishop Caumartin at Amiens shows that Labadie's move was much talked about in the capital. The anonymous writer notes: 'The rumour of M. de St. Nicholas' journey still continues, and he whom you know hopes to accompany him,' presumably a reference to Dabillon, who had escaped banishment from Picardy.<sup>2)</sup>

Labadie's stay at Bazas lasted only some eight months and is hard to reconstruct because the manuscript biography ignores it completely. Yvon claims that Labadie immediately attracted great crowds to his preachings, including many who wished to amend their lives; that bishop Litolfi Maroni attended all his sermons with evident approval; but that some Jesuits from Bordeaux arrived to warn their lay relatives of Labadie's aberrations and to spread malicious rumours.<sup>3)</sup> What is known is that he lodged at the home of archdeacon Drilhole and was made confessor to the Ursuline convent.<sup>4)</sup>

Matters came quickly to a head. Labadie paid a visit to his mother at Bourg, and on 20 November 1644 preached at his old parish church of St.-Giron. The sermon caused an uproar; archbishop Sourdis of Bordeaux charged his *promoteur* to conduct an enquiry; Jean Darmays, *curé* of St. Giron, called three witnesses, whose testimonies were combined to form a statement of errors. These number twelve and make an interesting comparison with those already alleged at Amiens.

1. That man is given over to irrevocable damnation, but for God's sovereign intervention.
2. Souls are chosen by God for glory without reference to merits.
3. That a man in mortal sin cannot be given confession, absolution or Holy Communion until he has given infallible proof by his living that he is now fully devoted to Christ.
4. That a confessor who fails to act in this way commits sacrilege.
5. That absolution ought not to be given a second time for a mortal sin, since the sinner, in falling again, has rendered his former repentance void.
6. That a repenting sinner should abstain from Communion and practise public penitence.
7. That there was no need to waste a confessor's time with venial sins.
8. That nevertheless he would refuse absolution to anyone who still showed attachment to some venial sin.
9. That the Last Judgement should not be preached as a thing of fear, but as a simple meeting with Jesus, who will ask: 'My friend, have you lived as a Christian, in all love and charity?'
10. That vocal prayers were foolish and that the only prayer which mattered was interior and mental.
11. [really the same point] that for six months and more he had said neither the Lord's Prayer nor the Ave Maria.
12. That at the close of his sermon Labadie had asserted that his words were the pure Word of God, supported by the Councils, approved by eleven popes, and that if he was a heretic, he was one with all those before him.<sup>5)</sup>

Worse still, Labadie had preached at Bourg against the advice of his bishop. This, coupled with Jesuit rumours of doctrinal deviations already preached at Bazas, put Maroni in a difficult position. Having known Labadie at Port Royal and attended his sermons at Bazas, he could not believe his preacher was an impostor, so he chose the course adopted by Caumartin of Amiens: a public disavowal. This Labadie made in late November in the cathedral, before bishop, clergy, magistrates and leading citizens. As at Amiens, it had little effect. Complaints were renewed and the *lieutenant-général* of the town set himself up as the champion of orthodoxy, seeking information from various sources with a view to a detailed report.

Offended at this secular intrusion into spiritual affairs, bishop Maroni issued an *ordonnance* stating that he alone was to judge in these matters, with the threat of excommunication against any laymen who might infringe it. Labadie wrote to the bishop demanding reparation for this renewed defamation of his orthodoxy, enclosing a reply to the supposed errors preached at Bourg.<sup>6</sup>) He claims in the letter that he has never departed, nor ever will, from Catholic truth, and that the accusations arise from a twisting of his words.<sup>7</sup>) The written *Responses*, in the third person, negate the charges point by point and explain what he really *had* preached. For example, on point one he claims to hold Augustine's views on reprobation and predestination but would never be so imprudent as to advance them before the simple minded. He had devoted the first Sunday in Advent to considering these matters and had read from Scripture, the Fathers and the Council of Trent, to which he holds unswervingly. He also upholds penance, rosaries, liturgical prayers and the invocation of saints. Thus, with a vow of submission to Rome, he concludes his justification. It seems to have satisfied bishop Maroni, who bade him make a second public disavowal and then penned a declaration of orthodoxy, dated 8 January 1645.

A letter written to bishop Caumartin at this point reveals the extent to which Labadie was involved in the Jansenist controversy and the friends he could count on among the bishops of the land.<sup>8</sup>) The letter is undated but has a *terminus ad quem* of 25 May 1645, the opening of the *Assemblée générale du Clergé* in Paris. The writer, whose name has been cut off, is a cleric of Bazas, close enough to know Labadie's affairs intimately, so we are tempted to think of his host, archdeacon Drillhole. From the letter the following course of events becomes clear. Labadie had received the forwarded *lettre de cachet* from the king, summoning him to court, and was intending to travel once he had sorted out his business. Notwithstanding bishop Maroni's declaration of orthodoxy, further accusations of false doctrine had been made by the regular Capuchins and several lay Jesuits, which had prompted a *monitoire* from the bishop. Then on 9 January Labadie received on his sickbed an order from the *parlement* of Bordeaux to come and give account of himself, and a few days later, a letter from the *premier président* requested with much politeness that Labadie come and see him in order to

receive some important information, giving assurance of safe conduct. Suddenly cured, it seems, Labadie set off the next day. The archbishop received him at his palace 'as in an asylum', because the town was in uproar through the agitations of the Jesuits. The *premier président* received him cordially and handed him a second royal *lettre de cachet*, urging him to heed it; Labadie said he would, requesting only a delay of a few weeks to recover his health and tidy up his affairs.

One of those who at this time lodged a deposition against Labadie was an anonymous Capuchin. His statement lists 21 supposed errors, most already known but some of which are noteworthy:

Art. 4: that the more a man receives the grace of God, the more he should abstain from Communion, being the more aware of his utter unworthiness.

Art. 9: a confessor was not to believe implicitly what a penitent said, whatever his apparent contrition.

Art. 10: that free will is like a dead man, powerless and corrupted by sin.

Art. 12: that the doctrines of his day were inventions of the Schools, not those of the early Church.

Art. 14: that anyone possessing the light of the gospel can discern the elect and the reprobate.

Art. 17: that the doctrines of heretics are to be accepted if they conform with the Fathers; for example, predestination, as held by the Calvinists, since he found it in Augustine.<sup>10)</sup>

To this Labadie again made reply,<sup>11)</sup> summing up 16 errors, denying that he had preached them, and stating his belief on each point. The tenor is indignant, the style subtle; for all its offended tone, many of the errors are not explicitly denied. For example, on the point of denying Communion to the faithful, Labadie responds that he would not dream of withholding it from 'true and living Christians', while making it clear that there *might* be occasion to deny it to certain base characters, lest its sacred nature be defiled. This effectively reserved him the right to distinguish between the two. Again, concerning his having claimed to be as Elijah, he retorts: 'I am, so far as I know, neither cave-dweller nor inhabitant of mountains'; this amounts to a *reductio ad absurdum* of the original charge and in no way denies that he felt himself to be *of the same spirit and ministry* as Elijah.<sup>12)</sup>



The course of action decided upon is clear from the manuscript letter already cited. Labadie was to lie low for a while and regain his strength; bishop Maroni would continue to fulminate against lay intervention and conduct a private enquiry into Labadie's doctrine; along with archbishop Sourdis of Bordeaux and bishop Boutault of Aire, Maroni would write to Court to protest at the 'violences of the age'. Finally these prelates would bring their grievances to the *Assemblée générale* when it convened. Archbishop Sourdis, renowned for acting rashly when provoked, meanwhile issued an *ordonnance* forbidding the Jesuits, regular or secular, any activity of direction, confession or celebration of Mass throughout the diocese.

Bishop Maroni felt it prudent to withdraw Labadie from public life for a time, and sent him to the country seminary at Gans (about 4 miles north of Bazas), which had just been founded by order of 12 January, with Manguelen as superior. Here Labadie produced a work entitled *Traité de la Solitude Chrestienne*, its approbation dated 10 February 1645, and a treatise on prayer for the Ursulines under his direction.<sup>13</sup>) He also struck up a rapport with Père Sylvestre, on a retreat at Gans from the discalced Carmelite hermitage of La Graville, near Bernos (about 4 miles south-west of Bazas), a meeting which was to prove significant before long.

The stay at Gans proved a turning-point in Labadie's thinking. The facts are few, but all evidence points to a serious rift between himself and bishop Maroni following this time of solitude. Labadie evidently came to mistrust the spirituality of the Jansenist party, while gaining fresh insights into the liberty of the Holy Spirit granted to the believer. When he finally left Bazas, Labadie was to inveigh against Maroni's penitent life as Phariseeism and against all that went on at Gans as Judaism, tending more to law than to grace; as for its director, Manguelen, Labadie claimed he was more a son of the slave than of the free woman (Gal. 4:22-25).<sup>14</sup>) He also introduced teachings at the Ursuline convent which caused disorders: it was vain, he claimed, to attend Mass or offices unless one felt a definite inner prompting of the Holy Spirit. As a result, set offices were neglected and nuns would sometimes request the Sacrament in the middle of the night, claiming divine inspiration. News reached bishop Maroni, who summoned Labadie to the parlour of the convent and upbraided him for preaching

doctrines 'which gave too much liberty to spirits.' He thereupon summoned the nuns to the grille and disabused them of the errors in the presence of their perpetrator, reminding them that their only Rule was their vow of obedience.<sup>15</sup>)

With episcopal support removed, Labadie felt it prudent to beat a retreat. He began the course of sermons for Lent, but left without completing it, bishop Maroni having to step into the breach, having had no time to prepare any sermons. The bishop then embarked on a tour of the ecclesiastical province of Auch, which he was to represent at the forthcoming *Assemblée Générale du Clergé*. He arrived at Toulouse on 9 May, worn out with preaching, fasting and travelling. Archbishop Charles de Montchal had already left for the *Assemblée*, so Maroni lodged with Jean-Philippe de Bertier, *abbé* of St. Vincent. He fell seriously ill, and during this terminal affliction was visited by P. La Case, rector of the Jesuit *maison professe*, with whom he sought reconciliation, since their dealings had been coloured by Jansenist/Molinist hostility; by Alain de Solminihac, bishop of Cahors, who sought his blessing; and by Labadie, who sought on several occasions to see his former bishop, but in vain. Finally, on 22 May 1645, Maroni died, having steadfastly refused to see his former preacher, whom he now regarded as 'a rogue who was ruining everything.'<sup>16</sup>

As at Amiens, the wheels of state turned less quickly than those of Labadie's carriage, for long after his departure the battle between *présidial* and chapter continued. Though Labadie himself was now in disgrace, the bishops of the party sympathetic to Jansenism agreed to take up the matter without naming names. On 28 November, bishop Godeau of Grasse gave an account of Maroni's dealings, and the *Assemblée*, appalled at this secular intrusion into spiritual matters, agreed to send a remonstrance to the Queen Mother. In the ensuing weeks, similar complaints were made to Mazarin, Gaston d'Orléans and Chancellor Séguier, until the king finally ruled in favour of the clergy.<sup>17</sup>) On 16 March 1646 the *Conseil du Roy* annulled the appeals of the *parlement* of Bordeaux and the *lieutenant-général* of Bazas and forbade secular interference henceforth in matters of doctrines preached.

Meanwhile, Labadie had reached Toulouse, accompanied by his niece, Anne de Lif de la Grille, and by archdeacon

Drilhole. Archbishop Montchal being on his way to the *Assemblée générale*, the cathedral chapter gave Labadie a licence to preach and to direct the convent of Third Order Franciscan nuns, known as the Couvent des Tiercerettes. This was situated in the suburb of Saint-Pierre, in the *monastère* de St.-Louis et Ste.-Elizabeth. Labadie acquired lodgings beside it and took into his house several clerics and some devotees who travelled from Bazas to be near him.

Archbishop Montchal, an approver of the *Fréquente Communion*, had taken over a see that had fallen on hard times; the university was in disorder, vandalism rampant and the poorer classes ignorant of spiritual things. Though largely more *savant* than saint,<sup>18)</sup> he had set about urgent reforms since his consecration in 1628. He was not a politician, believing in the apostolic calling of the bishop, and he preached much personally, without relying on *théologal* and *prédicateurs*. He also instituted missions in the rural parts of his diocese, and into this activity Labadie was channelled, to conduct missions at Pibrac and Léguevin. At Pibrac he gained the favour of Guy du Faur, grandson of the poet whose quatrains Labadie had learned as a child;<sup>19)</sup> he was received at the château and lodged in a house nearby. At Léguevin his protector was Jean de Potier, sr. de Castelnouvel,<sup>20)</sup> who lived in a château a league from the village and who lodged Labadie in a house of his in the village itself.

At Léguevin Labadie also seems to have conducted retreats, judging by the manuscript biography,<sup>21)</sup> though whether or not with archiepiscopal sanction is unknown. These make an interesting parallel to the seminary at Gans, in that the activities were identical: prayer and meditation, study of the scriptures, daily offices, work in house and garden. Yet all of this Labadie had denounced at Gans as judaising and pharisaical. Perhaps it all depended on the director.

All the while Labadie was never free from fear and danger, for the *parlement* of Bordeaux was still hostile and he had made no attempt to respond to the royal *lettres de cachet*. One instance is recorded. A detachment of soldiers was escorting a prisoner into Pibrac; the prisoner escaped and ran into the village, hoping to find shelter. Labadie, seeing blue-helmeted dragoons hastening towards his house, felt that his arrest was imminent. Going indoors, he commended his soul to God for fortitude in his trials, only to see the soldiers run past his window and disappear.<sup>22)</sup>

Early in August 1646, Archbishop Montchal returned to his see after the *Assemblée générale du Clergé*. Not having seen Litolfi Maroni before he died and therefore having received no warning, he found Labadie to his liking: both believed in reform, both were favourable to Port-Royal, and neither had approved of Richelieu's political involvements. Yet they were soon to experience frictions. Montchal returned from Paris inflamed against Mère Françoise de la Croix, as a result of the demon-possession of Louviers in 1643. In fact, Françoise had left Louviers as early as 1622 and was living quietly at Paris at the Hôtel de la Place Royale, but she was implicated by one of the possessed. Montchal had been one of the commission of enquiry and was now seeking for Mère Françoise to be tried. He wrote a pamphlet calling her 'false prophetess and sorceress, deceiver and deceived', and bade Labadie attack her also. Labadie, however, had met Mère Françoise at Paris and found in her nothing worthy of censure, so he told Montchal he could neither sell his soul nor deny the Spirit of God.<sup>23</sup>) Not even the promise of instant favour at Court could sway him.

Labadie further piqued his archbishop at this time by penning a little treatise for his disciples, which the biographer neglects to name. It concerned the difference between a true pastor and a self-made one, and contained the inflammatory suggestion that the Reformed pastor had more of an inner calling of God than the Catholic priest. Any pastor or priest who set himself up as such without a true vocation, was a mercenary and a hireling who would be rejected by the Holy Spirit. He separates the worldly and the apostolic bishop, the former with mitre, crozier, palace and revenue, the latter with flocks, grace and fruitfulness.<sup>24</sup>) Montchal, who had been *custodien* at the election of Cardinal de la Valette, ensuring that the choice was made without politics, felt personally attacked and responded with a placard in which he accused Labadie of preaching without permission, of perpetrating novelties and of going round by night in disguise to sow his evil seeds. This was circulated in all places where Labadie had been active.

Further concern arose from Labadie's direction of the *couvent des Tiercerettes*. Hostile biographers claim that he introduced Adamite doctrines, forcing the nuns to strip naked as being the state of original innocence. Such nonsense derives almost certainly from Labadie's use of the term 'nudity'. This

had been part of his spiritual vocabulary since his Jesuit days, where he had expressed the longing to travel the land with a few followers ‘without bag or staff, in absolute nudity, poverty and suffering; preaching, confounding and converting souls.’<sup>25</sup>) The term is a spiritual one, denoting a divestedness of all of self so as to be the better yielded to God, and is used as such by Thomas à Kempis and the Waldenses. Otherwise we are left to believe that the apostolic band would be walking about naked, a state in which they would ‘confound’ many but presumably ‘convert’ few!

What is true is that the convent was already fertile ground for illuminism, having one sister who had returned from a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella infected with the doctrines of the Alumbrados. Now came Labadie with teachings that gave cause for concern. Whether or not we believe that one nun finally leapt from the wall to bring news to the archbishop, Montchal certainly ordered an enquiry, as a result of which certain propositions were listed: that Labadie claimed to have been sanctified from his mother’s womb, to receive the tangible guiding of the Holy Spirit, and to have the spirit and ministry of a John the Baptist or an Elijah. Additional points to note were:

- no. 6: any church ceremony which did not transport a believer nearer to God was to be rejected – especially the breviary.
- no. 10: that a soul can reach a degree of sanctification where it no longer needed to be concerned about the actions of the body.<sup>26</sup>)

The *Informations* continue the line already encountered: Labadie was over-conscious of his own ministry, too inclined towards liberty at the expense of discipline, and too disruptive in his attempts to change rules, orders and economy.

This was deemed sufficient matter for the archbishop to proceed against his preacher. He put the Ursuline convent temporarily in charge of the Franciscans, and suspended Labadie from office. Labadie defied the order and continued to preach at Pibrac and Léguevin, which prompted Montchal to seek the arrest of his recalcitrant *prédicateur*. He dispatched officers to Pibrac, but Mme. du Faur<sup>27</sup>) sent a trusted servant to Jean de Potier at Léguevin, to warn of the danger. Labadie and one disciple fled on horseback to the home of one of his aunts a league from the city. Here they hid all day, with not-

hing to eat but a hard-boiled egg and a dry crust, before returning to Léguevin under cover of darkness.

The year of 1646 was indeed a troubled one at Toulouse. There was a serious threat of civil war when the Crown decided to nominate the *capitouls* for that year, in defiance of long-standing traditions, which led to lengthy altercations between *parlement* and Court. Spiritually also there were significant upheavals, caused by the *Fréquente Communion*. Archbishop Montchal had approved it and had also signed the three letters sent in support of Jean Bourgeois,<sup>28</sup> the envoy dispatched to the Holy See by Port Royal the previous year. In Toulouse itself there were two ardent proponents of the Jansenist position: Père Réginald (Antoine Ravaille), who taught theology at the convent of the Dominicans, and Père Lejeune, an Oratorian, who preached at Advent and Lent in the early 1640's. Both were openly hostile to the Jesuits, who responded in kind, championed by Père Annat. With these hostilities and the anticipation of whether or not the *Fréquente Communion* would be placed on the Index, the climate was already tense, without Labadie adding to it. In fact, a hearing of 5 April 1646, where Lejeune was cleared of supposed teachings on attrition which tally well with Labadie's, shows that Labadie was not alone in what he sought to inculcate.<sup>29</sup>)

At this vital point Labadie's movements become hard to trace, the sources varying considerably. Most biographers agree that he withdrew to the home of a friend named Doujat,<sup>30</sup>) where he remained for three years until entering the Carmelite hermitage of La Graville. Yet other evidence reveals him at Léguevin and Toulouse at points post-dating his escape from the clutches of archbishop Montchal.<sup>31</sup>) Perhaps the manuscript biography, written some 17 years later, confused the chronology, or perhaps Labadie made his peace with his archbishop. There follows an attempt to reconstruct what happened during this period, from autumn 1646 until autumn 1649.

At some point at Léguevin, Labadie preached at the castle chapel and was heard by Guillaume Mulatier, a priest and principal of the Collège de l'Esquile,<sup>32</sup>) who conversed with him after the sermon and was led to accept the Augustinian concept of grace. On another occasion he was visited at Pibrac by a 70-year-old professor of theology of the Observantine

Cordeliers, who told him he was wrong, young as he was, to set himself up as heresiarch and sectarian rather than be honourably employed within the Church. Labadie thanked him for his sentiments but said he preferred those of Christ and St. Paul. The monk left, claiming Labadie had not dared to propound his doctrines in his presence; at this, srs. Pibrac and Castelnouvel sought him out and arranged a disputation. On the fixed day Labadie 'tied up' his opponent (the biographer's term) on the question of free will, proving from scripture and the Fathers that it was the monk who was the heretic, adding that at their first meeting he had only acted as he did out of respect for the monk's age.<sup>33</sup>)

Near Léguevin, on the stream called the Touch, a league from Toulouse, stood a house named Le Touch,<sup>34</sup>) where lived a certain Jean Doujat.<sup>35</sup>) This man was desirous of marrying Jean de Potier's niece, Mlle. de Magragnet. Labadie told him that he needed first to be a good Christian, mature in his faith, before he could be a good husband. Doujat took these words to heart and put himself under Labadie's direction, leaving his house of Le Touch at his disposal. This was a timely offer, for Labadie fell foul of his former protector, Potier de Castelnouvel. The reason given was that Labadie brought him certain 'just remonstrances', so the episode must date to 1647, when Potier was elected *Capitoul* and *chef de consistoire* and thus had the necessary power and influence. Potier's reaction was hostile, so Labadie looked for a retreat. He already had Doujat's offer, but now came another. Père Sylvestre, whom he had met at Gans, visited him with the superior of the hermitage, André Blanchard, who had also been touched by Labadie's treatise on prayer written at Gans. These both invited Labadie to their hermitage at La Graille. The prospect of returning so close to Bazas and Bordeaux was dangerous, even without the growing unrest of the approaching Fronde, so Labadie decided to withdraw to Doujat's home on the Touch.

Labadie remained here for two years in solitude, praying, meditating and writing. Several letters are quoted in part (without dates) by Hermant. He kept bishop Caumartin of Amiens in touch with his news, lamenting the persecutions of men, avowing his devotion to Rome and telling of his having 'forgotten all actions other than sacrifice and prayer.' Though living deprived of altars, no visitor to his 'desert' would find

him without bible, crucifix or rosary. In November 1648 he wrote to one whom he had formerly directed of his disappointment at not being able to attend the coming Advent services. Worse still, to his mind, was the rumour, bred of two years' silence, that he had abjured and was now at Geneva or La Rochelle; not that he feared the accusation, but he was receiving letters from old friends bewailing the damage that these rumours were causing. He had to write in order to quell the allegation and reaffirm his devotion the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church as his mother, 'whose milk I sucked at baptism and whose benediction I desire to receive in the extreme unction and the *viaticum*, without ever, by God's grace, departing from her in this world or the next, hoping to embrace her still more closely in heaven than upon earth.<sup>36)</sup>

Similar laments are made in a letter of 30 August 1647 to an *avocat* named Le Carron at Amiens. Apologising for his silence, he blames it on his persecutions. He refers to the rumours that he is either dead or pastor at La Rochelle and gives an answer which reveals much of his heart at this time:

I have been decried as perverted and apostate, while in reality I was studying and understanding, and most certainly revering and cherishing [the Catholic faith] more. When I was accused of misinterpreting Scripture, that was when I was submitting to it more than ever in blind faith; when I was presented as combatting our mysteries, it is certain that I was adoring them the most;... believe me, I beg you, my friend: I have never felt myself purer in faith and more respectful towards all the points of our Religion.<sup>37)</sup>

The most telling fruit of Labadie's solitude, however, is a memoir that he wrote to his sympathisers in Picardy.<sup>38)</sup> Incomplete, and with little internal dating evidence other than a reference to the *traité* he wrote on *l'esprit extraordinaire* (which dates from Toulouse), it is an impassioned *cri de coeur* from a frustrated visionary, surveying his ministry of the last seven years. He tells of his attempts to bring the whole word of God, undeterred by the reactions of men, and of the constant hindrances of a temporising clergy.

Under the pretext of submission, of listening to the wise and prudent, of being neither indiscreet nor violent; under



the pretext of not being too hasty, of temporising, of waiting and always waiting; under the pretext of not being opinionated or arrogant, and rather of giving a good example of mildness and docility, I have been forced to bias, soften and moderate my delivery, to pander to the voluntary and malignant diseases of the world, and have been unable to bring the truth to religious or laity, tax the world and its abuses and bid each man enter by the narrow gate.

God graciously enabled me to proclaim certain truths concerning grace, penitence, the Eucharist, the order of marriage, vocation and several others, but I have always said, and now say more than ever, that what I have spoken is nothing compared to the matter contained there, and that I would assuredly speak without respect for anyone or anything, should God allow me to return to speak. I can tell of having been constrained and restricted to announcing a few, admittedly beautiful, mysteries of God, ... things which were pleasing to the intellect, ... because these things were not tough on the human heart, did not flay individuals or divide between marrow and bone, that is to say, did not cut away their pride and their avarice, their phariseeism and worldliness, their church ways so laden with deviousness, simony and desecration, and did not arrive at what St. Pol [sic] calls the division of spirit and soul; such things were pleasing and were deemed beautiful, and I was free to announce them.

But when it was a matter of the narrow gate, and of entering it by storm, through pure and goodly vocation, through free grace, through vigorous penitence, through giving up of cures, dignities, offices and benefits to which they were neither called nor bore the marks of calling...; when it came to the question of good and true priesthood, good and true marriage, good and true baptism and spiritual birth, good and true devotion, good and true pastors and pastorate, and even of a good and true flock, and of true goodness in all things by total death to the world and self, by the combatting of self through a general inward and outward reformation and through the effective practice of poverty, humility, charity, patience, and true Christian virtues, which cannot tolerate such riches in the priesthood or such

vanities among laymen, such luxury, such man-pleasing, such intrigues, such disunity, self-interest, cheating, such greed for advancement and honour, such hypocrisy and such excesses – then, there was no place for the truth, there was never time to speak it, hearts were not disposed to hear it, the great and the rich did not countenance it and therefore put a stop to missions and to prophecy; all was fear and prevarication; I was forced to leave church and pulpit...<sup>39</sup>)

Here, surely, is the cry of a heart that is warm and merits our respect. No trace of the heresy, subversion or ethereal quietism of which Labadie has sometimes been accused; rather, the zeal of the reformer and apostolic fundamentalist faced with an unyielding, political church. As for the men who should be true examples of Christ on earth, namely the priests, they are guilty of ‘cowardice, infirmity, respect of persons,... and culpable condescension which has ruined the gospel and brought the ill to the point where it now is, namely of being incurable.’ His poignant conclusion, ‘I have been unable to save from death one who wanted to kill herself’, is a significant milestone on his path from Rome to Geneva, for he was coming to the stark realisation that the *prêtre séculier* was incapable of himself of halting the slide towards destruction. Significant too is the progress made since the days of his reactions to Jesuit restrictions; then it was, we sense, a largely personal grievance, with Labadie himself central in his thinking, while here we discern the heart of one who reverences God’s name and honour above all things and, like the prophets of old, lets his tears flow like rivers over the shame of God’s cause held cheap by the sons of men. From now on, he states, his motto will be *quite qui veut, et tient qui peut* (approximately ‘go who will, hold who may’), and he will speak the truth, untrammelled by the mesh of human restriction.

Once again, retreat was a time of spiritual fruitfulness. Labadie felt himself strengthened by God for the battles ahead, praying the prayer of a knight and receiving divine armour for the future task. His chiliasm also developed. Dates and times took on special significance: the new work had begun in 1640 (his life as secular preacher, free from Jesuit shackles), and Labadie felt sure that 1650 would have some dramatic significance too. He read also of how the early church fathers withdrew to the desert, away from a corrupt

world, and were there trained by God. Now it so happened that the term given to the Carmelite hermitages where the rule of St. Albert was observed, was *désert*, so Labadie became convinced that God would have him make his way to Père Sylvestre's hermitage of La Graville.

A problem of chronology is posed by an extract from the memoirs of Matthieu Feydeau, a leading Jansenist. He records events as taking place the summer before Labadie's abjuration, namely 1649 or even 1650, and these events concern Labadie and a young woman whom he used to direct in Picardy and who was now under Feydeau's guidance. She did not exhibit the wild notions that Feydeau expected, but was evidently very attached to Labadie. One day she informed her director that word had come from Labadie at Toulouse; he was asking for her to come and join the nuns he was directing, and she was determined to go. Feydeau forbade it. The girl claimed to have given her fare to the coachman and vowed to travel; the next day, however, she came again in penitence, saying she could not disobey her director. A few months later news arrived of Labadie's adjuration, which so hit the young woman that she fell ill and died, thanking Feydeau on her deathbed for having given her a deep respect for the mysteries of the Church against which Labadie had sought to turn her. Thus the facts, but does this mean that Labadie returned from his retreat to the direction of the *Tiercerettes*? This could well be so, since Yvon records that Labadie finally left with an honourable testimonial from canon Pierre Flours, which is unlikely if he was still regarded in the diocese as a dangerous fanatic.<sup>40</sup>)

With two disciples, Jean Gorlier and another named Bourassol, Labadie left Doujat's house and hired a boat to carry them down the Garonne. As they left Toulouse they sang a canticle concerning Israel's departure from Babylon. At the first landing-station they picked up a messenger dressed in the royal colours, who was carrying instructions from the Duc d'Epéron to the Duc d'Alets. The journey passed, says the biographer, in spiritual conversation; when they reached Tonneins, they lodged at the home of a Calvinist acquaintance and found that their doctrines 'were not as different as either side had thought'.<sup>41</sup>)

The episode of La Graville is the one of which Labadie's biographer makes least use and his opponents most,<sup>42</sup>) since it

was here that his visionary leanings assumed truly disturbing proportions. The discalced Carmelites had been reformed in France by Bernard de Saint-Joseph, who established over forty friaries over Southern France in thirty years. The reform, however, had been a return to the rule of St. Albert as mitigated by Innocent IV and Eugene III, whereby the friaries were mendicant rather than eremitical. One man, however, dreamed of a return to the original rule as conceived, and sought permission to found a hermitage. His name was André Blanchard, doctor of the Sorbonne. Bishop Maroni of Bazas supported his idea and it was funded by Henri de Gournay, Count Marcheville. The Carmelite general, Stratus, gave approval in April 1638, and a nobleman named Quincarnon de La Graville<sup>43)</sup> donated 40 *arpents*<sup>44)</sup> of land for the building of a hermitage to house twelve brothers. Labadie's old friend, archdeacon Drillhole of Bazas donated 4,000 *livres*. By 1642 it had a constitution, of which, however, no copy remains.<sup>45)</sup>

Labadie and his friends arrived at La Graville around 1 November 1649 and told Blanchard they wished to withdraw from the world. Blanchard readily received them. It was not long, however, before La Graville was under new management; such was Labadie's charismatic presence that he prevailed upon Blanchard to cede his direction to Sylvestre, Labadie's old companion from Gans, but the fact that Sylvestre was soon on messenger duty for Labadie suggests who the real leader was. Life soon became stamped with his mark: rules were ignored, liberty of spirit advocated: his motto, we read, was 'to do well and all must be redone'. He called the papal bulls and rule of the foundation 'paper and ink' and threw them in the air, amazed that men could live in fear of them. Pope, prelates and monks he referred to as the head, body and tail of the Beast.<sup>46)</sup> He also began to keep a journal, commenced on 10 December, where he recorded his musings and visions, often in verse form.<sup>47)</sup> It began with a lengthy canticle concerning his ministry of reformer and the dates and seasons that were of mystical significance for its fulfilment, with each stanza concluding 'le règne de ta grace' ('the Kingdom of Thy grace').<sup>48)</sup> Much rings false, or at least contrived, especially his statement that he had foreseen this time in the 'desert' as early as 1640. Yet John the Baptist operated in the desert, and Labadie was to be a herald<sup>49)</sup> of the Christ in just such a way, to call together for God 'a people worthy to behold Thy face'.

He took a Carmelite name, again based on a supposed vision of years before: Jean de Jésus-Christ,<sup>50</sup>) and developed his chiliastic notions: 1650 was to advance the Kingdom of God, 1666 was to see the culmination of all things; in the new work of the Holy Spirit, the part of France around Paris was Judea, Paris was Jerusalem, his native Guienne was Galilee; Bordeaux, the scene of his Jesuit beginnings, was Samaria, the land of the 'dogs', and Toulouse was Egypt. The day of the conception (evidently significant) he put on a Carmelite habit, though not officially invested; in some mystical way he was being 'conceived' as God's reformatory instrument. Two days later he was convinced by a dream that he should take the habit officially on 1 January 1650, the start of the special year. About this, too, he penned a ditty.<sup>51</sup>)

Now visions came thick and fast: himself as a gentle lamb being caressed by the Virgin Mary; the glory of God swirling around La Graille like a cloud, with the words: 'This is my rest forever, here will I dwell' (Psalm 132:14); a sonorous voice coming from the host, as he consecrated it with the words 'Hoc est corpus meum', echoing the formula while indicating all the brothers present: these were the true body of Christ.<sup>52</sup>) On the basis of another revelation, Labadie felt urged to reform the habit itself: he designed one with a larger cowl and a ruff-like collar, and changed the colour to white, the colour of the Lamb. Once again, a doggerel poem commemorated the creation of this 'bel et blanc manteau', which concludes with his followers launching into a chorus of admiration, not of Jesus, but of his herald, Labadie.<sup>53</sup>) The new habit was made of cloth which Labadie bought at his own expense from Toulouse.

On 1 January 1650, after aspersions with holy water, Labadie donned the habit before all the hermits and several others whom he called over from Toulouse, including one Bouvée. He celebrated Mass, preached on Christ and his Bride, and then gave the newly created habits to his followers.<sup>54</sup>) Now invested, as it were, as priest of the new reform, a miraculous draught of wine from an empty barrel seemed to confirm the blessing of God on the new enterprise. Spurred on by this, Labadie sent bread and candles, which he had blessed, to the hermitage at Agen, saying he wished to communicate a spiritual blessing to its residents: the prior, Antoine Sabré, and another brother, named by some Basile,

by others Hilaire, came on 9 February; Labadie breathed on them and said he was giving them the power to bestow the Holy Spirit on others. They showed no signs of wanting to return, so the hermitage now numbered well in excess of its original twelve.

Strangest of all was the 'spiritual marriage' which Labadie conducted on the day when the wedding at Cana was remembered. Jean Doujat was now deemed by Labadie to be mature enough in his faith to marry Mlle. de Magragnet. It mattered not that the young lady was ignorant of his intention; Labadie simply took the new authority with which he was invested and, after a solemn Mass in which Doujat distributed the chalice, performed a 'spiritual' marriage ceremony, with vow and blessing. This done, Labadie penned a six page letter to the unwitting bride to inform her of what had occurred, citing all the ceremonials and concluding with humour: 'and so what you said has come to pass, that it would take a miracle for you to get married'(!).<sup>55</sup>)

Life at La Graille continued in its quiet eccentricity until Easter, when Labadie's whereabouts was discovered, and bishop Martineau of Bazas sent his *grand-vicaire* to investigate. Labadie withdrew once more to Doujat's house. On 3 May the bishop came with the *lieutenant-général* of Bazas, reinstated Blanchard, swore all the hermits to obedience, confiscated Labadie's papers and left, having drawn up a *procès-verbal* of his visit.<sup>56</sup>) Informed by his friends, Labadie sent word to reinstate Sylvestre and bring to safety the confiscated papers. This was swiftly done and Labadie's effects buried outside the wall of the hermitage.

News reached Martineau. By now he had compiled a dossier on Labadie, with which he secured an *arrêt* from the *parlement* of Bordeaux for his arrest and confiscation of his property. Armed with this he came a second time to La Graille, with a troop of soldiers. They found the doors bolted and had to scale the wall to gain entry; the hermits withdrew to the chapel, leaving Basile to meet the bishop. Through artifice Martineau gained all the information he needed, except the whereabouts of the cache of papers. He took with him seven of the most opinionated hermits and disabused them. Thus we read in a letter that Antoine Sabré wrote to Labadie in November that Sylvestre had died, full of remorse at having been deceived. Finally the papers were discovered and re-

moved to Bazas, where Hermant was able to use them for his diatribe against Labadie. As for the hermitage, it was disbanded and the site reverted to its owner, Quincarnon. Blancard withdrew to his native Narbonne before entering a monastery at Besançon. Before he died, in June 1661, he was troubled in conscience regarding the La Graville chapter of his life, and his confessor, Jean de l'Osias (?), sent two letters to Labadie at Geneva, seeking reconciliation.<sup>57)</sup>

Meanwhile Labadie was not safe at Doujat's house. Informed of his hideout, bishop Martineau sent troops to Le Touch. Labadie, his older brother Jacques, and Doujat, out riding, saw the approaching horsemen and, fearing they be under way to Le Touch, returned by a short-cut and thought of ways to delay the soldiers. Labadie's brother told them that their bird had flown, and accompanied them back to Bazas. The bishop, furious, sent them back again, promising 1 *pistole* a man should Labadie be captured. Between 3 and 4 p.m. Labadie was in his room and saw a coach with six horses, followed by halberdiers. He went to Madame's room and was hidden in a chest. The soldiers searched everywhere, and one capitoul (consul), a friend of Doujat's, talked to him in the very room where Labadie's coat and hat were. Two soldiers picked up the chest where he was hiding and shook it, but because it was so small and he filled it completely, it made no noise. Finally, the military left, having demolished the dovecot because they had heard noises in it. The household thanked God for miraculous preservation, and Labadie became convinced that he must sever his ties with Rome.

He now sought a fresh refuge, and his brother provided the ideal place through his acquaintance with a Calvinist relative of Maréchal de La Force, named Jean de Fabas.<sup>58)</sup> A former soldier in the Huguenot armies, he now lived in retirement at his castle of Castets-en-Dorthe, on the Garonne between La Réole and St.-Macaire. So after accompanying his brother to the Spanish border, where he had a ransom to pay, he returned by way of Eauze and Marmande and reached Castets in mid-June 1650. Here he remained for six weeks, under the assumed name of M. de Ste. Marthe.<sup>59)</sup> His biographer states that at this time he read Calvin's *Institutes*, examinations of the Council of Trent by Sarpi and Chemnitz and works by Sadeel,<sup>60)</sup> finding himself so in agreement that he would cry out 'O truth! O truth! How lovely you are and how sad that

you are unknown!' He also conversed often with the protestant minister of the area, named Royal, who was so delighted that he even asked him to preach on one occasion at the *temple*, which he did to the contentment of all.<sup>61</sup>)

While at Castets, a deputation from La Graville, led by Jean Gorlier, sought to persuade him to return. They found him still wearing his *bel et blanc manteau*, but could not induce him back. Finally, late in August, his presence was betrayed to bishop Martineau by his secretary, Caut, who had relatives at Castets. The bishop received an order direct from the Queen Mother for Labadie's arrest, despite the personal plea of his brother Izaac, Sr. de Lasserre, on his behalf. The provost and several officers set off for Castets but were prevented from reaching it by a violent storm. They therefore lodged at the home of a certain La Tour, a friend of the bishop's; it so happened, however, that this man was also favourable to Labadie, and sent a warning by a trusted servant to pastor Royal.<sup>62</sup>) The note was brought to Labadie in bed and he made plans to leave immediately, despite the sorrow of Mme. de Fabas. 'We must want what God wants,' was Labadie's reply, as his horse was saddled. He made his way to the château of Artigues, near Tonneins, in the parish of Grateloup, which belonged to friends of the Fabas family.<sup>63</sup>)

The search party arrived at Castets to find Labadie gone and Mme. de Fabas upbraiding them for persecuting an innocent man. The Fabas then sent them on a false trail to Auros, where they owned another house. After a few days, however, Labadie received warning that troops were again heading for Tonneins, so he was forced to cross the Garonne once more and make for the home of a Calvinist friend named Pichart, near Nérac. Here he met pastor Jérémie Viguier and ex-pastor Charles Daubus (or d'Aubus), who were suitably impressed and arranged for him to hide at the home of Pichart's daughter, only yards from the gate of the town. Finally, on the advice of these pastors, and with the growing awareness that a renegade life did not tally well with a reformatory ministry, Labadie decided to throw in his lot with the Calvinists. Therefore, early in September he made his way to the bastion of protestantism in the Midi, Montauban, and a year which had begun as the 'year of grace' was taking an unexpected turn: the God-appointed reform was to take place among the Reformed.



As a postscript to Labadie's Catholic years the matter of his visions and mystical promptings needs some attention. Throughout fifteen years of his life he gave credence to intuitions, prophecies and dreams as valid means of divine guidance. In this, of course, he was not alone. Jean Eudes' Congrégation de Jésus et Marie (founded 1643) owed its inception almost wholly to a prophecy given by a village-woman of Coutances, Marie des Vallées. This prophetess was also visited and valued by the Jesuits Coton and Saint-Jure and Eudes' friend Renty. The beginnings of Vincent de Paul's Congrégation de la Mission likewise had distinct millennial and mystic features.<sup>64</sup>) Yet Labadie's peculiarity was the degree of faith which he gave to such visions, coupled with his unwillingness to submit them to any spiritual director. Such a way was inevitably open to abuse and deception, and the results of this became clear at La Graille. In Labadie's favour, however, may be said that he did not believe every vision nor heed every prophetess,<sup>65</sup>) and that the lunacy of his Carmelite behaviour seems to have taught him a lesson. Not once hereafter would he return to millennial speculations, even when rubbing shoulders with prophets and fanatics galore in Holland, and his biographer's keenness to skirt round the whole episode bespeaks the acute embarrassment which he felt. Finally, in his *Manuel de Piété* of 1668 he was to warn against 'a sort of spiritual luxuriance, an impurity of spirit and a mystical sensuality or concupiscence.'<sup>66</sup>

It would also be wrong to dismiss Labadie as a misfit, for he was standing in a particular line. The 30 Years War and its concomitant disillusionment and fear echoed the conditions which had produced the Joachimite apocalyptic teachings 450 years before. Such teachings centred on the renewal of the Church, on prophecy, on holiness, on spirituality, since the 'Third Age', the Age of the Holy Spirit, was imminently expected. Various post-Joachimite traditions grew, and there are marked similarities between Labadie and for example, certain visions of St. Vincent Ferrier, who saw the need for urgent mission by what he called 'evangelical men of the last time' to reform the Church spiritually as a preparation for the destruction of Antichrist.<sup>67</sup>) In Labadie's own day the apocalyptic tradition was alive and well at grass-roots level (witness the prophecies of village-women above), but leading churchmen held it too; Vincent de Paul spoke of the *transfert* – the fear

he had that God had rejected Western Christendom altogether and was now planning a new work in a new continent through the missionaries. Such militant reformism, the urge to genuine spirituality as the only true weapon against Satan, the stress on prophecy and vital brotherly love may be seen in several of Labadie's writings, especially in his memoir from his solitude near Toulouse (see p. 53), and put him, however tenuously, in a reformatory-apocalyptic line, the extent of which is only of recent days coming to light.

## CHAPTER 4

### The Reformer among the Reformed. Labadie at Montauban, 1650-1657

Abjuration was, of course, a frequent occurrence at this period, and in either direction. In its social context it had much in common with the East-West spy defections of our own day: the arousal of partisan affections, an opportunity for journalistic spleen, while the act itself usually counted for little in the long run. Sometimes the motivation for abjuration was spiritual, but more often it was mercenary, with the hope of material favour from the new allegiance. In areas where the two communions numbered roughly the same, or where councils were *mi-parti* (composed of an equal number of catholics and protestants), the abjuration of some person of standing could alter, if not the balance of power, at least the balance of influence, and not infrequently financial inducements were offered to entice such figures to abjure or, as the case may be, to return from their 'apostasy'.

It was less usual, however, for a priest to pass from Rome to Geneva, least of all one nurtured in the bosom of Loyola, but it was not unknown. As recently as 1647 a professed Jesuit from Bordeaux, Pierre Jarrige, had embraced Calvinism at Leiden and published a searing attack on his erstwhile brethren, *Les Jesuistes [sic] mis sur l'Eschafaut*<sup>1</sup>), which caused a sensation through its allegations of treason (dancing and merriment when Spain was triumphing over Louis XIII in Picardy), immorality (a homosexual *régent* at Limoges), and even murder (abandoned babies being deliberately given to be breast-fed by women with smallpox). However, the propaganda coup was short-lived, for a year later Jarrige was successfully drawn back to the catholic fold, releasing a tearful retraction.<sup>2</sup>)

It is of value to compare Jarrige's work with Labadie's own *Declaration* of his actions, published 1 January 1651, for the

differences are striking. Jarrige attacks what the Jesuits do, their intrigues and subtleties, likening them (p. 15) to the Trojan horse. The style is anecdotal, the tone indignant, the aim to shock as many people as possible. Labadie, by contrast, is less concerned with what Rome *does* than what it *is*, likening it to the old covenant people of Israel, living by law and tradition instead of in Christ and the Holy Spirit. Here the anecdotes are few, the tone measured and pleading, the aim to justify his his own actions spiritually and to open a like path to others. The *Declaration* is above all a pious work and laced with scripture references, while Jarrige adduces virtually none, and while Jarrige subordinates his own heart to his sensational story-line, Labadie's is ever to the fore, presenting his longings and asking (p. 5) that faith and piety alone be allowed to judge him.

Labadie's separation from Rome was unsolicited and had no political undertones. For him his embracing of Calvinism was merely a logical step in what would today be called his path from 'high church' to 'low church'. Central to it all was his ecclesiology, which in turn was born of a fundamentalist approach to scripture. For him, the Early Church was a blueprint for all time, in its separation from the world, its whole-hearted devotion to God and one another, its exclusive stance that admitted only the truly regenerate, and the attendant honour of God. The model of the Reformed church, he writes to his Jansenist friends, is the primitive church;<sup>3)</sup> his reason for being ordained was 'd'avoir part au vray Ministere de l'Eglise Primitive, dont l'idée estoit en mon coeur, & à cet estat Pastoral que les premiers hommes de Dieu exercerent avec tant de zele au commencement du Christianisme'.<sup>4)</sup> These and like statements occur as *leitmotive* in his writings and make it clear that, for Labadie, the issue was less a matter of substance than of form; certain mysteries, rites and devotions he could accept and treasure, but in Calvinism he was finding the true, biblical Church which he still felt called to reform.

Labadie arrived at Montauban some two months before his abjuration on 16 October 1650 and spent the initial weeks in solitude and in conversation with the pastors and professors of the town.<sup>5)</sup> The choice of Montauban was logical, for protestantism was resurgent in Bas-Quercy, and the town itself had a reputation for vigour in maintaining the liberties of the

Edict of Nantes. Though stripped of its fortifications in 1621, it boasted a flourishing academy, a fine new *temple* (church building) and some 10,000 communicants comprising, for the most part, the richest and noblest in the town. The catholic cause was in some disarray. There had been no cathedral or bishop's palace since the Wars of Religion, the bishops residing at nearby Montech; the present incumbent, Anne de Murviel, was aged and benevolent, and since he did not press the interests of Rome, even the Calvinists were happy to call him 'our bishop'. His coadjutor, Pierre de Bertier, was young and zealous but seldom around,<sup>6)</sup> so posed little threat.

Labadie's arrival caused quite a stir; a renegade catholic priest was, after all, a notable 'scalp'. After examining him at a consistorial meeting, Garrissoles declared that here was a convert of a calibre not witnessed for many years and that, if God gave him perseverance, great things could be expected of him. He was not, however, to be left in peace, for news of his presence at Montauban had meanwhile reached Bazas. Fearing the worst and, for the moment, forgetting all grievances in the face of an imminent abjuration, bishop Martineau sent his secretary, Caut, with La Brouche, who had come to Bazas with Labadie from Port-Royal, to persuade him to return; they went armed with assurances of safe conduct and the waiving of all ecclesiastical discipline. Under such pressure, Labadie determined to abjure sooner than had been his intention. First he did so before the consistory, presided by Delon, on Saturday 15 October, then in public in the *temple neuf* the following day, before the eyes of the two catholic envoys, who arrived disguised as noblemen to escape harrassment. After a formal presentation to the church, he ascended the pulpit and preached on the actual and spiritual presence of Christ in the heart of the believer. The consistory then urged all the congregation to offer Labadie especial protection.<sup>7)</sup>

The news was received with horror by the catholics. His former protector, Guy du Faur, baron de Pibrac, came with several *capitouls* of Toulouse to see for themselves; the prior of the Cordeliers of Montauban visited him in an attempt to make him turn back; and his former disciple, Antoine Sabré, wrote a respectful but disbelieving letter from La Graille on 26 November.<sup>8)</sup> To give it more weight, the letter was sent by the hand of Jean Gorlier, perhaps Labadie's closest disciple at La Graille. Yet all was to no avail, Labadie stood firm in his

new faith, and Rome was left to rue the consequences.<sup>9)</sup>

Labadie acquired a house and gave himself to prayer, study and writing, the first fruit of which was the *apologia* already mentioned, entitled *Declaration*.<sup>10)</sup> Dated 1 January 1651 but published just beforehand, the work attempts to demonstrate that he had always been a Calvinist at heart without realising it, and that this went for the majority of Jansenists too. A touchy subject, and he treats it as such, begging in the preface that only faith and piety be allowed to judge, and covering himself against charges of falsehood by agreeing that he has reappraised certain former events in the spirit of Christian charity. He compares Rome to the hidebound traditions of Old Testament Judaism, and Calvinism to the way of liberty and new life brought by Jesus. There follows an autobiographical account which stresses how he had believed and taught, even while a catholic, things which he now recognises to be Calvinist, listing some 140 maxims as examples. Its success was such that, within weeks of the *Declaration*, demand for further pieces from his pen led to the planning of a second part of his justification, and as an interim measure he produced a *Lettre à ses Amis de la Communion Romaine*,<sup>11)</sup> dated 1 February 1651 and aimed principally at the Jansenist party, to which (p. 39) he insists that he formerly belonged.

The two works taken together carry a two-pronged thrust. There is a reasoned justification of his transition, supported by a plethora of scriptures, and many of the maxims listed have indeed been encountered already in his preaching at Amiens, Bazas and Toulouse, principally that man is necessitated to sin (*Declaration*, 1666, pp. 164-392, no. 11); that his will is captive and bound to sin (no. 10); that nobody in a state of mortal sin can perform any good work (no. 14); that Jesus died only for the elect (no. 28); and that grace is effective and absolute, requiring only man's cooperation with the divine will (nos. 37, 38). Alongside this is the appeal to the heart, less reasoned and more pleading. He begs his readers not to pass the book straight to a confessor but to weigh what it says; to lay aside prejudice and seek to understand the true heart of the Reform; to ask themselves where their own heart is going (*Lettre*, pp. 8, 10, 145); all the time advocating one of his favourite concepts, *sainte liberté*, as a divine blessing to seek with all diligence. He argues that Tauler, Harphius and St. John of the Cross expressed 'Reformed' ideas about absolu-

tion, that the Augustinian conception of grace is shared by Calvin and Jansenius, and that therefore many a catholic is already half way Reformed and could come the rest of the way with no difficulty if he could overlook certain turns of phrase. In short, Labadie takes his own individual path and turns it into the path of salvation for others.

Meanwhile the court had determined that Labadie should be opposed, and on 7 December the *Conseil du Roi* ordered his arrest and transportation to the prison at Agen, charged with heresy. Nothing was done, however, and this suggests that the whole affair might have blown over – but for the Jesuits. Already hostile to a renegade from their society, and now appalled at his abjuration, they took the opportunity to strike at the arch-foe, Port-Royal. Within weeks of the *Lettre* and *Declaration* an anonymous pamphlet appeared at Paris entitled *Le Grand Chemin du Jansénisme au Calvinisme*.<sup>12)</sup> The fact that it was distributed by Gaspard Meturas, the official Jesuit bookseller, betrayed its origin. A few pages in length and available to every passer-by, since it was posted on boards at street-corners, it consisted almost entirely of quotations from Labadie's books and contained the scandalous assertions that sooner or later Jansenism leads to Calvinism, and that Port Royal as it stands at present is closer to Geneva and Charenton than to Rome and Notre-Dame.<sup>13)</sup>

Jesuits from Rome to Louvain read the *Grand Chemin* with pious horror.<sup>14)</sup> Port-Royal, severely beleaguered, called upon two of its doughtiest campaigners. Godefroy Hermant, canon of Beauvais, set about researching Labadie's past life with a view to publication in the summer, and Antoine Arnauld took up his well-worn pen to produce his *Lettre d'un docteur en théologie*.<sup>15)</sup> The addressee is anonymous but is known to be Pierre de Bertier, coadjutor of Montauban. Arnauld concentrates on attacking the Jesuits first and Labadie as an after-thought. How sad, how typical for the Jesuits to capitalise on an affair of such sorrow and seek to use it for polemics; as for himself he would rather tremble for Labadie, who has become 'one of the most pitiable creatures that there could be'. He takes up Sabré's point that Labadie had only gone to Montauban to escape justice, but disagrees sharply with the central Jesuit point that the Jansenist controversy over grace had started the trouble. Rather, writes Arnauld, it was Labadie's own independent spirit and visionary leanings,

learning among the Jesuits, that had brought about this downfall, and remembering the nature of some of these, we are inclined to agree.

Further catholic opposition came from a *missionnaire* from Saintonge, François Mauduit, an associate of the Jesuit preacher and polemicist, Jean Adam. On 10 May 1651 he came and disputed with Labadie before an array of notables at the home of Thomas d'Escorbiac, councillor at the *chambre de l'édit* of Castres, in the rue Sainte-Claire. The disputation centred on the eucharist and the Augsburg confession and seems to have gone badly for the *missionnaire*. Mauduit nonetheless penned his own account of the proceedings<sup>16)</sup> and sent an open letter to the pastorate of Montauban. Labadie replied anonymously on behalf of the consistory,<sup>17)</sup> and to prevent further hostilities, bishop Murviel persuaded Mauduit to leave the town.

Meanwhile Labadie negotiated, through his old friend Royal, pastor of Castets, for the return of his confiscated papers from the bishop of Bazas, and published the fruits of his meditations while in hiding at Castets. *Les Elevations de l'esprit à Dieu*<sup>18)</sup> was a collection of verses expressing wonder at the majesty of God the Creator, its preface dated 1 April 1651. The *Entretiens d'esprit durant le jour*,<sup>19)</sup> dated 1 August, is more concerned with the moral decline of the Church and the urgent need for reformation, a subject that formed the basis of many sermons at this period.<sup>20)</sup> He collected together a committed nucleus of devotees in his house: his niece Anne de Lif, his valet Louis, his niece's maid, some students from the academy, and two young men whom he had converted from dissolute living. The manuscript life (fol. 50) lists several notable families whose favour he especially won: Constans, Coderc, Dumas, Dumons, Sartres and Yvon. Marguerite Yvon, wife of Daniel, a banker, met Labadie at pastor Garrissoles' house and became an assiduous follower, taking her five-year-old son Pierre to every sermon, little suspecting that one day he would be Labadie's closest disciple and eventual successor.<sup>21)</sup>

Yet persecution was still a reality. *Curés* of the town insulted Labadie in the street; rumours circulated that he was mad and his niece a defrocked nun; finally there was an attempted poisoning. Someone entered Labadie's house and put poison in the cooking-pot. Labadie saw him leave but sup-



posed nothing, but after lunch the whole household was seized by violent pains in the stomach; the vomiting lasted for three hours and the after-effects a fortnight, but nobody died. Whether or not two catholic clerics had been overheard plotting the affair, as Yvon records, is uncertain, but Labadie certainly used the incident to curry favour.<sup>22)</sup>

On 7 September 1651 the boy-king Louis was declared of age. Condé, aggrieved, prepared for war. The Calvinists sided with the king and Montauban sent 500 men at its own cost to assist the royal army in the siege of Bordeaux. Afterwards Mazarin wrote in gratitude to his 'good friends' the protestants, and Louis gave permission on 2 October for the Montalbanese to rebuild their city walls and fortifications. This was triumph for the protestants, who saw their ruined walls as a symbol of their repression, but drew vociferous complaints from the catholics, who were the more incensed against Labadie thanks to the printing of Godefroy Hermant's long-awaited counterblast.<sup>23)</sup> Published under the name Saint-Julien, it is less bombastic and more factual than Arnauld's letter. Hermant accuses Labadie of gross falsehood in his statement that he had always been a Calvinist at heart; from letters, *arrêts* and several writings now lost, he underlines Labadie's previous faith in transubstantiation, the intercession of saints, penance, confession and absolution, as well as his devotion to Our Lady. For instance, one letter (p. 87 f.) concludes: 'God knows my heart though men choose not to know it... By God's grace I have lived till now a Catholic and a true son of the Church. I hope that by the same grace I will die such.'

In fairness to his detractors, Labadie patently fails in his attempt to convince his readers that he had always been doctrinally a Calvinist without realising it, for his faith had been a highly personal blend of catholic devotion and progressive or reformatory practices, hard to tie down to any set scheme. Yet in fairness to Labadie, these criticisms are largely a misunderstanding of his point. As has been said, he was less concerned with substance than with form, with what Rome *was* rather than what she *did*. Doctrines and mysteries with the power to edify the soul were indeed precious to him, but his objection had always been to the Catholic Church's structure, its supposed infallibility, its hidebound tradition, its resistance to change and progress. In his heart of hearts the seeds

of sectarianism were beginning to sprout, and a longing was awakening for a church constituted according to the model of the first Jerusalem community.

Though catholics rejoiced at the book, its effect at Montauban was slight. This is clear from the fact that at the synod of Haut-Languedoc/Haute-Guyenne late that autumn, pastor Delon was pressing for Labadie to be allowed to proceed to the ministry without the normal two years' probation, given his abundant proofs of probity. The synod nevertheless stuck to the protocol, but awarded Labadie a subsidy of 400 *livres*, suggesting Calvinist disregard for Hermant's accusations of deceit and fanaticism. In his own justification, Labadie set out to refute Sabré's letter.<sup>24</sup>) The work appeared under a pseudonym, E. Dufeu de Blancmont, but that it was Labadie's work is clear from the flyleaf of the copy held at the Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, where we read, in Labadie's hand: 'Du don de l'Autheur à Monsieur Cazaux, pasteur...' It is a standard defence, with all the rhetoric and wit of the day – (the work is a 'sharp sword' with which to counter a 'Sabre') and adds nothing new to the debate.

In Lent 1652 a *frère mineur* named 'Bonald'<sup>25</sup>) denounced Labadie from the pulpit, renewing all the old allegations; faced with protestant hostility he claimed to be advancing only what had been well proven. Yet Labadie's popularity grew. A catholic contemporary testified, albeit with reluctance, to the amendment of lives, the renewal of family devotions, and the glad heart of prayer that Labadie's preachings aroused among the townsfolk.<sup>26</sup>) The consistory determined to press for his ordination, with the exception of Jacques Gaillard, professor of philosophy, who wanted to be minister himself, but Labadie was not immediately keen, preferring to devote himself to writing; indeed, he was in the middle of the *Seconde partie de la Declaration*, a prolix piece of nearly 400 pages.<sup>27</sup>)

The prospect of Labadie ordained as pastor of a church already odious to all good catholics, was intolerable. On the plea of bishop Bertier, Vincent de Paul used his influence on the Queen Mother in a letter of 5 September, in which he stressed Labadie's 'extravagant opinions', the damage he had done at Amiens and Bazas and the greater danger to be feared once he was ordained.<sup>28</sup>) The court acted speedily, since the regional synod was to meet at Cajarc in less than three weeks (24 September). A letter from the Queen Mother did arrive

but was not heeded; attempts by Saint-Luc, *intendant* of Guienne, also failed; a deputation of senior Calvinists met him to insist on their rights according to the Edict of Nantes.<sup>29</sup>) And the protestant *député* of Montauban at court, Moncaut d'Assier, respectfully warned the Queen Mother that the blocking of Labadie's ordination could lead to a flagging of protestant zeal for the Crown – a weighty threat at a time when the Frondeurs were active in the Midi.

The synod of Cajarc duly met and Montauban sent an eminent jurist, Brandelin Satur, to press for Labadie's ordination; he proposed the appointment of seven *députés* to examine him, and the proposal was accepted, despite further opposition from Gaillard, president of the synod. One old minister (not named) commented that it was only those who did not know Labadie who spoke ill of him, while those who knew him spoke unanimously in his favour. So Labadie was designated minister, feeling, as his biographer records, like Isaac on the altar of sacrifice, and discoursed in Latin on Romans 8:2. The following Sunday came his inauguration as pastor at Montauban. Delon officiated, Labadie preached on Isaiah 61:1f, speaking of the election, vocation and ministry of pastors. That afternoon Delon preached on 2 Tim. 1:14 ('Guard the truth that was been entrusted to you'), then he and pastor Jean Verdier laid hands on Labadie.

That very month (8 September 1652), old bishop Murviel died and his coadjutor, Bertier, took over. A trusted tool of Mazarin and zealous against Calvinism, he was best remembered at Montauban for leading the catholic population in prostrate prayer in July, which led to a miraculous abating of flood-waters which had engulfed most of the suburb of Villebourbon. He set straight to work, drew up an inventory of all known relics of St. Théodard, Montauban's patron; united the diocesan seminary to Vincent de Paul's Congrégation de la Mission; wrote indignantly to the court about the new fortifications; and bought a house on the corner of the rue du Pont and the rue du Poids to start a new episcopal palace, giving it and the church of St. Jacques as places where his *curés* could be taught by the Pères de la Mission.<sup>30</sup>)

The lines were drawn. Bertier claimed protestant abjurations; Labadie converted one of Bertier's household. Under two able champions both parties grew bolder. Catholics forced Calvinists to take the lower path on the streets, and if one

failed to doff his hat to the passing Sacrament, the acolytes held their candles an inch from his face until he did so. The protestant militia would stop at halberd-point *curés* taking the viaticum to the sick, molested anyone they heard exclaiming 'Jésus, Maria!' and encouraged their children to drop dirt from their balconies on to the heads of passing catholic ladies.

Amid such unedifying hostility, more political than religious in nature, Labadie sought to preach repentance and improve morals. Delon remarked to Mme. Yvon that he would never miss one of Labadie's sermons, during which he felt himself transported closer to the Lord; he also told Labadie's two disciples, Constans and Balarand, that 'their master and his must surely be the finest preacher in the land' (Geneva, ms. cit. fol. 52). Labadie sought to teach on the basics of the faith, appalled at the lack of knowledge which he found. He was appointed to write to Amyraut at Saumur to complain about the indisciplined rabble that came from there to the Academy each year; he organized evangelistic campaigns at the College and the Academy; converted a Dominican, who had lived a life of some notoriety; combated usury and the creeping affluence of dress; sent away some actors who had come at the invitation of the *intendant*; and dispersed the crowds he found watching a touring troupe of tumblers. Two particular bugbears to him were illicit fraternities and one of his colleagues. The fraternities were l'Ecole, which was given to wine and tobacco, la Gaillarde, a society of young people, and the Société des Cavaliers, composed of nobles; all of these Labadie had disbanded.<sup>31)</sup> The colleague was Joseph Arbussy, pastor since 1646. He was morally lax, hunted, gambled and dressed sumptuously; his sermons were full of the cheap wit and word-play of popular novels, earning him the nickname 'le grand Cyrus'. Yet because of friends in high places he was made professor of Hebrew when Delon died in June 1653, to the universal horror of the Calvinist populace.<sup>32)</sup>

Protestant morale was high. Visitors came from Castres, Milhau, Bergerac and elsewhere to hear Labadie; grievances were made known without fear; many vowed not to rent land to catholics or offer them accommodation; consular assemblies were convened independently, at irregular hours and in unauthorised places, to facilitate decisions to protestant advantage (until the Conseil du Roi forbade the practice on 17 December 1652); and the protestants continued work on the

fortifications even after the council (*mi-parti* as it was) had agreed to halt it.

The next two years were involved and somewhat sad for Labadie. The upper middle-class at Bordeaux organised the Ormée, a localised version of the Fronde. The Labadie family was involved, with two sons, Izaak and Jacques siding with the king, and another, Louis, favouring the Ormistes. The inspiration for the Ormée's manifesto was the Republic in England, and its leaders were in close contact with Cromwell's agents. It was in this context that Louis de Labadie visited Jean at Montauban in February 1653, before being appointed to travel to England to seek support; in the end, however, Louis was felt to be of more use to the cause through his contacts with Montauban.<sup>33)</sup> Matters did not turn out well, however. Louis was arrested at Rions in the company of an English agent, John Tubbing;<sup>34)</sup> transferred to Puymirol in early May 1653 he was tortured and finally poisoned. The Ormée itself soon disintegrated when the Republicans united with the Calvinists, for the latter opposed English military aid and favoured peace; by August it was all over and Mazarin was again reporting how well the Calvinists had served the king.

This episode serves as another instance of the duplicity of which Labadie was capable. The manuscript biography dutifully stresses his care to advise his Ormiste brother Louis only to introduce the Reform, and sees such conduct as justified by the final inglorious disintegration of the Ormée.<sup>35)</sup> However, Helmut Kötting recently discovered letters from Labadie to the Cromwellian agents, both before and after the Ormiste negotiations, in which he urges an all-out struggle to rid the country of the twin evils of Catholicism and the monarchy.<sup>36)</sup> As such, Labadie's political involvements can be seen to have gone deeper than he was willing to acknowledge afterwards.

In May 1653 the plague struck Montauban and slew several thousand of its population. Labadie saw it as a just punishment from God upon a wicked people, but nonetheless set about tending the sick and dying with all the zeal which he had shown in similar circumstances at Amiens twelve years before. Bishop Bertier, his chapter and many parish priests withdrew to Montech and Castelsarrasin, leaving behind the Lazarist seminarists and a few priests headed by the *théologal*, Arnaud Peyronet. It was probably a case of plague versus protestants: which was worse, to stay and die of pestilence, or leave and

surrender the town to the Calvinists? Peyronet called his flock to public prayer, his addresses causing tears and beating of breasts, and they vowed to sing *à perpétuité*, every Saturday after compline, the ancient Salve Regina in honour of the Virgin Mary. Fifteen clerics fell victim to their heroism and the bishop gave order for public prayer for their souls. One indication of the fruit of catholic labours is that on 5 July, at the height of the plague, the cathedral chapter voted a sum of 1,200 *livres* to enlarge the house at Montauban where the Lazarists were holding their teaching sessions.

The protestants were active also, but though many died, no pastor was harmed. Labadie's household lost three members: his valet, Louis, his niece's chambermaid and his young convert, Jean Balarand.<sup>37)</sup> Labadie, beside his deathbed, recounted to him a dream in which he saw a boat on the sea break down the middle and slowly sink beneath the waters; the boat was mortal life, the break was death and the sinking was immersion into God forever. Another victim was the second of Labadie's brothers, Izaak.<sup>38)</sup> He was with Jean during the autumn and told him of how the English agents had said that God hardly seemed to be in France at all. Izaak contracted the plague, made a will on 30 October<sup>39)</sup> bequeathing his estate to Anne de Lif, his niece, and died in Jean's arms early in the new year.

Labadie had the suburb of Villenouvelle quarantined, since it was the worst affected, and gradually the plague subsided. By late January 1654 it was over, the catholics returned early in February and life returned to some normality, except that famine lasted for the remainder of the year, despite efforts from the *intendant* Charreton de la Terrière and *juge-mage* Rabastens. The protestants had done rather better out of the plague than the catholics. They had held consular meetings without the catholic members present,<sup>40)</sup> and on 24 August 1653 they had departed from the Edict of Nantes and held an open-air service in the suburb of Villebourbon, molesting the local *curé* when he remonstrated. The catholic party grew anxious and clamoured for the return of the bishop, whose political involvements meant he was rarely around to offer resistance.

To crown a sorrowful eight months, Labadie now lost a third brother, Jacques. Apparently drawn back to military campaigning, he had enlisted with Maréchal de la Ferté to

cross the Vosges and besiege the renegade Comte d'Harcourt at Brisach. On the way they had to storm the town of Belfort, whose governor had been a Frondeur. Jean had a dream of his brother attacking a city and being shot through the head. He was indeed mortally wounded in the assault (on 7 February) and died tended by a Lutheran pastor, having refused to see a catholic. This, with increasing news of violation of protestant rights, the burning of their *temples* and the execution of their nobles,<sup>41)</sup> must have made Labadie a dejected man at the start of 1654.

The year began with intrigues, political and spiritual. Cromwell sent his agents to Languedoc to examine the condition of the protestants. One, named Jean-Baptiste Stoupe, came to Montauban. Their reports, surprisingly, were of general contentment, coupled with a profound mistrust of the Prince de Condé. Spiritual plotting came from the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement,<sup>42)</sup> which vowed to have Labadie expelled from the town. Perhaps because of pressure from the Compagnie, Rome entered all Labadie's works in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* on 23 April.

The ideal chance for Rome came at the coronation of Louis XIV at Reims on 8 June 1654. Bishop Bertier was chosen to deliver the oration and used the opportunity to launch a tirade against the Calvinists, whom he accused of inconstancy, despite their loyalty in the Fronde. He urged Louis to follow his father's policy of severity against them; declared justifiable the demolition of fortifications and *temples*; attacked the tolerance of the 1652 Declaration and, on a domestic note, the town of Montauban, 'the hearth of Protestantism', for its fortifications and its treatment of *indendant* Saint-Luc (see note 29 above). The address moved Louis, but as yet he took no action, remembering the valuable assistance to the crown rendered by protestants over several years and the ever-present need to conciliate Cromwell. The address was printed and circulated widely, reaching Montauban on 8 October.

At Montauban the rest of the year passed quietly. Remonstrances were still not heeded at court, as the town's protestant *député* lamented to the English ambassador,<sup>43)</sup> but domestically matters centred on recovering from the plague. Labadie was also involved in a lawsuit, the details of which are somewhat obscure, involving a legacy of certain gold and silver effects. Ownership was being disputed between Labadie, a

woman named Jambertie and the Dominican convent. A lengthy tussle ensued, with rulings, appeals and charges spanning the next two years, while Labadie had the effects deposited with Daniel Yvon, banker. A compromise was proposed of sharing the effects, but Jamertie pressed her case and secured a ruling that Labadie was to restore to her the gold and silver and she would compensate the Dominicans with 500 *livres*. Labadie appealed, and the matter was referred to independent arbitration, but the result is not known.<sup>44</sup>)

Bishop Bertier returned to his see early in 1655 but was soon off again, this time to the *Etats généraux de Languedoc* at Pézenas, where he brought up the grievance that the protestants of Montauban were pressing for catholic services to be stopped in places where Calvinists were numerically superior. This ushered in a discussion on what could be done to halt protestant resurgence, and the advocates of peaceful methods won the day. An aged canon, Jean de Cambolas, pointed out that the protestants gained so much of their success from their catechising of simple folk and their regular expositions of scripture; the best reply would be to do the same. So catechisms were distributed in all parishes, the Lazarist meetings urged more forcefully upon senior catholic citizens, and Denys Amelote, the Oratorian, was commissioned to produce a pure translation of the scriptures into the vernacular, a task that took him ten years. The catholic councillors at Montauban followed this up by tightening measures regarding Protestants, for example that their burials were to take place only at dawn and dusk, and without procession.

Little can be reliably attributed to 1655 for Labadie. At some point the *intendant* of the province came to a sermon and expressed his satisfaction, adding that he found more devotion here than among the catholics. One titled devotee was Mme. de Duras (Elisabeth de La Tour d'Auvergne), sister of Henri II, Viscount Turenne. She regularly visited the Yvon household to take part in Labadie's devotional meetings. Labadie also travelled to his native Guienne to visit his mother, by now nearly eighty, and to discuss his rights of inheritance now that his three brothers were dead. While there, he sensed such a spiritual need that he began to prepare himself for a possible call; and as coincidence would have it (or a biographer's licence) on his return he found the church of Nîmes seeking to gain his services. Protestantism here was



very healthy – the bishop, Hector Douvrier, and his chapter had threatened to leave for good because their presence carried no weight – and its adherents renowned as bellicose. Now a prominent citizen, Baudan de Villeneuve, led a delegation to invite Labadie to Nîmes; he savoured his preaching and declared that if Nîmes could have Labadie for one week, the church would bear more fruit than Montauban had in four years.<sup>45)</sup> Labadie was keen to go, but Montauban would not have it. Labadie remarked from the pulpit: ‘Do what you will, the will of God must be done; Ephesus must release Paul, though with regret and tears. You have not wanted to let me go with a good will and through charity, but you will have to let me go through force and I will be taken away, according to God’s will.’<sup>46)</sup> Finally, however, he decided to stay and was nominated rector of the Academy in recompense.<sup>47)</sup>

Such evident honour and popularity serve to counterbalance rumours that arose at this point concerning Labadie and a certain Mlle. de Calonges. An old protestant campaigner, Jean Le Révérend, marquis de Bougy, had retired from the army to his estate of Calonges a year earlier, where he lived as *lieutenant-général* with his wife Marie-Julie and her sister Suzanne-Judith.<sup>48)</sup> The latter was, by all accounts, a lady of exemplary talent and piety. She was versed in ancient languages and had sent notes on the Hebrew text of Genesis to Samuel Bochart, the learned pastor of Caen, who used them in his influential *Dissertatio de Paradiso Terrestri (Opera Omnia* I, 9 ff, Leiden, 1692). At some point in 1655 Bougy came to Montauban and lodged at the Hôtel de Vicoze; while there he attended Labadie’s sermons, with his wife and sister-in-law, and was much impressed. On the Bougy’s return, Suzanne remained at Montauban to be near Labadie, for she was captivated by his sermons and sought his spiritual direction. For this purpose she took up lodgings in the Yvons’ house. So much is clear, but what follows is not. Labadie’s biographer claims that Suzanne de Calonges’ uncles urged him to marry her, but that he refused. Most commentators, however, place at this point the episode sometimes ascribed to Amiens, Bazas or Toulouse, where Labadie sought to see how deeply a young woman was praying by placing a hand on her bosom to see whether she would notice. Many a catholic has since shuddered with pleasure to read of the episode, which certainly has a plausible ring, yet if it was indeed Mlle. de

Calonges who was thus treated, is it likely that a year later Labadie would spend ten days preaching at Calonges, as the guest of the Bougys?<sup>49)</sup> Moreover, would Nîmes have been so keen to gain, and Montauban to keep, a libertine?

Meanwhile Labadie continued his moral reforms, disciplining the ringleaders in some trouble at the Academy. He was also involved, as was so much of Protestant Europe, in raising support for the persecuted Waldenses of the Piedmont valleys. Regiments passed through Languedoc on their way to the Alps and returned in the autumn, their dirty work done. Protestant feeling ran high; at Nîmes an Irish regiment was set upon with sticks and stones. All over Europe collections were raised to aid refugees, and at Montauban Labadie supervised one personally.

In October the *Assemblée générale du Clergé* was convened at Paris. Bishop Bertier, one of the presidents, was appointed, alongside the independent and experienced Gondrin of Sens, to examine the grievances of catholics in the provinces, among them that the protestants of Montauban had attempted to bribe one of the catholic judges at the *Chambre de l'Edit* of Castres, so as to swing the *mi-parti* balance their way. The enquiry was to last several months and to have far-reaching consequences for Labadie, who, blissfully unaware, was engaged in writing. *Le Bon Usage de l'Eucharistie* was dedicated to the Calvinists of Nîmes and appeared in May;<sup>50)</sup> intended in some measure to compensate for his declining to go there, the work is a scriptural commentary on the Holy Communion of stock Protestant type. Nîmes wrote on 19 May: 'Nothing can leave your pen that does not bear extraordinary fruit.'<sup>51)</sup> Next came a treatise on prayer: *Pratique des Oraisons, mentale et vocale*,<sup>52)</sup> its style simple, its heart warm. He defines *prière* as particular, *oraison* as general, and advises for any that would learn them: 'purity of heart and uprightness of life; a discreet and wise modesty of living; being attentive to God and to His spirit, His light and His touches, and being faithful in giving oneself to them.' On the path from meditation to the higher, mystical contemplation of God, the soul must go through an experience of darkness. St. John of the Cross called it the 'dark night of the soul'; Labadie, who had read him, calls it a time of 'great desolation and loud cries, an open door to darkness and anguish of spirit'. And students of Quietism will be delighted to read: 'it is the way of praying more by being passive than active.'<sup>53)</sup>

On 3 May Labadie received a visit from the Low Countries. Abraham Trom of Groningen, a student of theology, came with Ludwig Wolzogen (subsequently Walloon pastor)<sup>54</sup>) on a journey through France and passed through Montauban. Labadie's reputation led them to visit. Trom wrote:

We were received by him with great civility and some generosity; yet since in his discourses with us, though we were but strangers, he exhibited too much of that singular zeal that he showed in his ministry, with some scorn for the work of his colleagues there, the conversation gave us some displeasure, and concern for possible bad consequences.<sup>55</sup>)

Labadie was also involved in a protracted legal battle over his inheritance.<sup>56</sup>) With his three brothers dead, the *sénéchal* of Guienne decided in his favour on 9 September 1655, but his mother lodged an appeal; the family had not wish for the estate to fall into the hands of one they now saw as a fanatic. Much was at stake: a large house in the High Street of Bourg, newly fitted with a lead roof; vineyards at Piras (?), Saint-Seurin-des-arbres and Rieu-aymard (?); meadows and a spinney near Lidonne, and others, with vineyard, at Peipicq; and a modest fortune (it had been greater, but already in 1643 his mother had begun to sell off part of her inheritance). Opposing Labadie's claim were his mother, Marie de Coybo, his sister Marie, and his nephews and nieces Louis-Izaak, Georges, Marguerite and Marie de Labadie and Anne Pichotel. Another nephew, Isaac Charles, also wanted his cut. Each appointed a procurator at the *chambre de l'edit* of Guienne and their claims were drawn together by notary Pierre de Brulz of Bourg, who referred them for arbitration to Louis Eyquem, Jean Bossugues and Philibert Dusault, officers of Bordeaux. These presented their findings on 20 May 1656: Labadie was to inherit the estate, goods and fortunes of his father and brothers, and was voted the sum of 5,000 *livres*; one third to be paid by Georges and Isaac Charles de Labadie, nephews, one third by Anne Pichotel, niece, and one third out of the estate of the late Isaac de Labadie, sr. de La Serre, which had originally been left to Anne de Lif. A complicated redistribution of the family estate was to take place and Labadie was to compensate Anne de Lif by 216 *livres* for expenses incurred by her. Marie de Coybo would keep the family

house. The outcome seems to have meant impoverishment for much of the family<sup>57</sup>) and underlines a certain ruthless streak in the pastor of Montauban.

Any satisfaction was, however, short lived, for the next month produced an event that was to enforce his departure from Montauban. The facts are confused by denominational polemics,<sup>58</sup>) but the case concerned a young woman named Jeanne Moysset. From a catholic family, she had married a Calvinist named Hébrard and began attending the *temple* in January 1656. After only a few months of marriage, she gave birth to a stillborn child. Complications set in and she was evidently dying, so on 18 June her husband sent for a pastor; Arbussy came and prayed with her. The next day her relatives bade her send for a catholic, which she did. The protestants claim that she had no wish to see the priest and made moves to run away, feeble as she was; the catholics maintain that, in her right mind, she asked for the sacrament and received it 'it in the presence of twenty witnesses', whereupon she died. The protestants, adamant that Jeanne died a Calvinist, gathered a crowd and marched to the house where the body lay, in order to bury it in the Reformed cemetery.<sup>59</sup>) In pouring rain the cortege made its way, but near the convent of the Cordeliers met the catholic burial-party on its way from St. Jacques to collect the body. A scuffle ensued, during which the most bellicose of the protestants was arrested but released by force, and several catholics were jostled: Agan, one of the *grands-vicaires*, was beaten with sticks, and consul Guillaume Carrière made to cry 'Vive la Religion!' to escape a similar fate. At this point two senior protestants came running to the scene. One was 2nd consul Jean Brassard, the other Labadie; these succeeded in quelling the riot and saving several catholics from serious danger. Finally, Jean Moysset's body was laid to rest.

The catholic party at once complained to *intendant* Saint-Luc and appealed to the Chambre de l'Edit at Castres. The latter, *mi-parti* as it was, could not reach a clear verdict, so the matter was referred to Paris. Meanwhile reports were sent to the Assemblée générale du clergé at Paris on 3 July, which saw sufficient matter to inform the court. For its part, Montauban sent consul Jean Brassard and seventeen senior protestants to present its case. The catholic envoys returned from Court, where Conti and Chancellor Séguier had assured their support; thence they travelled to La Fère, where Louis and

Mazarin were. On 12th they conferred with the cardinal in the morning and the king in the evening. Bertier delivered an ingratiating speech, full of epic oratory, seeking redress against 'those who oppress justice, violate the freedom of altars, despise religion and divide people'. He pleaded for more hasty measures than a lengthy enquiry, calling Montauban a centre of apostasy and refuge for the obstinate, which needed to be taught a lesson. He condemned Louis' tolerant Declaration of 1652, before recounting the story of the funeral – and what a rendition it was! The protestants grew to some 3,000; the leaders were students of theology, destined (a subtle barb!) for the protestant ministry; cries had been heard to close shops, take arms, banish priests and throw the Jesuits in the river. One named Bordes had aimed a musket at the crucifer; Jean Verdier, pastor and professor, had drawn a sword against *vicaire-général* Agan. Bertier laid the blame fairly and squarely on 'a wretched apostate of some notoriety, named Labadie – truly one of the most impious and wicked of men'.<sup>60</sup>)

This was a barefaced lie, but it had its effect. Louis listened 'with sorrow' and promised to punish the instigators. The next day Mazarin informed the delegates that the king was to make an exhibition of the ringleaders, pass an edict against the Calvinists and punish Labadie. Their business well done, the delegates returned to Paris and Bertier delivered letters personally to speed up the process. The results were two edicts 'interpretative' of the 1652 Declaration: one late in July, which had its roots in Gondrin's remonstrance, and one on 16 December. Moreover, *lettres de cachet* were to be sent to Labadie and Jean Brassard, summoning them to give account of themselves at Paris.<sup>61</sup>)

The *lettres de cachet* arrived, with a letter from Mazarin to the protestants of the town (12 September). Brassard made plans to travel to Paris, but Labadie made representation via the protestant *député-général*, Ruvigny, that it was not safe for him to travel, given the long-standing writ of *habeas corpus* against him. That this was a time-wasting ploy is clear from his readiness to travel to Bourg to visit his mother the previous year. Nevertheless the Conseil du Roi passed an *arrêt* on 24 September granting him safe conduct. There is evidence, however, that Labadie made efforts to conciliate the monarch before he travelled to Paris. On 26 September the French army captured the stronghold of La Capelle, and almost simul-

taneously Valenza on the river Po fell to the Duke of Modena, commanding Louis' forces. This double victory was a cause of rejoicing and many an *action de grâces* was performed throughout the land. Montauban felt it would be prudent if Labadie could perform it for the town as a gesture of fidelity to the crown. He did so on 11 October 1656 before an audience of six or seven thousand, preaching on the text 'In thy strength the king rejoices, O Lord' (Psalm 21:1), and sowing among the scriptures a healthy amount of praise to the royal house of Bourbon, to the princes, to Mazarin, Séguier and the Queen Mother. Labadie was advised to have the address published and circulated, which he did, at his own expense, and sent six unbound copies to Thomas Martel, *avocat* at Paris, for distribution to allies at court, together with copies of assorted consistorial acts.<sup>62</sup>)

The tension was mounting. At Paris the Calvinist party did all in its power to defend Labadie, the English ambassador and even Cromwell himself being approached to intercede in his favour. Yet the odds were stacked against him, as letters cited in *Publycke Attestatien* reveal;<sup>63</sup>) an unnamed envoy from Montauban, whom we may assume to be consul Brassard, wrote that the clergy was determined to be rid of Labadie come what may, and the protestant député-général, Ruvigny, wrote on two separate occasions that he had done all in his power, but to no avail. At Montauban tempers were fraying and another near riot occurred when a hot-headed Calvinist named Boisyon pursued a catholic cleric down the street with a cudgel. The manuscript biography records additional opposition from a moderate faction among the Calvinists of the town, led by ex-consul Isaac Garrisson and several of the d'Aliès family.<sup>64</sup>) The biographer calls them 'politiques et temporisateurs', but it is more likely that this faction foresaw the grave consequences for the town should Louis choose to punish the rioters. Pastor Arbussy, already encountered, was also of their mind, and the protestants of the town were divided between the Labadistes and Arbussistes, or as they were grotesquely known, Giguelets and Margajats.

The royal legislation against protestant liberties was hailed with triumph by the catholics (Mazarin wrote to bishop Bertier on 27 September to thank him for all he had done) and with horror by the Calvinists, who now feared for their own safety, remembering the Waldensian persecutions of the previ-

ous year. The mood is summed up in a letter from an anonymous Huguenot of Bas-Languedoc which appeared in the London diurnal *Mercurius Politicus* of 18-24 December. Dated 12 November, it lists all the repressive measures outlined above, concluding: 'We are afraid of a great storm in these parts... Our good God take pity on this ocction [sic] of his poor Church!'<sup>65</sup>) Persecution was indeed stepped up. The protestant *temple* at Pamiers was raided, ransacked and its worshippers beaten (one, a doctor named Bourmet died of injuries) because it had been built illegally. Labadie penned a *Lettre de Consolation*,<sup>66</sup>) praying that 'your balm now stirred and your families poured here and there, will spread everywhere the fair odour of your pious sacrifice' (p. 16). Within days of the new year of 1657, fresh legislation came, formally annulling the declaration of 1652, and with it a list of new restrictions: the title *ministre* was outlawed; the word *prétendue* was to be inserted into 'Religion Réformée': no pastor could assume the office of magistrate; no protestant could sing psalms except in the *temple* or with his own family; no pastor could preach outside his own *temple*.

Blame for the new pressures was laid on Gondrin's remonstrance of 2 April. Two tracts were penned against it: *Lettre d'un habitant de Paris*, written under the pseudonym Philalèthe and commonly attributed to Drelincourt, which was declared heretical and burned at Paris, and *Réponse à la remonstrance du Clergé*, which met a similar fate. And early in 1657 Labadie penned his anonymous *Lettre de Philophrone à Philalèthe*,<sup>67</sup>) probably meant for Drelincourt. High-flown and pompous, it quibbles at Gondrin's hermeneutics and certain of his allegations. It is particularly scathing of Gondrin's melodramatic references to Montauban's fortifications ('this town ... can no longer be considered ruined. It is now formidable, fortified with seventeen bastions'); Labadie retorts that these bastions are hardly higher than a sheperd's hut and that one can see the thatched roofs beyond them; moreover the engineers themselves reckon that they will not last very long (p. 94).<sup>68</sup>) Labadie concludes (pp. 103 ff) with a piece about himself: his successful preaching and reforms, the injustice of his persecution, his innocence in the funeral episode.

He also produced his own version of the Jeanne Moysset episode, again anonymously: *Eclaircissement donné au public*,<sup>69</sup>) in which he declares *inter alia* that it was the catho-

lics who first cried 'Ferme boutique!' and had stood outside his house yelling; 'Burn it, and its host!' We also glean that Labadie had no intention of obeying his summons to Paris, claiming that consul Brassard was the secular figure who would normally have dealt with such matters, and that a similar case had occurred some years before, consul Sabonnières representing himself and pastor Garrisoles.

Labadie, feeling his days at Montauban to be numbered, stepped up his preachings. He expounded Matt. 9:15, likening it to his own departure, and prolonged his sermons to two hours. When the 'temporisers' protested, he remarked: 'Eat while bread is broken for you, for days will come when you will receive none.'<sup>70)</sup> And his feeling was confirmed when Louis finally gave his ruling, drafting a *lettre de cachet* to inform Labadie that he was henceforth banished from the province and the realm. However, the *chambre de l'édit* of Castres was persistently blocking the registration of the 1656 Declaration, so there was still a respite before the persecution began, and Labadie elected to remain as long as possible, to the horror of what his biographer calls a league of priests and prelates, politicals, temporisers and libertines. Throughout May and June he wrote to other influential churches and individuals of the region, seeking to enlist support, and replies are preserved from the towns of Castres, Bergerac and Milhau, the synod of Languedoc and a senior official at the *chambre de l'édit* at Bordeaux.<sup>71)</sup> He completed a work of devotion, the *Recueil de quelques maximes*,<sup>72)</sup> and spent ten days at Calonges, preaching as the guest of marquis de Bougy. The catholic party made a final bid to entice him to return, assuring him that he was not as badly thought of among them as he might suppose, but rather had many friends, and bringing word that Mazarin had ordered Labadie's table to be covered with gold if he would abjure.

The *chambre de l'édit* at Castres was finally forced to register the 1656 declaration against the Calvinists, yet Labadie was still there in June when La Vrillière wrote to Chancellor Séguier that the recalcitrant pastor continued to preach and fulfil the functions of his charge. Cromwell's agent John Pell also wrote to secretary Thurloe on 11/21 June: 'Montauban will not suffer Monsieur de l'Abadie, their pastor, to go out of their towne.'<sup>73)</sup> On 28 June Jean Verdier and André Martel, pastors and professors, drew up a testimonial; they present the



customary *éloges* (exemplary life, good teaching, etc.) adding that they hope his departure will only be temporary, until his name is cleared. As if mindful of the Mlle. de Calonges episode, they conclude:

he has behaved so well with regard to morals, that we are able to attest that he has led a life completely free from stain. He has been an example to others;... he has expressed in his life what he has preached and taught from the pulpit.<sup>74)</sup>

It was still another month before Labadie left Montauban, according to a poem in the posthumous *Fragments de quelques poésies* (bibl. pt. B, no. 97), which bears the postscript 25 July 1657, 'the very day I departed from Montauban'. Henri Lebret, provost of the cathedral chapter, came to deliver various *arrêts* to Labadie but found that he had already left in the night, *en route* for the principality of Orange. His departure caused an uproar and aggravated the hostility between the Arbussy supporters and those of Labadie, the latter maintaining that their hero had been forced to leave because of the former's jealousy. They were still enjoying the scrap two years later. This is clear from a letter that the blind Jacques Couët du Vivier wrote from the National Synod at Loudun to his uncle, Paul Ferry, pastor of Metz, on 5 December: the provincial synod of Mauvezin had finally found Arbussy guilty of incompetence and recommended his transfer to Saint-Affrique; Arbussy appealed vigorously with several pamphlets, which only angered the populace still more, 'which was already only too heated, ... and which redoubled its hatred with the suspicion that it had that M. d'Arbussy had contributed much to the withdrawal of M. de Labadie, who had been loved with all the ardour imaginable and who had only left Montauban to the deep regret of the whole church'.<sup>75)</sup>

This division in the protestant camp delighted the Catholics. Mazarin wrote to Bertier on 16 January 1658 to gloat over the recent developments, and the *intendant*, Hotman, wrote on 2 January 1660: 'the division still being very great between Arbussy and Labadie [or rather, their adherents], they are in less of a position to think or perform any respectable action.'<sup>76)</sup> And while the seditions continued (a major one occurred in 1659 when the Jesuits erected a stage for a drama),

bishop Bertier completed the rout by transferring the *cour des aides* from Agen to Montauban, bringing some 100 influential catholic families to the town; the protestant Academy was also transferred to Puylaurens, where its former glory declined. Calvinist voices continued to raise weak protests, but within three years of Labadie's departure, the once proud protestants of Montauban were fully under state control.

## CHAPTER 5

### In Demand. Labadie at Orange, 1657-1659, and his call to London

Accompanied by friends, Labadie left Montauban and travelled by way of Nîmes. He was popular here<sup>1)</sup>, but on this occasion did not want his presence known to the populace; therefore, by prior arrangement, the pastors and magistrates came to meet him outside the town, from whence he journeyed to the principality of Orange. Three of his closest adherents accompanied him and he arrived on 1 August 1657.<sup>2)</sup>

His choice of refuge was logical. Though situated within the borders of France, Orange had been ceded by Henri II to William the Silent, of the house of Nassau, by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559 and functioned as an independent principality administered on behalf of the house of Nassau-Orange by a governor appointed by the *stadhouder* of the United Provinces. It was therefore outside the jurisdiction of France, which was represented there through her ambassador to the United Provinces, yet lay close to all the major towns of the Midi and thus became a place of refuge for many a persecuted Huguenot.<sup>3)</sup>

The Principality at the time of Labadie's arrival offers a fascinating insight into protestant/catholic relations in microcosm and causes a rethinking of the general idea of permanent intrigue and hostility. Surrounded almost entirely by Papal annexes, the Comtat Venaissin and Avignon, Orange itself was, numerically at least, protestant. It was a bishopric, with cathedral and collegiate chapters and several religious houses, but was governed by a protestant, Count Frédérick de Dohna, a blood relation of the house of Brandenburg. His father had built a Calvinist *temple* in the grounds of the governor's residence, but Frédérick sought to exercise authority as impartially as possible;<sup>4)</sup> when pushed, however, his allegiance was to the Calvinist cause.<sup>5)</sup>

Internal affairs were handled by the *parlement*, which again causes a rethinking of accepted ideas. The acrimony that followed Richelieu's decision that French *parlements* were to be *mi-parti* (composed of an equal number of catholics and protestants) is well known, and we have seen ample evidence of it at Montauban. Yet at Orange, the *parlement* had actually *asked* to be made *mi-parti* and operated as such to the satisfaction of all. The fact that the Catholic councillors were free to live on French soil while the protestants had no such wish, meant that, at any given time, the protestants could have profited from the absence of a Catholic or two and forced through administrative rulings to their own advantage, but they chose not to. The religious orders seem not to have complained either, and this happy coexistence ran right through the social spectrum. An example is the protestant *annobli* Jean de Drevon, whose house in the patrician rue de l'Horloge was always open to Jesuits, *missionnaires* and second order clergy in his attempt to secure a councillorship of Toulouse for his son.

The protestant church at Orange was doing well when Labadie arrived. It belonged to the synod of Dauphiné and the *colloque* des Baronnie, where protestants outnumbered catholics considerably, and had two *temples*, one in the city itself and the other in the village of Courthézon. It had around 4,000 – 5,000 communicants and its reputation was good. An anonymous *réfugié* refers to it as maybe one of the three best churches in Europe, and its pastor, Jacques Pineton de Chambrun the younger, reminiscing in 1688, wrote: 'In those days the pastors of Orange were held to be the most fortunate of all in the dependency of the National Synod; and it is true that one could not have had it better, living under the protection of a great Prince, whose fathers had made this church to enjoy a long peace.'<sup>6</sup>) Elsewhere we read of it as flourishing,<sup>7</sup>) and that the congregation had grown by half over the years 1638-1658. So a church that fifty years before had been so poor that it could not afford a stipend for a third pastor, was now tended by, and able to support, four: Jacques Pineton de Chambrun, *père*, his son of the same name, David de Sylvius and Matthieu Vial.

The catholics were also active, though the bishop, Hyacinthe Serroni, a tool of Mazarin, was frequently away on naval business. The Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, that

most ardent foe of Calvinism, was represented in the city and making some advances, but by and large the Catholics sought to cause no trouble. It is, however, vital to note that precisely at the point of Labadie's arrival, there *were* rumblings of denominational discord, motivated largely by a visit to Paris of the *Princesse royale* in 1656. An example is a letter of 3 February 1657, sent by an officer of the garrison to *premier consul* Dubois, reporting delivery to the Capuchin convent of a mysterious crate: did it contain bombs, or the body of the recently deceased Duc de Candale?<sup>8)</sup>

Such was the background to Labadie's 22-month ministry at Orange, but unfortunately little is known of his stay, partly because of the confiscation and loss of the protestant church records, and partly because the manuscript biography so often referred to above, breaks off abruptly at Montauban. What is known, however, is that Labadie was asked to preach, as a result of which the protestant population clamoured for him to remain. After almost three months, on 28 October 1657, he was made *pasteur extraordinaire* at a service in the *grand temple* in the presence of governor Dohna and the whole consistory. Vial led the prayers and Pineton de Chambrun the elder gave the address.

As at Montauban, work began forthwith on moral reformation. Church attendance was dwindling while Sunday entertainments increased; vanity of dress was everywhere apparent; prostitution was rife; card-playing, dice and drinking abounded. Labadie preached against all of these, not sparing the governor, whose sumptuous living, dances and balls he vigorously denounced until they stopped. Moreover, Labadie succeeded in having the consistory end the tradition whereby the congregation stood up as the governor entered the *temple*. Dohna did not object, but rather approved the new rigours. His wife, Espérance de Ferrassières de Montbrun, drew Labadie's attention by her spiritual virtues. Bayle himself sang her praises: 'she has all the beautiful qualities of French women without their faults, for she has a fine and delicate mind, ... much sweetness and great beauty.' While French women are coquettish, 'she of whom I speak makes her capital only out of piety, love for her husband and a manner altogether virtuous.'<sup>9)</sup>

It was to Countess Dohna that Labadie dedicated the preface of the work he wrote in December 1657: *Les Saintes Dec-*

*ades des quatrains de pieté chretienne.*<sup>10)</sup> In the preface, dated 1 January 1658 and partly in verse, he speaks of how the work was conceived, as it were, in her room – an indication of audiences given.<sup>11)</sup> The work itself is in the form of ‘exercises’, made up of quatrains, extolling various elements of God’s nature. Labadie declares himself to ‘hold more to being a good Christian than a good poet,’ and it is true that his verse is no better than the doggerel of his La Graille days. Better moments are found in the poem *Dieu sous le symbole d’un grand air*:

Un air de musc, d’ambre et de roses  
 Ne fut iamais si parfumé  
 Que toi, divin Air embaumé,  
 Qui répand de ton sein l’odeur de toute chose.  
 O qu’à mon coeur, à ses narines,  
 Tu fais un doux camphre exhaler.  
 On pourrait tout l’ambre brûler,  
 Qu’on n’auroit rien d’égal à tes senteurs.

And there is the motif which recurs so often in Labadie’s writings, of him swimming on the surface of the ocean which is God, for as long as his strength allows, after which he will gently slip below the surface and be with his Lord:

Je vais tant que je puis sur ta mer à la nage,  
 Mais quand je ne suis plus, je fais en toi naufrage.

Labadie’s arrival in the principality ruffled the catholic party and threatened the coexistence hitherto so carefully maintained. Late in 1657 a catholic consul named Deslonges spread libellous rumours about him, which were so venomous that the *parlement* sent commissioners to proceed against him, who duly found him guilty. Feeling the commissioners were biased because they were Calvinists, Deslonges appealed to the full *parlement*, which upheld the sentence. Deslonges fled the principality and an act of *prise de corps* was passed against him; on his return he was taken into custody, and Labadie intervened to limit his punishment to a public acknowledgement of his guilt.<sup>13)</sup>

Several attempts were made by Rome to persuade Labadie to return. The archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, Cardinal

Jérôme Grimaldi, sent his *aumônier*, named Grumel, to reason with him, but in vain. Yvon further records the visit of an old friend from Labadie's Amiens days, named Dupond, who came in the name of the Prince de Conti and the three Grignan brothers<sup>14</sup>) to persuade him to abjure. Labadie informed him that, with all the superstition and corruption of the catholic church, nothing in the world could tempt him back. Dupond left, commenting: 'I told them so'. Next came the man at whose hands the Prince de Conti had undergone a spiritual awakening two years earlier, Gabriel de Ciron, canon and chancellor of Toulouse University. A leading figure in the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement and an ardent foe of Calvinism, he had been instrumental in the foundation of the Congrégation des Filles de l'Enfance in 1657; this was an order where converted Calvinist girls could be taken in and saved from heresy. Its superior was Mme. de Mondonville, while Ciron remained chief director. In December 1657 he was at Toulouse and felt events at Orange sufficiently serious as to warrant a visit and a disputation with Labadie. On 3 January 1658 he wrote to Mme. de Mondonville:

I came with the intention of seeking to gain some advantage over the wretched Labadie, who is causing in these matters inconceivable harm to the Catholic faith; I sent to speak with him by his former disciple,<sup>15</sup>) but he is making difficulties with regard to our meeting, which indicate that he has no wish to see me.<sup>16</sup>)

Whether or not the disputation took place, Ciron did not leave Orange empty-handed. When forced to leave, 'repulsed by a band of sectarians,<sup>17</sup>) he took with him a young girl who had come under Labadie's influence.<sup>18</sup>)

Ciron later (June 1658) visited Bordeaux with his *protégé*, the Prince de Conti, and met Labadie's former colleague at the Jesuit *maison professe*, Jean-Joseph Surin. That one topic of conversation was their mutual bugbear, Labadie, is clear from Yvon's assertion that Surin used his influence on the Jesuits of Avignon to oppose Labadie. Indeed one skilled polemicist, named as 'Grassius',<sup>19</sup>) travelled from Avignon to dispute with Labadie, but the result is not known. Finally, opposition came from the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement itself, which recorded on 4 July 1658 'that it would be important to have the apostate Labadie removed from the realm.'<sup>20</sup>)

Labadie's popularity within protestant circles was, however, considerable. The governor and his wife protected him, as did the commandant of the castle, Jean-Henry de Berckhoffer. The consistory defended him at every turn; when pressure was brought to bear against his admission to the pastorate, the consistory wrote letters on his behalf to the young William III and to the three princesses of Orange, the *princesse royale*, Henrietta Maria; the *princesse électorale*, Henriette-Louisa of Brandenburg; and dowager princess Amalia von Solms-Braunfels. Calvinists from Languedoc, Dauphiné and Provence, drawn by his reputation, came to hear him preach and to seek personal meetings. One example was Daniel Chamier, grandson of the Calvinist patriarch of that name who had helped in the drawing up of the Edict of Nantes. Pastor at Beaumont-les-Valence, he left his church for two months in order to go and sit at Labadie's feet. From 12 January to 2 March 1658 he lodged at Orange and recorded his impressions in a letter. He praises Labadie's 'great and extraordinary gifts', adding that all who hear him preach 'give thanks to God for having sent us this pastor, so pious and learned, who ought to be the subject of our admiration and our joy, as he is of the envy and spite of those who hate our religion.' Of his personal contacts he writes: 'he had the goodness to receive my visits kindly, and by his discourses, both private and public, gave me to recognize the excellent gifts that God was placed within him.'<sup>21)</sup>

Such was the state of church matters at Orange in 1658. More momentous by far, however, were the political developments surrounding the principality. These, though largely peripheral to a study of Labadie, nevertheless led to his enforced departure from Orange and need to be outlined here, not least because of the light they shed on interdenominational relationships. There were two concurrent wrangles, one over the ownership of the principality and the other over the tutelage of young Prince William III, and in both the trump card was to be played by Louis XIV.

Because of certain complications over legacies,<sup>32)</sup> the House of Orange, the Elector of Brandenburg, Louis XIV and Henri, duc de Longueville all laid claim to the principality as of right, and all four were involved in intrigues to wrest the land their way. More complex was the tussle between the three princesses. Henriette Maria, *princesse royale*, daughter of Charles



I of England, had been left a widow at twenty, with a little son. Her claim to sole rights of tutelage, however, had been overruled by the two other princesses; they claimed she was too young, but the fact that they were protestant and the *princesse royale* catholic, hints at a deeper motive than mere concern at a mother's emotional stress! So an agreement was reached whereby joint tutelage would continue until 17 February 1657. This, and the fact that Count Dohna's term of office expired on 13 June of that year, meant that matters were in ferment at the time of Labadie's arrival.

Dohna feared that Henrietta-Maria would claim sole rights of tutelage and use this to the detriment of protestant liberties within the principality. Moreover he had reason to believe that she would not renew his term of office and had therefore bought an estate at Coppet on Lake Geneva, in case of dismissal; for the meanwhile, however, he resolved to stay on and defend protestant rights. So 1658 saw three significant moves. Firstly Henrietta Maria prevailed on Mazarin to order a trade embargo on the principality and to abolish the tolls on the Rhône which had hitherto brought Orange a healthy revenue. Next came an unsuccessful plot by several members of the Silvius family and Beauregard, treasurer of the *parlement*, to oust the protestant princesses, assassinate the governor and hand the principality to the Duke of Longueville. Finally Dohna decided to increase the number of councillors in the *parlement* from eight to ten, introducing two of his own *confidants*, Jérôme de Chieze (Catholic) and Paul de Drevon (Protestant), a friend of Labadie's; such an action would assure him greater control over the *parlement*. On 3 May he drew up an edict to this effect; three weeks later he required its endorsement from councillors Riconières and Silvius and summoned the heads of religious houses to assure them of his good intentions. The *parlement* was appalled; the enrolment of new councillors was neither necessary nor, technically, Dohna's responsibility, and the townsfolk were content as matters stood. So the *parlement* wrote a long letter to the Prince of Orange at The Hague on 29 May.

Matters grew worse. In June Dohna began enlisting troops and placed the city under a civilian militia. The *parlement* went into recess and Dohna used the opportunity to order the repair of the fortifications.<sup>23</sup>) At this the resident councillors sent word to the prince that the governor 'was starting to alter

the union of his subjects, and dividing catholics from protestants by the mistrust which he gave the one towards the other.<sup>24)</sup> Orange's long-standing *entente cordiale* was in danger.

Parliament was in recess until 20 July, by which time Dohna had had treasurer Beauregard's house searched and *avocat général* Sylvius arrested and replaced for their part in the plot outlined above, and with these obstacles removed, on 9 August, he had the two new councillors invested with great pomp, parading with them through the streets, all dressed in robes and *bouffelets* (a mark of office worn on the left shoulder). Protests from various councillors were overruled<sup>25)</sup> and the *parlement* saw no other course than to inform the papal Vice-Legate at Avignon, Giovanni-Niccolò Conti, with whom they conferred on 12 August. Convinced that the only answer was to declare the *princesse royale* sole tutor to her son, they met secretly on 24 August near the chapel of St. Laurens at Courthézon, on Orange soil, passed an *ordonnance* to this effect and annulled all previous decrees of the governor. These details were posted on placards throughout Orange, until Dohna had them taken down and burned in the main square.

Thus the state of play politically, and it is significant to note that these controversies cut right across denominational allegiances. Religious loyalties were suspended, and both the parliamentary and the governor's parties comprised both catholics and protestants. An example is the list of known arrests resulting from the Beauregard/Sylvius affair: Jean de Sylvius, *avocat général*, pastor David de Sylvius, Mme. de Reynaud, Messrs. La Tour, Icard, De Langes, Lubières and d'Alençon were protestant, while treasurer Beauregard, *viguier* Saunier de Portecleire and Louis de Lapise were catholic. Moreover, on one occasion when a riot was threatening, several catholic nobles came to governor Dohna to offer their support. Here again, Orange causes us to rethink the relations between the denominations at this period.

While all this was going on, Labadie was seeking to live as normally as possible. He preached against irreligion as propounded in 'the new translation of Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*,<sup>26)</sup> and penned a preface to Pierre Catalon's *Discipline Ecclesiastique* that was published at Orange that year.<sup>27)</sup> Yvon says he was prompted to do this by the laxity which he saw in French Calvinism; the result is an 11-page discourse on

the value of order, its tone simplistic to the point of being patronising. He outlines all the biblical parallels for the Church (army, nation, household etc.) and demonstrates how each cannot stand without discipline; therefore 'the sure sign of the fall of a Church is the loss of its discipline.' The only noteworthy passage is the conclusion, which outlines at once the laxity of Calvinism and Labadie's faith that it may be rectified.<sup>28</sup>) One is also tempted to see Labadie's influence in some of Dohna's activities. Yvon reveals that the governor was deeply influenced by Labadie and laid aside his former ostentatious ways, which might be a further explanation for the pawning of his wife's jewellery already referred to; also Labadie sought to draw the protestants back from worldly fraternising with catholics, for some had even joined catholic societies and 'imbibed their superstitions'. This too might be reflected in Dohna's polarising policies.

The catholics of Avignon sought to decry Labadie with the allegation that the Calvinists of surrounding areas were making him into a saint and Orange into a place of pilgrimage. In a sermon Labadie humorously commented that, if this was so, the pilgrims were considerably better treated, being lodged and fed free of charge by the protestants of the principality, while catholic pilgrims were ruthlessly exploited by innkeepers. More serious, however, was the slur cast upon his character by his relationship with a young woman. Details are found in a letter of Constantijn Huygens of The Hague: Mme. de Dohna told him of how Labadie had sought to gain the favour of 'the daughter of sr. Devon de l'Horloge', by giving her spiritual exercises, and that he wrote her a letter beginning 'To the elect soul' ('A l'ame eleüe'), bidding her reveal nothing to her parents.<sup>29</sup>) A work written against Labadie twelve years later claims that the daughter, scandalized, gave the letter to her parents, who barred Labadie from their home thereafter.<sup>30</sup>) The figure in question was Olympe de Drevon, second daughter of Jean de Drevon, an ardent social climber, who lived in the suburb of Langes, in the rue de l'Horloge.<sup>31</sup>) The allegations of immorality clearly echo those of Labadie's Bazas and Toulouse days, but a reading of the full text of the letter reveals little that could be misconstrued: regret that she is 'not fully her own', a desire that his letter be 'for her eyes only'. One even wonders if this was not standard practice among directors of consciences where only one member believed and

parental disfavour was feared. Finally, if this event stirred such scandal in the Drevon household, is it likely that within a year councillor Paul de Drevon could sign a testimonial for Labadie praising ‘the example of his good life and morals’?

Meanwhile the *parlement* had left for Holland, negotiating at Paris on the way. Dohna had sent his aunt, dowager princess Amalia, to confer with the prince at The Hague. Following agitation by the papal nuncio, Coelius Piccolomini, at Paris,<sup>32</sup>) the *princesse royale* wrote to Dohna to send Labadie away, and orders were given to the *intendant* of Languedoc to arrest him as soon as he left the principedom. Within weeks the *princesse royale* reversed her request, informing Labadie that if he could persuade Dohna to resign, she would replace him with a French Calvinist and guarantee to maintain protestant rights. She also wrote (3 October 1658) to the protestant consul La Tour, stressing her peaceable intentions.<sup>33</sup>) The catholic party sided with her, and on 3 November the cathedral chapter gave her its allegiance; the regular clergy followed suit and, strengthened by this, Henrietta Maria published an edict on 24 December proclaiming her regency and sole tutelage of her son. Though Dohna ordered the placards to be torn down and burned, it was becoming clear that the town was uniting behind the *princesse royale*.

Following the *parlement*'s meeting with the Vice-Legate, an attempt was made by the papal party to surprise the citadel of Orange one night and seize power, but the attempt was thwarted by the vigilance of governor Dohna. No details are preserved, but the protestants spread the news far and wide, for example by letters of 15 September printed in the London diurnal *Mercurius Politicus* (no. 437, 7-14 October 1658). Nîmes, hearing of the attack and fearing for the safety of Labadie, offered public prayers for him and sent a delegation to Dohna to demand that he be properly protected. The Vice-legate, Giovanni-Niccolo Conti, kept Cardinal Pamphili at Rome informed of all developments. He sent a memoir (undated) concerning Labadie's life history, a translation of the *Mercurius Politicus* article and a letter of 20 October in which he lays blame for the whole affair on Labadie:

The corruption of a good man is a serious thing; Labadie, of whose apostasy I have already made mention in another report to Your Eminence, has so stirred things up that he

has achieved what he wanted, and it is precisely he who has been the author, councillor and notary of the whole band.<sup>34)</sup>

The memoir expresses concern that Catholics are travelling *incognito* from the papal Comtats to hear Labadie, of whom Conti says: 'by those who know him, he is thought of as little versed in the things of Holy Scripture and in the controversies of religion, but as gifted solely with some ease and effectiveness of speech.'<sup>35)</sup>

In November 1658 the Court came to Lyon in order to put pressure on Orange and another recalcitrant town, Marseille. It stayed a while at Pont-Saint-Esprit, not far from Orange. Because most of the *parlement* had withdrawn, Dohna sent the remaining three councillors plus Pierre de Bérenger de Beaufin, to pay the principedom's respects. The protestants preempted any attack on Dohna by drawing up a declaration of complete confidence in the governor, praising his honesty, impartiality and devotion to duty 'which have won him the esteem and the hearts both of those in his home and outsiders' (see note 4). They also begged the *princesse royale* not to interfere, knowing her intention of travelling to Lyon to confer with Mazarin. Labadie also made a move by sending a letter with Orange's grievances to the protestant *député-général*, Ruvigny, which he sent by way of a friend, Louis Tronchin, pastor of Lyon. The letters are dated 27 November 1658. Labadie asks Tronchin to keep an eye on developments at Court, to see whether the clergy was plotting against him, and tells him of the attempted attack on Orange.<sup>36)</sup>

Louis XIV sent an envoy named Touchepré to propose the surrender of Orange on terms, but Dohna refused and sent his father-in-law, Count Ferrassières, to negotiate with Mazarin. The Duke of Longueville made his final move with an attempted bribe to Dohna to cede power to him; Dohna refused, Longueville withdrew from the whole affair and Louis proposed to send *député-général* Ruvigny to the principality in response to protestant requests. Ruvigny, however, excused himself on grounds of indisposition, but revealed his true reason in a letter to Dohna: he would have come had he felt his visit would serve any purpose, but the king was now too committed to withdraw. At this point Louis declared his recognition of Henrietta Maria as sole tutor to her son; this was posted on placards at Orange and six divisions of troops made

ready to march on the principedom. Dohna promptly declared the decree a forgery, notified the United Provinces of his plight and offered to resign so as not to be the cause of bloodshed. He also began to levy troops from Nîmes and the Cévennes, but these, together with the garrison and twenty Swiss who deserted from the royal army to help fellow Calvinists, came to only 400.<sup>37)</sup> News of this reached Louis, who had too much occupying him already, without provoking insurrection in Bas-Languedoc and the Cévennes, so he took no further action than to announce that anyone siding with Dohna would be held guilty of high treason, an offence punishable by death.

Labadie could foresee grave consequences for himself if France gained a foothold at Orange, so he began to look for a fresh refuge. His desire was to go to England, having been impressed by English protestant spirituality through Cromwell's envoys in Guienne six years before. He therefore addressed letters to the celebrated campaigner for protestant unity, John Dury (Duraeus), expressing his desire of a pastorate should one be available.<sup>38)</sup> And the London diurnal *Mercurius Politicus* of 7-14 October printed a lengthy account of events at Orange, mentioning Labadie ('a pastor of an exemplary life and of singular learning') and presenting him in so favourable a light that it is probable that the letters emanated from Labadie himself and were intended to dispose the English public towards him: his inspired preaching, the conversion of Catholics, his persecutions.<sup>39)</sup> Significant too is the insight into Louis XIV's real motive in his pressure on Orange, namely to remove a protestant bolt-hole and strengthen his status as self-styled catholic champion; this was to be confirmed by subsequent events.

Though London delayed for some time, an opening finally presented itself. The French church in the city had experienced a schism in 1642/3, based on differences between presbyterian, episcopalian, and independent views of church government. During the Civil War, with the episcopalian party losing ground, one pastor, Jean d'Espagne,<sup>40)</sup> pressed for the foundation of a separate French church at Westminster; the pretext was that the official church at Threadneedle Street was too far away, but in reality D'Espagne leaned towards Independency. The move was approved by parliament, and many French nobles and even English parliamentarians trans-

ferred allegiance to it. Threadneedle Street made repeated attempts to have the schismatic assembly suppressed, to the House of Orange, to the Bar of the House of Lords. D'Espagne, however, had the support of Cromwell,<sup>41)</sup> who granted him the use of the chapel of Durham House and, when this was demolished in 1651, the chapel of Somerset House.

Skirmishes continued throughout the 1650's with the mother congregation, pastored by Cisner and Stoupe.<sup>42)</sup> And it seemed as though an accord was at hand shortly after the accession of Richard Cromwell. D'Espagne, old and ill, asked Threadneedle Street for a preacher, and the mother church hoped for reunion. What it did not know was that Westminster had already written to Labadie at Orange to say that its pastor was dying and needed a replacement. Following his handsome publicity in *Mercurius Politicus*, the pastor of Orange was an obvious choice.

In mid-April 1659 D'Espagne died and was buried in the chapel of Somerset House. Threadneedle Street agreed on 20th to confer with Westminster about a reunion and to write to Paris explaining the true nature of the schismatic assembly.<sup>43)</sup> It also noted that Westminster had made initial advances to Labadie at Orange. The affair being of such importance, a letter was written to Raymond Gaches, pastor at Charenton, asking him to acquaint Labadie with the predicament. The letter to the consistory of Paris likewise begs assistance and asks for Labadie to be advised not to accept 'so irregular a calling'.<sup>44)</sup>

Meanwhile a letter was addressed to Labadie on behalf of the Westminster church by no less than John Milton, then secretary to the Council of State. John Dury had finally passed Labadie's letters to him, and now that a vacancy for a pastor had occurred, Milton informed him, in Latin, that the delay was providential. After an *excursus* on his own reputation in French eyes, Milton continued:

Now, indeed, it has happened most opportunely that a certain French minister here, of great age, departed this life a few days ago. The persons of most influence in the congregation, understanding that you are by no means safe where you are at present, are very desirous... to have you chosen to that place of minister...; they promise that you shall have

an income equal to the best of any French minister here... Wherefore, take my advice... and fly hither..., where you will reap a harvest, if not perhaps so abundant in the goods of this world, yet, as men like you most desire, numerous, I hope, in souls; be assured that you will be most welcome here to all good men; and the sooner the better.<sup>45)</sup>

Threadneedle Street learned with horror that Labadie had accepted Westminster's offer by return of post,<sup>46)</sup> and wrote again to Paris on 9 May; the tone of the letter is indignant, but fair, asking the Paris consistory 'not to attempt to dissuade Mr. Labadie from a journey for which he shows so firm a desire, but simply to exhort him not to attach himself to a church which has been condemned as irregular by all our church assemblies, nor to maintain the division that has formed; and since he is resolved to come to this country, [exhort him] to work, when he arrives, to reunite that assembly which has called him with our church.'<sup>47)</sup> The letter further reveals that a conference between the two French assemblies had taken place, at which Westminster had deferred any decision until after Labadie's arrival. Hence it was all the more important to acquaint Labadie with the schismatic nature of the church at Westminster.

The atmosphere at Orange was by now tense. One *curé* and one *locateur du chapitre* had been brought to the castle by the mob, accused of posting inflammatory notices on the door of their church; cries of 'Vive le Prince!' were to be heard, betraying allegiance to the *princesse royale* and her little son; and troops were massing on the borders. Labadie felt the time had come to leave, so one night in early June he left the principality on horseback and headed for protestant Switzerland. He left with his niece, Anne de Lif, a letter of consolation to his flock. This was not passed on for some time but was then read from the pulpit in the morning service on Sunday 22 June, and subsequently printed as a pamphlet for the edification of the church. On 29th the pastors and elders of Orange replied, affectionately and without reproach, wishing only that he could have given a farewell blessing.<sup>48)</sup> A letter of 7 July from the heads of families (bearing 91 signatures) says much the same. On 20 August, long after his establishment as pastor at Geneva, Labadie wrote several replies. He speaks of having felt constantly threatened in a *mi-parti* town, at the mercy of



the hatred of some and the envy of others; he had to leave secretly, lest the townsfolk prevent his departure as Montauban had done. Besides which, he had hinted at this development by preaching on the text 'Yet a little while and you will see me no more.' Moreover, his departure will be of benefit to the protestant cause at Orange: 'Was it not indeed necessary, both to shelter myself from the insults of my enemies, and to secure peace for my friends, that is to say, for you, as well as for myself?' (p. 148). He concludes with an insight into the fruits of his ministry in the principedom:

Finally there was seen among you a true Reformation, commenced and, thanks to God..., well advanced, in a stronger and clearer knowledge of his truths and mysteries, in more reverent worship, more elevated adoration, purer in its essence; in a greater fear as well as love of his majesty and greatness; and in a more humble, religious submission to his dominion and power; ... in a greater zeal for his kingdom and his glory.<sup>49)</sup>

Here is evidence of the process already noted, whereby Labadie's own spirituality and sense of divine grandeur proved infectious to a whole congregation.

With one letter was enclosed a testimonial, dated 7 July 1659. It is a eulogy of his gifts and fruitfulness, stressing the unusual degree of God's blessing ('his rare gifts and excellent qualities', 'a man especially called of God') and his moral reformation ('having produced marvellous fruits among us, both in the instruction of souls through his great illumination and pure doctrine, and by the correction and reprehension of vice, through the example of his good life and morals'). It concludes with a plea to the church to which he is going 'to recognise him as a marvellous instrument in the hand of God for the conversion of souls.'<sup>50)</sup>

Once Labadie had reached Geneva and been detained there, events at Orange proved his departure to be timely. Louis ordered a total blockade of the principality; tolls on the Rhône passed to the crown; money from the United Provinces was intercepted; a French frigate patrolled the Rhône, sometimes entering Orange's territory; and marauding soldiers entered rural areas and committed outrages against the inhabitants. Dohna protested to all and sundry, pressing Christoph

von Brandt, ambassador to Paris of the House of Brandenburg, to intercede with Louis; the king assured him that no violence would be used, but the build-up of troops made it apparent that these were idle words.

A letter of the French ambassador to the Hague, Jacques-Auguste De Thou, is vital for an understanding of Louis' real motivation in the capture of Orange, and of Labadie's status in the drama. Writing on 29 January 1660 to Mazarin, he felt the moment was right to bring the principality into 'a more honest dependence' to the king, 'so that the place may no longer serve as a refuge for the likes of Labadie and other such factious spirits, who might entertain in that place dangerous liaisons and poison the minds of His Majesty's subjects with foreign relations.'<sup>51</sup>) This makes it plain that Louis' action was not solely political, but had much to do with his self-styled championship of Catholicism, and that the annexing of Orange was another of the clandestine precursors of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Louis came to Aix in February 1660 to receive the ratification of the Peace of the Pyrenees, and from here the finale to the drama was orchestrated. Troops were sent to subdue Marseille, which opened its gates without a shot fired. For Orange, subtler means were attempted, in the form of a bribe of 200,000 *livres* to Dohna. On 1 March Mazarin hoped that all would now be settled, having persuaded the governor to retire, but on 12 March he wrote to the *procureur général* that the plan had failed but that he hoped for a successful outcome before long. This was finally achieved when *maréchal* Du Plessis marched on Orange and camped under the walls. Dohna, with weak forces, few supplies and no instructions to defend the citadel by force, fired two cannons as a token gesture, and capitulated. It was 20 March 1660. The governor withdrew to Switzerland to a storm of recriminations for having betrayed the Calvinist populace, while Orange came under the official oversight of France until Prince William of Orange came of age in 1665.<sup>52</sup>)

## CHAPTER 6

### 'A Second Calvin.' Labadie at Geneva, 1659-1666

With two companions, in the first week of June 1659, Labadie set off for Basel, intending to take a boat down the Rhine on his way to England. It was a dangerous journey for a protestant of his notoriety, taking him through the catholic regions of Savoy and the Comtat Venaissin. They therefore crossed the Comtat by night and headed towards Dauphiné. At St. Roman a barber's boy recognized him, and the party had to gallop hard for a time before they reached Chambéry and passed from there to Geneva.

Geneva, the stronghold of Calvinism, was a flourishing republic with a population noted for its diligence. Too small for agriculture to be practised on any scale, the chief income was through crafts and trades, especially clock-making, jewellery and textile-weaving. It boasted the cathedral of St. Pierre, where it took ten men to ring the bell, with many another ancient edifice, and abounded in curiosities: two eagles kept in a cage by the river; red caps worn by the serving-maids, like the Jews of Italy.<sup>1)</sup> Mindful of its isolation amid catholic domains, it was busily increasing its fortifications with new bastions and bulwarks. Yet the traveller disembarking at the quayside would have noted that laxity had crept into the social and religious foundations of Calvin; vanity of dress, dwindling church attendance, inns open and well frequented at sermon time, all were symptoms of decline, and the *Chambre de Réformation*, the secular body to which the church could refer for stricter measures, had not been convened for a considerable time.<sup>2)</sup>

Labadie booked in at the *Balances* inn, intending only a short stay, and his presence was soon known to the city's two most considerable bodies. The *Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs*, which comprised all ministers and ordained profes-

sors, was informed on Friday 10 June that he was there,<sup>3)</sup> and decided to offer him the pulpit of St. Pierre for the 8 o'clock sermon the next Sunday. Meanwhile an honorary *agapé* would be held at the home of the moderator, to be attended by six of the foremost churchmen. The same day, the council was told by councillor Jean Dupan that he had visited Labadie and received serious news: the Duke of Savoy was enlisting cavalry, and this could well mean a surprise attack on Geneva. Dupan further reported Labadie's intention to proceed to London, where he was willing to inform the Republic of any events in that capital which might be of interest.<sup>4)</sup>

Within a week, however he had changed his mind. His sermon had attracted a large crowd and greatly contented the Venerable Company. The following Tuesday he preached at 7 o'clock before the whole council, which noted at its subsequent meeting his extraordinary gifts, 'which would make him an adornment to the state and an edification to the Church'.<sup>5)</sup> Moreover it was reported that Labadie had confided in a friend his readiness to remain at Geneva, should he be asked, in preference to any other church. This was too good a chance to miss. With unusual rapidity the syndics called the moderator of the Company and told him of their conviction that Labadie had been sent of God for the edification of their church, and that they should retain him. Two delegates, Philippe Mestrezat and Etienne Girard went that very day to visit Labadie. Confessing his feeling of honour at their offer, he declared himself willing to stay, provided the obstacle of his call to Westminster could be surmounted.

The council sent its own delegates, syndics Roset and Favre, the next day and received the same response. It was therefore decided to proceed with an examination of his life and doctrine, with particular reference to the circumstances surrounding his departure from Orange, and in the event of this proving satisfactory, he would be accepted into the Company as pastor. A letter would be sent to Westminster to justify Geneva's action, making it clear that Labadie was only on loan. The conference duly took place on Saturday 18 June and the following afternoon, and as a result Labadie was officially detained by Geneva. He asked only that the Company might join him in writing an explanatory letter to Westminster, and this task was assigned to possibly the most illustrious of all the Company, professors Mestrezat and Turrettini. Great joy sur-

rounded the appointment, shared by all except the landlord of the Balances inn, who came to ask who was going to pay for Labadie's lodging there, which so far amounted to three *pistoles*. The council decided to foot the bill itself as a token of goodwill, and the landlord left for the *chambre des comptes* in much better heart.<sup>6)</sup>

So it happened that Labadie took his place among the Company on 24 June, ironically the very day that a letter arrived from Westminster bidding him make haste. Officially, however, he still had to be announced in the churches and elected by the Conseil des Vingt-cinq, and all this was done on 3, 6 and 7 July, so that on Monday 11th the council could report that Labadie had sworn the necessary oaths and was now officially pastor. It was one month since his arrival.

News reached Westminster, which at first dismissed Labadie's retention as malicious rumour. When it received the council's and Labadie's letters, however, the consistory sent a reply which is noteworthy for its courage; far from bowing to mighty Geneva, it rather asserts boldly its rights: Labadie has given a solemn pledge and no church has a right to impede this; they are without a pastor while Geneva abounds with them; to deny them their rights is to 'put your hand to the total ruin and dissolution of our church'. They requested a prompt dispatch of their pastor on his way, adding that many notable members of the parliament would be grieved if Labadie did not arrive.<sup>7)</sup>

As confirmation of the displeasure of many of the parliament, three days later (1 August) a letter was sent to the Geneva Council by no less than William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament, who reiterated the demand for Labadie's return. The government, he writes, had provided a new place of worship for the Westminster church, only because of assurances given that Labadie would be coming; Geneva was acting without notification and against the wishes of an entire congregation.<sup>8)</sup>

Westminster's letter was read in the council on 10 August, but its effect had already been muted. On 27 July the official church at Threadneedle Street had written, seeking to warn Geneva of the schismatic nature of the Westminster congregation. So it was agreed to take no action. When Lenthall's letter arrived on 24 August, Geneva decided that a definitive answer was needed. Syndic Esaïe Colladon and the Company together

drafted a letter to Westminster, stating that Labadie had a calling of God to remain at Geneva; that he had been misled as to the nature of their assembly; that he is now officially enrolled as pastor of Geneva; and that he would be in serious danger were he to attempt the journey to England.<sup>9)</sup> Labadie also wrote, and there, for Geneva's part, the matter closed, Westminster continued to seethe until October, when on the 13th the consistory informed Geneva that it would cede Labadie to them, given the desirability of union with the church at Threadneedle Street, which any further delay would aggravate. For its part, Geneva agreed to consider ways of reuniting the two churches.<sup>10)</sup>

His future assured, Labadie was assigned his duties. Some problems arose, since it was mooted in some circles that his magnetism might put him in competition with Turretini. He would therefore preach the Sunday evening sermon fortnightly at St. Pierre, on Thursdays at St. Gervais and fortnightly at La Madeleine in place of pastor Butiny. The latter was then changed for the Tuesday sermon at St. Pierre. This settled, Labadie embarked with characteristic gusto on a series of fifty sermons on Matt. 4:17: 'Repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand.' On 29 August he led a delegation to the council to complain of the many abuses which were slipping into every area of the Reform: inns were open and well frequented on Sundays; card-playing and foul language were continuing late into the night; luxury of dress was increasing, with women wearing necklaces, silk, ear-rings and diamonds, exposing their necks and shoulders or covering them with transparent material, so as to incite lust; moreover, they powdered their hair and sported *mouches* (pieces of black taffeta worn on the face).<sup>11)</sup> Worse still, the Chambre de Réformation, which should control these abuses, showed no signs of convening, and when an individual was cited before the consistory, he would refuse to appear on the grounds that a hundred others did the same things unpunished. Meanwhile Labadie still found time to continue the correspondence with Orange. His zeal and impact led one Englishman in Geneva to seek to know more about him. William Sancroft, future Archbishop of Canterbury, who was on his way to Rome, wrote to John Cosin, impecunious chaplain to Henrietta Maria's Anglican entourage at the Louvre, to enquire after Labadie's life, and on 29 August Cosin replied with a brief history, concluding:

‘they here that have both read them, and know him well, though other wise they speak well of him, give no great commendations of his Books.’<sup>12)</sup>

Labadie’s sermons drew large crowds, which was a mixed blessing. The consistory noted with glee on 15 September that several Papists were attending Labadie’s preaching and proposed the erection of a *vitre de jalousie* with a grille, where such people could attend without attracting attention. When envoys arrived from Bern to discuss security matters, they expressly asked to hear Labadie preach.<sup>13)</sup> Yet seating was a problem. Pews had only recently been introduced and were not popular, since they put space at a premium. Now there was never enough room when Labadie preached, and students from the Academy were demanding the allocation of seats (2 September); the council had to hold a special meeting on 3 December to discuss the problem, since it was leading to the trafficking of pew-places in the churches and the bullying of schoolboys into giving up their seats.

Moreover the sermons were long (anything up to three hours), which was upsetting many in the congregation,<sup>14)</sup> and the subject matter regularly inflammatory. In October, following complaints to the consistory, Labadie inveighed against the only funerary monument to have survived in the cathedral: the sepulchre of Henri, duc de Rohan, the celebrated Protestant champion. This was a grandiose black marble base with a seated effigy, of poor workmanship, in the chapel of St. Nicholas in the south transept. Labadie complained that it distracted people in sermons and that catholic visitors had been seen kneeling before it. In December it was the image of Saints in the windows at the east end of the choir that aroused his spleen, since they could easily lead to idolatry.<sup>15)</sup> Though not alone in his complaints – Jérémie Pictet had already done so – Labadie was the first to take the matter to the pulpit. The council agreed to cover the sepulchre with a screen, provided permission was given by the dowager in Paris, but begged Labadie to desist from such denunciations.

On 5 November Labadie received free citizenship of Geneva,<sup>16)</sup> as mark of the esteem in which he was held. Further proofs of his popularity were that 1659 saw the reprinting at Geneva of five of his works, and that he was selected to baptize children of notable families, among them the son of Daniel Favre de Châteauevieux,<sup>17)</sup> at a service attended by al-

most all the syndics of the city (29 July).<sup>18)</sup> That he was occasionally ridiculed is clear from a statement made on 3 November before the lieutenant by Etienne Favre, cobbler, and Etienne Mermillod, locksmith. Visiting friends across the river Arve, they had heard a conversation in the adjoining garden; the wife of a joiner named Limousin had called to her son, who was up a tree: 'Sing, parrot, and preach like Mr. de Labadie', to which the son replied: 'But we're outside the town and he only preaches inside it!'<sup>19)</sup>

The new year of 1660 was characterised throughout by uneasiness at Geneva. Its citizens on French soil were being molested despite the Treaty of St. Julien; a plot was uncovered to re-establish the bishopric at Geneva;<sup>20)</sup> news arrived of Orange's capitulation; and in April it was feared that a surprise attack from Savoy was imminent. Hardly a week went by without mention of the work on the fortifications; in April a council was held at Aarberg between Geneva and its protestant allies, Bern and Zürich, to draw up a defensive alliance; by May, the various guilds were receiving arms drill; and a prayer was composed for those working on the fortifications, which was posted at various points of the city. Finally, in an attempt to curry favour, syndic André Pictet visited Paris to congratulate Louis on his marriage to Maria-Theresa. He met with the king, the queen mother, Mazarin and Gaston d'Orléans, presenting them with the customary eulogies, described by contemporaries as 'eloquent'.

Labadie became involved in these security matters also. In May the consistory noted with misgivings that on certain days all the eligible bachelors of the city went to work on the fortifications, attracting a large number of women admirers. Labadie was delegated to go and upbraid them for such conduct. The council, hearing of this, sent word that no such visit could take place without its permission. Labadie, believing himself to have been calumniated, appealed to the council, which pressed him to reveal his informant; Labadie gave ground and the council dismissed his appeal, ruling that no pastor should go to the fortifications.<sup>21)</sup>

More serious, however, was the length of Labadie's sermons. On 6 November it was reported that his Sunday office at St. Pierre was drawing great crowds, many of whom lived outside the walls. The gates could not be shut until they left. This had previously happened before the changing of the



guard, but now Labadie was holding forth for up to three hours, beyond the time at which the sentinels left their posts. This effectively meant a gate unguarded for some minutes, and a confusion of jostling townsfolk once the church doors opened; such constituted a grave security risk at such a troubled period, so four syndics were sent to explain to Labadie the grave consequences of his preachings and to pass on an express order to curtail his sermons.<sup>22)</sup>

1660 also saw two proofs of the divine calling which Labadie felt to Geneva: one was the surrender by Count Dohna of Orange to France, the other was the Restoration in England. Dohna arrived at his estate of Coppet on Lake Geneva, early in May, to recriminations of having surrendered too easily and having betrayed the protestant populace. Labadie, for reasons of prudence, made no contact with him. News of Charles II's accession reached the Republic on 16 May and must have displeased a republican like Labadie. Ironically, the task of penning the customary letter of congratulation fell to the moderator of the Company for that month, which was Labadie himself. Under his own signature and that of pastor Pierre de la Fontaine, dated 6 June 1660 and couched in typically florid Latin, it exhorts the monarch to remember the Kingdom of God and to be like David and Solomon, under whom Israel flourished, and as Josiah and Hezekiah, who purified the Temple and restored true worship; above all else, Labadie stresses the fact that through the king Christ himself should reign.<sup>23)</sup>

Amid such outstanding events, life continued its reformatory pattern for Labadie. Grumblings continued at Duke de Rohan's sepulchre and the windows at St. Pierre; throughout February council and Company debated the erection of a balcony, which would ease the seating problem and hide the disputed windows, but the plan was deferred.<sup>24)</sup> After further pressure from Labadie, a curtain was put over the sepulchre and there the matter rested until December, when the question arose the whether the duke's son, Tancredè, whose legitimacy was in doubt, should be interred there. As for the windows, the council said they were protected by ancient legislation and would have to stay.

It was not only church furniture that led to embarrassing sermons. When Orange capitulated, Labadie devoted a whole sermon at St. Gervais to its implications. On 24 March he had

to be censured and urged no longer to preach on political matters. Again on 10 August the council heard that Labadie had inveighed against injustice among magistrates and merchants, claiming that justice was better in Constantinople and more religion to be found in Canada than Geneva.<sup>25</sup>) The matter was investigated without record of the outcome, but the Company's plea for more charity in sermons had an obvious target.

The campaign for moral reformation continued apace, with Labadie regularly leading deputations to the council to complain of vice. A pastor was delegated to the *Chambre de Réformation* to ensure it did its job; Labadie prevailed on the Company to rule that weddings should take place on days other than Sundays, so that the Sabbath be not profaned with the excesses that frequently followed; parishioners were rebuked for the impolite way in which they requested visitation of the sick; and a close watch was kept on the discipline of the Academy, whose rector sat in the Company. An enquiry was conducted into the running of the *collège*. Following complaints from a delegation of scholars, a dossier of grievances was drawn up: tutors arrived late for lessons; once there, they promptly withdrew to confer; correction of work was inexact and arbitrary; and one tutor named Pastor even plucked his violin during lessons! This led to the compilation of a new curriculum for the college, which appeared in November. Labadie was indeed the champion of this reformatory zeal, and was hailed by some as a second Calvin, but the assertions of his biographer, Yvon, that through his ministry Sunday entertainments finished and inns closed, are not true, for such (and more) was still going on five years later.<sup>26</sup>)

All the while Labadie was gaining a following, at home and further afield. At home he was asked to be godfather; a student of theology, Elie Saurin (ironically to become one of Labadie's most implacable foes seven years hence in Holland) dedicated one of his theses to him; and on 30 May the council heard that a pamphlet had been circulated attacking Labadie, which had caused his numerous supporters among the masses to declare 'if anyone of the council does anything against Labadie, we'll kill him'.<sup>27</sup>) The delegation from Bern having brought back glowing reports of his labours and preaching, correspondence opened with the dean and collegiate pastor of that city, Johann-Heinrich Hummel, himself an ardent reformer and a man of tearful prayer. On 8 March Hummel wrote to Labadie,

blessing him for all his labours and the words of his 'ambrosial, honey-sweet mouth' and expressing the fervent hope that they may see each other's face soon.<sup>28)</sup> This in fact occurred within a short time at Lausanne, where Hummel and another eminent Bernese divine, Christoph Lüthard, professor of theology, were inspecting the academy; Labadie went to meet them there and preached a sermon computed by the rector of the academy, Müller, to have lasted four hours.<sup>29)</sup> Finally, there was contact with the young Philipp Jakob Spener, later the figurehead of Frankfurt Pietism. Spener stayed at Professor Léger's house from August 1660 until April 1661, teaching genealogy, geometry and geography. He heard Labadie preach often at St. Pierre and met him on several occasions, but his only contemporary account is in a letter of 14 March 1661 to Balthasar Bebel, in which he lauds Labadie's eloquence and power of exhortation. With hindsight, Spener speaks of Labadie's laudable zeal, his friendly conversation and his upright life, all of which had impressed him.<sup>30)</sup>

By contrast to the hectic events of 1660, the new year passed quietly. The United Provinces contributed 75,000 *livres* for the building of a bastion; further attempts were made to curry favour with the French court; and Professor Turretini went as envoy to the United Provinces in April, where he stayed some months, sending voluminous reports home to the Company. On 1 March Jean-Baptiste Stoupe arrived at Geneva. Labadie had known him in his days as a Cromwellian agent and had corresponded with him, and now Stoupe was invited to an honorary *agapé* meal, with Labadie as guest. Another old acquaintance to arrive was Louis Tronchin, who had acted as Labadie's go-between with *député-général* Ruvigny two years before.<sup>31)</sup> Tronchin was to fill the place of the recently deceased Léger, yet from now on he no longer figures as one of Labadie's protectors, nor is he listed as such in Yvon's later biography.

On 19 June Labadie bought a house. The deed was executed by notary Bernard Vautier<sup>32)</sup> and the seller was Daniel Favre de Châteauvieux, an *annobli* of colourful character. Labadie had christened his daughter and would soon do the same for his son, but Favre was not a spiritual man, having been reported to the council the year before for gross blasphemy in the town hall. The house was in the suburb of St. Gervais,<sup>33)</sup> which lay across the Rhône from the city; the traveller left by

the Porte de la Monnaie, crossed the Grand Pont on to an island in the river, and thence by way of the Pont des Maisons, on which merchants had their houses. Here, in the rue des Etuves, Favre owned two adjoining houses; the one he sold to Labadie had a garden, a barn and stable, with a watering-place for horses, and was situated on the north-east corner of the street at the junction of the rue de Chevelu and the rue du Cendrier.<sup>34)</sup> Labadie paid 4,100 florins and supplemented his income by taking in students from the academy and other lodgers. Two payment receipts are preserved: on 8 March 1662 Jean Ponson, master mason, paid 1,500 florins and 10 *sous* for 485 days at 2 florins and 6 *sous* per day, plus full meals and two boat-trips, while Jean Bosen, master joiner, paid 248 florins and 6 *sous* for 93 days at the same rate with full board.<sup>35)</sup> Here also Labadie had his study, from which several works were to emanate.

Pastorally it was a quiet year, spent in protests against drinking and gambling and in much correspondence. Lüthard of Bern wrote, sending his compliments and a book;<sup>36)</sup> Jean de Balthasar, baron de Prangins, invited him to preach at his château of La Côte, which he did, to the grave displeasure of the local pastor and the *bailli* of Nyon;<sup>37)</sup> in July he was called upon by the Company to reconcile the two professors of theology, who were at loggerheads (no details are preserved, but Labadie's mediation seems to have succeeded, for an act of reconciliation was presented in September).<sup>38)</sup> In March he was compelled to accept a vote that Sunday afternoon shooting be permitted, but succeeded in adding a codicil that it should be *after* sermon time. He wrote to Lyon in defence of a wife and children left in penury by a renegade husband; in October he reconciled two duellists. In April, as moderator of the Company, he pressed for firmer measures with the youth of Geneva: there was indiscipline at services, the sexes were mixing in pews, and even schoolchildren were irreverent. He pressed for them to be granted seats in church 'lest the dishonour of God be upon the city'. On 7 June, he asked to be relieved of the tuesday sermon at St. Pierre because of pressure of work, and changed places with pastor Dufour in the fortnightly catechism at St. Gervais. The signs of decline were everywhere, however: on 21 October an officer was killed in a duel; four days later it was reported that the *proposants* in theology were absenting themselves from Sunday readings and

weekday prayers; and in December the rector of the college lamented that the new fifth class was 'uncommonly violent and insolent'.<sup>39)</sup>

Labadie's influence outside Geneva continued unabated.<sup>40)</sup> He was chosen to send word to the Duchess of Württemberg that her proposals to unite Calvinists and Lutherans would bring more headaches than fruit. Bern requested that he be allowed to preach to their synodal gathering at Lausanne, despite the fact that he was normally forbidden to leave the Republic for his own safety; he went, and each year thereafter, preaching for up to five hours at a stretch. Yet it was evident that some opposition was brewing at home. On 1 March it was reported that he and pastor Dufour had preached 'on matters which raised scruples'; on 29 August his name was used by one Captain Courant to justify some invective which he had levelled at a young women; and in December he was implicated in a feud between two women for having alleged that one of them gave favours to the judges to influence their decision. On 9 November he was given a very clear warning to limit his sermons to one hour.<sup>41)</sup> In July it was reported that some ruffians had been singing rhymes in mockery of Labadie, but a month later something more serious occurred. On Sunday 11 August, he had heard sounds of merriment coming from the Balances inn and went in to upbraid the company, having a particularly heated altercation with one officer. Amid a torrent of abuse, he withdrew. The council investigated the matter, all concerned were censured and two ringleaders suspended from communion. Yet in November one of those implicated, Ezéchiél Gallatin, appealed against this slur on his character, and since he was the son of syndic, his voice carried weight. On 14th he and Labadie were heard. The former stressed his unimpeachable record and sought redress, claiming Labadie had 'uttered things unworthy of a Christian' and that his own actions had been provoked. The result was that both parties were reprimanded by the consistory and Labadie was left to reflect that he was not, after all, invincible.<sup>42)</sup>

That Labadie's conviction of his divine ministry of reform cannot have helped his popularity is clear from a further episode recounted to Constantijn Huygens of The Hague by Armand de Caumont, Marquis de Montpouillan:<sup>43)</sup> Labadie entered one day the home of a wealthy lady, where Montpouillan and others were playing cards; seeing that the

game did not stop, he seized the tablecloth and pulled the game to the floor, declaring: 'since you do not know what is due to people of my character, I must teach you.' Huygens whimsically asks whatever one would think of such behaviour at Sedan.

The new year of 1662 was overshadowed by two events which threatened the Republic. On 10 January, the superior of the convent of the Visitation at Annecy received the Papal decree for the beatification of François de Sales. The feast day was set for 29 January and observed with great solemnity, but bigger festivities were planned for 30 April, the official celebration. News reached Geneva and its implications of catholic resurgence were bewailed. Many a citizen was planning to go to Annecy for the celebration out of curiosity, so an order had to be passed forbidding this. More serious still was the attempt by Mgr. d'Arenthon d'Alex, bishop of Geneva in exile at Annecy, to influence France against the Republic. His grounds were that Geneva was usurping the tithes of three villages and had profited from the minority of Louis XIV by building 23 unauthorized *temples* in the Pays de Gex, adjoining Geneva. After much pressure, the court outlawed worship anywhere other than at Fernex and Sergy. Geneva sent an able diplomat, Jean Lullin, to Paris and negotiations opened. Despite the presence of the protestant ambassadors of Denmark, Holland and Brandenburg, Louis maintained his cause as the champion of catholicism and authorized the *intendant* of Bourgogne to demolish the unauthorized *temples*, which was done between 28 November and 2 December. Geneva kept the tithes, but it was a hollow victory. Catholics in the Pays de Gex took fresh heart, the bishop ordered a mission to the area for the new year and fears of fresh attacks on Geneva increased. The Republic asked agents in London to entreat Charles II for help, and sent letters to the Elector of Brandenburg, the Queen Regent of Sweden and the Landgrave of Hesse. Labadie again took politics to the pulpit and had to be censured for it.<sup>44)</sup>

Pastoral activities followed their usual pattern. Labadie was assigned a year's duty at the *Bourse française*; a cantor named Chappotet was dismissed for being found so drunk he could barely stand; Labadie led a delegation to protest against everything from incest to billiards. On 28 February Geneva agreed to follow Zurich's example in preaching a concerted series of

sermons on reformation and repentance, deliberately choosing texts on that theme.<sup>45</sup>) Opposition continued too. He was insulted by a baker whom he upbraided for working on a Sunday. A week later he was in trouble for having written to the fathers of various *proposants* in theology to complain that their sons were totally debauched. Not only did such letters threaten to discredit the Academy, but also one of the fathers in question was Jean-Pierre Polier, burgomaster of Lausanne, who wrote back in indignant vein. An enquiry was held and the Polier brothers examined, but no action was taken.<sup>46</sup>)

It would be wrong to see in Labadie's attitude towards the *proposants* a mere bugbear; rather was it a result of his deep concern at the state of the Church. These students, after all, were shortly to become pastors. A letter which he wrote on 12 May 1662 to Lukas Gernler at Basel is ample illustration: he speaks of his 'combat' for the reformation of the *proposants*, of how the theology faculty is 'the seminary of the pastorate and the nursery of the churches and their culture', and of the necessity of 'purging the grain and keeping the salt from losing its savour'.<sup>47</sup>) His methods, however, were not perhaps the best. In April two representatives of the *proposants*, Fourmanoir and Vialat, lamented to the Company that Labadie was holding them up to ridicule in his sermons; when Vialat had protested, he had been called brazen, proud and impertinent. Again the matter was investigated, and two days later, pastor Saurin of Courthézon withdrew his debauched son from the academy. Two months later it was one Pralins, whom Labadie accused of bullying, gaming, swearing and wearing a wig that he boasted of having received from a girl.<sup>48</sup>) The magistrates were not spared either; not only was Labadie frequently complaining to them that morality was declining, but he also decried them from the pulpit. The historian Gregorio Leti recalls having heard Labadie preach, concerning the trial of an *avocat* named Sales, that the magistrates were more ready to lay bets on the outcome than to do justice. Again on 5 July Labadie was reported to have preached that there was no justice for the poor and that magistrates were open to bribes.<sup>49</sup>)

Labadie also began to fall out with fellow members of the Venerable Company. On 23 August he alleged that pastor Sartoris had spoken against him, but declined to name his source; for want of evidence, the allegation was scotched. In

June it was Prof. Turretini who crossed swords. Labadie had begun to expound the Book of Revelation and stress his chiliastic beliefs; on Sunday 22nd Turretini preached (on Rev. 3:3) on the folly of seeking to know times and seasons, for the parousia would come like a thief in the night. Labadie, piqued, opposed this view the next Thursday at St. Gervais. The Company, fearing a scandal, endorsed Turretini's view and forbade Labadie henceforth to condemn any colleague from the pulpit. A week later, Labadie apologised for the whole affair. Nonetheless it is significant to note that when pastor Butiny died on 1 October and a new preaching rota was compiled, Labadie was no longer granted a slot at St. Pierre.<sup>50</sup>)

The meatiest bone of contention, however, was Labadie's holding of conventicles at his house. This he had done since its purchase and Spener had attended some in 1661, but only a year later did they gain attention. They were, of course, nothing new. They had the scriptural base of such references as 'NN and the church in their house', (e.g. Rom. 16:5); during the Reformation John à Lasco had instituted them; in the United Provinces in Labadie's day they were the daily practice of the Collegiants and were viewed sympathetically in evangelical Reformed circles; and among English Puritans they were associated with the rediscovery of 'free prophecy', where any layman could share thoughts on a given passage. At Geneva, however, they were an innovation to be viewed with caution. The first mention came on 13 May. The previous Sunday some 200 souls had held an evening gathering at Labadie's house at the sound of a bell. Questioned by the moderator of the Company, Labadie declared that there were well below 200; that the purpose had been to prepare themselves for Communion; that they had sung two psalms and expounded some texts, 'all with good order and intention'. When the syndics accused him of currying favour with the people, he grew indignant and asked whether the regular gatherings of students and girls outside the home of the moderator was not a more serious cause for scandal.

Three days later, the Company reported at length. The texts had concerned Pentecost and the Last Supper; the sermon had lasted two hours, for which Labadie had subsequently apologised; all was done seated and in a familiar manner. When Labadie was heard in his own defence, he declared that the whole meeting could not have lasted for more than one



hour. Instead of apologising for what was contrary to Geneva's ordinances, he merely gave assurance that such meetings would be shorter in future. The council, however, at the Company's request, forbade the holding of any such meetings henceforth, given their dangerous consequences.<sup>51)</sup>

The order was heeded for only two months. On 17 July the consistory reported that conventicles were continuing. The following day prof. Mestrezat informed the Company that the assembled folk prayed the Lord's Prayer kneeling and recited the Creed standing;<sup>52)</sup> that Labadie used *two* bells, the smaller in mid-week, the larger on Sundays; that the doors were open for any to enter until the hour of service, at which they were closed and barred 'like those of a prison'. On 21st the council took up the matter, claiming that Labadie was holding *three* meetings a day at the sound of an even larger bell. Four days later pastors Pictet and Tronchin recounted a meeting with Labadie where he had denied having more than one bell, adding the fanciful notion that the only participants were his immediate household and any others who happened to be there at the time, like a cobbler who had delivered a pair of shoes to one of his servants. Another pastor, named Desprez, reported that he had been on a pastoral visit to St. Gervais and heard the parishioners grumble: 'There's M. Desprez whose trying to reprehend M. de Labadie.' On 1 August Labadie gave his defence, restating what he had already said and adding that the Lord's Prayer can be recited kneeling, since it is a prayer, while the Creed, which is not, may be recited standing as a sign of unity. This explanation was accepted and the exhortation renewed to refrain from house-meetings.<sup>53)</sup>

Labadie's response to such enquiries was irritable, complaining of never being given a hearing, of campaigns against him by former syndics, of opposition from pastors Desprez and Sartoris. Moreover, his appearances at Company and consistory declined over this period as his conventicles increased, so that he was regularly absent when the matter was discussed, which gave him ample grounds to suspect intrigue against him.

At Lent 1662 a visitor arrived from Basel who was to open unforeseen vistas for Labadie. Johann Godschalk van Schurman, from Utrecht, was the brother of Anna Maria, the 'Tenth Muse' and 'Star of Utrecht', celebrated in her day as something of a wonder for her learning, music, piety and lin-

guistic prowess.<sup>54</sup>) Of the brother, Descartes said he had little wit, but he was a devout and learned man and in October 1661 had travelled to Basel to study theology under Johannes Buxtorf the younger, the eminent Hebrew scholar. Here he conversed much with Buxtorf and *Antistes* (senior pastor) Lukas Gernler, professor of theology, on matters of moral reformation, and hearing from them of Labadie's reputation in this regard, he resolved to visit him. He came around Lent, armed with a testimonial from Buxtorf, but kept his true identity hidden, calling himself Johann Godschalk. He lodged at Labadie's house for two months and was deeply moved by what he found. Of one sermon at St. Pierre (on Luke 13:5) he wrote to his sister that it lasted four and a half hours, before a packed audience, and was so fiery that even the greatest freethinkers and hardest hearts would have had to tremble. His reports home to Utrecht, enthusiastic in the extreme, are the more remarkable since this was no youthful enthusiast, being 57 and five years older than his idol. From Geneva, Van Schurman returned to Basel, where in January 1663 he became doctor of theology and was admitted as minister.<sup>55</sup>) He kept in contact with Labadie by letter, sending news of all developments to his sister,<sup>56</sup>) and made his homeward trip by way of Duisburg, where he matriculated at the university on 8 March 1663. Ill health, however, broke off his studies and he hastened to Utrecht, where he died the following year with (if we are to believe Yvon's account) Labadie's name on his lips. His reports of Labadie's eloquence, zeal and moral reformation made a deep impression on Anna Maria van Schurman and opened the way for correspondence with Labadie that would lead, five years hence, to her renouncing all her worldly glory to follow him.

Through Johann Godschalk contact was made between Labadie and the Basel divines, Johannes Buxtorf and Lukas Gernler, and Labadie wrote to them both on the same day, 12 May 1662, with Schurman as the bearer. The tenor of these letters is zealous and eager for the rejuvenation of the Church and her ministry, for a turning away through penitence and reform of the divine judgement that is apparent on every hand. There is no sense as yet of despair, nor a hint of separatism, rather the faith that such a reformation, though colossal in scope, is possible if the pastorate can itself regain the honour of the Holy Spirit and not lose heart. To Gernler he wrote:

I was overjoyed to learn from the bearer of this letter... that God had given you such a spirit in great abundance, and that among the great gifts and holy advantages that He has in His goodness been pleased to endue you with, that of a great zeal consumed you, and gave you strong desires to see the Church blossom again and the Christian spirit return that in so many places has fallen asleep. God be praised, who gives to us the same desires, and who causes us to conceive the same spiritual fruit! May He be pleased to give us, by His goodness, the grace to bring it to birth and to see it grow in this age, in which the Spirit is not only grieved and afflicted, but suppressed and almost quenched.<sup>57)</sup>

And to Buxtorf he outlined more of his own labours, hinting at the opposition that these were drawing upon his head:

The bearer of these lines will tell you with what groans, labours, trials, battles and other things of this sort I strive to open up the way and the approach for the gospel and for an evangelical reformation. Through good or bad reputation, through plots and machinations of rivals, through attacks by many and though bitter and sharp insults I press on, and am compelled to press on. By the help of God ... I am breaking through, or at least I shall not fear to break through, since the Spirit, who conquers all things, will be at my side, and while of myself I can do nothing, I can do all things in Him who accompanies me, Jesus.<sup>58)</sup>

No reply from Gernler has survived, but Buxtorf wrote on 6 August and his letter is valuable since it places Labadie in a wider context of evangelical reform in Switzerland. Buxtorf goes even further than Labadie, regarding the degeneration to have advanced to the point where all help is past. He lays the blame squarely on the doctrine of Christian freedom, so precious to the Reformed tradition, which, however, 'taken too far, leads into the toleration of all villainies and sins, and snuffs out any zeal for good works; most people carry faith in their mouth but not in their heart'.<sup>59)</sup> Buxtorf, now an old man, was saved by his death two years later from contemplating the separatist alternative, but Labadie, who some six years later would reach the same despairing conclusions, saw secession as the only answer.

Another arrival at Lent was Pierre Yvon, son of Daniel Yvon, banker of Montauban, who had been Labadie's friend and protector there. Pierre had been taken to Labadie's sermons from the age of five, and now that he was sixteen, he was sent to Geneva to be close to his former pastor. His biography speaks of meetings with van Schurman, who had left by late May. On 13 December Yvon matriculated at the Academy in the faculty of philosophy, and from this time onwards he was not to leave Labadie's side until the latter's death, whereafter Yvon assumed the leadership of the Labadist flock.

In April 1662 Labadie used his influence on behalf of several of the exiled English regicides. These had fled to Europe on the Restoration and warrants for their arrest had been issued in Autumn 1660. Safely out of English jurisdiction, the regicides had still found no place of asylum in 1662. They had made contact with Labadie at some earlier date, and now approached him for help. The manuscript version of Edmund Ludlow's memoirs reads:

In ye meantime that we might make sure our Retreat, we being recommended by our true and sinser friend Mr. Delabady to some whom he had an interest in amongst their Excellencyes of Berne, we make our Application to them for their protection, and pticularly [sic] for our Naturalisation.<sup>60)</sup>

Shortly afterwards Ludlow, Lisle and Cawley were granted asylum at Vevey on Lake Geneva, and had Labadie to thank, at least in part, for the privilege.

In July a letter was received by the consistory which cast doubts on Labadie's life. Dated from Lyon on 1 July, it was from François Mauduict, the catholic *missionnaire* whom Labadie had shamed in a disputation eleven years before.<sup>61)</sup> This *Advis charitable à Messieurs de Genève*<sup>62)</sup> was a slanted biography of Labadie; inexact (his mother did not die at 44), imprecise ('there are many more things too horrible to mention') and heavily nuanced ('he is a man who dearly loves to entertain ladies of devotion'), its intention was not only to defame Labadie but also to convince Geneva that Rome was right. Mauduict's most serious point against Labadie's former life is *hypocrisy*, changing his allegiances as often as his clothes, and an impatience of spirit. The Company delegated

six pastors to examine the letter, who noted six main points without comment. Labadie was summoned to justify himself before Company and consistory, but did not condescend to appear before either. The Council charged him to prepare a written reply.<sup>63</sup>)

June saw a near riot at the home of Labadie's neighbour, the coarse and colourful Daniel Favre de Châteauevieux. Favre seems to have adopted an ambivalent attitude towards the pastor, while his wife, Aymée de Jaucourt, was keen to ridicule him. On 19 June Labadie reported to the consistory what had happened a week before: returning home at six o'clock, he heard much commotion from Favre's house and noticed Mme. de Châteauevieux and some young lads singing 'Pasteur, pasteur, à la pipe, à la pipe!' and other ditties against the clergy, using the word Sodom often. The following Monday a man was heard reciting Pibrac's quatrains in the street;<sup>64</sup>) several armed men regularly appeared outside Labadie's door, and on one occasion Favre entered and there was a heated exchange. To cap it all, rumours reached Labadie that one Bourguet, taking the body of M. Chavanes for burial, had remarked: 'if only it was Labadie's body, we wouldn't wear mourning but flame-coloured ribbons!' The matter was taken to the courts; Bourguet denied saying anything of the sort; discord grew between Favre and his wife, and Labadie said he would move if it would ease the tension. Finally the matter blew over with exhortations to keep the peace, but in August Labadie complained that he was still being blamed for the rift between Favre and his wife.<sup>65</sup>)

It is not hard to see the connection between these developments and the fact that the next two years (1663, 1664) were so quiet for Labadie that barely ten references to him may be found from consistory, Company or council. Life in the Republic was routine: rumours of imminent attacks; the erection in Savoy of toll-booths to levy crippling taxes on Geneva's salt imports; a visit from the renowned campaigner for protestant unity, John Dury. The Italian congregation gained a new minister and Labadie was relieved of one office at St. Gervais by a *réfugié* minister from Vivarais. Morality remained constant, with some encouragements (the prisoners in the jail asking to hear sermons) and some concerns (debauched *proposants* in theology). Labadie continued his attacks on the *proposants* and on 21 August 1663 the rector himself complained; in his

defence Labadie claimed only to have spoken in general terms against profanation of the Sabbath, but two colleagues shot him down, having been present at the sermon: Labadie had categorically stated that corporal punishment was instituted by God for rascals such as the *proposants*. The Company finally admonished Labadie to refer future grievances straight to the rector.<sup>66)</sup>

Labadie withdrew a little from public life. His home parish of St. Gervais remained his centre of activity,<sup>67)</sup> and his appearances at official meetings were sporadic. We may assume that he devoted increasing time to his conventicles. This, and a sudden burst of writing, are of great significance in that they indicate a changing outlook. Yvon reveals that Labadie grew increasingly disheartened at the refusal of the Reformed to be reformed; he even thought of leaving the ministry, but was persuaded not to by his friend Jérémie Pictet and by Gédéon Guyonnet, a retired pastor from Is-sur-Tille. Central to it all was the notion of the Church. Labadie was disenchanted with the Calvinist organism, comprising vast numbers of nominal believers, and was gaining an inner conviction that the Church should be the *ek-klesia*, the fellowship of elect and separated believers: a Church solely of the regenerate. He saw, and preached on, the vital distinction between the two kingdoms, that of God and that of this world, and developed these ideas in three writings: *L'Eglise à part*, which never appeared, *Cas de Conscience sur le ministère* and *Le discernement d'une véritable Eglise*,<sup>68)</sup> the latter two of which were subsequently published at his own expense in Holland. The works amount to little more than concordances of relevant scriptures, left to speak for themselves.

To this period of disillusionment must date the revealing insight from Antoine Arnauld. In his *Apologie pour les Catholiques*,<sup>69)</sup> the Jansenist apologist recounts how a catholic friend visited Labadie at Geneva, to enquire of his reasons for leaving Rome. 'He admitted to him that he found much less devotion among the Reformed than among the Roman Catholics; and he added that he did not hide from them, but often declared, that *it was necessary to join the head of a Protestant and the heart of a Catholic to make a good Christian.*'

Two more writings against him appeared in 1663. On 30 January a second letter from François Mauduit arrived, this time printed at Grenoble,<sup>70)</sup> which largely vaunted Labadie's

failure to reply to the last and challenged him to do so. On 13 February the Company urged Labadie to reply, but on 18 September he had still not done so, and was exhorted to reply to all three outstanding attacks, the letter from the proselyte and two from Mauduit. On 29 April 1664 he said the reply was nearly ready for the printer, but Yvon records that it never appeared, since the need for it blew over. This gives rise to a speculation. Could this unpublished reply be the same as the incomplete manuscript copy of a life of Labadie preserved at Geneva's University Library?<sup>71)</sup> The work is manifestly by Labadie or inspired by him. The very classification of his life into three states is typical; it contains his own spiritual vocabulary and references to events and states of mind that he could only have supplied himself. It is a life story, breaking off abruptly at Montauban at the time of Jeanne Moysset's funeral, and is loaded heavily on the side of his ministry of moral reform, his defence by Richelieu and many bishops in former years, and the injustice of his persecution. As such, the work fits the bill perfectly as an answer to a life-story stressing his inconsistency and his disfavour with all men of position. The second work was a verse attack on several protestant leaders, so offensive and of such poor quality that it is fortunate that it probably never came to Labadie's attention.<sup>72)</sup>

All this while Labadie remained in correspondence with his many friends. Johann Godschalk van Schurman was kept in touch at Utrecht until his death, his own letters to Lukas Gernler at Basel frequently referring to Labadie's activities at Geneva;<sup>73)</sup> acquaintances at Montauban ensured a steady flow of news regarding the persecution of Calvinists in France; as a result of one of these letters, Labadie wrote on 12 August 1664 to Johann Heinrich Hummel at Bern, asking for his assistance in securing a position in the church for a notable Montalbanese protestant who would shortly be fleeing to Switzerland (unfortunately unnamed).<sup>74)</sup> In November Labadie again rendered invaluable service to the regicides at Vevey. Despite their asylum, these were frequently the target of assassination attempts, and word of one such plot reached Labadie's ears, who straightway sounded the alert:

Of this we were also advised by letters from our true friend Mr. De la Bady, who sent an Express messenger to us, by wch he acquainted us, that by a letter wch came from re-

mote ptes, these words were inserted: 'if you love ye conservation of ye English Generall at Vevay, give him to understand that he must hasten thence', without letting him know who gave that advise.<sup>75)</sup>

One of Labadie's lodgers was Pierre Dulignon, son of a former consul of Marvéjols, who subsequently became one of his most ardent disciples. After studies at Angoulême and Saumur, he matriculated at Leiden to read medicine in 1659.<sup>76)</sup> He reached Geneva in April 1663 but did not enter the Academy until June 1665, to read theology. Now, however, he was involved in a lawsuit. At 3.00 p.m. on the commercial rue des Allemands outside the shop of Moÿse Saugeon, glover, Dulignon and two other lodgers at Labadie's house attacked a young surgeon named Portalais with sticks. There were many witnesses, and though Dulignon *cum suis* claimed their action was in retaliation for similar treatment, they were found guilty and detained in the cells beneath the *maison de ville*. On 22 January they were ordered to write letters acknowledging their guilt and pay a fine of 100 *écus* each.<sup>77)</sup>

On 25 February 1664 Pierre Yvon presented theses in logic and metaphysics at the Academy, but this was the only significant event of the year for Labadie's household. He took in, on a temporary basis, a *réfugié* named d'Antraigues, and in August he received payment from the council for lodging expenses, the first for four years. One visitor was only to prove significant in later years. Vincent Minutoli, pastor of the Walloon church of Middelburg in Zeeland, came to Geneva and stayed three months, preaching regularly at St. Pierre. When he left, in mid-August, he took with him the firm offer of a pastorate at Geneva should he ever want one. On his return to Middelburg, his glowing accounts of Labadie were largely responsible for the latter's call to that town when the Walloon pastor died the following year. Ironically, Minutoli was the first to fall foul of Labadie and withdrew to Geneva. The two had, in effect, exchanged places.<sup>78)</sup>

For the New Year sermon of 1665 Labadie preached on the chastening of Ephraim in Jer. 31: 18-20, using it as a pattern for the shaking of the Church by the Lord which he felt would happen that year.<sup>79)</sup> Perhaps for this reason, the Company called a general fast for the first tuesday in May; there would



be three sermons preached at each church and prayer for various concerns: persecution in Piedmont, Louis XIV's increasing pressures on French Calvinists, and the war footing of Holland and England. By way of preparation, Labadie wrote *Le Iûne religieux*, one of his rarest works. The preface is dated 25 February and is dedicated to prof. Jérémie Pictet, and reveals a warmer side of Labadie: appreciative of true friendship and open – under certain circumstances – to correction.<sup>80</sup>) The work itself is relaxed, simple, chatty ('Nous voilà donc convaincus'). It develops Joel 2: 15 – 'Sound the trumpet in Zion. Sanctify a fast'; by comparison with Numbers 10 (about trumpets), he draws parallels: the trumpets were of silver (purity) and sounded together (unity); they called to war, mourning, sacrifice. Similarly the 'Christian trumpets' sound out for sacrificed hearts, war on Satan and darkness. They alert a people grown sleepy. There follow 30 reflections on fasting, linking it with separation and penitence.

The Anglo-Dutch war, subsequently declared on 4 March, led Labadie again to preach on political matters, siding strongly with Holland, since the Restoration had spoiled his love of England; on 23 October the council had to censure him.<sup>81</sup>) Yet this was not the first trouble of the year. On 10 February the council reported rumours that a scurrilous poem was circulating in the Republic, entitled *Genève Impénitente*, and ordered copies to be confiscated. The poem turned out to be the work of Labadie's hot-headed neighbour, Daniel Favre de Châteauvieux, and the matter was referred to the courts. The poem was in two parts, the first addressed to Labadie himself, the second in the form of a prophecy from the mouth of God, presenting Labadie as his chosen mouthpiece. Labadie is urged to even stricter measures:

Ne te travaille plus, tu perds tout ton estude,  
 Ta parole et ta voix leur paroît être rude.  
 Plongez dans les Enfers ces coeurs plus qu'endurcis,  
 Puis qu'à tant de lumiere leurs yeux sont obscurcis. ...  
 Plus grace, plus douceur, rien que des Anathêmes,  
 Aux grands maux que tu vois, cours aux remedes extrêmes.

The tenor of the prophecy is as follows:

Ce qu'il vous dit de moi, n'est point parole humaine,

Les coups qu'il a ja faits, sont ses puissans exploits,  
 Les marques assurées de mes nobles emplois.  
 Son air, son train, sa vie, sont mes divins ouvrages  
 De mon esprit sur lui ce sont des témoignages.  
 Sachez que de ma part il est autorisé,  
 Et choisi de ma part quand il fut baptisé.<sup>82)</sup>

Geneva, part deaf to Labadie's message, part jealous of it, is at the mercy of demons, having been refused by God the grace of repentance. The council held the poem to be offensive and its references to Labadie blasphemous. Favre was suspended from his office of *conseiller des deux-cents*, fined 300 *écus* and suspended from communion. On 21 December it was noted with deep concern that he had not yet sought to be readmitted.<sup>83)</sup>

Worse still, Labadie's attacks on *proposants* and magistrates continued. Asked by one *proposant* named Guilhemat for a testimonial to go to France, Labadie said he would rather write and prejudice France against him. The matter was brought to the council and settled cordially. Labadie continued to rail against the toleration of vice, luxury and Papists in the city. On 1 August the council reported with horror that, notwithstanding previous injunctions, he had declared from the pulpit that Geneva was run by the likes of Nero, Caligula and Elagabalus. This could not go on, so the council ordered Labadie to desist, on pain of immediate banishment. On 15 November, however, it was reported that he was using subtler methods and claiming he was no longer allowed to speak freely. The Company was also distressed at a resurgence of his millennial sermons.<sup>84)</sup>

Pastorally, it was a varied year. The balcony at St. Pierre was again discussed; heated debates raged between Company and council over the election of the rector of the academy; women were reported to be again reserving pew places among the men; and in April it was forbidden for women to accompany funeral cortèges. Lectors were rebuked for neglect and the rector of the academy for allowing students to freeze by not mending broken windows. Yvon transferred to the theology faculty on 13 March and Dulignon matriculated to read medicine in June, but on 12 September he too transferred to theology. Labadie gave lodging in addition to another *réfugié* pastor, Estienne Dumont de Sursol from Vivarais.<sup>85)</sup>

The battle over Labadie's inheritance produced a letter of some interest.<sup>86)</sup> The findings of the *Chambre de l'Edit* of Guienne once again favouring his claim, some of his relatives were receiving orders from the *lieutenant-général*, François d'Espinay de St. Luc, to make payments they could not afford. At some point in October Labadie's older sister, Marie, took the courageous step of appealing to the great Colbert himself, Louis XIV's finance minister. Though the wife of an *annobli*, she had little command of written French and even less of grammar and punctuation, yet her letter is noteworthy for its sheer bravery. Her pen quivering with indignation and her 64 years, she outlines her brother's life, the present trials and hardships, and gives the delightful conclusion: 'Sir, have pity on our affliction and pardon all the errors which my little experience in writing to noble men leads me to commit.'<sup>87)</sup> No reply is known, nor is the outcome of the ten years of wrangling over the Labadie estate.

On 20 April a young Englishman arrived at Geneva for a two month stay and recorded his impressions.<sup>88)</sup> Philip Skippon, son of a prominent officer in Cromwell's army, arrived with the celebrated naturalist John Ray and remained until 19 July. His account is largely of the fortifications and military matters, for example of how soldiers on the night watch received their allotted duties by drawing straws from a hat. But Skippon was also a religious man, who gives a vivid picture of church life in 1665. Labadie is mentioned ('who was formerly a Jesuit') as inveighing regularly against the carvings of saints on the ends of the pews at St. Pierre. He, and others, 'are great inveighers against black patches, ribbands on shoes, etc., night-walkings, etc.'. And he gives an account of a Sunday service.

First, chapters are read and psalms sung in the order they are printed in a paper, that hangs up in several places of the church.

While the chapters and the text is reading, the minister and men are uncovered, but in sermon time, the minister and they put on their hats. The preacher hath his liberty to use his own conceived prayer, or the printed forms. The women sit together nearest the pulpit, and the men round about. The magistrates and minsters have their distinct seats. Between the latter prayer and the blessing, they sing a psalm.

They have no other musick, nor any imposed ceremonies. The ministers use no notes; they have more action in their preaching than the Switz ministers, who have a more fix'd posture. They pray for the French king, the king of England, cantons of Zurich and Berne (who are in league with Geneva), the protestant princes in Germany, the prince of Orange, and the United Provinces. (p. 705)

In the autumn Labadie received a letter. Middelburg in Zeeland was the home of the oldest Walloon church in the United Provinces, and on 5 October its pastor, Jean Le Long, died. Its second pastor, Minutoli, had recently met Labadie,<sup>89)</sup> and this, coupled with the reports of Johann Godschalk van Schurman, led the Middelburg consistory on 4 November 1665 to approach Labadie as Le Long's successor. Their letter to him (of 12 November) caused him some consternation, as he reported to the Company. He loved Geneva, was content to remain and saw little promise in a dangerous journey to the less clement air of Zeeland. Yet the call had come unexpected and unsolicited, so it could not be ignored, and he sensed God's hand in it. Yvon records how much prayer went into the decision, and consultation with friends. Jérémie Pictet and Gédéon Guyonnet were asked, and Ludlow was contacted at Vevey: 'on his condescension to desire our opinion therein, we advised him unto it, in case he found his way at Geneva hedged up by ye Lord, and the rather for that ye seeds which he had already sowne... at Montaban [sic], Orange and Geneve would revive as the Corne (Hos. 14:7).'<sup>90)</sup> This, coupled with letters from Anna Maria van Schurman and others, begging him to take over at Middelburg where the saintly Teellinck had finished,<sup>91)</sup> made the calling attractive, and on 8 December Labadie notified the Company that he had written to Middelburg of his basic inclination to accept.<sup>92)</sup>

The general view of former biographers is that Geneva was glad to be rid of a man who had become an embarrassment, yet this does not accord with the facts. The Company's response was one of sorrow and repeated attempts were made to persuade him to stay, 'because he has been, and still is, of great edification'. Louis Tronchin pleaded with Yvon, expressing his amazement that they (Labadie, Yvon and Dulignon) could consider leaving a renowned church in which they had borne such fruit, in order to go to a little church of

*réfugiés* in a land where they could easily die of fever. On 11 December Labadie told Pictet he was still undecided, but four days later had reached a decision, and requested his release from the Company. The council said he should approach it for his *congé*, which would be granted. The Company thought the matter of such importance as to convene an extraordinary meeting to discuss it.<sup>93</sup>)

Labadie duly requested his release from the council on 2 January 1666, but there was a delay, the council deliberating and, like the Company, seeking to retain him. These, it must be remembered, were the very men who had often borne the brunt of Labadie's tirades. The delay lasted nearly two months, during which time Labadie gave his last report to the consistory (1 Feb) and made another notarial declaration in favour of his niece; he also voted a sum of money to an unnamed gentleman who had been a great help to him.<sup>94</sup>) Yet in February two further letters from Middelburg arrived, one of 4th from council to council, the other of 7th from consistory to Company. The council replied that permission had already been granted and that Labadie was free to do as he wished, but the Company agreed to persist in its attempt to retain him.<sup>95</sup>)

On 27 February Labadie again met the council to request his release and letters of citizenship. The council agreed, but with sorrow, 'since his ministry has been so edifying to this Church; we would gladly have wished him to remain among us'. With this news, and the council's wishes for God's blessing, he testified his affection to the Company on 2 March, asking for any detrimental references to him in its records to be expunged. All attempts to persuade him now failed and his mentor, pastor Guyonnet, declared that so firm an intention to follow God's will could only be good. It was agreed that a 'most honourable' testimonial be drawn up by his old friend, prof. Jérémie Pictet. This bears the date 8 March and the additional signature of pastor Chabrey. It praises Labadie's eloquence, his providential arrival at Geneva, his zeal and blameless conduct, and, like all previous testimonials, stresses the 'rare and eminent gifts, of nature and of grace, which he has received from the Father of lights'. The testimonial was approved on 9 March and a farewell gathering agreed, to be held at Pictet's house.<sup>96</sup>)

Though now free to leave, Labadie did not hurry to do so. He attended no further business meetings and conducted no

further baptisms or marriages, yet he remained at Geneva for three months and continued to preach for almost the whole period. One creditor was quick to ensure reimbursement; on 14 March notary Abraham Baveu drew up a statement in which Labadie declared himself to owe 1,200 *livres tournois* to Jean de Balthasar, Baron de Prangins. The loan dated from February 1664 and interest was agreed at 5%.<sup>97)</sup> Moreover Labadie made no attempt to sell his house at St. Gervais, but rather kept possession even after leaving Geneva, as is witnessed by a document of notary Esaïe Morel of 26 March 1668, in which a merchant named Jacob Bonnet acted as Labadie's agent in the renting of his house at 500 florins *per annum* to Maximilien d'Yvoy, subsequently quartermaster general to William III.<sup>98)</sup>

On Thursday 5 April, in a sermon at St. Gervais, Labadie delivered his parting shot: a blistering tirade against corrupt merchants, unjust magistrates and self-satisfied parishioners, adding that he had lived at Geneva for seven years in slavery. Company and council were appalled and agreed to entreat him; while the Company was measured ('he spoke many things which did not appear fitting'), the council was furious and ordered him to control his insults or stop preaching altogether. Worse still, it was rumoured that he was still holding conventicles and illicit communion services at his home. Pastor Desprez, who cared little for Labadie, investigated but reached no satisfactory conclusion. The Company delegated another pastor to preach Labadie's next scheduled sermon, 'because of his disobedience', and the council let it be known that it disapproved his being allowed to continue preaching at all.<sup>99)</sup>

Labadie remained in the Republic until the first week in June (it must have been before 8th when the Company requested full stipends for pastors Desprez and Calendrini now that Labadie had gone).<sup>100)</sup> The delay was because the journey was fraught with danger: the party would have to negotiate part of Savoy, the catholic canton of Solothurn (Soleure) and the French-occupied Rhine fortresses of Breisach and Philippsburg. Their chance came with the arrival at Geneva of a party of Waldenses from Piedmont under the leadership of one Pierre Masse. Karl Ludwig, Count Palatine, had the previous year granted land at Mörlheim, near Germersheim on the Rhine, to be settled by up to a thousand families from the

persecuted valleys, and these were some of the chief pioneers, for Masse went on to be *Schultheiss* (village mayor) of the colony.<sup>101</sup>) Labadie saw this as his opportunity, especially when three of the Waldensians fell ill. The passports issued by the protestant cantons and the Count Palatine clearly listed eighty, so Labadie, Yvon and Dulignon took the three vacant places. Labadie dirtied his face with sooty water, donned a peasant's kirtle, a pair of over-large shoes and a night-cap under a thick, grey hood. This, with a stick and a bundle of linen, was to be his disguise. At 4.00 a.m. the three left the city by different routes and met, by prearrangement, in a garden by the lake, where they bade farewell to prof. Turretini and others. Labadie left 'with tears and tender feelings' for the city where he had ministered for exactly seven years. On the Waldensians' boat they were warmly received and found in these persecuted brethren spirits kindred to their own. At Morges, they were transferred by wagon to the canal of Yverdon, whence they crossed the Neuenburger and Bieler Lakes and arrived at Solothurn. Here two officers came aboard and went minutely over the cargo, counting the personnel so exactly that the three travellers began to fear they had been betrayed. Yet Labadie, lying in the corner on a pile of laundry, was not recognized and the party journeyed on to Basel.

Rumour's were already circulating here that Labadie would be passing through, and his old friend Lukas Gernler had planned to receive him in the name of the University. Little did he suspect the presence of the great preacher among the party of impoverished refugees which arrived on 10 June. They were already expected, for on 19 May the council had delegated Emmanuel Socin and Hieronymus Menzinger to entertain them. So the party was accommodated for one week at the *Zum Kopf* inn, their stay costing the city treasury 90 pounds, with an additional donation of 45 pounds towards their travelling expenses. Yvon records the warmth of the welcome, but adds that Labadie chose not to declare himself for fear of spies. When the Waldenses left the city, the fishermen's and shipwrights' guild appointed Georg Schatzmann to accompany them down the Rhine and pay their tolls; the weekly account book of 16 June records a donation to him for the purpose of 110 pounds, 5 shillings and sixpence.<sup>102</sup>)

Safely arrived at Germersheim, the ways parted. The Waldenses asked to take Yvon or Dulignon with them as one of their *barbes*, or teachers, but this was politely declined. While waiting for a suitable boat to Utrecht, the three remained *incognito*, and a soldier whom they met, who had known Labadie at Orange, did not betray them. They spent most of the intervening week at nearby Heidelberg, and here, in a carriage, they met Jean Ménuret, who had studied at Geneva and lodged at Labadie's house.<sup>103</sup>) He took them to his lodgings, and though about to leave on travels round Europe as tutor to the son of a gentleman, he decided instead to go with Labadie to Holland. Before continuing the journey, the four made some vows, which are significant in that they reveal a curious blend of Labadie's Jesuit ideals of thirty years before and his new convictions as to the Church of the regenerate, which run closer to Anabaptism. They vowed to pursue sanctification and self-denial; to shun worldly pleasures and goods; to follow Jesus as poor, despised and persecuted; to bear the cross and to give themselves totally to the ministry of the Gospel, practising it themselves before preaching to others. These vows, especially renunciation of goods, give a veiled foretaste of the separation from all denominational forms in favour of a community with all things in common that was to take place three years hence. When the boat arrived, it was dirty and uncomfortable, the four travellers having to sleep on the bare boards at night. They passed by way of Mainz, Koblenz and Cologne and finally reached Utrecht, where they lodged at the home of Anna Maria van Schurman, who had so pressingly invited Labadie and with whom he had corresponded for three years.<sup>104</sup>)

Thus ended Labadie's involvement in the Reformed churches of Geneva and its Swiss allies. As a postscript it is necessary to note that the esteem in which he was held there ended almost as abruptly as it had begun when news filtered through of his separation from the Reformed Church in 1669. Labadie was at first unaware of it and on 21 May 1669 wrote to Lukas Gernler, his old friend at Basel, for support in his stand against Louis Wolzogen's book.<sup>105</sup>) Gernler, however, was by now hostile. He had written in his notebook that year of how sensible the Geneva church had been to release him when they did, and now, when Labadie's letter arrived, he ignored it. In a last ditch attempt to regain favour, Labadie



sent his disciple Ménuret back to Geneva. On 18 June 1669 the Company recorded his arrival, with one Jeanne Comblefort, one of Labadie's maids; both claimed to have left their master. Nevertheless they did all they could to proclaim Labadie's innocence in all the matters that had brought about his excommunication, Jeanne Comblefort handing out all manner of papers. The Company agreed not to interfere.<sup>106</sup>) The ploy failed, Geneva remained cool, and Gernler wrote from Basel to Johann Heinrich Heidegger of Zürich that he knew of nobody more able to bring the devil into the Church than the former pastor of Geneva.<sup>107</sup>) At Zürich it was the same, the most eminent churchman, Johann Caspar Schweizer (Suicer) strongly condemning Labadie's schismatic and opinionated nature.<sup>108</sup>) And as late as 1698, the pastor of Bonstetten, Hans Kaspar Hardmeier, was suspected of the errors of the then nascent Philadelphia Society, because he had deposited with a Zürich banker a catalogue of Labadie's writings.<sup>109</sup>)

It would, however, be wrong to conclude that Labadie's seven year ministry at Geneva was overlooked and its fruit forgotten. Ample testimony to this is a letter written on 30 August 1690 by Gregorio Leti, the noted historian and a staunch Calvinist. Writing to his cousin Agostino, who was bishop of Acquapendente, Leti gives an eloquent epitaph to Labadie's labours:

Your Reverence deceives himself, or has been deceived, with these persuasions that Geneva is the refuge of the wicked and the forge of all vices, because to be sure, there is no city where they are less in control. I do not deny that human nature is corrupt everywhere, and that there is neither law, nor rule, nor discipline, nor threats, nor fear of God, that can restrain the depraved nature of man when once he has given in to his evil inclination and his tendency towards wrongdoing. Despite all that, it is certain that the religious Reform has established a disposition for reformation, even of customs.

In particular, I had the fortune of arriving in this city at the same time as a certain Jean de Labadie, come from France, who was a Jesuit, and one of the most famous preachers of his day among Catholics; after which, having embraced Calvin's Reform, he evidently made great progress among

the Calvinists at Montauban, at Orange, and most of all here in Geneva, where he was a regular pastor; and I do not believe one has ever found a preacher or presbyter more feared, respected and acclaimed than he, and one may say that *he has reformed the abuses of this place, not only in its customs but also in its habits, much better and more than happened in the beginnings of Calvin's Reform*. Therefore I hope that the people of your diocese could be equally well reformed.<sup>110)</sup>

## CHAPTER 7

### Storms and Schisms. Labadie at Middelburg and Veere, 1666-1669

Labadie and his three companions arrived at Utrecht on a Saturday in mid-June 1666. Apart from brief sojourns in Germany and Denmark and a later colonial foray, they were to live out their remaining days in the United Provinces. It is therefore of value to note something of the background to the upheavals that Labadie's presence was to cause.

This was the Golden Age of the United Provinces.<sup>1</sup>) A land that had only recently languished under Spanish domination had achieved, in a short time, a political and economic stability. Healthy colonial trade was filling the merchants' coffers, and while the poorer classes still dressed in a manner reminiscent of former Puritan reserve, the upper classes dressed *à la française*, sipped tea and frequented *salons*. There were, however, clouds massing on the horizon. Louis XIV had grown strong and menacing, so had Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, and frequent naval skirmishes with England had brought the two nations to a war footing. Internally there were growing tensions between Republicans and those still loyal to the House of Orange, and within six years of Labadie's arrival was to come the 'disaster year', with the nation racked by war and dissension, her Grand Pensionary, Johan de Witt, assassinated, and the people, as the contemporary slogan had it, 'counsel-less, speechless, helpless' (*radeloos, reddeloos, redeloos*).

Since the Provinces were famed for their religious toleration, they had become a refuge for persecuted minorities. Each man had the right to his own creed and liberty to hold religious gatherings in his home. If a sect required a place of worship, it applied to the magistrates, who examined its tenets and manner of life, and if nothing was found detrimental to the State or good manners, permission was granted on condi-

tion of occasional visits from commissioners. Therefore, alongside the two official Lutheran and Reformed denominations, there grew up a host of sects: Brownists, Familists, Mennonites, Arminians, Socinians and many another, all with their meeting-houses. Jews had synagogues at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, Anglicans their churches in several cities, and the Collegiants (or Rijnsburgers) met as conventicles in private houses. Remnants of the Anabaptists survived also, chiefly in the North.

Yet there was a lurking intolerance within. While French and English ran to hounds, the Dutch amused themselves in the hunt of error. Within denominations there were divisions over certain tenets, and an ethnic trait of morbid analysis and dissension, still to be found today, was much to the fore in religious matters. The 17th century had witnessed the great confrontation of the Arminians and Remonstrants, and lesser schisms abounded: Lutherans were divided into *Altes Licht* and *Neues Licht*, Mennonites into *Sonnisten* and *Lammisten*, Catholics were split by the Jansenist question, and the Reformed had two factions in the *Voetians* and the *Coccejans*, all within the lifetime of Labadie and his successors. Against them all stood the Cartesians, who sought to interpret all religion according to the philosophy of Descartes. Such a plurality of creeds and a love of religious controversy was a cause of amazement to foreigners, who quipped that every Dutch cobbler was a doctor of divinity and that it was common to find four or five religions in one family, and its by-product was that the printing-presses of the land were kept busy with tracts, pamphlets, remonstrances and placards on all the burning issues of the day. And while the English ambassador, Sir William Temple, could hold that this denominational infighting was of a benign nature<sup>2</sup>), the acrimonious tone of so many of these tracts, their threats, their anathemas, lead one to conclude otherwise.

It was to the Reformed Church, or rather its French-speaking cousins, the Walloons, that Labadie had been called. It was now fifty years since the settlement of the Arminian controversy, yet the Calvinist church was still not at peace, being exercised on two issues which were to be important in the Labadist crisis of a few years hence. One was the debate between Presbyterian and Independent camps on church structure, the other was the Sabbath. Thomas Cartwright, fa-

ther of Presbyterians, had been active at Middelburg eighty years before and the party was influential. The Puritan *émigré* William Ames (Amesius) of Franeker had taken matters more toward the Independent stance, supported by the English church at Rotterdam. The points at issue were these: the Independents sought to reject the authority of synods and to raise up congregations comprising solely the regenerate, tended by lay pastors. Ordained ministry, they claimed, was unnecessary. The leading churchmen of Labadie's day held to the Presbyterian pattern, the standard-bearer being the church of Utrecht with its renowned theologians, Andreas Essenius, Jocodus van Lodensteyn and Gysbert Voët (latinised as Voetius). They held that the established structure could easily accommodate a revival of religion, and for this they ardently strove; they saw the Independent alternative, with all its faults, in the Mennonites. The evangelical wing of the movement, usually called the Voetian party, came to be known as the *Nadere Reformatie* (lit. 'closer' – i.e. deeper – Reformation) and was regularly presenting remonstrances to municipal councils reminiscent of Labadie's own at Geneva. The *Nadere Reformatie's* style of direct, compelling preaching also ran close to his own. Lodensteyn particularly stressed personal communion with God and used the vocabulary of the mystics, while Voetius was favourable to conventicles of the sort practised by the Collegiants and which Labadie passionately advocated.

The second controversy concerned the Sabbath and had been precipitated by Johannes Coccejus, professor of theology at Leiden, who championed the belief that Scripture alone formed the basis for Christian discipleship and that tradition was worthless. On the Sabbath, Coccejus did no more than throw the next stone in a quarrel which had raged many years earlier between Gomarus and Walaeus. The former held that sabbath observance was of obligation for the Christian, while the latter claimed that the Gospel had reduced it to a moral consideration. Coccejus sided with Walaeus and was immediately opposed by Essenius and Hoornbeek. With a schism fast approaching, only the deployment of troops and the banishment of certain preachers averted disaster. Nonetheless the embers still smouldered at the time of Labadie's arrival, with an uneasy truce between two camps choosing to avoid the sabbatarian question.

The Walloon Church had remained largely unscathed in all this. It was the body of French Calvinists that had fled to the Netherlands the previous century and it had its own synod, which met twice a year, and two *classes* to handle smaller matters. Its meetings were held in French but were attended by many Dutchmen, including government officials, since it was esteemed for its antiquity and its heroism in persecution. Here too, however, differences existed. Delft, The Hague and Amsterdam were outspokenly Presbyterian, while Zeeland, especially Middelburg, was more Congregational.

On their arrival at Utrecht, Labadie, Yvon, Dulignon and Ménuret made for the spacious house overlooking the cathedral churchyard where Anna van Schurman lived.<sup>3)</sup> Labadie was already a known figure, both through this good lady's attachment to him and through the *Mercurius Politicus* article of seven years before.<sup>4)</sup> Thus, during a stay of ten days at Anna's house, he was visited by most of the leading churchmen of the city. Voetius himself invited him to preach at the Walloon church the following day, since its minister, Louis de Wolzogen (or Wolzogue) was away preaching to the military. Labadie accepted and chose a text from the Psalms concerning the Kingdom of God. Yvon records having noticed a change in style: less erudition and more concern for the practice of the word. The sermon was well received, and during the ensuing week Labadie conversed much with the ministers on matters of moral reformation. He also met Wolzogen, who had known him at Montauban<sup>5)</sup> and had not liked him. From Labadie's point of view, Wolzogen too was unacceptable; he wore a powdered wig, frequented *salons*, played cards and employed a catholic dancing-master for his children; worse still, he held to the ideas of Descartes. Wolzogen was present at Labadie's next sermon (on 'putting off the old man'); the sermon was well received by all except Wolzogen, who took copious notes which he later passed on to the synod.

Labadie now embarked on a brief tour of several towns, haunted by Wolzogen. At Amsterdam, the latter tried to persuade Labadie to preach on a difficult subject, but he refused. They lodged with François Bélanger, a graduate in theology from Leiden, of whom Yvon says he never quite lived up to his intention of leaving all to follow Christ. They also gained a friend in the merchant, Isaac Bernarts, an elder of the Walloon consistory.<sup>6)</sup> A correspondant from the city wrote in a

letter to Johann Heinrich Hottinger of Zürich on 23rd July, making mention of Labadie's presence: 'We have here Monsr. de la Badie, who boldly preaches the reign of Christ on earth and that this is very close, so it is time to awake. I am well in agreement with him and rejoice in the gift that God has given him.'<sup>7)</sup>

From here they went to Haarlem, where Labadie preached twice on a Sunday, one text being on the conversion of Jews and heathen. Wolzogen again disapproved, and the Walloon minister of the town, De Rantre, wrote to his colleague at Leiden, Léger, that Labadie must be a Socinian. Yet when the party arrived next at Leiden and stayed at Léger's house, Labadie preached on John 6:57 and effectively dismissed any such charge.<sup>8)</sup> Thence to The Hague, where Labadie was received in audience by the Prince of Orange, who had known of him in his days in the Principality, and then, more coolly, by Grand Pensionary De Witt, who evidently regarded him with suspicion. The Walloon minister, Carré, introduced him to the celebrated Huygens household, one member of which, Luise, subsequently joined the Labadist community.<sup>9)</sup> Here and at Delft he was importuned to preach, but envoys from Middelburg arrived and bade him make haste. Several politicians of the States General, hearing that he would not preach at The Hague, invited him to dine with them outside the city, where he spoke of moral reformation. From here he passed via Rotterdam, where the Walloon minister, Charles de Rochefort, would gladly have offered him his pulpit, and arrived at the seaport town of Middelburg in Zeeland.

This was a town of some 30,000 inhabitants, a busy mercantile centre with dockyards for the East India Company, and the staple port for many products. It could boast, within its double wall and ditch, an exchange bank and twenty churches. Its spiritual legacy was anti-Remonstrant (in other words staunchly Calvinist) and its delegates had been among the most outspoken on the point at the Westminster Assembly. Besides, it had known strong Puritan and Independent influence, and a recent pastor, the saintly Willem Teellinck († 1629), favoured conventicles and mystical devotions, much as Labadie himself. However, in the intervening years, a decline had set in. One minister of the town observed to the Englishman, John Quick, in 1681, looking back some years, that before Coccejus' sabbatarian teachings, sinners would

weep at sermon-time, multitudes would amend their lives, and households would worship and catechise with diligence.<sup>10)</sup> Now, however, the story was different, as the historian Lieuwe van Aitzema wrote in 1667:

A respectable member of the magistracy there [Middelburg] hath informed me himself that the French Church was hitherto much in decline; that sermons were preached and heard with little reverence; that many came only *spectatum*; that young people did nothing but look at each other and communicate with signs; and that the preachers amused themselves in salons with discourses that smacked more of Ovid than the Bible.<sup>11)</sup>

Yvon himself wrote of the Walloon church, once the pride of them all and the oldest (1574), that lukewarmness and worldliness had flowed over it like a river and that its discipline was so slack that any who came under censure in the Dutch Reformed church could straightway come and find acceptance among the Walloons.

The church met in the former Beguine convent in the St. Pieterstraat, tended by two ministers and several *proposants*. When Labadie arrived these were: Vincent Minutoli, who had replaced Wolzogen in 1661;<sup>12)</sup> Henry du Moulin, called as unofficial third pastor a month later; and Labadie's *locum tenens*, François Renart de Limoges. And what a bunch they were! Within weeks of Labadie's arrival, Minutoli was witnessed in the company of a prostitute one night and was suspended from communion. Labadie sought to correct in love and even took him into his home,<sup>13)</sup> but despite tearful repentance, he did not change. Middelburg wrote him a letter of recommendation to go to Geneva if he wished, but within days he was further compromised, being found in the larder with a woman. On 10 March he was released from office and journeyed to Geneva. The Walloon synod of Amsterdam, however, (art. 34, 18 May 1667) censured Middelburg for excessive leniency.

Limoges was no better and had been with Minutoli that night with the prostitute. Even the Lutherans complained about him, so he too was suspended; he launched a vigorous appeal to the synod of Amsterdam, producing an 8-page *factum* full of invectives, which was not upheld and the synod



confirmed his suspension.<sup>14)</sup> As for Du Moulin, he was son of the celebrated Pierre of Sedan and had been pastor at Le Havre in France. Not a meek man, he was implicated in some vicious libel-mongery and suspended by the *parlement* and by three separate synods as being ‘vicious and scandalous’ with ‘an unbridled licence of tongue’.<sup>15)</sup> Attempting to find acceptance among the Walloons, the synod of Goes (1664) refused him, but he was later enrolled on the strength of testimonials which some suspected as forgeries. He sided with Labadie for the rest of 1666, while the chance remained of securing Minutoli’s place as second pastor, but once this was denied him, he became an implacable foe.

Labadie took the bull by the horns in his very first sermon at Middelburg. He took as his text 2 Cor. 12:20, where St. Paul fears that he might not find the Corinthian church as he would wish, and used it to make the point that he had not come to be their pastor so much as to see whether he *could* be such and whether the congregation was prepared to become a true church. He continued this theme by way of Rom. 1:10-13 the following Wednesday, again likening his own arrival to those of the apostles and prophets of the Early Church. These two addresses were subsequently published, along with a sermon originally preached at Geneva at New Year 1665 (*Ephraim froissé*, based on Isaiah 7:8,9), under the title *L’arrivée apostolique aux Eglises*.<sup>16)</sup> The whole was dedicated to his host at Middelburg, Cornelis Muenicx, and his wife, because ‘it was truly born in your house and produced, as it were, in your garden.’ Both works carry the same thrust: God’s purpose is to thresh and sift his people, bringing them low so that he might raise them up; his own rôle, as was St. Paul’s, is to till and plant, weep and grieve over faults and correct wrong. The recurring cry is ‘Ne pecherons plus!’ – let us sin no more!<sup>17)</sup>

Yvon reports Minutoli as warning that the church would soon be in flames, and he was correct. Labadie immediately embarked on a programme of moral reform and gained consistorial permission to hold conventicles in the church, to be led by himself or his three companions, whom he moreover had registered as visitors of the sick. His energy was a source of wonder. Councillor Johan Boreel, soon to go as extraordinary ambassador to England, wrote on 4 September 1666 of how Labadie was doing wonders for the reformation of lives.<sup>18)</sup>

Anna van Schurman came with two ladies to be near

Labadie and stayed nearly three months. Only an outbreak of plague at Sluis, which spread rapidly across Zeeland, forced her to leave. The last documented plague in the Provinces, it lasted until Christmas and reached the house next to where Anna was staying, the council taking desperate measures for sanitation. Anna took with her a letter from Labadie, dated 6 September, to his friends at Utrecht. This was published, alongside others, as *La Réformation de l'Eglise par le Pastorat* and included his impressions of the state of the nation: the complacency of the rich, the misery of the poor, the lukewarmness of the pastorate. Reports on its reception vary, some maintaining that Utrecht was peeved by its patronising tone, others that Utrecht liked it so much that they published a translation.<sup>19)</sup>

The Walloon synod of Heusden was at hand (8-11 September) and Labadie sent a letter of excuse; understandably, because Minutoli and de Limoges were suspended and Labadie was having to bear increased pastoral burdens, and the plague was raging in the town. Had he been there, he would have heard complaints at his millennial preachings during his tour. The synod therefore felt it all the more important that Labadie sign the Confession of Faith as soon as possible, 'for it seems that the said gentleman has contravened it in certain of his sermons.'<sup>20)</sup>

It was therefore agreed that a classis be held at Amsterdam on 29th of the month, to which Labadie would be expressly invited, for the purposes of signing the Confession; the more so since, at the classis of Vlissingen shortly before, Labadie had been confirmed as minister. There is a note of anxiety in the synodal record: the members of the classis 'will extract from him his solemn word to submit to it [the Ecclesiastical Discipline] in all points' and are to inform him of his contraventions. This tone, however, is absent from the obsequious letter sent to Labadie personally. The point at issue was that Labadie's ordination was not complete according to Walloon formalities. By a tradition dating back to the synod of Le Bouton of 1553 (Art. 1) all pastors had to sign the Confession of Faith and the Ecclesiastical Discipline, which was done on a special parchment edition of the texts. After the *Refuge*, this was still the requirement and strict disciplinary measures were taken against those who refused, namely suspension by Synod or classis.<sup>21)</sup> Failure to go through the proper channels could set a dangerous precedent.

The Middelburg consistory wrote to the classis on 21 September and expressed polite indignation. Here was a pastor of exemplary life and evident giftings, who gives 'marvellous edification' in all he does, being pressurised almost as soon as he arrives. He cannot be spared from his pastoral duties. They add that he is quite willing to give an account of his beliefs and has already declared himself willing to sign the Confession (at the classis of Vlissingen some weeks before), but that the parchment copy had not been available, being sent for renovation.<sup>22)</sup> Even Du Moulin, who lost no love on Labadie, wrote on 22 September of his surprise at the synod's lack of charity.<sup>23)</sup> So the synod gave in and agreed to wait until the Synod of Amsterdam.

The remainder of the year was spent in pastoral activity. The first mention of Labadie in the consistorial records is of 12th October, where he was sent to thank widow Henegrave for a legacy in favour of the poor. The same month, permission was requested from the magistrates to build a balcony in the church, so many hearers was Labadie attracting. His influence stretched beyond the double wall of Middelburg. Large numbers travelled from Vlissingen to hear him and to attend his conventicles, including the Dutch Reformed minister Alard de Raedt, who was outspoken in Labadie's favour. The zealous young pastor of Sluis, Jacobus Koelman, who was to figure prominently in later Labadist history, visited also and conducted a correspondence with Labadie on matters of mutual concern such as moral reformation and the sovereignty of the church over against the state. The Dutch Reformed church of Middelburg was also well disposed, particularly pastor Abraham van de Velde, who wrote to Lodensteyn at Utrecht: 'He is the most learned, righteous and hardworking of men; he surpasses all in his zeal, and does alone as much as all of us [the Dutch Reformed church had eleven pastors at this time!] in this town, withal with extraordinary gifts of God and most fruitful in his ministry.'<sup>24)</sup>

Lodensteyn himself was once heard to say of Labadie: 'This man of God is a bubbling spring. As for us, we are only canals, and very often still dry at that.'<sup>25)</sup> And Yvon records having heard the eminent Thaddaeus de Lantman of The Hague say of Labadie from the pulpit: 'Even if we cannot fly like the eagle, we will follow him like wrens or sparrows.'<sup>26)</sup> Yet despite his heavy work-load, Labadie volunteered his services on

28 December to give simple catechetical instruction to the poorer classes in small conventicles. It was agreed to hold short offices, morning and evening, and this was put into practice with evident popularity and fruit, Yvon and the rest ('étudiants en théologie') taking an active part. In short, Labadie had achieved within six months a considerable reputation and was loved by all, except the delegates of the Walloon synod.

The winter saw Labadie into a burning question of the day, namely the true position of the Jews. There were good reasons for this, since Judaism at this point was experiencing the most important Messianic movement since the destruction of the Second Temple. Sabbathai Sevi (alt. Sebi, Zevi), a native of Smyrna, was at the centre of a revival which bore many marks of authenticity: it had started in the Holy Land, was causing widespread reformation and was characterised by a revived spirit of prophecy. Judaism was split in two, part denouncing Sevi and his prophet Nathan, part enraptured at the supposed deliverer having arisen. News reached Holland in 1665 to a mixed reaction. Many mocked, but spiritual men like Jan Amos Comenius and Petrus Serrarius sought to know more, the latter translating many of Nathan's prophecies. The large Jewish communities in the Provinces, many of them survivors of recent Cossack persecutions, declared themselves almost to a man for the new Messiah.

Labadie saw in this Jewish revival a sorry indictment of Christendom. While Jews fasted, repented and prayed, Christians disputed and compromised, The anonymous Amsterdam correspondent already quoted points out: 'Even if there were no other sign of the judgement of Babylon and the deliverance of Israel than this fire of division and confusion among Christians, and this zeal among the Jews, that alone ought to awaken us'.<sup>27</sup>) And such was evidently Labadie's position: a reserve regarding the Messianic question, but approval of the call to penitence. He therefore produced his *Jugement charitable et juste sur l'estat present des Juifs*,<sup>28</sup>) which contained twelve points which he begged them to consider. Its warm and reasonable tone found a response in Petrus Serrarius, who at Labadie's request translated it into Dutch. Both works appeared early in 1667.

The new year saw a widening rift between Labadie and Du Moulin, with little doubt as to the popular hero. One wit joked

that when Du Moulin preached, the collection taken was not enough to give to the poor, and Du Moulin himself lamented that he preached to almost as many pillars as people! Meanwhile, Labadie expounded to packed congregations. The Labadist party disliked Du Moulin's flirtatious nature and his habit of calling himself *écuyer* in public; Du Moulin thought it most amusing that Labadie had to wear, on the advice of his doctor,<sup>29)</sup> a skull-cap to protect him from the cold. Forgetting that Calvin himself had once had to do the same, Du Moulin derided this *calotte à oreilles* which made the wearer resemble Urban VIII, and hereafter referred to Labadie as Pope Paul (given his *penchant* for the Apostle). Now denied the chance of the second pastorate, Du Moulin accepted an offer from De Rantre of Haarlem to act as informer on Labadie's activities in return for nomination to the second pastorate of that town.

Labadie's critics attribute certain actions to this year: sumptuous fare at table, shady goings-on with his housekeeper, and suchlike standard defamation. 'Several witnesses' (what were *they* doing in the dead of night?) claimed to have seen some of Labadie's household smuggling wine in the early hours. More serious are allegations (strenuously denied) of embezzlement of church collections and certain legacies; more probable is the account of Labadie's visit to a wealthy home for dinner. Seeing the hostess wearing costly earrings, he scolded her for it and placed them in his pocket over the meal. When he came to leave, he forgot to return them, and the rumour of theft arose.

Late in March 1667 Labadie added a second letter to his *Réformation de l'Eglise*, then re-edited it in May and published the whole.<sup>30)</sup> This work, which was influential on the Frankfurt school of Pietism and on Francke's *Definitio studii theologici* of 1708, reveals an implicit faith in the office of pastor which gives no hint that within two years he would abandon all established forms of church government. The pastor is God's instrument of moral reformation, with a ministry similar to that of a physician: examining the patient, making a diagnosis and prescribing the necessary remedy. These remedies number eleven and are enumerated with a yearning and an optimism, since he detects signs of awakening and of spiritual thirst in many circles, with pastors of right zeal being raised up by God. The *Réformation* is of particular interest in that it reveals, alongside the usual plethora of scripture refer-

ences, a wide reading of spiritual writers, notably Cyprian, Basil, Jerome, Bernard of Clairvaux, Salvian, Richard of St. Victor, Tauler, à Kempis and the *Augustinus*, all of which he recommends as spiritual reading for young people!

Two further works written in 1667 continue this theme of church renewal. *Le Veritable Exorcisme*<sup>31)</sup> is dedicated to the Walloon consistory of Middelburg and was intended to supplement a course of instruction already given on the ministries of elder and deacon and on church discipline. Its thrust is again a call to repentance and to fervent prayer for the honour of God.

O the danger in our day of religion in many places lacking substance and existing only in the air!... Where is there more or better preaching today than in our churches..., and yet, where is the grain? Have we not cause to lament, with the scripture, that we are knowing leanness of soul?<sup>32)</sup>

The answer is denial of self and the world and a humbling of oneself towards God and one's neighbour. *Les divins Herauts de la Penitence*<sup>33)</sup> was dedicated to the friend and protector of many a spiritual reformer of the day, Gerhard de Geer, and is a clarion-call to repentance and to restoration of true Christianity, addressed to a church which has broken the commands of God to be His, and is couched in strong language indeed:

If Christendom will, it can become once more what it has been... Sinful men, sinful women, invite Jesus to a banquet where you will serve him your hearts, broken with grief, mortified with repentance, prepared by faith and cooked on the flames of love, as an agreeable dish.<sup>34)</sup>

The Synod of Amsterdam convened on 11 May and Labadie, though ill in health, travelled also, leaving the church to Yvon. On the way he preached at Rotterdam (Sunday 8th).<sup>35)</sup> The Synod refused Yvon, Dulignon and Ménuret as *proposants*, since the requirement of at least one year's residence on Dutch soil had not been met, then it turned to Labadie. On Saturday 14 May he defended his doctrine of the Kingdom for one and a half hours, and the following day preached on *L'idée d'un bon pasteur*, a sermon on Acts 20:28 which lasted some three hours. Its basic argument was that

pastors should be able to say 'be imitators of me, as I am of Christ.' Labadie is appalled that some ministers might be capable, by their words, of making great saints, while themselves being damned on account of their lives. His attention then turned to the churches, and we find evidence of a persuasion that was to ripen and intensify to the point of schism: that a true church is composed solely of the regenerate and sanctified, 'a visible assembly separate from the synagogues'.<sup>36)</sup> Here, in one page, are the three platforms characteristic of later Labadism: the church of the elect; separation from the world; sanctification of each believer.

Then came the vexed question of the Confession of Faith. The Synod's concern is understandable. It had been little troubled by doctrinal wranglings hitherto. In 1595 a certain Jean de L'Escuse had done so, then in 1644 a doctor, Louis de Beaufort, had done the same under a pseudonym, but to little effect. Yet the fear of schism was growing, bred of separatist tendencies among Huguenots in England and D'Espagne's secession at London. In 1648 the synod drew up measures against separatist infiltration, and regularly hereafter the rumblings were to be heard. Now here was a pastor of great influence, seeming determined to wriggle round the procedural formalities. So the synod pressed Labadie to sign, and Labadie calmly replied that he had not read the Confession. Justifiably amazed, the synod bade him read it by the 16th and sent envoys to his sick-bed to receive his signature; he informed these, however, that he had found 'certain gross expressions' which troubled his conscience. He therefore refused to sign the French version but said he would sign the Latin one once he had read it. An apprehensive synod agreed that the matter was vital for the safety of the Church and told him that at the next synod he was to sign the French confession, explaining certain points by way of the Latin. He was also given charges: not to say anything detrimental to the Confession,<sup>37)</sup> not to publish any writings without permission, and to abstain from millennial preaching until the synod had agreed on its relevance.

The synod also discussed the question of Labadie's conventicles. In Dutch Reformed circles these were countenanced, and at Middelburg itself there were special devotional gatherings for laymen at the pastors' houses, as well as a meeting for heads of households each week at the *Maison des Indes*. They were, however, new and doubtful to the Walloons. The

synod feared the dangerous consequences of such unstructured meetings, and resolved that they should not happen in future.

Labadie proceeded to flout all three synodal charges. Within three months he had published a treatise on chiliasm and on his way home from the synod he left at Utrecht his notes on *l'Idée d'un bon pasteur* to be published, as well as holding a conventicle at Anna van Schurman's house.<sup>38)</sup> This was, however, not simply bad faith but also a reflection of Labadie's growing disenchantment with established structures and traditions. Was one morally obliged to obey the decision of a body which had no scriptural foundation?

He returned to Middelburg claiming, like St. Paul, to have fought with wild beasts, and inveighing against synods 'that are only the scum of those of former days'. He would rather have his head cut off than sign the Confession of Faith, since so many blasphemous and unspiritual men had given their signature to it.<sup>39)</sup> He then set about producing two further works. *Le Triomphe de l'Eucharistie*<sup>40)</sup> he dedicated to Anna van Schurman, 'knowing that I honour you and that there is an understanding of Christian spirit between us that is both great and holy.'<sup>41)</sup> The work is a stock *exposé* of the errors of transubstantiation, set in two parts and in verse; an *avis* tells us that these may be sung to the melodies in Godeau's translation of the Psalms, but the crude doggerel which he offers cannot have made this an inviting prospect. The arguments are typical of this type of polemic: if we believe we eat the real body of Christ, then, since He says that he who eats 'will be in me *as I am in him*', we must also believe that we are in Christ's stomach! 'C'est trop croire, c'est trop estre foible en cervelle', he comments (1:56). More importantly, one senses a genuine disgust in Labadie's heart at the cheapening of holy things that he sees on every hand.

Then came Labadie's justification of his millennial teachings, *Le Héraut du Grand Roy Jesus*,<sup>42)</sup> dedicated (presumably to curry favour) to the burgomasters, aldermen and councillors of Middelburg, who responded with a financial donation. The title is of interest; the spiritual writers of the French school often spoke of the infant Jesus as *le petit roi*, but research has yet to show anyone prior to this using the term *grand roi*. Labadie sees himself as herald of the Great King, craving audience on his behalf, a rôle reminiscent of that of



John the Baptist which he felt he had some thirty years earlier. The work is a detailed presentation of the defence made before the synod of Amsterdam, denying false charges, clarifying misconceptions and stressing the utility of chiliasm. What can be more relevant than doctrines which present Christ as king, mediator and sovereign Lord? Besides which, such teachings involve the conversion of Jews and heathen; press for universal moral reformation; spur to Christian unity; and force believers to take a stand for Christ against hypocrisy. Is not all this desirable? He concludes:

Certainly if all Christians spent their time in pursuing sanctification, they would not use it for quarrelling; and if once they were united in goodness and in purity of life, they would soon be so in faith and in principles of doctrine. Those of the Kingdom bringing them to the one, will soon reduce them to the other.<sup>43)</sup>

He stresses that *unity* and *communion* must be preached alongside the Kingdom, and concludes with an address, in the second person, to the Christian reader, begging him not to denigrate Christ.

Chiliasm was by no means new to Calvinism. Amyraut and Pierre du Moulin had devoted attention to it, Bayle and Jurieu were to do so. Briefly stated, 'millenarianism consists in a belief in the second advent of Christ to establish a kingdom of righteousness on earth with the resurrection of the saints who will dwell with him.' It follows on from the Old Testament notions of the Jubilee and the faithful remnant of God's people. Historically, such teachings gained currency at times of social crisis and whenever fundamentalism prevailed in the interpretation of scripture. 'It is thus true to say that the doctrine of the millennium marks the great formative periods of the Christian Church..., times when there has been a quickening interest in the Bible, especially among the lay-folk.' In Zeeland the ground was fertile: wars on several fronts, a recent outbreak of plague and a burgeoning Judaism all constituted a major crisis for the Church. The need was for deep repentance and moral reform. 'The millenarian believes with prophet and apocalyptist of old that the will of God cannot be frustrated for ever, but will have free course in the life of the future; therefore, if he is sincere, he must seek to order his life

in such a way that he may be worthy of a place in the future.<sup>44)</sup>

Officially, however, Chiliasm was not part of the Protestant creed. The Augsburg Confession (art. 17) and the second Helvetic Confession (art. 11) repudiated it, though largely in the context of their wholesale rejection of Anabaptism. Many nevertheless held to it, particularly among Independents. Labadie's justification tallies in all essentials with Comenius' *De zelo sine scientia* of two years later,<sup>45)</sup> a work similarly provoked, which sought to give a reasoned defence of millennial teachings.

Du Moulin felt bound to oppose Labadie's chiliasm at Middelburg, but he did not do too well. He attempted a sermon which would prove that the bible often used the word 'earth' to mean 'heaven', a fanciful notion which Labadie tore to shreds the same day. Du Moulin then sought to corner Labadie on the point before the consistory, only to be told that his own father had preached it in his *Accomplissement des prophéties*.<sup>46)</sup> A perplexed Henry had to admit he had never read it and withdrew from the dispute. He vented his spleen by preaching against 'an old man with white hair who wished to rule the world' and 'young men who presume to teach and speak in church without authority or vocation'. After denying any intentional references to Labadie, Yvon and the rest, he finally gave in and so insulted Labadie that the latter refused to attend when Du Moulin next held communion. Some days later, when Du Moulin came for communion, Labadie passed him by. Du Moulin straightway drew up a *factum* and sent it to the synodal churches; in it he attacked Labadie in a measured fashion, but revealed his true bitterness in a letter to the church of Goes of 12 August.

In anticipation of the coming Synod, both sides prepared their case. One Dominique Favereau, member of the Middelburg church for 32 years, gave a statement of expressions which he had heard Labadie pronounce: that he was resurrecting good works and confession by saying that none could receive communion unless their lives were holy and their consciences unburdened; that infants ought not to be baptized; that the Devil could come and be baptized in the Walloon Church (!); that there was more fruit from one of his conventicles than from a dozen sermons; and that if he had only ten or twelve regenerate saints in the church, he would be content and would tell the others to go.<sup>47)</sup> On 19 August

Middelburg wrote to Leiden to say that Labadie could not be spared, and on 10 September, four days before the synod convened, they wrote again saying they were forbidding Labadie to attend, seeing that he had been hitherto treated so unkindly. They would send Ménuret to answer Du Moulin's *factum*, while they prepared a written rejoinder for subsequent publication.<sup>48</sup>) Labadie also sent a letter entitled *Découverte ingénue* in which he set out his objections to the Belgic Confession.<sup>49</sup>)

The Synod of Leiden ran from 14-17 September 1667 and mainly dealt with the Labadie affair. Yvon and Dulignon were still denied the office of *proposant* because of their 'entire dependance on M. de Labadie'. Labadie's letter was read out by president Antoine Hulsius, revealing his refusal to sign the Confession because certain points are 'contrary to the Gospel and to what true Protestants ought to believe and teach.' When analysed, however, these objections are quite petty; he saw tones of Papacy in the expression 'the altar of the Cross'<sup>50</sup>), but there is little else. Rather do we see in his recalcitrance a further step in his move towards Independence. The synod judged that, though some expressions had been amended in 1619, the Confession had never been accused of error, but had been accepted by the National Synod of Vitry in 1583 and ratified by that of Dordrecht in 1619, where even the various translations were found hardly to vary at all. Labadie ought therefore to keep his word and sign it. The Middelburg envoys requested a delay for this, which was granted, and to prevent further troubles the synod authorised the printing of the two Confessions (pre- and post-Dordrecht, 1619) in two columns, side by side.

As to Labadie in person, his flouting of decrees outlined above was noted, and the synod agreed (art. 16) that it would have ample grounds to suspend him, but that even now it sought a milder course, 'considering the gifts that God has given him and the edification he is capable of giving to the Church of the Lord.' It therefore ordered a classis to be held at Vlissingen on 10 October to take the matter further. Meanwhile conventicles were to be forbidden unless they had the express permission of the consistory. Again we note the peculiar phobia about something which their Dutch cousins took as commonplace; evidently conventicles went hand in hand with the great ogre, schism ('conventicles of this sort open the

door to all sorts of sectarians to vent their opinions and make divisions in the Church' – art. 17).

Now came Du Moulin's *factum*. The Labadist party had charged Ménuret with the reply, but he did so with such venom that even Labadie was offended, and the shocked synod suspended him forthwith from communion and barred him from holding henceforth any office in the church. This was the more unfortunate since the Middelburg consistory's own written defence, *Jugement du consistoire*<sup>51)</sup> is measured and persuasive. The synod thereupon dismissed Middelburg's objections to Du Moulin point by point, bade the church accept Du Moulin as pastor, and enjoined on all and sundry to pray for a spirit of reconciliation.

In the month before the classic the ink continued to flow. Hulsius penned two pamphlets before setting to work on the tabular edition of the Confession; one was *Le Héraut muët*, an answer to Labadie's *Héraut* which sought mainly to expose the shallowness of Labadie's case, calling it a combat in the air, with horrible noise but no damage done.<sup>52)</sup> He also produced *L'Accusation mal fondée*, an answer to Labadie's *Découverte ingénue*, in which he lamented that such harm could be brought to the Church over a few unfortunate phrases.<sup>53)</sup>

A commission of elders and deacons came to Middelburg on 6 October to prepare for the Vlissingen classis. Perhaps as a conciliatory gesture, the Middelburg consistory agreed on 3rd that Labadie would leave chiliasm alone for a while. An initial meeting with Labadie was cool, achieving only a declaration that Hulsius could not judge in the matter, being biased. The next day at sermon-time, Labadie preached on Psalm 25: 1-3 and prayed for God's aid in confounding his adversaries! There followed an inglorious session of quibbling over formalities, with Labadie proving quite uncooperative, which culminated in the commission giving up and leaving the town. Such behaviour seems to confirm the general view that Labadie was refractory and ungracious in all his dealings with the synod, but his conduct does have its logic. He had a life-long sense of mission as a messenger of reformation, a voice in the wilderness, the mouthpiece of Jesus. This was the be-all and end-all, and no artificial traditions or unscriptural structures had the right to restrict the message. The word and spirit of God could not be squeezed into the old wineskin of the Walloon synod.

The classis met at Vlissingen on 10 October and awaited Labadie's arrival, only to receive word that he had no intention of coming. So the classis proceeded to Middelburg and, within the day, was established in the church hall of the Koorkerk, from whence they sent two envoys to summon Labadie. He and his consistory promptly arrived, handed out papers of their various grievances,<sup>54)</sup> and prepared to leave the room. When Hulsius objected and told them of the classis' aims, Labadie cried 'I don't recognize you as a classis!' and went home. The classis attempted clemency, sending its members to visit each of the consistory at home, and when this failed, appealed to three Dutch Reformed pastors to reason with Labadie; he merely told them of this objections to synods, adding that if synods claimed such great power, he would make himself Pope!

The classis turned to the magistrates for help, especially since Labadie was planning to censure Du Moulin before the consistory. While awaiting a reply, they heard certain grievances: one widow named Judith Bureau told of how Labadie had sent his disciple Ménuret to visit her dying husband, and that rather than bring consolation, he had been more concerned to rebuke her for coquettishness and get her husband to admit that Labadie was a man of God. Only then would he pray.<sup>55)</sup>

The magistrates were in a quandary, since Labadie was so popular, not only in Zeeland. Friedrich Ludwig, Count Palatine, and Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg read his works with interest, and Princess Luise of Nassau-Orange had written on his behalf to the States of Zeeland. One of the latter's councillors, Willem Lievensz van Vryberghe (or Vribergen), a most respected man,<sup>56)</sup> had given his only son to Labadie's household to educate. One former mayoress was a devotee and several of the Dutch Reformed ministers were outspoken in his favour. Nonetheless the magistrates sought to reason with Labadie, but to no avail, and notified the classis on the 19th. The classis, however, having waited six days for a reply, had already acted. It suspended Labadie from communion and all ministerial duties until the next synod; forbade the consistory to send his disciples to visit the sick; reinstated Du Moulin as pastor and notified him of all that he should do if opposed by Labadie's faction; and wrote to the States of Zeeland to notify them of the decision.<sup>57)</sup> The resolu-

tion was brought to Labadie's house, where Ménuret refused to accept it and Labadie threw it across the room, declaring 'I know no classis!' The magistracy agreed in principle to accept Du Moulin but requested a delay – a proof of his lack of popularity. And Labadie's camp made it clear he would not be welcome at church by putting a stout bolt on the door. The battle lines were drawn, and it is clear that Labadie's standpoint in the *Réformation de l'église*, with its faith in the established church system, was fast giving way to disillusionment.

News of Labadie's suspension was received with horror in the town. The Reformed minister Van de Velde wrote to Lodensteyn at Utrecht on 24 October: 'the times are evil, since the best of men is obliged to cede to one whose conduct has appalled a whole nation.'<sup>58</sup>) The Middelburg consistory produced a reasoned *Jugement* on 8 November,<sup>59</sup>) which declared the suspension null on twelve counts, foremost being that the Ecclesiastical Discipline only warrants suspension for what it terms 'great and grievous sin', and the synodal statutes of Zeeland said the same. Labadie had merely offended a synod, ran the argument, a body which has no scriptural foundation. Even the *lettres de créance* carried by all synodal delegates bear the clause that their orders are to be obeyed only if they conform with scripture. Neither has the charge been examined by the church or supported by witnesses, as scripture requires. The suspension was therefore not to be deferred to. In confirmation, Labadie preached a course of sermons against synods and continued to hold conventicles and services in the church. The magistrate blocked any attempt to put the suspension into effect and the consistory drew up numerous justificatory acts and testimonials.<sup>60</sup>) Labadie's labours continued unabated, often spending fourteen hours a day in pastoral labours; Anna van Schurman continued her visits; and foreigners came to stay at his house, for example one Hans-Georg Hegner of Switzerland.<sup>61</sup>)

In the ensuing months contact was made with other spiritual figures. The aged Comenius, exiled leader of the Moravian *Unitas Fratrum* now living at Amsterdam, wrote on 22 December to his countryman Samuel Junius, expressing admiration at Labadie's stand for truth. And through Petrus Serrarius, Labadie came into contact with the mystical ascetic, Antoinette Bourignon, who claimed alone to be gifted by God to lead men and who saw all established churches as Satanic.

Anna van Schurman corresponded with her in March 1668, and Antoinette wrote to Labadie a letter typical of a kind of writing which abounded in Holland at this time from individuals on the fringes of orthodoxy: God has already passed judgement on the churches and their hurt is irremediable, so to labour to maintain or reform them is a waste of time; it would be better to pray for their destruction.<sup>62</sup>) Serrarius translated this letter into Latin and circulated it. Antoinette also told Comenius that she had seen Labadie in a vision trying desperately to prop up a falling edifice, which convinced her that his zeal was nugatory and a deceit of the devil (letter of 30 March). On 25 March Anna van Schurman visited Antoinette at Amsterdam, and in conversation the main point of division was predestination, which Antoinette held to be an insult to God; to her, all men were saved, though few were aware of it. Anna's stress on the atonement, she claimed, rendered Christ's earthly ministry superfluous. Of the Early Church she said it did not dispute over doctrine, but followed Christ. Maybe, but taken to extremes, such a view would justify any number of errors and turn orthodoxy (here represented by Labadie) into something merely relative.

Labadie replied to Antoinette's letter, but the reply is lost; it is referred to in a note from Serrarius to Bourignon of 12 April.<sup>63</sup>) He also penned a preface to a work produced at Geneva, which he then published: *Le discernement d'une véritable Eglise*.<sup>64</sup>) The preface, dated 25 March, is valuable in that it reveals a warmth in Labadie's heart; addressing his consistory, he reminisces with evident joy over eighteen months of ministry; the proud are humble, the rich liberal; heads of families set holy standards; merchants are 'trading for heaven'; judges are just. The text itself continues the cry for the church to be separate from the world, and offers a good example of Labadie's concept of Christian discipleship:

We are to deny ourselves, be not of the world, flee evil, do good, mortify the flesh by the Spirit, crucifying it with its appetites and lusts, leave the things that are behind and of earth; seek and find the things that are from above; to be sober, patient, modest; to watch, pray and bear our cross, and finally produce the fruits of a true repentance.<sup>65</sup>)

Clearly Labadie was seeking to make his position clear be-

fore the approaching synod of Vlissingen (18 April). He expounded the Acts of the Apostles twice a week, published his *Cas de conscience* on the state of the Christian ministry, which he had written at Geneva,<sup>66</sup>) and composed a treatise on the nature of church authority: *La Puissance Ecclesiastique bornée à l'Écriture*,<sup>67</sup>) which he dedicated (10 April) to Willem van Vribergen<sup>68</sup>) but did not publish until after the synod. Its basic thesis is that no human institution has the right to legislate against the conscience of believers and churches ('I mean that they are in no way entitled to command the church to observe rules which they themselves have established outside of God's word')<sup>69</sup>); and this work is significant for its approach. Normally Labadie's texts of this period are little more than concordances of expounded scriptural references to a particular theme, but here much wider reading is in evidence: Patristic sources include Tertullian, Lactantius, Origen, Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria and Ambrose; more recent authorities are Calvin's *Institutes*, Sadeel's *Confirmation de la Discipline de France*, Luther's *De potestate Conciliorum* and various works of Beza, Zwingli, Ames, Hoornbeek, Trigland and Voetius, Walaeus' *Lieux communs de théologie* and even a letter of Fr. Spanheim to David Buchanan. Finally Labadie penned a *Lettre apologetique circulaire* to all conductors of Walloon Churches in the Provinces, seeking to make Middelburg's position clear. Signed by himself and his consistory, it probably dates to 12 April.<sup>70</sup>)

The synod of Vlissingen lasted two weeks, unusually long by Walloon standards, and held high hopes of a breakthrough: Labadie's latest writings had been conciliatory (they had not yet seen the *Puissance ecclesiastique*!) and the synod was to be headed by Charles de Rochefort of Rotterdam, who favoured him. Labadie attended, with one elder and one deacon. On 19 April envoys were sent to pay respects to the States of Zeeland and were told by Pensionary de Huybert that every town in the province would be sending a delegate to confer on a peace formula. These met the Middelburg consistory and, barring the odd quibble over wording, an agreement was reached: Labadie would sign the Confession, recognise synod and classis and abstain from chiliastic teachings; his *Héraut* would be examined and he would publish no further works without permission. In return, all references to previous events would be deleted from church records and Du Moulin would be or-



dered to pay him due deference. On 26th the consistory, by a majority vote, agreed to the proposals, even stressing their readiness to suppress certain of Labadie's writings, provided he was given a clean record. This was hailed with joyous relief and, before the whole company, Labadie and Du Moulin shook hands in token of reconciliation; as proof of its gratitude, the synod proceeded to enrol Yvon as *proposant*, readmit Ménuret to communion and propose Dulignon for examination for the ministry at the next synod.

Two ominous notes, however, were struck. The first was that, of the four ministers chosen to examine Labadie's *Héraut*, three were outspokenly hostile to him and one was no less than Hulsius, who had already prepared a counterblast to the work. The second concerned a book recently published by Wolzogen, in which the Middelburg church claimed to have found Pelagian, Socinian and Papist errors. The background to this needs explaining. Late in 1665, a Cartesian physician from Amsterdam, Ludwig Meyer, wrote (anonymously) a work entitled *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, in which he sought to explain scripture according to the philosophy of Descartes. This *exercitatio paradoxa* – such was its subtitle – ran to a second edition in the following year but created little stir. Orthodox leaders saw it as Cartesian impertinence and it was left unanswered. Until 1668, that is, when Wolzogen set out to refute it with his *De Scripturarum Interprete*.<sup>71</sup>) Only now did the storm burst, since Wolzogen's thesis was felt in many quarters to be as erroneous as that which he was attacking. For Wolzogen maintained a position which amounted to devout humanism or rationalism. The human reason, he claimed, was the final interpreter of the Bible, and should any difficult scripture be found, it should be approached with logic and, if it offended this, should not be heeded; had not the Bible been written by men? Was it not therefore to be interpreted as any other literature? Yvon found a copy in a Middelburg bookshop; incensed, Labadie wrote to the synod that the book was so profane that he could hold no fellowship with the writer. The synod therefore appointed three churches to examine Wolzogen's book.

Meanwhile life was far from dull at Middelburg. Anna van Schurman paid her annual visit; conventicles continued apace; Labadists and Anti-Labadists prepared conflicting reports of what had happened at the synod; and the Walloon

consistory produced a second volume of *Plaintes Apologetiques* going back some six years.<sup>72)</sup> This contained point-by-point answers to synodal articles concerning the Labadie affair, besides a justification of conventicles which Goeters (*Vorbereitung II*, 289-293) compares with John Robinson's *People's Plea for the Exercise of Free Prophecy* of fifty years earlier. Labadie also expressed himself on this subject with his *Traité Ecclesiastique [de] l'Exercice Profetique*.<sup>73)</sup> He expounds 1 Corinthians 14 and defines 'to prophesy' as 'to speak *extempore*, by revelation and without prior meditation'. Such a gift could be exercised in a familiar gathering, with an opening address, prayer and psalms, after which anyone feeling so led could share his thoughts on a given passage of scripture. Such conventicle gatherings would relieve pastors of some of their burden; give *proposants* experience in leading meetings; demonstrate that all members of the congregation have the capacity to bring edification; and would keep a congregation attentive by diversity of speakers. Such meetings, being flexible, could meet in a barn, a cellar or even on a boat; they have the backing not only of scripture but also of Councils, Fathers and eminent synods at Wesel (1568) and Emden (1571); and moreover the Harmony of Dutch Confessions explicitly states that such gatherings should happen.<sup>74)</sup>

How familiar, how unobjectionable this all sounds to a reader three centuries later! Yet to the Walloons of 1668 it was novel and suspect. Moreover, certain views in the *Traité* would have shocked; in the passage below, the veil covering known persons and events is very thin:

If, by misfortune, a church is not such, and it happens that there is little zeal in its pastorate and conduct, and it is content with the *status quo* and a lukewarm condition..., and what is worse, is prejudiced against such a practice, suspecting it of novelty, danger, or the introduction of schism or sect..., one may with justice see what can be done by way of some Pastor or elder... And if even that should not happen, each head of family... may perform it [prophecy] in his own home.<sup>75)</sup>

The distinct impression given is that, in his heart, Labadie had already seceded from the Walloons and has no fear of accusations of sect and schism.

The reconciliation with Du Moulin was short-lived. The synod having passed Yvon as fit for pastoral duties, the consistory immediately turned this to advantage and precipitated an election for the vacant second pastorate. Yvon was nominated as the official candidate, and Du Moulin nominated himself. Of the 38 votes cast, Yvon secured 22 and was nominated pastor. Du Moulin in vain made representation to the town council, which ruled that Yvon should be full-time pastor, while Du Moulin's stipend be raised from 600 to 1,000 florins in compensation. The church smelled simony in this, so certain private persons put up the extra money and guaranteed it for three years. Du Moulin pressed for a life-time's guarantee, but Middelburg evidently did not want him that long. Du Moulin then set about vilifying Labadie and would not even apologise when pressed by four Dutch Reformed pastors. In a fit of pique, he proceeded to administer communion to several persons whom the church had suspended from it. On 31st July the consistory saw fit once again to suspend Du Moulin.

Smaller matters worthy of note are that on 17 July a gazette told of the Pope going to the theatre, and Labadie took this up in a sermon, saying that anyone who went to the theatre made himself like the Pope! A volume of verse appeared, containing poems for and against Labadie.<sup>76</sup>) Also a charming sidelight is found in a letter of Dulignon of 16 July to an anonymous friend at Amsterdam. It seems Ménuret had given this friend six ducats to buy an undergarment for Labadie; the friend sent word that the right sort were far more expensive. Dulignon then wrote (Labadie was too busy) that Labadie could not sin against his conscience by such a self-indulgence; because he was extremely thin, the shape of ordinary undergarments was not uncomfortable to him.<sup>77</sup>)

The Synod of Naerden was to open on 5 September, and on the way Labadie called on Antoinette Bourignon at Amsterdam; in two conferences, she sought to stress that no synod was of God, and to turn him from predestination. In a letter of 22 September to her disciple Christian de Cort, she records:

He said it was a pity I had not come to see him, instead of his coming to Amsterdam. I replied that God had called me here, not there. He is so opinionatedly preoccupied with Predestination that he declared himself willing to die for

that belief. I told him he might be the Devil's martyr if he died for that: twice or thrice he grew angry and rose in fury: in sum it is evident that he is not dead to himself and is far from becoming a little child.<sup>78)</sup>

Bourignon's disciple and biographer, Pierre Poiret, concludes that Antoinette was confirmed in her suspicion that Labadie was just another book-wise zealot with no other guidance than his own mind.<sup>79)</sup>

The synod duly met and heard of the new uproar at Middelburg; it agreed that the fault was mutual, Labadie for lack of charity and Du Moulin for imprudent conduct, and sent remonstrances to both parties. A classis was ordered for 10 October at Middelburg to ensure reconciliation. Then Ménuret appeared and presented an act of the consistory reiterating its grievances: in all synodal dealings so far, the consistory had never been properly heard, neither had it been sent copies of relevant resolutions. All this the synod rejected, but pursued its conciliatory policy by entreating the consistory to 'cover everything with the mantle of charity and amnesty' (Art. 3).

Consideration was next given to Labadie's publication of additional works without permission, to which he replied that these were only little devotional pieces, already printed before the synod of Vlissingen but not by then published, and that they had appeared without his permission through the initiative of some of his household. The synod was not convinced and sent to ask various booksellers, who claimed to have received the works from Labadie personally, who had arranged the layout and price! Matters now got worse for Labadie. His *Traité eclesiastique* and *Puissance eclesiastique* were declared to contain 'notions tending towards Independency' and which 'overtly lay the foundations of enthusiasm' (art. 5). Both works were to be suppressed. The examiners of his *Héraut* judged it unsound and dangerous, and it was agreed that pastor Elie Saurin would declare the errors in the full assembly, and Labadie could answer them. Unfortunately, Labadie missed the session because of a migraine,<sup>80)</sup> so the *Héraut* too was suppressed. Not surprisingly, in the next article Hulsius' ripost was declared orthodox.

Attention now turned to Wolzogen's book, and we need to understand the synod's difficult position. The book had al-

ready been causing a scandal; the Dutch Reformed *classes* of Leeuwarden and Walcheren had pronounced it censurable, and the Voetian party felt him to have injured the cause he had undertaken. Critics pointed to Wolzogen's lack of defence of basic Christian truths, to his thesis that each man should have his own opinion, and to the excessive rhetorical flourishes that hide a paucity of spirituality. Besides, Wolzogen was a worldly and compromising man. Yet he was harmless, posing no threat to the ecclesiastical *status quo*. On the other hand there was Labadie, charismatic, popular, innovative, reformatory, challenging tradition at every turn and suspected of independence. In this issue, however, he was clearly championing orthodoxy, so the synod had to choose between a stance which was heterodox yet harmless and one which was orthodox yet dangerous.

The examiners of Wolzogen's book were also asked to examine Middelburg's denunciation. As a blatant indication that the synod's mind was already made up, they invited Wolzogen to join them in their deliberations. Not surprisingly, Middelburg's accusations were held to be unfounded. Not content with this, Middelburg referred the matter to the full synod, which heard both parties in successive hearings before ruling Wolzogen's book orthodox by a unanimous vote. Labadie was charged to make public redress for his 'atrocious accusation'. These findings were communicated to Labadie, who sent word that he was leaving the town. Since it was his church that had denounced the book, he was off to confer with it. Elie Saurin was sent to Middelburg, but Labadie refused to return to the synod. The delegates realized they could withhold discipline no longer. They therefore found Labadie guilty on four charges: *opinionation*, in not wishing to restore the honour of a colleague; *infracton of the Church Discipline* by illicit publications; *bad faith* in denying matters easily proven; and *scorn of the synod*, for having left Naerden without permission. In sorrow at 'such irregular conduct, so lacking in Christian love, so unworthy of a minister of Jesus Christ', the synod suspended Labadie from communion and all functions of ministry, at least until the classis of Middelburg. Moreover, the classis would examine the conduct of Ménuret, who was travelling the country boasting that he was an exact copy of his master. Better received was Dulignon, who was admitted as *proposant* after an able address on the Kingdom of God, but pending

further examinations in the sacred languages. He was sent for a period to Rotterdam, where he proved very popular, receiving a glowing testimonial on 30 October.<sup>81</sup>) One anti-Labadist of the town, however, Jacobus Borstius, wrote to Heinrich Dibbotts of Dordrecht that Dulignon merely held conventicles and sought to stir up favour for Labadie.<sup>82</sup>)

Copies of the suspension were sent far and wide, but it was not unchallenged. The Rotterdam consistory resolved to oppose it, and its pastor, de Rochefort, wrote in a letter that the synod had been presided over more by Wolzogen than the president, and that he would be sinning if he helped to depose so saintly a man. Lodensteyn of Utrecht expressed the hope that Labadie would now become an itinerant preacher affiliated to the Dutch Reformed Church. Middelburg produced a *Fidele Récit* of all that had gone on at Naerden,<sup>83</sup>) and Labadie himself set to work on a refutation of Wolzogen,<sup>84</sup>) which had become the main ground of his stand. The Voetian party supported Labadie, and on 15 December Voetius, Lodensteyn and Essenius wrote to pastor Petrus Coorne at Middelburg: 'it is with justification that our brother [Labadie] has condemned and blamed much that is in the book, and has brought it before the synod. So it is not justifiable to condemn him for this.'<sup>85</sup>) Throughout the next months, theologians took their sides and, numerically at least, honours were in Labadie's favour, though it is important to note that anti-Wolzogen did not necessarily denote pro-Labadie.<sup>86</sup>) Even some years later the embers were glowing, Leibnitz causing some sparks in 1671 (on Wolzogen's side), and a Cambridge man, John Wilson, in 1678 (against Wolzogen).

On Labadie's return to Middelburg, Yvon and an elder, Samuel Schorer, were sent post haste to The Hague to seek the intervention of the States General. A commission of seven delegates, one from each province, met the Middelburg party and Yvon gave a discourse on Labadie's life and ministry. This was heard favourably and assurance given that the matter would receive attention. Nothing came of it, however, and we are left to believe Yvon's assumption that it was Grand Pensionary de Witt who ensured this.<sup>87</sup>)

Before the classis met at Middelburg on 10 October, a further work appeared, *Galbanum Jésuitique*,<sup>88</sup>) under the forged motif of the Jesuit press at Cologne, and sought to present Labadie as an under-cover agent of the Society of Jesus. An

introductory epistle contains supposed anecdotes, as for example of Labadie remarking that he knew of only three regenerate souls in Amsterdam, and plays much on his rejection of infant baptism except for the children of the regenerate. There follows a parody of a Labadist conventicle, where Labadie, in slippers, delivers a lengthy homily on everything from synodal suspensions to walking the dog; the tone is racy and staccato, punctuated by interruptions which have an authentic ring to them ('Wake that sleeping sister! Wake up, sleepers all! What? Do you come here to sleep? It is the Devil making you sleep!', p. 29). The work closes with a satirical poem to the 'holy and regenerate souls brought to *sottification*.' An appendix of *Justes Eloges* contains mock madrigals and epigrams, a dirge on Labadie's 'death' at Naerden and an anagram: Jehan de la Badie = Ha! Ja né de diable (Ho! I'm born of the devil).

In preparation for the classis, Du Moulin had notary Henry von Ryckegem draw up an account on 4 October 1668 of how the consistory was employing all manner of chicaneries to prevent an account of grievances from Du Moulin and one of the lectors being received.<sup>89</sup>) The classis then arrived on the 10th to a stormy reception. The Dutch Reformed Church had put the hall of the Choorkerk at its disposal, but on arrival, the delegates found it occupied by Labadie and his friends. The classis withdrew to the Oude Kerk, and the Labadist party, swelled by an angry populace, pursued them thither, burst into the hall and presented an account of its grievances. Some classical delegates were molested. The following day the Middelburg consistory twice sent delegates to join the classis in its deliberations (which they were entitled to do), but these were refused and further complaints made. The classis then summoned the consistory for three o'clock on 12 October at the Choorkerk, but received a peremptory reply (which ironically copies the style of the classis' own letter) that it did not recognise the classis as scriptural. The next day Samuel Schorer, an elder, wrote a mild, brotherly letter to the classis, stressing the need for church discipline to proceed according to Matthew 18, which the classis was ignoring. But the classis had heard enough. It confirmed the suspension of Labadie on grounds of 'rebellion' and added to this the suspension of all but one of the consistory. Then, in an irregular evening ceremony, the classis consecrated eleven new elders and deacons. Du Moulin was to be the first pastor, Dulignon and Yvon suspended.<sup>90</sup>)

The decision was rebutted by the consistory, who refused to let Yvon appear at the classis when requested, and it was decried as iniquitous by the Dutch Reformed pastor, Abraham van de Velde, in his afternoon sermon at the Nieuwe Kerk on 14 October; he called Labadie 'a miracle of sanctity', declared the suspension a sin and castigated the Walloon ministers as 'belly-servers'.<sup>91)</sup> Labadie took his case to the Dutch Reformed classis of Walcheren on 18 October, basing his case on Wolzogen's book and the invalid suspension. The Reformed were, however, unwilling to get involved. The secular arm was also slow to accept the resolution. The additional problem was that, of the six councillors of the province, three were pro-Labadie (those of Middelburg, Veere and Tholen) and three against (Goes, Vlissingen and Zierickzee). Finally, however, a compromise was reached. On 15 November 1668 the States of Zeeland resolved that the synod's provisions should be binding, while Labadie *cum suis* should have the right to present their individual grievances at the next synod, due to assemble at Dordrecht in March; the said synod was urged to consider these matters in Christian charity. A further resolution forbade Dutch Reformed churches to become embroiled in Walloon squabbles.<sup>92)</sup>

Labadie adhered to the decision and no longer preached. He continued to hold conventicles in his home, and these grew more popular than ever. Several pews disappeared from the church and appeared in Labadie's meeting-room; when those were reclaimed, some more were made. A new development was that a voluntary collection was taken at the end of each meeting, some of which were held on a Sunday, deliberately to coincide with a service. This coming to the notice of the States, Labadie and Yvon were examined on 1 December; they maintained their right to hold conventicles, since these were not a pastoral duty. The States ruled that these could continue, but not as public meetings; only Labadie's household could attend.

The greatest fruit of this withdrawal, however, was Labadie's *Manual de Pieté*<sup>93)</sup>, a devotional work that was to run to three editions in Dutch translation, was translated into German by Tersteegen in 1727 with an *éloge* of its author, and which was for many years popular among the Mennonites of America. Compact and simple, it is a series of devotional exercises tracing the path of the soul from its initial sense of God's



presence through to the ultimate union possible on earth, which is termed 'absorption' or 'engulfment'. The way leads through many a cross, many a sight of inner destitution, but the lover of God will ever be impelled onwards by that longing for complete union with the Lord.

We lose ourselves in thy vastness; we plunge into thy depths; we are dazzled by thy light and are blinded by thy infinite brightness. We are absorbed into thy ocean!... O it is sweet to me, my God, to see my drop of being swallowed up in thy ocean! O how sweet it is to see my atom lost amid thy vast air! O what joy I find in seeing myself nothing in comparison with thee, yea in not even being, thou alone being, and worthy to be called That which is, Him who lives, and Life itself.<sup>94)</sup>

Scholars following Heppe have detected in Labadie's use in the *Manuel* of the term *court et vray moyen* the influence of Mme. Guyon's *moyen court*, yet Labadie's work preceded Mme. Guyon's by seventeen years, so it is conceivable that the influence was the other way around. Certainly the blessed lady would have been delighted, and her opponents horrified, at the Quietism inherent in the mystical progression of the *Manuel*, which leads, for those capable of attaining it, to *quietude* and even *sommeil divin*, where the soul, devoid of all human care and thought, rests all its faculties in a spiritual 'slumber' on the breast of the Beloved.

On 1 January 1669 Labadie wrote to Thomas Arundel, an English merchant at Bordeaux, who had been one of Colonel Sexby's accomplices in Guienne at the time of Cromwell and may well have met Labadie at that time. The letter speaks the language of the Independents:

I write to you now the more gladly, for that I am freer, and that God has put me in a position to speak to you more openly, being no longer bound to men, and by men, nor obliged to maintain with them an outward ecclesiastical union.<sup>95)</sup>

He expresses the hope that his church will henceforth be better able to practise God's commands, and reveals something of the conventicles: they happen twice a day, thrice on Sundays,

with free prophecy and preaching, the congregation sitting on benches, with no segregation of sexes or classes. They have just finished expounding 1 Cor 5:6, 7, about cleansing out the old leaven, and can now truly say that this has been done, though Labadie freely admits that the first moves towards separation had been made 'somewhat occultly'. Like-minded people throughout the land are in contact since the separation. Labadie enclosed two of his books and asked to be put in contact with some Congregational ministers in London, since he wished to send some brethren there. This letter came into the hands of the protestant church at Bordeaux, which felt the implications suitably alarming for them to warn their Walloon cousins; on 1 March pastors Rondelet and Goyon wrote to the Middelburg church and the synod.<sup>96</sup>) Labadie saw fit to reply under a pseudonym<sup>97</sup>), arguing principally that it is absurd for two pastors and four elders who have neither met, nor heard Labadie, to speak against the testimony of hundreds, nay thousands who have applauded him in all the towns where he has ministered.

By now it was evident that a tide of opposition was rising and gathering momentum. Hulsius' *Héraut muët* appeared, refuting Labadie's chiliasm and coining the term 'Labadist' for the first time in print; Samuel Maresius, a hard-bitten polemicist and professor at Groningen, set his students the topic of chiliasm for debate on 13 January 1669, citing as its three chief proponents Serrarius, Comenius and Labadie. Jacobus Koelman, pastor at Sluis, who had been a staunch supporter, cooled off because of the schism and not even a visit from Anna van Schurman could persuade him.<sup>98</sup>) The new consistory at Middelburg took office and began to undo some of what Labadie had started, and Dutch Reformed pastors shared their misgivings at the unseemly divisions in the Walloon churches. Johannes Coccejus, the eminent theologian from Leiden, wrote to Wilhelmus Anslaar of Arnemuiden of the dangers of Labadie's faction, adding of its champion that 'his sole zeal is to point the finger at others – a vice that we have already been combatting long enough.'<sup>99</sup>)

On 1 February Labadie preached in a conventicle, and subsequently published, a justification of his beliefs.<sup>100</sup>) He claims it is short because he has two books to work on, including a study of the epistle to the Romans. He lists eight points in his favour: he has already signed the articles and confessions of

the Calvinist faith in France and at Geneva; he has further signed the 1619 Synod of Dordrecht; his many testimonials are available to all; he has outlined his beliefs in many books; if any can find errors in his writings and refute them from scripture, he will be heard; his disciples are orthodox and one has already written a respected book;<sup>101</sup>) he respects the writings of Voetius, Essenius, Hoornbeek and Ames; he upholds all the doctrines of the Reform; he cannot be accused of schism on grounds of doctrine, but only of practice – the only schism he wants is with error and vice. He concludes with a statement that could well serve as the epitaph for the whole of his life and labours:

I desire only that Jerusalem be purged from iniquity and Babylon ruined... I have breathed and breathe still only to see the latter believers be as the first, being one heart and soul, and practising what they believe and living in conformity with their doctrine.<sup>102</sup>)

A convenient double standard was coming into being, that would continue throughout the Labadists' existence. While stressing with all insistence their absolute adherence to Reformed doctrine, they were carefully building up a separatist house-church of a kind not countenanced by mainstream Calvinism. A letter of 27 February 1669 is a good example.<sup>103</sup>); in it Labadie speaks of an organised residential community, where painting, bookbinding and other tasks are performed and where children are educated communally by suitably gifted members. Moreover, even before the synod of Dordrecht convened (20 March), at which he would still be at pains to protest about unwarranted persecution of an orthodox church, Labadie wrote on 18 March to Haarlem, seeking permission to move there with thirty-five families, should he be forced to quit Zeeland.<sup>104</sup>)

The synod convened at Dordrecht on 20 March, and Middelburg sent Du Moulin and two of the new consistory. No sooner had the classis reported back than Yvon arrived with Everard (Labadie's physician), claiming to be Middelburg's delegates, and sought to deliver a petition signed by 150 people, Dutch and Walloon; they based their action on the States of Zeeland's resolution of November and wished to know whether the synod still approved Wolzogen's book.

Labadie then arrived in person and made certain demands, which the synod declined, deciding that Labadie's actions 'were serving only to build the schism that he had resolved'. Not satisfied, the Labadist party produced several tracts and then left the town; four synodal delegates were sent to tell them that their grievances would be heard if they could be put in a coherent form,<sup>105</sup>) but the birds had flown. So the synod briefly considered Labadie's latest writings, noting his comments in the *Déclaration chrestienne et sincère*<sup>106</sup>) that he had been compelled to secede because of 'corruption in faith and doctrine, corruption in societies or assemblies, corruption in the conduct and government of the Walloon synod' (Art 4). They concluded that schism had been his intention from the outset and noted with a shudder that Yvon and Ménuret were already canvassing support in other towns. Letters were therefore sent to the provinces and the States General, pressing for legislation against conventicles.<sup>107</sup>) As for the church of Middelburg, now racked by schism, an amnesty was proposed, whereby all who had joined could return to the fold without censure on confession of their fault. To clear up outstanding business, a classis would meet at Middelburg on 10 April.

When the synod closed on 4 April, an article appeared in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* warning of Labadie's separation. Labadists and their opponents drew up varying accounts of the synod's procedures.<sup>108</sup>) The Brownists offered Labadie a meeting-place, and all awaited the arrival of the classis, which met on 10th. Three days later, a Sunday, Labadie performed his *tour de force*. At 8 o'clock in the morning a crowd massed on the Pleintje de Balans and headed down St. Pieterstraat towards the Walloon church. At the centre was Labadie. The door of the church being locked, some labourers forced it open, Labadie ascended the pulpit, preached on 1 Cor. 10:13-17 and administered communion to his flock. At 9.00, more people entered and were shocked to find Labadie there. Some went to find the burgomasters, and meanwhile the congregation was increased by several drunkards hoping to see some fun. Only the prompt arrival of the bailiffs prevented a sedition.

New of this unauthorized Communion spread far and wide. Many were scandalized, but John Brown, Scottish minister of Rotterdam, addressed a meeting in that town and called Labadie's action a heroic act. His opponents responded

quickly, the Walloon consistory putting in its protocols for posterity an account of Labadie's ministry in the church there, stressing his indiscipline, tyrannical authority and disruptive ways. On 13th April Wolzogen spoke to the council of Utrecht and warned of Labadie's 'sect and schism', asking for legislation against both conventicles and the publication of Labadie's works. Finally the council of Middelburg, after consultation with the magistrate, took action. In a session boycotted by councillors Muenicx, Roubergen, Boreel and van der Perre, who were loyal to Labadie, an order was drawn up wherein Labadie's recent action was condemned as seditious and his whole party ordered to cease holding conventicles, on pain of being charged with rioting. Within the week it was clear that Labadie would have to leave; the council was even prepared to use force against him.

A place of refuge had to be found quickly, and on 14 June Labadie and Yvon wrote to the magistrates of nearby Veere, requesting permission to reside in that town; the granting of such a request, they point out, will both further the glory of God and bring greater prosperity to the town.<sup>109</sup>) Whichever reasons prevailed, the Veere council accepted. The town lay across the island of Walcheren and possessed a fine harbour; it had long been a Scottish possession but had been bought by the House of Orange from the Earl of Lauderdale in 1577. It still had a large Scottish enclave, since it was a staple port for Scottish trade, and was therefore well acquainted with Non-conformity; moreover it had strongly opposed Wolzogen's book. Labadie was asked to form an independent French congregation in the town,<sup>110</sup>) and accepted, requesting only that his call be officially registered in the municipal records; this was done and a church building placed at their disposal. The next day, a Saturday, the community arrived and Labadie made plans to preach and hold a conventicle on the morrow. He wrote to Ludlow of his new-found liberty,<sup>111</sup>) and received good wishes from John Brown, pastor of the Scottish church at Rotterdam. At Middelburg he left an open letter with six *remarques*, intended to complete some teaching which his sudden departure had disrupted.

The conventicle was duly held in the presence of the bailiff, who had been delegated to ensure that all proceeded in an orderly manner. Duly content, the council met the following morning and made Labadie, Yvon and the other elders citi-

zens of the town, a move designed to prevent further harrassment.<sup>112</sup>) And harrassment was not long in coming, for on 19 June secretary van Raden of the States of Zeeland penned an indignant letter to the council of Veere asking what on earth they were doing. The council was not intimidated and replied through councillor De Vos three days later that the newcomers were peaceable and had been accepted as citizens, and that the 'violent and tyrannical procedure' of the States of Zeeland was beyond their comprehension. The States tried again on 24 June, with the same response. Matters grew more urgent. On 29 June the Veere council received a report from councillor Kien; he had been on business at The Hague and had spoken with the prince, who above all other matters was keen to know exactly how Labadie had come to be accepted in the town.<sup>113</sup>) The States wrote to Labadie in person and received a bland reply dated 6 July in which he stressed his citizenship and pointed out that as such he could not acquiesce to their demands without conferring with his burgomasters, who were at present away on business: after all, it has always been his policy to honour civil law as well as his religious duty.

Anna van Schurman paid her annual visit, and she was not alone. Each week at sermon time four to five hundred souls travelled from Middelburg and the surrounding area to hear Labadie preach, and the roads around the church jammed with carriages. This was a serious matter, since there was a long-standing rivalry between the two towns, and the last thing Middelburg wanted was a mercantile exodus to Veere. Meanwhile, Labadist envoys scoured the provinces in search of kindred spirits; the council of Utrecht detailed its *hooch officier* to investigate rumours of secret conventicles in the town, its report full of the phobia already noted: 'unrest', 'factions', 'schism', 'sect'. Yet within Dutch Reformed circles came testimonies of approval, and it was evidently hoped that Labadie could be drawn towards their own fold.

Finally, however, pressure from Middelburg secured an order from the States of Zeeland of 19 July that Labadie *cum suis* were to leave Veere and the province within 24 hours. Veere, by now proud of its new ministers, vowed to fight the order, claiming that Labadie had sworn at his reception as citizen to remain at least two years in the town, and the town had sworn to protect its citizens by all possible means. On 22

July the magistrate, van der Meulen, drew up a resolution which *forbade* Labadie and Yvon to leave the town 'notwithstanding any State resolution already, or soon to be, passed.'<sup>114</sup>) This was immediately put to the test when some delegates arrived from the States of Zeeland to enforce the eviction. The magistrates and the secretary of the council immediately passed an *ad hoc* order and had it read in the streets, to the effect that it was forbidden to approach the house where Labadie was living.

Finally, with the States of Zeeland constantly clamouring for Labadie's removal, and Grand Pensionary De Witt seeking to withdraw royal favour by implicating the deposed minister in the recent Anglo-Dutch war, the beleaguered Prince gave in. He was, after all, on a war footing with France and wanted no internal unrest. At his instigation, the States held an extraordinary meeting; though fourteen members were absent and despite the fact that they had orders not to intervene in Walloon affairs, the States overruled Veere and reiterated their expulsion order. Though Veere was opposed to the Prince and was prepared to continue its resistance, Labadie decided to leave and did so at the end of July. This is clear from a resolution of the States of Zeeland of 5 August authorising a house to house search by the military throughout the province to seize Labadie, whom they term a man of 'stubborn, schismatic and turbulent humour.'<sup>115</sup>) All Zeelanders were notified by placard that it was a criminal offence to harbour Labadie in their homes or on their land, or to transport him in their vehicles. Anyone discovering his whereabouts was to declare it, on pain of a 100 *livres* fine payable to the eventual finder.

Labadie and his party, however, had escaped the province and reached Amsterdam, Yvon being carried sick on a litter. Here they received letters and testimonials; the first, from Veere, is dated 10 August and signed by the two Dutch ministers, Cornelis de Neef and Thomas Karreman, by ex-mayor Dominicus Kloeck and six elders. It reveals *inter alia* that Kloeck had expressly asked the classis of Walcheren whether it had any objections to Labadie's orthodox or piety; there was none. The testimonial itself is brief, with unanimous praise of Labadie's and Yvon's piety, conduct and zeal.<sup>116</sup>) Doubt was subsequently cast on the authenticity of this document, since its opening ('Seeing that we are obliged to bear witness to the truth') was not the usual formula. The classis of Walcheren

recorded on 21 November that the signatories of the testimonial did not know who had penned it and that the opening had been added later. Nonetheless the bulk of it was genuine.

Middelburg's letter is of 17 August and signed by fourteen of the old consistory. It appears that Labadie's departure had been so sudden that not all had been able to bid him farewell. They express their sorrow at his departure but admit, in very 'Labadian' phrases, that it is for the greater glory of the mystical and visible kingdom of God that he has moved elsewhere. As for Labadie, they compare him to the prophets of old, who suffered because those jealous of their fruitfulness were able to persuade secular powers against them. They pray that the spiritual food which he gave them might now be well digested in his absence, and that they will see the break of a new, more glorious day.<sup>117)</sup>

Indeed a Labadist remnant remained at Middelburg for some time, practising his spirituality, but its size is hard to estimate, since many devotees left the town to follow their teacher.<sup>118)</sup> Labadie's successor, Pierre Prévost, was elected on 21 June and installed on 4 August, and some renegades were slowly drawn back to the fold. Yet mention is still made in synodal protocols of Labadie's faction in the town as late as 1676, and some of the former consistory are still found in 1690, practising a Pietistic independence. As for Veere, it continued loyal to Labadie, sending the Coccejian pastor Daniel Gravius to speak to the prince on the community's behalf when the latter was received as marquis of the town on 25 September, and a mark of Labadie's stamp on the town is that the Quakers, through their missionary William Caton, were never able to establish a foothold there because of the popularity that the deposed Walloon minister had won in the brief space of six weeks.<sup>119)</sup>



## CHAPTER 8

### ‘A Garden Walled Around’. Labadie at Amsterdam, 1669, 1670

When banishment from Zeeland became a serious possibility, Labadie had approached Haarlem as a possible place of refuge. Now, however, the choice fell on Amsterdam.<sup>1)</sup> This had its logic, for Amsterdam was the city of freedom, ‘Eleutheropolis’, where ethnic minorities had their rights and religious sects their freedom of worship on condition of occasional inspection by commissioners. As a result of this policy the city already housed several separatists in Labadie’s own mould; Antoinette Bourignon he had already met, and Jan Amos Comenius, last elder of the Czech *Unitas Fratrum* had corresponded; Petrus Serrarius, who died at the point of Labadie’s arrival, had been outspoken in his favour; and there were others: Friedrich Breckling, Daniel Zwicker, and the theosophist Johann Georg Gichtel.

Amsterdam was a centre of trade and culture, the base of the East India Company and the exchange bank, and anxious to raise itself above the other cities of Holland in wealth and importance. Vigorously independent, it regularly advocated the democratic way when its fellow towns in the province sided with the prince. Here were negro servants, enclaves of Jews, Turks and Persians, and churches for Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox, as well as a host of sects both new and old. The prevalent atmosphere was that of a confident mercantile beehive, but not all were impressed with its cosmopolitan flavour. One sardonic Englishman wrote: ‘Here is neither good aire, good water, good drinke, good flesh, good earth, good manners, or any other thing of its own duction [sic] that is good.’ As for its many religions, he pointed out that the most popular god of all was Interest.<sup>2)</sup>

One merchant of the city, active in trade with the Muscovy Company, was Isaac Bernarts, formerly a member of the Wal-

loon consistory. Labadie had befriended him on his first visit to Amsterdam, and now in early August 1669 he and his three chief disciples, accompanied by their friend from Middelburg, Cornelis Muenicx, arrived at Bernarts' house on the Heerengracht and stayed there for several weeks. Letters were written on their behalf to the chief burgomaster, Coenraad van Beuningen, best remembered as a skilled diplomat and statesman, but who was also a spiritual man, who knew the works of Jakob Boehme (indeed in 1682 he had them published by means of a legacy from his sister Alida). The burgomasters were already well aware of the Labadists' presence, since the Reformed consistory had already delegated to them to warn of the danger. The consistory had noted on 15 August that 'already no little commotion has arisen, and yet more grievous unrest and schism is to be feared'.<sup>3)</sup>

Within days the storm-clouds were gathering. On 19 August the *Amsterdamsche Courant* reprinted a warning against Labadie which it had originally given on 4 April, and the consistory noted that Labadie had already begun to hold conventicles at Bernarts' house. This led to a deputation to the burgomasters who, however, replied that 'in so far as he (Labadie) wishes to live here as a citizen and inhabitant, one cannot really deny him this; but if he should seek a schism here and attempt to draw people away from the Reformed Church, their Honours would be greatly displeased'.<sup>4)</sup> This decision was communicated to Labadie also, and the consistory could only seethe in frustration and maintain a close watch on his activities.

Support was not lacking for the Labadists, however. Galenus Abrahamsz, a doctor of medicine and a Mennonite, had long been holding conventicles of his own and welcomed Labadie's arrival. Shortly before his death, Petrus Serrarius reprinted his *Examen synodorum* and dedicated it to Labadie. The aged Jan Amos Comenius, sick in bed and not expected to recover, was visited by Labadie at his home on the Egelantiersgracht. Comenius had been in exile here since 1656, working as a bookseller and maintaining a vast correspondence with almost every notable Independent of his day. In 1669, his 78th year, he made jottings under the title *Clamores Eliae*, where he speaks of many who had influenced him, including Labadie; on 12 October he recorded a conversation at his home, in which Labadie had spoken of their part-

nership in the Lord's work: he and his community would 'shake Babylon until it collapses', while Comenius would 'educate Zion'.<sup>3)</sup> Comenius also intended to include Labadie in a *collegium lucis* that he was planning to compose. Finally among his friends Labadie could count the wealthy merchant Johannes Bardewits, who became a particular friend of Dulignon. Bardewits had for some time been holding conventicles in his home on the Keyzersgracht above the old Glasshouse, and here began a relationship of qualified support that was to last for over twenty years.<sup>6)</sup>

Pierre Yvon was emerging as the most gifted, though the youngest, of Labadie's disciples, and he was kept very busy at this period. Not only did he plan a treatise on the various covenants of God, a theme already popularised in the Netherlands by Coccejus but somewhat ambitious for a man of twenty-three,<sup>7)</sup> but he was also used to contact potential allies. He visited the followers of Johann Georg Gichtel, a theosophist who spent whole nights praying in fields, and who lived almost opposite the Labadist house, to propose an amalgamation, but the offer was declined. He went to Utrecht to visit the eminent Gysbert Voet and sought to win him to the cause. Voet was guarded and refused to commit himself, since his hope was that Labadie would in time join his own party, so Yvon left with him a copy of Francis Rous' *Interiora regni Dei* and returned to Amsterdam.<sup>8)</sup> Next a letter arrived from an earlier contact, Luise Huygens of Rijnsburg, who asked for someone to go and bring the word to many of open heart whom she knew on the Lower Rhine. So Yvon set off again, lodging at Rijnsburg at the home of Petronella van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck, elder sister of the three Labadiths, and widow of Johan van Wevort van Ossenbergh. Thence to Wesel, where Yvon found a Lutheran deacon named Heinrich Schlüter,<sup>9)</sup> who later moved to Amsterdam to join Labadie; at Duisburg the secretary to the Elector of Brandenburg was touched; at Mülheim an der Ruhr, where pastor Theodor Untereyck was already holding conventicles similar to Labadie's, large numbers flocked to hear Yvon, including the Countess of Dhaun-Falkenstein, a protectress of the Quakers. The same was true at Cologne, where pastor Peter van Maastricht, later professor of theology at Duisburg, had conferences with him. At Düsseldorf, 'Mr. Steenh...'<sup>10)</sup> was instructed in how to promote a revival of religion; at the Hague,

Yvon gave his view in a debate on whether the unregenerate should be allowed to receive Communion. He returned to Amsterdam and was immediately ordained pastor along with Dulignon and Ménuret by the laying on of hands. All links with the established Church had thus been finally severed.

This created a furore, especially among the evangelicals of the Reformed camp. Any hope of drawing Labadie to their side to become an itinerant preacher of reformation had now evaporated. Voet could not believe it; the classis of Leeuwarden foresaw terrible consequences; and the Scottish pastor John Brown wrote from Rotterdam to remind Yvon that Labadie had previously been willing to accept the Dutch Reformed Church as a true church of God. 'We live and learn' was Yvon's response. Even the Cardinal Prefect for Propaganda at Amsterdam wrote to the Apostolic Vicar, Johannes Neercassel, to ask for information about this new force to be reckoned with.<sup>11)</sup>

Once the final separation had been effected, Labadie sought new premises. Using Isaac Bernarts, his former host, as an agent, he succeeded in renting a spacious house from Jeronimus de Haze, one of the richest man in the city, who once made a transaction of a million florins at the exchange bank, and who plied a lucrative trade with Spain, Italy and the Levant.<sup>12)</sup> No official record has been traced (indeed rents did not have to be confirmed by notary), but it is known that Johann Georg Gichtel lived opposite and alderman Huydecoper van Maarseveen nearby, and both of these lived on the Lauriergracht, at the south-west corner of the city, near the lofty spire of the Westerkerk, so we assume that the Labadist house was also on this quiet street with a canal in the middle. With larger premises now available, several disciples moved into the house and others sought accommodation nearby. Elisabeth van den Poorten, widow of a councillor of Middelburg, moved in with her children to act as housekeeper. Anna van Schurman travelled to Amsterdam with a friend, Catharine Martini, and her maid, Cecilia van Neel,<sup>13)</sup> hoping to rent a room near Labadie's house; there was, however, none available, so she returned to Utrecht. By now the 'Star of Utrecht', once sung by princes and *philosophes*, was thoroughly disenchanted with the life of learning and was seeking to live in devotion to God alone. In the summer she had written in the *Liber Amicorum* of Johannes Schweling:

Veritatem

Philosophia querit,  
Theologia invenit,  
Religio possidet.<sup>14)</sup>

Her disillusionment becomes clearer still from her correspondence with her old friend Constantijn Huygens, man of letters and friend of royalty. On 8 September he wrote to her of portraiture and engraving, subjects in which she had formerly delighted. Her reply of five days later bespeaks her disenchantment: *ars longa, vita brevis* is becoming a painful truth to her, and she now sees no higher goal than to know the Saviour and live for the reformation of his Church.<sup>15)</sup> At this point a letter arrived from Yvon, pleading with her to be as Paula, who left all to follow St. Jerome and receive his teaching. She perceived his meaning and returned to Amsterdam with a friend. Still no lodgings were available, so Labadie suggested that he put at her disposal some rooms on the ground floor of his house, while he and his disciples lived on the upper floor. After some hesitation, Anna van Schurman accepted the offer and moved in with her maid and her 11-year-old nephew.

If the Voetian party had withheld judgement until now on Labadie's *coenobium*, as they called it, this was the last straw. All Anna van Schurman's friends turned against Labadie. Lodensteyn wrote in fatherly vein; Saldenus begged her to reconsider;<sup>16)</sup> Maresius deplored her devotion to an 'homo pestilentissimus' like Labadie;<sup>17)</sup> Huygens wrote a Latin poem begging her to leave.<sup>18)</sup> Bishops and erudites, pastors and politicians wrote in their letters or noted in their journals the scandal of such a move.<sup>19)</sup> Most hurt of all was Voet. As professor of theology at Utrecht, he offered to his students propositions for disputation on 30 October and 13 November:

1. Nobody ought to leave the Church simply because some unbelievers are in it.
2. Nobody ought to join a semi-monastic group which does little but meditate and hold meetings.
3. Everyone ought to avoid the private gatherings of such a group in order to avoid implication in error.

The allusions are barely masked.<sup>20)</sup>

Meanwhile, however, the Labadists' influence grew. Luise Huygens<sup>21)</sup> joined them, but did not move in, and received

stinging rebukes from her relatives. Burgomaster van Beuningen's sister<sup>22</sup>) became a devotee, as did several other ladies of respected families: Anna, Maria and Lucia van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck,<sup>23</sup>) sisters of the future governor of Surinam; Aemilie van der Haer from the Hague and her sister Vincentia,<sup>24</sup>) distant relatives of Anna van Schurman; Anna de Veer<sup>25</sup>) and Wilhelmina van Buytendyck.<sup>26</sup>) Heinrich Schlüter, already mentioned, came from Wesel with his sister Elisabeth and his brother Peter,<sup>27</sup>) and moved into the community house.

A new departure was to set up a printing-press for cheaper dissemination of their literature. For this they had a trained printer and book-binder in Laurens Autein, a native of Paris who had joined them at Middelburg. A press was acquired and premises rented for its installation; the location is clear from subsequent title-pages: 'sur le Prince-Gracht by de Ree-Straet', only a stone's throw from the Labadist house. The press was manned by their own people, while Jean-Louis Holzhalf, son of a Zürich merchant, ran the shop. Literature became a primary tool for Labadist recruitment, and copies of Labadie's works were sent far and wide, sometimes in response to an enquiry, often unsolicited in the hope of gaining influential benefactors.

The propaganda value was considerable. In Germany, for example, the labours of Teellinck, Ames or the Collegiants had created little or no stir, yet Labadie's activities, akin to theirs, were soon common knowledge throughout the Rhineland. As a result, visitors from Germany were regularly received at the Labadist house. Late in 1669 it was Johann Heinrich Horb, brother-in-law of the Pietist patriarch Spener and soon to be a leading Pietist himself, who came as a young student to meet Labadie but wrote uncomprehendingly to his relatives of what he had found. Early in 1670 it was Samuel Nethenus, pastor of Baerl near Moers and an ardent reformer, who had already held conventicles himself. He records how he travelled specially to see Labadie (no small mark of the man's stature) and had several discussions with him, at which Labadie explained that his schism had been forced upon him by his expulsion from the Walloon synod, adding (not too honestly) that he could not join the Dutch Reformed Church because of the language barrier. That, said Nethenus, was no reason for an ugly schism. Ever after this meeting, Nethenus stressed that he

respected Labadie but could not approve of his separation and could therefore not be called a Labadist.

In all, nine of Labadie's works date from the Amsterdam stay,<sup>28)</sup> though one was published only after his departure. This, in the space of one year, is a vast output. Before the Labadist press was set up in the spring of 1670 there appeared three works: the *Vingt et cinq raisons*,<sup>29)</sup> of which more below; the *Points Fondamentaux*,<sup>30)</sup> which was a devotional handbook based on Labadist ecclesiology; and the notorious *Nouvelle conviction manifeste*,<sup>31)</sup> a piqued reaction to Voet's theses and the works against him by Mauduict and Desmarets,<sup>32)</sup> couched in a style so aggressive that the Labadists lost some of their popular support. Under their own printer's name appeared the *Abrégé du véritable Christianisme*, a second edition of a Montauban work;<sup>33)</sup> a violent rejoinder to slanders from a former member;<sup>34)</sup> and several works which are in verse. The *Chant royal* is little more than a poetic *mise-en-scène* of the book of Revelation, which does it little credit.<sup>36)</sup> The *Pseaumes evangeliques*<sup>36)</sup> is a collection of fifty canticles on various subjects, mainly the life and teachings of Jesus, of doggerel quality. Rather better is the *Receüil de diverses chansons spiritüeles*,<sup>37)</sup> which comprises seventeen poems of varying lengths, predominantly concerning the union of the soul with God, which is presented as the mystical fusion of human sterility and divine blessing:

Mon coeur en cete obscurité  
Est en tele sterilité  
Qu'il ne pousse fleur, ni racine,  
Mais se tient interdit et coi  
Enraciné par pure foi  
Dans un fond d'essance divine. (Cantique 12)

The poetic range here is broader and departs in places from Labadie's usual sing-song metres, a good example being:

Ton oeil plus vif qu'un Etoile  
Sous le voile  
D'une tenebreuse nuit,  
Ne me veut il point epandre  
Un clin tandre  
Qui refasse mon esprit? (Cantique 9)

The mood throughout is one of evangelical zeal for a spiritual awakening within the Church, a theme taken up in the last book written at Amsterdam, *L'Empire du S. Esprit sur les ames*,<sup>38)</sup> which was published a year later. Here Labadie deplores the ignorance of the Church concerning the power of the Holy Spirit and attributes it to rampant worldliness:

the corruption of the age and the great rule of its spirit are the reason why that of Heaven makes little impact; the waters of a deluge of sin quench the spark of the fire of grace, and it is for this reason that few experience it, or even believe in it.<sup>39)</sup>

He traces the operation of the Spirit from Genesis to the Acts, via several 'evangelical witnesses of the Holy Spirit', supremely Jesus, and concludes with a plea to let the Holy Spirit guide our hearts and usher in that holiness without which no man shall see God (Heb. 12:14).

On 13 December 1669 the gazettes announced the forthcoming publication of a life of Labadie, and on 1 January it appeared: *Histoire curieuse*<sup>40)</sup> by Henri and Daniel Des Marets, pastors at Delft and The Hague. It is little more than a revamping of past allegations, its style pompous and excessively rhetorical. Its main aim was to disabuse Labadie's many adherents by stressing his 'habitual extravagances, his intolerable pride and his brazen ventures, both against his colleagues and his magistrate', his 'counterfeit piety, and his 'zeal without knowledge' (*Avertissement* + p. 12). The book had its effect, and within a week Henri Des Marets was sending complimentary copies to people who had written to offer further morsels of scandal. There were other enemies too. Pastor Johannes Sylvius would hang around on the corner of the street where Labadie lived in the hope of spotting some misdemeanour. He also attempted to influence members to leave, not only the insignificant (such as a man named Huisman and a girl called Hulsie) but also senior members like Yvon, Heinrich Schlüter and Anna van Schurman. Even the reformers among the Reformed opposed Labadie. Herman Witsius, who had known Labadie in Zeeland, and Johannes van der Waijen of Leeuwarden, both ardent reformers, who had also opposed Wolzogen's book, felt bound to write against the Labadist schism,<sup>41)</sup> and a pastor from Haarlem told Anna van



Schurman that were he to practise what Labadie advocated and minister only to the regenerate, he would soon have nobody left in his church!

Support nevertheless continued to grow, though its full extent remains uncertain since Cannegieter<sup>42)</sup> pointed out a significant error. Basing themselves on the Dutch translation of Anna van Schurman's autobiographical *Eukleria*, scholars have long asserted that no less than 50,000 Reformed communicants in the city were under Labadist influence; but this proves to be a mistranslation of the Latin, the figure referring to the number of sincere communicants in the city, of which only a proportion sided with Labadie. Nevertheless the Reformed consistory was forever lamenting the trickle away from church to conventicle. The influential pastor Wilhelmus à Brakel thought of joining Labadie, or at least so he maintained with hindsight in 1683.<sup>43)</sup> Adrian de Herder, recently deposed as pastor of Bleiswijk for refusal to baptize children of unregenerate parents, began holding conventicles at Rotterdam along Labadist lines, and maintained close contact. Christian Hoburg, a native of Lüneberg, was deposed by the classis of Zutphen early in 1670 for holding to the doctrines of Schwenckfeld and David Joris; he moved to Amsterdam and lived in Labadie's house for two or three weeks, where he made himself unpopular by his doctrine and by accusing the Schlüter brothers of drunkenness. He soon left and, after an equally brief association with Antoinette Bourignon, moved to Altona near Hamburg, to be pastor of a Mennonite sect called the Dunkers (or Dompelaars). Contact continued between Labadie and Antoinette, chiefly through their respective disciples, Yvon and Poiret.<sup>44)</sup> The Labadist party was favourable, asking to copy certain of Antoinette's works in manuscript, and playing down the differences between the two sects as the result of mere words and manners of expression. From the Labadist side came the proposal that the two groups unite and set up a society of the elect on the Friesian island of Nordstrand, where Bourignon's close friend Christian de Cort was active. De Cort was favourable and the Labadists had put up a considerable sum of money, but Bourignon finally withdrew, convinced that Labadie's adherence to the doctrine of predestination, which she regarded as pernicious, would render the scheme impracticable.

On 6 March the Reformed consistory noted that

conventicles were on the increase and was horrified that one of its own visistors of the sick, named Uylenbroek, had been to some. A week later Uylenbroek reported having attended two or three gatherings at the home of an Englishman, William Peacock, on the Heeregracht, but that he had not recognized it as a Labadist conventicle, since it was led by Bardewits. The consistory further lamented that many of its flock were absenting themselves from Communion; that Labadie's house now numbered some 25 residents and that meetings were held there three times on a Sunday and regularly in the week; that they had adherents in Haarlem, Rotterdam, the Hague and Dordrecht; and that missionaries were regularly visiting Zeeland, Bommel, Cologne and the Lower Rhine. As for Labadie, he was denouncing the Reformed ministers as 'belly-serves' and hirelings, who were neither regenerate nor called of God, and was spreading his literary propaganda far and wide in several languages. Faced with such a threat, the consistory decided to visit all known adherents and reason with them, each pastor in his own parish, while two envoys, Le Maire and Lycochton, were to protest to the burgomasters.

This succeeded in securing an order from the burgomasters to Labadie wherein he was forbidden to hold public gatherings in his home; he could, however, hold such meetings for his immediate household. Undeterred, Labadie found a way round this by renting, again through the agency of Isaac Bernarts, the two adjoining houses. Thus his 'immediate household' had trebled! The consistory meanwhile reported back on its visiting of Labadist sympathisers, and the results were disappointing: 'there were very few who gave us hope that they would cease frequenting Labadie's meetings'.<sup>45)</sup> Now worse was to come. The previous day Labadie had held a meeting in the Brownist church in the Barndesteeg, since its own minister, Samuel Malbon,<sup>46)</sup> was ill. Another meeting was planned for the morrow. In fact, this never took place, and a proposed Sunday gathering was prevented by the burgomasters sending a messenger post haste, who caught Labadie as he ascended the pulpit; Labadie had to content himself with a conventicle at his own house, and he left entreating Malbon to remain in the city and draw the regenerate away from the Anglican church that met in the old Beguine convent. Three Labadists appealed to the burgomasters for use of the

Brownist church, but were refused on the ground that Labadie was a dangerous and schismatic man. So Labadie continued his house-meetings and kept a register (unfortunately lost) of all who came and could answer in the affirmative to three questions: whether they accepted Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the only Saviour; whether they renounced the world; whether they believed that Labadie taught the truth that makes for godliness.

Heinrich Schlüter had just returned from a missionary journey to the Lower Rhine, and he brought with him jottings taken at a conventicle in Mülheim on the Ruhr, where a cobbler named Jan Bakhuis had spoken on the marks of a truly regenerate man. These notes were found to tally in all essentials with the Labadists' own position and were circulated among their circle of friends to general contentment. Schlüter then had them published (*Ken-Teeckenen van de Weder-Geboorte*, Amsterdam, J. van den Bergh, 1670) together with a lengthy preface. The 'Marks of Regeneration' themselves number twenty-six and are largely unsurprising, though grave offence might have been taken at the reference (p. 3) to our companions prior to our conversion as 'stinking goats and gallows-birds', and even more at the dismissal of unregenerate churchgoers (pp. 15, 16) as 'beasts and devil-ridden men'. What did the damage, however, was Schlüter's preface. In fact, it is seriously written, well underpinned with references to scripture, even in Greek, but it concerned the need to cleanse the old leaven from the Church, that it might be separate, holy, consecrated to God and free of all formalists and hypocrites, who are dismissed (by reference to Matthew 7:6,15) as dogs, vipers and swine (p. 10 of preface). He appended a letter of Anna van Schurman justifying her embracing of Labadism, a letter of his own (translated from German) regarding the state of the Church, and a reply to Gulielmus Saldenus.<sup>47)</sup> Finally he reproduced extracts from a work by Belcampius, ironically still a Reformed pastor at Amsterdam, which castigates the Reformed Church even more severely than he had himself.

Using some of Schlüter's notions and the 'Marks of Regeneration', Labadie had drawn together twenty-one articles on the state of the Church of his day and on his community's ministry. These were communicated to any serious enquirer, and one of them, Jan de Klerk, preserved them for posterity.<sup>48)</sup>

The central theme of the articles is that the Reformed Church is full of unregenerate men, a temple of idols and opposed to the true Christ; as Israel had to be separate from the nations, so must any true believer separate himself from the Reformed Church for fear of the judgement of God. A true church (art. 13) will comprise solely the elect, be joined together in genuine love and have Christ as head, to lead wherever He will. Surprisingly these articles, though much talked about, were not as violently opposed as Schlüter's *Ken-Teeckenen*.<sup>49)</sup> On 25 July 1670 Jan de Klerk wrote to Labadie and Yvon to ask whether they endorsed Schlüter's position, or whether, as was remoured, they were embarrassed by it. They replied by disowning the 21 Articles altogether, alleging them to be the work of their opponents to defame their labours, and spoke of Schlüter as a hot-headed young man who had acted without their knowledge or permission. This is hardly convincing, and Jacobus Koelman (*Der Labadisten Dwalingen*, 1684 p. 42) reveals that Labadie had confided to John Brown, Scottish pastor at Rotterdam, that indeed he did condone Schlüter's book.

When the burgomasters were finally able to consider the Labadie case, on 15 April 1670, they drew up another order prohibiting the holding of public meetings in houses in the town on pain of being taken to the courts. Secretary Schaap brought the order to Labadie's house two days later. Labadie received it with sorrow, telling Schaap that it amounted to a tacit expulsion, and adding that he would have to leave the three houses he had just rented at great cost. Within the week he had produced his answer: 25 reasons why he should be allowed to remain.<sup>50)</sup> Foremost among these are that Amsterdam is famed for its tolerance, allowing even Turks and Persians rights of free worship, but seems unprepared to grant this to an orthodox Reformed group; that several Christian sects are tolerated whose beliefs are heretical and whose practices are dangerous (i.e. the Anabaptists), whereas his own followers seek to live out the true faith in peace; that the Brownists, who are almost identical to themselves, are left unmolested; even conventicles where no ordained minister presides have more rights than the Labadists; and that all rumours about his former conduct are without foundation. He denies any policy of recruitment, saying of his followers: 'they rarely step outside, and live very quietly; they seek nobody, but wait to be sought', which is debatable, as we have seen.

The next month passed with the consistory pressing hard for legal action against Labadie on account of the 21 articles. The officer appointed by the burgomasters thought they had a fair case, but feared that a lawsuit would prove protracted and difficult. Letters reached the consistory from other churches disconcerted at rumours that some of their flock had joined Labadie's movement. Middelburg wrote concerning Elisabeth van den Poorten, who had become Labadie's housekeeper; Haarlem was concerned about the three Kruyf sisters. The Amsterdam consistory visited all four women but found only Elisabeth Kruyf willing to remain in their communion. Elisabeth van den Poorten declared she could not return to the Reformed Church 'until a reformation was effected in it, with the exclusion of the godless by improved discipline'.<sup>51)</sup>

Throughout June the consistory sought to ascertain the whereabouts of conventicles in order to send for and admonish the owner of the house concerned. One such was Annetje Tjebbes, who held a gathering in her house in the Langestraat, even on Sundays, which were led by Bardewits. He, in turn, was allied to Labadie. She could not be persuaded to renounce such a separation, but rather defended it stubbornly. We see clearly that Labadie, despite his stress on his intention to live quietly and cause no harm, was nonetheless bringing a word which was falling into fertile ground. He was becoming the figurehead for a whole range of dissenting believers, of all social backgrounds.

Meanwhile, the month of June was difficult for the Labadists on account of a domestic happening, which in turn presents a splendid *vignette* of 17th century Amsterdam life. An ancient widow of Middelburg, a devotee of Labadie, was brought to Amsterdam that she might die in his house. After an edifying death some weeks later, her body was placed in a coffin which, draped in black, was placed in the porchway to await the funeral. Coincidentally, at that moment a gang of workmen arrived, on the orders of the landlord, to carry out repairs to the sewerage system; they had been expected for over a month. A trench was dug inside the front door, in full view of pedestrians. Two women passing by remarked: 'This is the new church. They hold services here.' To which others added: 'It must be a church, because they bury the dead.' Street urchins took up the cry and before long rumours had swept the city that the Labadists murdered people and buried

them in the garden! An angry mob arrived and beat on the door. Labadie, who had revealed amazing calm in similar situations at Montauban fourteen years earlier, went out, derided their foolishness and sent them home.

No sooner had he turned his back than an even larger mob arrived and filled the streets around the three houses, beating on the doors and throwing stones at the windows. It was about 8.00 p.m. At that moment alderman Jan Huydecoper, who lived nearby on the Lauriergracht, returned home. In vain he sought to calm the multitude, so he ran to warn the burgomasters of the imminent danger of looting. A detachment of the militia was sent, which stood guard over the houses for three days and nights, often hard pressed to keep the mob at bay. Anna van Schurman in her *Eukleria* compares events to the riot at Ephesus in Acts 19, adding: ‘although perhaps our neighbours were trembling and fearing for their costly goods and furnishings, we were calm and untroubled by day and by night, awake or asleep, casting all our concerns on the Lord, and we heeded the clamour of the people no more than those who lie down beside a rushing stream, whose murmurings invite them to gentle slumber.’<sup>52</sup>) When the day of the funeral came, the authorities took precautions, and the militia was sent to flank Labadie, Yvon and Dulignon as they accompanied the coffin to the cemetery, through the midst of the howling mob. Anna Maria van Schurman concludes with irony that this penniless, unknown widow had a larger turnout at her funeral than any of the high and mighty of the city!<sup>53</sup>)

On the very day of the funeral, and four days before he was due to set off on a missionary journey, Jean Ménéret, one of Labadie’s closest disciples, went mad. He arose from the dinner table and began banging the plates with a knife and crying out incoherently. After prayer he improved for a time and could converse lucidly, but he relapsed and grew so violent that he had to live in an outhouse and be watched over by two or three sturdy men. He would bark like a dog and cry out blasphemies against God and Labadie, to the consternation of the neighbours. A renegade from the household, Antoine Lamarque, records that Ménéret was never once mentioned in the daily prayers, and that, to his knowledge, no definite exorcism was ever attempted, though Labadie and Yvon paid regular visits to his room. Labadie claimed that he often had to let Ménéret take him by the shoulders and shake him in order

to appease his frenzy, but that at other times they were forced to put a gag in his mouth and restrain him physically. Finally, around 10 August, he died.

At first Labadie sought to keep the death secret, but finally news was leaked by several disenchanted residents (Antoine and Siméon Lamarque and Jean-Louys Holzhalb) to pastor Johannes Sylvius, sworn enemy of Labadie. He came straightway to the house and, not finding his questions answered to his satisfaction, saw sufficient matter to bring a charge of murder to the burgomasters. These were perplexed, since sheriff Gerard Hasselaer was temporarily out of town. On his return, they asked him to go secretly and ascertain Labadie's side of the story. So on 14 August, at about 10.00 p.m., Hasselaer went to Labadie's house, accompanied by aldermen van Neck and Ranst, secretary Schaap and deputy prosecutor Engelbrecht. A man with a candle came to the door and said that Labadie was in bed, to which Hasselaer replied that he was on business of such importance that he would readily speak in the bedroom. So Labadie arose and received them, saying how glad he was to be able to speak for himself. He stressed his love for Ménuret, the latter's godly zeal, the grief of the whole household, and gave an account of the frenzy and their attempts to exorcise it. 'So, you can drive out the devil, can you!' interjected the sheriff. The party seemed content, however, and the following day reported to burgomaster de Graaf that there was no need to proceed any further in the matter. On the Labadist side it is curious that, though Labadie referred to Ménuret as the 'sacrifice' of the community, he is never mentioned in any subsequent Labadist necrology.<sup>54</sup>)

Throughout these troubled times conventicles continued, both in Labadie's houses and elsewhere. The consistory cited Bardewits to appear before it to explain why he held such meetings, and similar proceedings were urged against one Daniel Smout, who was holding conventicles in his house on the Bloemmarkt. The chief fear was, however, of Labadie's own meetings, and the reasons are evident. The United Provinces were regularly at war at this time and could therefore not tolerate internal unrest. Moreover there were tensions between the democratic and monarchical factions in almost every sphere of life, and Labadie's ability to become the figurehead of the poorer classes was regarded with apprehension. The burgomasters therefore passed a resolution on 11 July that

Labadie should abide fully by the order of 15 April or face the consequences. This order was once again brought by secretary Schaap. Labadie accepted it with sorrow, repeating that it precluded any further stay in the city. He lamented having never been given the chance to defend himself against his accusers. Regarding his gatherings, they were attended by his household and any friends who might be lodging there at the time; if this was a contravention of the law, he would admit that he had erred. As for Bardewits, he claimed that he did not know him personally (which is doubtful) and wondered whether he really belonged to their cause.<sup>55)</sup>

At this point the church of Utrecht made an attempt to influence its illustrious daughter, Anna Maria van Schurman, to leave Labadie and return to its fold. On 18 July the consistory wrote to her, pretending to know only by rumour of her presence in Labadie's house, and asked for clarification. They had also heard that she was actively seeking to influence others to join the Labadist schism.<sup>56)</sup> The letter was forwarded from Amsterdam to Lexmond, where Anna van Schurman had family possessions which she was at this time visiting. Her reply is dated 5 August, and in it she bewails the way in which the Church as a whole is seeking for a false, worldly peace, where there can be none, namely between believer and unbeliever. Separation is vital for the Church, and this has been Labadie's whole endeavour: 'And so everyone is stirred up against the true Servants of Christ [Labadie and Yvon] who, seeing the degeneracy of the Church, seek to maintain a distinction between the world and the true Christians who are mixed and enwrapped in it; in order to unite them in the love of godly truths and the profession of the same through words and works of righteousness.'<sup>57)</sup>

In late August a booklet was published by Antoine Lamarque, giving his motives for leaving Labadie's house.<sup>58)</sup> The Labadists felt it to be sufficiently dangerous to warrant a prompt reply in the strongest tone.<sup>59)</sup> Taken together, the works offer insights into the daily life of the community household in Amsterdam. Lamarque, a native of Lausanne, had been destined for the ministry and was on his way to England to finish his studies when he came into contact with Labadie at Veere; since one of his testimonials was to Labadie, who had once been destined for London, he lodged in his house for a while and became committed. He followed the



Labadists to Amsterdam and was there from the renting of the house onwards. It seems he was of a critical disposition and could not accept the 'blind and servile obedience' which he claims Labadie required. He was regularly censured for lack of attention in meetings and for not closing his eyes during worship. He was unimpressed with Labadie's prayers, finding them too expansive and familiar, besides which he notes that Labadie could not quote from memory. The prophetic *exercises* he found too long: mornings from 7 till 10 o'clock and evenings from 5 till 7 o'clock. During these nobody was allowed to leave, move their hands or nod their heads; one young lady, who was notorious for falling asleep in meetings, was sat in the front row so that Labadie could tap her on the head with his bible from time to time. Thematically the gatherings were too dull for Lamarque; Labadie had delivered the same set of sermons three times, and on 11 August he started yet again.

As for daily living, Lamarque reveals that he spent his time transcribing books and tutoring three children (the Labadists reply that the children did not learn anything from him and had to be taken away). Meals were eaten in the kitchen, which was too small for all to fit in comfortably. At the sound of a bell, all would enter and sit at one of two tables: one for the 'elect', the truly committed, and the other for probationers. At the elect's table sat Labadie, on his right Anna van Schurman, then Yvon and the rest. Regularly there was an atmosphere of merriment similar to that of a wedding. A meal could last up to three hours, while conversation centred on spiritual matters, especially what had been said at the morning *exercise*. Labadie was referred to as Papa and Anna van Schurman as Mama. Lamarque is keen to stress that Labadie ate the best food and kept in his wardrobe a private supply of wine and preserves sent by friends at The Hague (the Labadists claim these were medicinal). He would even eat well when enjoining others to fast. Sometimes after dinner there would be an excursion in a boat, which cost around 60 francs. The probationers would row while the elect sang. Occasionally the household journeyed to some secluded fields one league from Utrecht, where they would leap, dance and frisk about, Labadie joining in, and the Schlüter brothers would give each other rides on their shoulders. Such harmless fun was held by Lamarque to be puerile and irreverent. He further censures Labadie for pu-

ritanism of dress. Clothes with silver buttons were to be changed, earrings (Lamarque wore some) sold. His final allegation is that Labadie's institutions tended more toward Rome than Geneva, and that he once heard Labadie say that he had learned all he knew from the Papists and owed the Reformed Church nothing.

When he wished to leave, Lamarque claims that Labadie offered to write him a testimonial to John Owen, the Puritan divine, but later refused to give it to him. He was then forced to leave without the eight ducats which he had brought, a fate which had befallen his brother Siméon, who was cast out of the house penniless at 9.00 p.m. The Labadists replied that Lamarque had lived free of rent and had been fed and clothed for a whole year without contributing anything, so had no real case for the return of his capital. Moreover he had always been given to the errors of the Quakers and would not receive correction.

It was fast becoming apparent that a long-term stay at Amsterdam was out of the question, so the Labadists looked for a fresh refuge. The answer came from an old friend of Anna Maria van Schurman, Princess Elisabeth, Countess Palatine, who was cousin of the mighty Elector of Brandenburg and abbess of the Reformed convent of Herford in Westphalia. These had known each other when they had sat at the feet of Descartes, and had remained in correspondence. The princess determined to offer the Labadists sanctuary on her abbatial lands, known as the *Freiheit*, and on 21 August wrote to her brother, the Elector of Brandenburg, to gain his approval.

Your Highness will doubtless already be aware that the learned Schurman sought to found a kind of convent at Amsterdam with several ladies from Holland and Zeeland. Since, however, they have with them two preachers who are hated and calumniated by the Dutch *classes*,... they desired to come to me and build a house on my *Freiheit*, like the noble convent here on the hill, and depend on me as their abbess; and hereafter transfer all their goods to this land... They require nothing more than the assurance that they will be able to exercise their religion with the two aforesaid pastors, and live here in the same freedom as any other of my dependents here.<sup>60)</sup>

The Elector replied with his consent on 6 September by way of Count von Schwerin. Elisabeth therefore instructed a representative at the Hague to confer with the Labadists. This agent, however, found a copy of the *Histoire curieuse*<sup>61)</sup> and sent it to the abbess. Elisabeth did not believe a word of it and wrote to Anna van Schurman asking for the Labadists to send their own representative to Herford. The choice was Pierre Dulignon, who set off by coach and returned a week later with firm hopes that refuge at the convent would soon be possible. It is therefore little wonder that the letter of the Utrecht consistory of 19 September (from the pen of Andreas Essenius), refuting all Anna van Schurman's reasons for following Labadie, mattered little and was left unanswered.

The States General of the United Provinces, meeting that year, made an ominous resolution on 25 September that force could not be ruled out in dealing with the Labadist threat. This is presumably the reason why, in early October, the majority of the household left by ship for Bremen, leaving behind three brothers to tie up their affairs at Amsterdam and arrange for the shipment of the printing-press. One of the three was the printer, Laurens Autein, who continued to publish Labadist works well into 1671. The Reformed Church breathed a sigh of relief at the departure, and a satirical work was penned (by Henri des Marets, given the stylistic similarities to his section of the *Histoire curieuse*) entitled *Départ apostatique de Jean de Labadie...*,<sup>62)</sup> a pun on Labadie's first work printed on Dutch soil: *l'Arrivée apostolique*. Not all the sympathisers had left for Herford, however. Many stayed in Amsterdam and joined the conventicles run by Johannes Bardewits, which were still reported to be meeting, twice on Sundays, in 1692. When in 1672 Amsterdam witnessed an attempted democratic revolt, attempts were made in some quarters to see Labadist influence behind it in the person of Daniel Smout, who had been holding conventicles of his own.<sup>63)</sup> However, not only was this be wrong Smout, the Labadist having been called Peter, but also the accusation was bred of a tendency that has clouded research ever since: the use of the term 'Labadist' as a slogan, a blanket condemnation of any secretive sectarian group, much as the terms 'Donatist' and 'Quaker' have been used. Thus many a group, religious and political has since been referred to as Labadist, which had no real connection with the community but which held in

some loose way to separation and the renewal of Church and society.<sup>64)</sup>



*Fig. 2.* Maria van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck (1645-c.1703), as a shepherdess, c.1665, by Jan Mytens. Oil, 127x110 cm. Colour: dress, scarlet; sleeves, white; hat, black; plume, white; hair, brown.  
From private collection of Rt.Hon. the Earl of Elgin, Boomhall, Fife, reproduced by kind permission.

## CHAPTER 9

### ‘The Garden Prepared.’ Labadie at Herford, 1670-1672

The main party of Labadists left Amsterdam harbour in mid-October 1670<sup>1</sup>) and transferred to a waiting ship bound for Bremen. They remained in this city for two days but were forced to leave by a hostile municipal council,<sup>2</sup>) so they continued up the Weser as far as Minden. Here they were met by wagons sent by Princess Elisabeth, which carried them as far as her convent at Herford, which was to be their retreat. Anna van Schurman records that the journey was spent in spiritual repartee, though some (‘they were not truly of us’) grumbled all the way. They arrived at the end of the month.

Meanwhile another party had already travelled from Amsterdam at the end of September. Heinrich Schlüter and the van Sommelsdyck sisters travelled overland by way of Rijnsburg, where they collected Luise Huygens, and Wesel, where they arrived on 3 October. The party lodged in various houses<sup>3</sup>) and Schlüter held Labadist conventicles in his parental home. Interestingly, and contrary to the normal practice of the Labadists, ‘a woman from Rotterdam’ preached on one occasion. The Wesel presbytery, still smarting from their renegade son’s *Ken-Teeckenen* and now seeing some of its flock deserting to the Labadists<sup>4</sup>), appealed to the synod of Cleve, which passed the task to the classis of Duisburg, who sent delegates to examine Schlüter on 4 and 5 November. He retracted nothing of what he had written, but admitted to the imprudence of its tone. When forbidden to hold conventicles he followed his master Labadie by denying the classis’ authority to do this. An uneasy truce was finally achieved, the synod deciding to refer details to the Elector, and Schlüter, to everyone’s relief, announcing his intention of continuing his journey to Herford in two days time (7 November).

Herford lay at the confluence of the Werre and the Aa. Its

crowning glory was its convent, which dated from around 820 and had for many years been under the direct patronage of the prince. It housed fourteen aristocratic nuns, who employed four pastors, three deacons and a host of cooks and servants, and it owned much land both in and around the town, from which it enjoyed almost total independence. The town itself was in decline. The ravages of the Thirty Years War were followed by a fire in 1638 which had destroyed the suburb of Radewig. It had debts of 150,000 *taler* and in 1652 was forced to cede its cherished independence to Brandenburg. Its commercial status as a yarn and linen market had declined in the face of fierce competition, and agriculture had taken over from trade as the chief occupation of the poorer classes.

The abbess at this time was Princess Elisabeth, eldest daughter of Frederick V, Count Palatine, the unfortunate King of Bohemia at the start of the Thirty Years War. She had been installed in April 1667, after spending her younger years in the *salons* of the United Provinces; here, as a disciple of Descartes, she had come to know Anna van Schurman. The English traveller, Sir William Bromley, spoke of Elisabeth as the most learned woman in Europe, and of her sister Sophie, mother of George I of England, as the most complete lady. The convent was situated on a hill to the east of the town and was built around the church of St. Mary. Its lands within the walls of the town were known as the *Stifts-freiheit* and *Auf der Freiheit*,<sup>5)</sup> and on this latter stood the Jülicher Hof. Here abbess Elisabeth accommodated the Labadists, some in cottages and others, including the leaders, in the home of the bailiff, Gerhard Steinmeyer,<sup>6)</sup> and another known as the von Cornbergsche Haus.<sup>7)</sup> After a few days the three van Sommelsdyck sisters arrived. Elisabeth instructed the governor of the region, Major-General von Eller,<sup>8)</sup> to collect them in his carriage from Minden. He entertained them at his residence at Sparenberg and then drove them to Herford, he and his wife being deeply impressed by their spirituality. These ladies were given a separate house on the nearby abbatial possession of Sundern, one mile north-west of the town, namely the Donopshof, which had been bequeathed by a former abbess named Donop.<sup>9)</sup>

The Labadists' arrival had been awaited with dread in the town. Though Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg had granted Elisabeth, who was his cousin, permission to shelter

the community, he received a warning letter from Prince Johann Moritz von Nassau, governor of Cleve, to the effect that Labadie was a renegade Jesuit of novel opinions. Again he wrote on 6 October to inform Friedrich Wilhelm that the Labadists were preparing to depart and to warn him of the consequences. On the very day of the community's arrival, the council of Herford sent a deputation to the abbess to remonstrate; she, however, claimed her rights of independence as a princess of the empire answerable only to the emperor or his representative, and would not grant a formal audience. Informally, though, she told the delegates that 'The Hollanders' were of good character and intentions. When asked why she had not notified the council in advance of her intentions, she replied that it had seemed unnecessary, the town being Lutheran and she and the newcomers Reformed. The council was not satisfied, for it was receiving rumours from Amsterdam that Labadie was a Quaker. So on 6 November it wrote two letters; one to the council of Amsterdam for details of Labadie's conduct there, and one to the Elector to complain of their snub from Elisabeth, who had even threatened to have a thousand dragoons billeted in the town if it caused any trouble. The council reminded the Elector that the Labadists infringed the Treaty of Westphalia, which tolerated only Catholics, Lutherans and Reformed in the land. Their final grievance was that rumour included among the Labadists a spiritual misfit of some notoriety, named Friedrich Breckling. It seems, however, as though rumour had mistaken Schlüter for Breckling.<sup>10)</sup>

Almost upon their arrival, Elisabeth allowed the Labadists to give a public statement of their faith, which they did before several pastors and magistrates, including Johann Heneke, professor of theology at the university of Rinteln. Labadie declared that he held unswervingly to the *Institutes* of Calvin, the Heidelberg Catechism and the 1618/19 Synod of Dordrecht; his sole intention was 'a Christian reformation of lives and morals', and he had only come to Herford because he could find no niche in the United Provinces. One hearer was not convinced and wrote to Hannover that Labadie ('an old fox') had only said this to escape a thorough inquisition, adding that he feared 'the unquenchable flame' that could break out if this ill were not speedily dealt with.<sup>11)</sup> And Elisabeth's sister Sophie, wife of the Elector of Hannover,

wrote to their brother Karl Ludwig, Count Palatine, in a non-committal fashion: Labadie's words are good but his life is evil spoken of in every quarter, yet 'he has the one good quality of having enough money to maintain our sister's convent'.<sup>12)</sup>

Governor von Eller sought to use his influence on the Labadists' behalf. He summoned to Sparenberg professors Heneke and Johann Otto Henckel of Rinteln on the pretext of arranging a conference with Labadie. He painted a glowing picture of the community's life and proposed that the professors dine at the convent with Elisabeth and the Labadist pastors two days hence. Heneke declined, adding that the point at issue was not Labadie's lifestyle but his doctrine, and left with von Eller a sheet of 26 specific propositions (possibly the 'Marks of Regeneration', which numbered 26) on which he desired to know Labadie's views. Though the governor promised to return it within the week, he never did. On their way home, several of the Herford consistory met the professors at the gate of the town and urged them to take a stand against the newcomers.<sup>13)</sup>

On 13 November, Princess Elisabeth stressed to the Elector the advantages of the Labadist presence: the small Reformed flock was strengthened; several ruined houses on the Freiheit were being rebuilt; and their craftsmen and artisans would aid the town's economy. As for their manner of life, 'they occupy themselves in a quiet, withdrawn, pious and exemplary life and conduct, so that each and every hothead who has spoken to these people has found them to be far different from how their opponents depict them'.<sup>14)</sup> Less formally Elisabeth penned her views to her niece Merode on 14 November:

You warn me of Labadie, since no good is spoken of him. If you knew him yourself and could speak of any evil, it would make more of an impression on me, because all that glitters is not gold, neither is all evil that the world decries as evil; ...all our theologians who have spoken to him here hold his beliefs to be orthodox; his life is quiet and retiring. I do not consider Miss Schurman to be one of those women of whom Paul speaks in 2 Tim. 3, for she is neither simple nor laden with sin. The others who live with her are also upright and honourable people, of sound reason and good discourse,... who wish to shun the world and serve God.<sup>15)</sup>



The Labadists sought to gain further support. Using as an opportunity an enquiry into her health, Anna van Schurman replied on 16 November to Elisabeth's sister Sophie.<sup>16)</sup> She enclosed two of Labadie's works and wrote of how God had given to her and her companions the inspiration to rediscover the life of the First Church, where all were of one heart and soul.<sup>17)</sup> Sophie replied with grateful thanks for the 'fort beaux livres', but felt human nature to be too flawed for such a oneness of soul to exist this side of eternity.<sup>18)</sup>

Meanwhile, the community sought to continue its way of life as normally as possible. The daily prophetic *exercises* continued, morning and evening, at the sound of a silver bell, and the theme first adopted was the foundation of the church at Antioch in Acts 11:26. Labadie stressed that God intended great things among them, but that it would require rigorous denial of self. These *exercises* were intended primarily for the committed, though some visitors attended, including the abbess; one such, named Mme. de Mordeisen, subsequently gave this account: the doors were shut and the shutters drawn, the upper part of the windows being covered by makeshift blinds of paper painted with oil; the mood was of utmost devotion and the women sat with bowed heads and veiled faces, so that they could neither see each other nor be viewed by the men.<sup>19)</sup> In addition Labadie was engaged by abbess Elisabeth to preach in the chapel of the abbatial church,<sup>20)</sup> alternating with the incumbent chaplain, Thomas Barthold Hase. At first rumour had it that the abbess, besotted with Labadism, had dismissed Hase, but this was not true; rather did she use her influence to make accessible to him a lucrative cure in nearby Lippe as a strong lure to leave. For the time being, however, Hase would preach on Sunday morning, Labadie in the afternoon; Hase on a Thursday, Labadie on a Wednesday. When it was his turn, Labadie would preach in French, while Heinrich Schlüter interpreted. These sermons were frequently on the text Luke 14:25-33, stressing the need for total separation of the believer from the spirit of the world. The nucleus of the community at this time numbered only some fifty, yet these sermons attracted congregations of several hundred, drawn by Labadie's reputation. The story is told of a visit paid by a prelate and the mayor of Emden, who, on hearing Labadie preach, agreed: 'Est angelus, aut bonus, aut malus' (he is an angel, either good or evil).

The theme of regeneration was so popular in Labadie's preaching that the community came to be known as 'the Regenerate' (die Wiedergeborenen). Schlüter seems to have majored on this point in almost every conversation. One day he met a merchant named Brinckmann, who came from his native town of Wesel, and who asked him how he did. Schlüter's reply was: 'Dear countryman and former neighbour, if you will not do as I, that is to say, separate from the company of so many unregenerate men, and choose our party, you will be the Devil's, body and soul.'<sup>21)</sup> Even business trips became the means of spreading the message of regeneration. Late in 1670 Schlüter went to Schötmar in the neighbouring county of Lippe, to collect a consignment of timber. Calling on the local official, *amtsvogt* Johannes Prange, he asked to hire carts but also to speak of his message. Therefore the village magistrate, the Lutheran deacon and the master of the horse from Herford met with Schlüter, who explained the true grounds of Labadie's separation: namely that the Reformed Church, while claiming to be the true Protestant Church, had so many unregenerate pastors and parishioners that God could not bless it. Separation had to come, lest a Judas Iscariot be found among the disciples of Christ.<sup>22)</sup>

That Labadie's presence on German soil was of more than local significance is clear from the travels of Wolfgang Christoph Colerus, pastor of Düren. As president of the General Synod of Jülich, Cleve, Berg and Mark, he had been called upon to examine Schlüter at Wesel, whereafter he travelled to Berlin to visit the Elector. He gave him some papers relating to the Wesel meeting and learned from him that a Labadist sympathiser had been present at a conventicle in Berlin itself. The Elector's sister, Hedwig-Sophie of Hesse, was also visiting at the time, and she and Colerus spoke at length of Labadie. On his way home, Colerus called at Magdeburg to visit the Duchess of Holstein and the Lady dowager of Anhalt, with whom he also conversed primarily about the sect. Thence to Kassel, where pastor Duraeus showed him a letter which he had written to Anna van Schurman. At Sparenberg he dined with *Landdrost* von Eller, who spoke much of Labadie. Finally, at Bielefeld, Colerus had a long conference with the church superintendent, Christian Nifanius, on the same theme.

Nifanius was an ardent foe of Labadie's and was to oppose

him with the pen.<sup>23</sup>) Following Colerus' visit, he began to spread rumours. At a wedding reception, he told the story of how a citizen of Bielefeld had peered in at the window of Labadie's house and seen sordid goings-on. He also accused Heinrich Schlüter and his sister Elisabeth of incest because they had rested side by side on a bed while awaiting a belated post-coach in Lippstadt. In fact, the couple had been fully clothed and in the company of several others, so it was not difficult for abbess Elisabeth to draw up by notary an account of what really happened (dated 25 November 1670). Nifanius had to withdraw. Such opposition to the Labadists was well compensated, however, by a miraculous happening recounted by Anna van Schurman, which is confirmed by an opponent.<sup>24</sup>) A felled lime tree had lain outside the abbatial dormitories for four years; now it suddenly produced leaves (out of season, for good measure), and the community saw in this a divine proof of the favour which rested upon them.

Elector Friedrich Wilhelm had heard sufficiently disquieting accounts of Labadie for him to tread cautiously. He therefore notified the council of Herford on 8 November, and his cousin the abbess five days later, of his intention to send a commission of enquiry, made up of councillors and clergymen, which was to examine Labadie's life and teachings at first hand. To the abbess he stressed that his reason was the suspicion that Labadie was a Quaker masquerading behind orthodox Reformed doctrine; to the town, meanwhile, he gave orders that the Labadists were in no way to be molested. That this was necessary is clear from Elisabeth's letters: the abbatial fish-pond had been vandalised and the culprits found to be in league with the magistrate; guards at the town gates forbade entry to any with a Dutch accent; grocers, bakers, brewers and craftsmen had been forbidden by the council to sell anything to 'the Hollanders' and action taken against offenders; Labadists were pelted with mud and prevented from collecting water from the town's spring. Even the aged Anna van Schurman, lying sick in bed, had had her windows smashed. And such conduct was being encouraged from the pulpit by the Lutheran clergy. The food embargo was no serious problem, since the convent had its own independent supplies, but for sheer personal safety, Elisabeth reiterated her request for troops to be billeted in the town.

The request was refused, however, but governor von Eller

travelled to Berlin to confer with the Elector. On 17 December Elisabeth agreed to the proposed commission of enquiry, and on the same day she received word that a party under Chancellor Friedrich von Jena, Privy Councillor Werner Blaspeil and chaplain Johannes Hund were on their way. Many watched for the outcome with bated breath, among them Leibnitz and the Pietists Spener and Theophil Spizel of Augsburg, who for several months discussed the Labadie case in their correspondence sooner than almost any other matter.

The new year of 1671 therefore began amid great activity. The Herford council compiled more facts for its dossier: to Amsterdam's letter it added similar from Bremen and Wesel and an official statement of 7 January from Prince Johann Moritz of Nassau, *Statthalter* of Cleve, that Labadie was a Jesuit secret agent. Abbess Elisabeth protested to the Elector on 8 January that the commission of enquiry was proposing to act in a way which violated her *immunitas*; she therefore sent her representative, Johann Heinrich von Wahden,<sup>25</sup>) to Bielefeld to meet the commissioners, and there ensued a lengthy wrangle over whether or not the Elector's representatives had jurisdiction over the convent. Sensing the direction which enquiries might take, Elisabeth wrote to the Elector once again of the Labadists' quiet and exemplary life, minimising the rôle of community of goods, which the Elector had particularly questioned. As for the commission itself, its task was not easy. It was coming armed with a *Bedenken* (a set of considerations) drawn up by chaplain Johannes Hund of Cleve and by Adrian Pauli, professor of theology at Hamm, but this contained so many questions to be put to Labadie that it was deemed impracticable and had to be condensed. Moreover, abbess Elisabeth was making difficulties with respect to a personal interview, so finally, on 14 March, the Elector sent word that each commissioner should submit a written report, as should several Reformed and Lutheran ministers of Berlin.

The commission was expected late in January. Meanwhile, Elisabeth's relatives were corresponding about the sect. Her sister, Louise Hollandine had become abbess at Maubuisson, a Benedictine convent in France. She wrote to her brother, Karl Ludwig, Count Palatine, asking him to compare the Rule of St. Benedict with that of the Labadists. On 10/20 January he replied that the rule by which the Labadists lived was based

on ignorance, though he thought highly of the eloquence of Labadie, whom he called 'a second Amphion.' He rather unkindly accuses Labadie of using his influence largely to attract 'the precious prayers of Amsterdam merchants', so as to 'enrich the sanctuary' and build the new Jerusalem.<sup>26)</sup>

The commission arrived on time, Elisabeth writing on 4 February that it had been there for some days, and while it pursued its enquiries, the Labadists sought to continue as normal a life as possible. On 6 February Anna van Schurman had a document drawn up by notary Engelbrecht von Rehden in order to claim payment of 400 guilders from Cornelis Albert Stavers of Achthoven in Holland, which had been pledged to her. The document was witnessed by Heinrich Schlüter and authenticated by abbess Elisabeth.<sup>27)</sup> A week later (14 February) she penned a brief *testimonium* in which she thanked God for having joined her to the work of grace which he was commencing through the little flock at Herford. Evidently she was burning her bridges and determining to remain a Labadist for the rest of her days. On 21 February 1671 came the first of the Labadist publications from Herford, a reprinting (in translation) of the 1669 *Protestation de bonne foy*.<sup>28)</sup> New residents managed to pass the scrutiny of the Herford sentinels and join the household. One Madeleine Henry of Metz moved in, as did Cornelis van der Meulen<sup>29)</sup>, who was to become their printer. Anna van Schurman records that many visitors came from Utrecht, Zeeland and elsewhere, of whom some stayed but many returned. One visitor records how, during an evening meal, a Dutch woolcarder arrived, sweating from the journey and weeping with joy, whereupon the whole table arose and welcomed him with a brotherly kiss. The same visitor was told that there were a thousand more Dutch devotees at present making plans to move to Herford. All residents and visitors worked at agriculture, building work, printing or domestic service, and discipline was strict. Some who had at first seemed devoted quickly lost their zeal when church discipline began to bite. Those of proud disposition, for example, were given the most menial tasks, and one brother was punished for disobedience by having to go everywhere in clogs.

Throughout March and April the commissioners prepared their reports. Meanwhile the Herford council wrote to the Elector's sister, the strictly orthodox Calvinist Hedwig Sophie, countess and regent of Hesse. They sent her copies of the reso-

lutions of the States of Zeeland against Labadie, the letters from the councils of Amsterdam, Bremen and Wesel, and a report from the theological faculty of Duisburg which ruled Labadie's tenets to be dangerous. On 29 April Hedwig Sophie wrote to her brother, and though normally favourable to her cousin, abbess Elisabeth, she condemned outright the presence of the Labadists on German soil. The Elector replied in a friendly tone, but firmly rejected this outside intervention, stressing that his delay in taking definite action was only out of fear lest he 'pour oil on the flames'. Still the outcome was eagerly awaited further afield. On 8 April the Independent Magnus Hesenthaler wrote to ask Leibnitz for details,<sup>30)</sup> and on 5 May Spener wrote to Theophil Spizel at Augsburg: 'What sort of turn the Labadian drama will take I await with excitement; hardly any man in this whole century has experienced so changeable a fate as he.'<sup>31)</sup>

When the commissioners' reports finally arrived, they were by and large favourable.<sup>32)</sup> Those from councillors tended more towards moral considerations, while those from pastors discussed spiritual implications. Among them, the Reformed pastor Bartholomäus Stosch of Berlin found too much mysticism in Labadie's works and a tendency to explain the inexplicable, but saw in this no grounds for persecution. Pastor Georg Konrad Bergius felt that Labadist conventicles ought to be stopped and the community made to attend Reformed services. Pastor Heinrich Schmettau was in favour of toleration so long as the Labadists kept the law of the land, while pastor Benjamin von Bär (Ursinus), though also advocating toleration, wanted communal living and sharing of goods to be abolished so as to avoid all semblance of error. Councillor Johannes Koeppen and pastor Johann Kunsch von Breitenwald were mild in their judgement, while Chancellor von Jena and councillors Blaspeil and Christoph Blumenthal advocated a disputation between Labadie and several theologians.<sup>33)</sup> One of the few Lutherans to give their verdict was councillor Raban von Canstein, father of Hans-Hildebrand, which latter was to be a leading light in the early Pietist movement at Halle. He stressed that he had read almost all of Labadie's works and found in them nothing but morality and edification. He therefore advocated unconditional toleration.

In May the community received visits from two people who

subsequently recorded their experiences, giving insights into Labadist life at Herford. On 14 May Elisabeth was visited by her sister Sophie, who came with her entourage and Johann Eberhard Meyer, the church superintendent of Osnabrück, and stayed for three days. While there, on 15 May, they were joined by their nephew Karl, Count Palatine, who came with his tutor, the frivolous Paulus Hachenberg, best remembered as a historian. On 14th Sophie and her sister dined with Labadie at his house and were privileged to eat at the table reserved for the 'elect', with Labadie seated between the two. 'You have never seen anything more pleasant than that kinglest among all those saints,' Sophie records in a letter.<sup>34)</sup> Labadie was at pains to stress his respect for those of noble birth<sup>35)</sup> and that the Lord had revealed that he would draw even princes to the Labadist fold in the coming days. Others were less accommodating. Anna van Schurman had known Sophie from of old, but when greeted, replied that she was no longer what she once was, having found in the interim a true Christian faith. One of the three van Sommelsdyck sisters, Maria (known as Mlle. de la Plate after her father's title of Heer van Plaat), went much further. She harangued the company in a loud voice concerning worldliness, upbraided Sophie for claiming to be a christian while attending the theatre; spat in the face of one girl in the entourage who had her hair set in a seductive fashion; and declared that none could be a true christian who did not follow the maxims of Labadie, though as Sophie comments: 'I found her so extravagant in her manners and in every way that it seemed to me she had profited very badly from them.'<sup>36)</sup>

Once Hachenberg arrived, the tenor of the visit became more critical, and he recorded events in a letter of 31 May. On 15th he dined in the convent with Sophie and abbess Elisabeth, and the company conversed somewhat flippantly about Labadie and his sect, to the chagrin of the abbess, who at every turn sought to defend him and arranged for a visit to the community the following day. Next morning they proceeded to the Jülischer Hof and were met by Anna van Schurman, wearing a noticeably shabby dress, who greeted the party coolly and took them to her room, where they marvelled at the collection of portraits and carvings in wood and wax which the learned lady had produced and which 'for expression and truth vied with Nature herself. As they browsed an

old man entered the room with modest step. Hachenberg describes him thus:

His countenance seemed wasted through sufferings, and his expression indicated that his soul was pregnant with I know not what kind of godly things... one could easily see that he belonged to that race of mortals who have been breathed upon by a better spirit and elevated from this base earth into communion with the godhead.<sup>37)</sup>

He entered into friendly discourse with the young prince, stressing the piety of his aunt and the proven zeal of the Palatine family in defence of true religion, before launching into a veritable sermon on the love of God and the ignorance of men. All eyes were fixed upon him and nobody spoke, for all knew it was Labadie, and it was, says Hachenberg, as though Apollo had descended. The spell, however, was broken by the superintendent of Osnabrück, who began to dispute with Labadie over the fleshly desires of man, until Elisabeth grew weary of the din and invited the whole company to lunch at the convent. Here the disputing continued, Labadie seeking to press the notion that there is no human action that is indifferent, and that any action which tends not to the glory of God is transgression. To this the visitors retorted that it was scandalous to deny so many fair young ladies as followed him the chance to wear pearls and fine clothing or to be wooed and wed. Hachenberg objected to the exclusivism of the Labadists, 'as though Christ had grown so poor that he and his Church now occupied only a small house in Herford,' but his real interests evidently lay in a more carnal direction.<sup>38)</sup> Labadie, Yvon and Schlüter answered each point, the latter telling Hachenberg that he had studied at Heidelberg for three years but had not found one godly pastor or professor. At this the visitors burst into scornful laughter and the prince astutely defused the situation by asking Labadie to convene his church and deliver a sermon.

Therefore all went to Labadie's house and the community gathered. The visitors were struck by the discrepancy between the women, who were almost all noble and wealthy, and the men, who apart from the pastors were 'cobblers, sailors and dirty tanners'. After singing the second psalm, Labadie preached on Matthew 6:24: 'You cannot serve God and



mammon', a sermon which Sophie enjoyed but which Hachenberg called 'expansive and boring' and which stated that nobody could be a Christian who was still stained with worldliness and loved things other than the holiness of God. Labadie concluded with a personal address to the prince, exhorting him to realise the urgent need for a leader who would be fearless in the defence of God's righteousness. The whole was delivered, says Hachenberg, with 'a burning voice full of counterfeit sanctity', which nonetheless stirred his followers to beat their breasts, hang their heads and even weep. With this the official visit ended, and the party had a final meal with the abbess before leaving. Sophie playfully scolded her sister for keeping the Labadists only for their money, and Hachenberg deplored the hypnotic power over eligible young ladies of 'that loquacious clown'.

Sophie, in her subsequent account, reveals a fair-mindedness which does not openly condemn the Labadists. She calls them 'good people who damn us all' and says of Labadie that he has distilled out of Calvinism 'so pure an essence that I believe it will evaporate as soon as one thinks to hold it.'<sup>39</sup>) Particularly valuable is her description of Labadie himself, which is by far the most detailed contemporary account and which, alongside the 1670 portrait by Gérard Lairesse, gives a good picture of Labadie the man: 'he is full of vitality, his eyes sparkling, a well-formed nose, an agreeable mouth in spite of his teeth, which have almost all abandoned him. His stature is small, he bears himself well, his attire is clean. As for his tongue, one might call it perpetual motion; he preaches very well and with great facility; he is ever cheerful and laughing, though now past sixty years of age.'<sup>40</sup>) After two months Sophie wrote to her brother Ludwig, Count Palatine, with evident reference to her visit: 'As for Labadie, it is rather difficult to dispute with him, for he cites all our books, and it is quite true that we do nothing of what is written in them.'<sup>41</sup>)

Sophie's observation of the imbalance between wealthy women and simple men needs comment. Beside the accepted fact that women are, naturally speaking, more open to spiritual things than men, two factors played their part. Firstly, from mediaeval times, when wars and a celibate clergy cut drastically the number of potential husbands, many women found an outlet for their love and service in works of piety and charity. The Beguines, for example, numbered a considerable

proportion of noble women among their membership. Though times had changed and celibacy diminished by Labadie's day, there remained many wives, especially of noble lines who did not therefore have to work for a living, whose husbands were away for long stretches on military or diplomatic business, and these regularly turned to spiritual devotion, be it to escape from the *ennui* of their position, or be it because only they were ever at home to hear the words of priest or prophet. In the United Provinces of Labadie's day there were the *kloppen*, devout women, some of wealthy background, who adopted a quasi-religious life and supported the Catholic missionaries. Secondly there is the phenomenon of the prophetic, the spiritual mother, that curious christianised continuation of the cultic devotion to fertility and fecundity, to Artemis of the Ephesians with her scores of breasts. Joanna Southcott, whose pregnancy was of great significance to her followers, Jemima Wilkinson, Jane Leade and others are examples of spiritual women who attracted a considerable male following, and in Labadie's own day there was Antoinette Bourignon. Among the Labadists, where women played no active part in the pastoral or preaching activities, there is little or no evidence of this latter phenomenon, but the former accounts for the proportion of distinguished ladies. Not that they were bored wives (only Anna de Veer, to our knowledge, was married), but rather were they, like Anna van Schurman, gifted ladies bored with the life of the *salons*, who saw in Labadie's maxims a nobler existence than to be wooed and wed by a worldly suitor.<sup>42)</sup>

Other visitors to the community in May witnessed a phenomenon that gave Labadie a bad press. In his *Ken-Teecken* (no. 19) Schlüter had listed 'singing and leaping' as one mark of true regeneration. This was practised from time to time among the Labadists, and a letter from Elisabeth Charlotte, duchess of Orléans, of 18 March 1671 makes reference to it.<sup>43)</sup> Now, however, it took on a special significance. At a Communion service, the community was moved by an unusual sense of God's presence. Anna van Schurman called it a gift of deeper repentance and conversion.<sup>44)</sup> When the cup was passed, a spontaneous joy broke out and a tailor began to dance, soon to be joined by everyone else, who wept, danced, embraced and gave the 'holy kiss' each to his neighbour. Labadie saw such an experience as a sign of the Holy Spirit's

presence, which had once induced David to 'dance with all his might' before the altar (2 Samuel 6:14), and it is not without its parallels. Just over fifty years later, the nascent Moravian Church under Count Zinzendorf was to experience a like unification and liberation following a Communion service at Bertelsdorf.

Needless to say, word spread and many now felt they had proof that Labadie was either mad or demoniac. An old opponent, Jacobus Borstius, pastor at Rotterdam, sent a colleague to visit Vincentia van der Haer at The Hague and found there two other Labadists, Vincentia's niece Maria and Luise Huygens. He asked them to justify such behaviour, and they did so by reference to Miriam dancing with a timbrel with all the women of Israel (Ex. 15:20). Not convinced, Borstius published a tract against such practices.<sup>45)</sup> Labadie's former friend Jacobus Koelman meanwhile met Dulignon at Middelburg and arranged a disputation on the point at Lodensteyn's house in Utrecht, the outcome of which was a stalemate and a lament from Lodensteyn at such disunity between brethren.<sup>46)</sup> Perhaps the sudden arrival of noted Labadists on Dutch soil indicates an attempt to allay fears, and Labadie himself certainly saw possible harm to the cause, so he penned a defence with all speed.<sup>47)</sup>

By mid-June 1671 the Elector had decided to continue a policy of tolerance towards the community. The council of Herford was furious and draw up an official act of protest for the Elector, dated 18 June. In it the charges were renewed that Labadie was a renegade Jesuit and his followers Quakers and Anabaptists, regardless of the incongruity of such a juxtaposition, but it went on to more important matters: the Labadist artisans were taking over the town; citizens were having to give up their houses to accommodate them; and prices of salt, victuals and other imports were rising fast because of their presence.<sup>48)</sup> On 30 July, having received no hopeful response, these remonstrations were repeated in a letter to the Elector, with the additional point that the abbess had no right to harbour the sect. This argument they based on the fact on 1 January 1624, the 'normal year' specified by the Treaty of Westphalia, no such 'Quakers' or sectarian artisans had been present. The letter concluded with the threat that the council would have to resort to desperate measures of its own.

Further opposition came from the General Synod, which

met at Duisburg 9-15 July. It was still deeply concerned at Heinrich Schlüter's secession and apparent lack of contrition. It therefore ruled that a letter be sent to him by Adrian Pauli, professor of theology at Hamm; should that fail, all churches within the synodal territory were to make mention of the matter from the pulpit on three consecutive Sundays, without mentioning any names. If Schlüter still persisted in his schism, then he was to be named and excommunicated. In the meantime all communicants were to be warned to beware of him and his followers. Pauli used this opportunity to approach Labadie also. He had already penned a *Bedenken* concerning the latter's teachings and was to produce two further works against him before his transfer to his native Danzig in 1674.<sup>49)</sup> Now, on 6 August 1671 he wrote to dispute certain of Labadie's ecclesiological tenets. It and Labadie's reply were subsequently published by the Labadist press.<sup>50)</sup>

In October 1671 the community had direct dealings with the Quakers, in the person of William Penn. It has been seen that Quakers and Labadists could not mix; Anthoine Lamarque was expelled for his Quaker tendencies, and Barclay and Keith had been unable to make an impression on a visit to Amsterdam. Now in August 1671 Penn was released from Newgate Prison with Thomas Rudyard, and together they sailed for the Continent, where at Rotterdam they were met by the wealthy Quaker merchant, Benjamin Furly, who was a Dutch speaker and translator of Quaker works. In September, Penn produced his clarion call to the United Provinces: *A Trumpet Blown*.<sup>51)</sup>

Thence the party travelled by way of Emden to Herford, where Penn's desire was to confer with Labadie's people. On arrival in the pelting rain, Penn sent to know at what time the next morning's gathering was to take place, for he wished to deliver a message. A cordial reply from Labadie told him the normal starting time. However, having no wish to expose the flock to those he considered to be in error, Labadie cunningly held the meeting an hour earlier, so that when Penn and his companions arrived, the *exercise* was breaking up. 'I can truly say, Satan, that old serpent, hindered, yea, instead of receiving us as Angels of Light', Penn commented. And as if to add insult to injury, Labadie refused to allow Penn to converse with his flock, but led him instead into an open garden, where the three Quakers talked in the rain with Labadie, Yvon and Schlüter.

Penn gained a more favourable response from abbess Elisabeth, a contact which was to grow and blossom over the ensuing years as Elisabeth became a protectress of the Quakers, but the snub from Labadie rankled. Therefore, shortly before leaving Herford, on 8 October 1671, he wrote the community a letter. In indignant tone he expresses his disgust at finding them lacking both in common civility and the spiritual fruits of love and gentleness. He attributes the snub largely to cowardice, lest a better message sway the hearts of the community. More serious is the charge of duplicity which Penn indicates by speaking of Labadie's kindness to his face ('as that we are the people of God; good and holy men; the best practical Christians in the world') while behind his back making it clear that Quakers 'spoke ill of the will of God' and had much about them similar to Jesuits and Manicheans.

In fine, I have but too great reason to believe, that you have over shott your work, and instead of keeping in that meek, low, self denying and suffering spirit of Jesus, you are but [blank] to set up [blank] for yourselves, being very ignorant of that Death to this World through... the Cross of Christ and Resurrection within to a new and heavenly life, the very [blank] of the last great spiritual Dispensation, wherein the primitive purity should be restored;... You are acted by an Exalted Spirit, whose best Revelations are mostly Phantastical Imaginations.<sup>52)</sup>

In conclusion, Penn urges upon them the danger of lapsing into formalism through their communal living and begs them to abolish the term 'Father' ('Notre Père') with regard to Labadie, since such a title runs counter to scripture (e.g. Matt. 23:9). Instead they ought to pursue obedience and self-denial, that they 'may become right-born sons and Daughters of the spirit of the Lord'.<sup>53)</sup>

Labadie presumably offered no reply, for Penn was still sufficiently ruffled to write again a year later, with the greater clarity of hindsight. On 24 November 1672 he wrote from London an open letter entitled *Plain Dealeing*,<sup>54)</sup> in which he reiterates his grievances over the community's treatment of him before pressing certain exhortations. The Labadists had, he claims, begun soundly, but are now in danger of finishing in the flesh. God could give them so much 'but the darkness

of your traditions and other Lusts in the days of your gross ignorance, would not let you comprehend it.' Central to the problem is Labadie himself. His followers 'fall down before a mortal [who] has not kept low, and poor, and meek.' Penn cannot doubt that God has touched him with many graces, 'but I see it clearly,... he has taken occasion to be transported by them and li[fted] beyond his station, to the stumbling of many.' His separation and departure from Amsterdam (which Penn saw as without any warrant whatsoever) were bad enough, but worse still was 'that absolute Authority, Dominion, Headship and Fatherhood, that he appears in among you, whose Orders, Councils, appointments, Institutions, Doctrine, Faith, Worship and Conduct are fallen down unto by you.' Penn further accuses Labadie of supposed infallibility and of taking the place of Christ, before pleading: 'O that J. de Labadee might be humbled for his out-runnings and many Imaginations, and come to know a mortifying of his conceited Knowledge and Wisdom.' The letter concludes with an impassioned exhortation:

Returne to your first love, Returne to the holy Light and Spirit, with which the heavenly Father of Lights has enlightened you...  
...Returne, Returne, Returne to the Heavenly Grace and Light in your own Hearts;... shutt your eyes to man.<sup>55)</sup>

Meanwhile the council of Herford, despairing of obtaining its requirements from the Elector, had appealed directly to the Imperial Chamber (*Reichskammergericht*) at Speyer. Through the agency of Dr. Georg Kühorn, the council pressed for banishment of the sect. With what was, by its own standards, unusual speed, the Chamber produced its ruling in a mandate to Princess Elisabeth of 31 October 1671. The Labadists were held to contravene an Imperial Ordinance of the Diet of Speyer of 1639, Art. XVII, clause 1, which tolerated only Lutherans and Reformed in the Protestant fold. Accordingly the abbess was instructed, on pain of a fine of thirty marks in gold, to 'expel the sectarians, Anabaptists and Quakers and offer them no further protection'.<sup>56)</sup> This quotation reveals the emotive language of the Herford council: any talk of Anabaptists was bound to evoke shudders in an area which had experienced the fanatical Messianic kingdom of Münster

the previous century. Moreover, as if to preempt Elisabeth's assertion of her abbatial immunity, the Chamber reminded her of an agreement between town and convent of 1643 whereby matters of criminal justice involving the convent *could* be dealt with by the aldermen of the town council. Elisabeth was given sixty days to send her representative to the Chamber to tender her humble obedience.

Elisabeth responded immediately by writing to the Elector to complain at such a shameless attack on her honour. She vowed to fight the mandate and made plans to travel to Berlin and confer directly with her cousin. Meanwhile, with Labadie's safety at heart, she suggested that he move across to the other house at Sundern, which lay outside the Herford council's jurisdiction. For the time being, the offer was declined. A further conciliatory suggestion was that an independent minister be appointed as confessor to the community so as to give a greater semblance of normality.

An ideal candidate was Caspar Hermann Sandhagen, rector of Bielefeld.<sup>57</sup>) Elisabeth knew him, and they had conversed about apocalypics at Sparenberg. Moreover, Sandhagen was favourable to separatists and was often accused of receiving at his home all manner of banished illuminists (e.g. Friedrich Breckling, Michael Holzhausen and Johann Caspar Charias). Sandhagen visited the Labadists and, impressed by their devotion, took on the office and attended their meetings openly until superintendent Nifanius, whose opposition to Labadie has already been noted, became suspicious and summoned him. Hereafter the contact with Labadie continued in secret, and it was only promotion to the superintendency of Lüneburg that finally took Sandhagen away and led him to turn his back on separatism.

Around this time the Labadists were faced with an embarrassing problem. Hitherto they had strictly advocated the celibate state. Married couples who joined were expected to observe continence, and where one partner in a marriage was a believer (by their standards) and the other not, then the marriage was held to be outside of Christ and the believing partner could in all conscience separate and join the community. This tenet had been painfully proven by a brother named Thomas,<sup>58</sup>) who chose to leave his wife and become a disciple. When some tried to reason with him, he declared he had a christian freedom to do so and that God did on occasions

demand something which lay outside of the law, as when he required Abraham to sacrifice Isaac. He then set off for Utrecht with his wife on the pretence of escorting her home to Middelburg, but once at Utrecht he promptly left her and returned to Herford and the Labadists. Whether or not his action was approved in entirety by the leaders is uncertain, but his intention to put first 'l'oeuvre de Dieu' (God's work), as the community and its ministry came to be called, presumably was.

Now came the disconcerting news that a young woman, Catharine Martini,<sup>39)</sup> was pregnant. Worse still, there was no doubt that it was by Labadie's right-hand man, Pierre Yvon. There were understandably red faces at the news, and abbess Elisabeth was fearful for the reputation of the convent; a solution had to be found. Elisabeth pressed for the couple to marry with all haste, but this went right against Labadist practice and was therefore not immediately considered. However, the idea of marriage gradually grew more appealing when two advantages were pointed out: the increase of the Church through natural offspring ('children of the Kingdom') and the fact that marriage was the earthly model of the union of Christ and the Church (Ephesians 5:25) and therefore most precious. So it happened that Yvon and Catharine Martini were wed at a free and non-liturgical service, the reason being that if a couple was already married spiritually in God then the ceremony counted for little. Within six months the couple had a daughter, whom they named Marthe. News of the birth was brought to Labadie, along with the fact that the child had not yet cried. Labadie, who had recently taught that childbirth should be free from pain among the redeemed, declared: 'it is a child of the Kingdom.' Later, when informed that the child had now begun to cry, he concluded that the human vessels were not yet pure enough. Nonetheless, he took the child in his arms and said to others of the young women that he hoped they too would provide further children for the Lord.

Some historians have given novellistic details of opposition to the idea of marriage from several of the leading sisters, who felt that it would destroy spirituality, but this is without foundation. Rather, the remaining leaders all saw fit to follow Yvon into wedlock. Much disagreement has arisen over who wed whom, even down to pairing Labadie off with Anna van Schurman, but the correct list runs as follows: Dulignon mar-



ried Aemilie van der Haer, Anna van Schurman's great-niece from the Hague; Heinrich Schlüter married 'the mayoress of Middelburg'<sup>60</sup>), which could point to Elisabeth van den Poorten, the Labadist housekeeper, widow of Johan, who was councillor of Middelburg until 1662; Peter Schlüter wed a sister named von Hauten (?)<sup>61</sup>); and Labadie himself took to wife the youngest and, by all accounts, handsomest of the van Sommelsdyck sisters, Lucia. He was sixty-one, she twenty-two. Abbess Elisabeth was keen to ensure that the marriages were legally approved and instructed her chaplain to draw up marriage certificates. Labadie's was seen by Gichtel,<sup>62</sup> who attests that he was nonetheless requested to keep the marriage as secret as possible.

The community now had to agree on its theology of child-rearing. Since they were born of regenerate parents, babes could be baptized, though it seems that at first there may have been disagreement on the point, for even a year later, some children were still unbaptized. Labadie's convictions as to original sin and predestination told him that a child was fallen in sin from its birth and belonged to the world, flesh and devil until redeemed; till then, they were sanctified through their believing parents.<sup>63</sup> Children's sinful nature was to be checked, hindered and strongly disciplined until such time as each came to a personal commitment to the Lord. Older children, once able to be apart from their parents, were brought up communally, boys by a tutor and girls by a governess (a practice started at Amsterdam), and while parents retained the chief responsibility for their offspring, they were encouraged not to be overtly affectionate towards them, for such was considered unregenerate conduct. This caused reactions, and Labadie was reproached for excessive rigour and repression. One renegade records that Peter Schlüter's wife applied the principle of self-denial to her baby by refusing to light a fire in their bedroom throughout the winter of 1671-1672.

As 1671 drew to a close, abbess Elisabeth came to hear that the Imperial Chamber of Speyer might be planning further mischief, since her allotted sixty days had almost expired. She therefore wrote on 27 December to her own agent at Speyer, Dr. Stieber,<sup>64</sup> to reprimand him for not having notified her himself and requiring henceforth the despatch of copies of any decrees affecting the convent. Meanwhile a minor drama occurred at Herford, recorded in a manuscript history of the

town,<sup>65</sup>) in which Labadie fell into the river Werre at some point near the Komtureihof and nearly drowned. The writer of the history clearly felt it to be a sign of divine judgement. And in a letter from Rijnsburg of 1 December, Petronella van Aerssen, vrouw van Ossenbergh, wrote of her intention of visiting her sisters at Herford but that ill health was preventing her.<sup>66</sup>)

The new year began with Labadie and Yvon busily engaged in writing. Little had appeared during the troubled second half of 1671 except for a reworking of the earlier declaration of faith and practice,<sup>67</sup>) which bore a preface of 15 October. Now, however, came a number of works. Yvon produced an examination of the 21 Articles attributed to Labadie at Amsterdam,<sup>68</sup>) followed by a larger work in reply to six Scottish pastors in the United Provinces, who had disputed Labadist ecclesiology. These pastors had written that it was unnecessary to prove one's faith by works and that a church could exist as a church, simply on the grounds of its confession, even if not one regenerate person were to be found in it. Yvon's *Den Tabernakel Gods ontdekt*<sup>69</sup>) (The Tabernacle of God Disclosed) is a twelve-part summary of the Labadist doctrine of separation. How blind such pastors have grown, Yvon reasons, if they fail to see that the Church is a *totum collectivum*, a body made up of its constituent parts, and must therefore take on the characteristic of the majority. Is a herd of swine to be called a flock of sheep just because a lamb or two has strayed into it? (pp. 147-149).<sup>70</sup>) The dichotomy of world and church is the basis for any true church, which must be composed of the regenerate; such should be easily distinguishable from the lukewarm and the compromising. Such a distinction cannot be made by the flesh but 'of that which God imparts to them of His Spirit and His divine Light' (vocabulary, incidentally, of which William Penn would have approved three months before!).

Labadie himself produced what is the best confession of Labadist faith available. In the name of all five pastors, he produced in February 1672 *Veritas sui vindex*.<sup>71</sup>) This is a collection of shorter pieces, all in Latin: a translation of the earlier *Protestation de bonne foy* is followed by a translation of the *Eclaircissement* of some months earlier. There then come two treatises, one on the differences between the Labadists and the Quakers, the other on the Sabbath. Later editions also

bore a brief testimony from Anna van Schurman, dated 14 May 1672. The whole was intended as a reply to Adrian Pauli's *Bedenken* and the *Getuygenis* of the six Scottish pastors.<sup>72</sup>) Labadie is at pains to stress that his followers intend no rejection of Christian brethren, so long as these are true and faithful:

We believe, in all sincerity, that all such as walk according to the pure Word of God, who live their lives in uprightness according to its direction, and who prove *by their fruits* that they live *in the spirit* and not in the flesh, are real and true Christians, and we embrace them as our brethren.

[True Christians are those who live] dying to the world and to themselves, turning their hearts from all created things and set them on God alone; serving Him purely in spirit, in truth and in love; mortifying the flesh and combatting sin through the power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>73</sup>)

Such the community not only recognizes but would also welcome to the communion table. The necessary marks of such believers are summed up as: faith proven by works; love for Christ and His Church; unity in holy brotherhood; voluntary obedience and submission as disciples of Christ. In fact the Belgic Confession itself speaks of the duty of all believers to separate themselves from all who do not prove by their works that they are true Christians (art. 28). To the accusation from Pauli that in separating from the Reformed Church the Labadists were passing judgement on it, Yvon replies that they were separating from what was of the *world* in it, out of obedience to God.

These works were all produced by the Labadist printer, Laurens Autein, who styled himself 'drukker van de Fransche en Nederduitsche Kerk, op de Vorstelikke Vrijheid, tot Herford', as he appears in the next work published, a reworking of an earlier collection of letters and testimonials given to Labadie and Yvon from their previous churches.<sup>74</sup>) Then, in April 1672, Autein died of consumption at Sundern while still young, and the press was taken over by Cornelis van der Meulen, whose name appears on the last work to appear at Herford, Labadie's *Traité du soy*.<sup>75</sup>) This work was a synopsis of ministry given at the daily *exercises* over several months on the theme of the true Christian. After a brief account of life at

Herford, it outlines eight forms of self, from innocence (Labadie's peculiar orthography has it 'le soi *inossant*') through guilt to a state of sanctification where the redeemed self walks with God as the peak of all creation. 'This is the triumph of the grace of faith and love over nature and desire; this is the masterpiece and chief work of the Holy Spirit, who lives and moves in spiritual, regenerate man, who unites man with God and Jesus Christ; this is the new Self, opposed to the old, created for God in holiness and righteousness, and bearing his image.'<sup>76)</sup>

Meanwhile, abbess Elisabeth was in Berlin, seeking to confer with the Elector on Labadie's behalf, and writing regular reports to her lawyer, von Wahden. The time, however, was not favourable. Louis XIV's armies were on the move and Imperial territory in danger; armies were to be levied, defences reviewed, and the vicissitudes of a petty sectarian in a waning provincial town paled in comparison. She was unable to gain the attention she required. The matter proceeded as a lawsuit between abbess and council, first before the court of Brandenburg-Preussen in Berlin and then before the Imperial Chamber at Speyer,<sup>77)</sup> from where the representatives of both parties continued to send reports and rulings.<sup>78)</sup> On 5 March Stieber wrote to Elisabeth, hoping for a successful conclusion and asking for further details of Labadie's character and life. The abbess was also kept in touch with life at Herford by von Wahden, who wrote on 3 and 16 March that the community was at present undisturbed both at Sundern and Herford. Nevertheless, in case of future harrassment, the abbess instructed him to make available to Labadie another of the houses at Sundern formerly bequeathed by abbess de Donop, but in a letter of 24 March, von Wahden reports that Labadie had once more declined the offer. For its part, the council showed its hostility by refusing permission to billet troops in the town, war or no war, when it found that the troops in question were those of the pro-Labadist Maj.-Gen. von Eller. The community remained largely undisturbed and experienced its first death at Herford: Gritje Kruik, who had been maid to Teellinck at Middelburg.

The peace, however, was to be short-lived, since in early April the Labadists had to contend with severe internal unrest. Heinrich Schlüter began to accuse Labadie and Yvon of introducing practices and doctrines which did not accord with

scripture. A case in point was that Labadie had allegedly preached at Sundern one day that from now on it was necessary to accept as God's truth whatever the shepherds might teach, whether or not one understood it or could find it in the bible. Schlüter opposed this, but Labadie countered that the Early Church had no bibles and was led in all truth by the Holy Spirit. Anyone opposing the shepherds and seeking to spread their opinions was held to be divisive and of the devil. The matter came to a climax on 5 April when Heinrich Schlüter and several confederates left the community.<sup>79)</sup> The council took its opportunity and persuaded three of Schlüters party to give evidence before a notary of what went on in Labadie's sect. It therefore appointed Arnoldus Bruning, advocate at the chancery of Minden, who drew up 27 questions, at the council's request, on Thursday 7 April. The following day he interviewed Heinrich Haussmann, Joachim Sander and Martin Hetle, questioning especially regarding Labadie's views of marriage, baptism and spiritual infallibility. The three also stressed the unequal treatment of 'elect' and probationers, Labadie's abolition of the sabbath and the unflinching discipline exercised even on strangers and guests.<sup>80)</sup>

At the same time another notarial document was drawn up, which, if true, casts an unpleasant light on the community's discipline. A Dutch widow, Anna Bianda, claimed in this statement, sent to abbess Elisabeth and *Landdrost* von Eller, that she had joined Labadie at Amsterdam with her two sons, having sold her property, and had given a total of 782 guilders to the community. She complains that her eldest son, a trained carpenter, nevertheless had to work hard for a living. This son then took a fancy to a sister named Sara van der Poll<sup>81)</sup> and asked if they could marry. Labadie refused permission, and when Anna remonstrated, barred the son from meetings. He nonetheless made efforts to see Sara, sometimes turning up at meetings despite the ban and once attempting to force entry into Labadie's house. When finally he attempted to kiss Sara during a service, he was taken by force and left in the cellar with his hands tied behind his back. The three who testified above referred to this incident, adding that Bianda was beaten. When his mother protested, she was told to leave and take her sons with her. As with Lamarque at Amsterdam, it was claimed that her capital had been expended in maintenance of the family, so she had no further recourse to it.

The drama was now approaching its *dénouement*. Schlüter's departure meant a drop in numbers, so Labadie finally declared himself willing to move into the Donopsche Haus at Sundern, as von Wahden notified Elisabeth on 7 and 24 April. News that the Labadists had experienced a schism and that some members might be returning to Holland brought severe apprehension to the church council of Amsterdam, which urged on 14, 21 and 28 April that every measure be taken to divert the evil of 'this harmful and dangerous man.' The burgomasters were also warned to be vigilant. In Herford, the council and convent continued their acrimony; neither side could attempt anything without opposition from the other.<sup>82</sup>)

Finally Elisabeth gained the Elector's attention, who wrote on 7 May to the council of Herford, expressing profound displeasure at its appeal to the Imperial Chamber and warning against harrassment of the community. These warnings were reiterated on 10 June, on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities with France. Yet it was precisely this impending war that prompted the Labadists to leave. The prospect of the French army reaching Herford (as indeed happened the following year) would have been fateful to Labadie, unpopular as he was with Louis XIV. Therefore on 23 June the majority left the town with a passport made out the same day, and headed northwards, leaving Peter Schlüter and his wife and Wilhelmina van Buytendyck to sort out the community's affairs and to arrange transportation of the more bulky effects. At the convent they left a letter to Elisabeth, signed by all the leaders, expressing their warm gratitude to her for her protection. The departure was so sudden and quiet that von Wahden, writing to the abbess on 14 July, says that he only heard about it two weeks later.

Many have seen in this abrupt departure more than a trace of ingratitude. Yet Elisabeth did not think so, for she remained favourable to the community and wrote letters on its behalf to the Danish king two years later. She continued, alongside the Countess of Hoorne, to protect the remaining Labadist sympathizers in the town, as well as the Quakers. William Penn remained in warm and frequent contact with her, and pastor Reiner Copper, whom Elisabeth made her chaplain from 1674-77, married the Labadistically inclined Marie-Marthe de Reneval and subsequently joined the community at its final refuge in Friesland. In September 1674

Sophie of Hannover (see above) could still write to Karl Ludwig, Count Palatine, of their sister Elisabeth that she is 'all regenerate and speaks only of regeneration.'<sup>83</sup>)

As for the council of Herford, it was relieved at the departure and wrote to the Elector during his military campaign to assure him of its support and to justify its actions with the explanation that desperate threats had required desperate measures. With hindsight, German opposition to Labadie mellowed a little. The influential *Diarium Europaeum*, which had earlier printed a strongly anti-Labadie work by Nifanius, now published, 'in the interests of impartiality', a retraction and defence of Labadie, and later even printed a German edition (by the Frankfurt jurist and Pietist Johann Jakob Schütz) of one of his works.<sup>84</sup>)

## CHAPTER 10

### ‘The Garden in Flower’, Labadie at Altona, 1672-1674

The bulk of the Labadists journeyed northwards with no certain destination in mind but confident that God would provide. We may presume that they headed for Bremen, the nearest port, and that progress was slow because of the many aged and infirm among them. At some point on their trek, they heard mention of the town of Altona in Holstein, and that it enjoyed a good degree of religious tolerance. So it was thither that the Labadists headed, arriving on 4 July 1672.<sup>1)</sup>

Altona was a fishing-port at the mouth of the Elbe, close to Hamburg, of which it is now a suburb. It was situated in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and, as early as 1601, had received from the Counts of Schauenburg freedom of trade and religion. Reformed, Jews, Mennonites and Catholics therefore dwelt there, while the town remained officially Lutheran. In 1640 it came under the dominion of Denmark and the king, by a decree of 29 May 1641, allowed its religious toleration to continue. In 1664 Altona received its charter as a town and the following year was granted its own council; the result was a growth of population so rapid that it necessitated the investiture of a second minister within six years, the aged and respected Arnold Schepler being joined by his son-in-law, Georg Richertz, or Richardi.

The community managed to rent a house on land belonging to burgomaster Eiffler, but it was too small and uncomfortable to house them all and additional premises were not easy to find. It was therefore decided that Labadie, Yvon and Anna van Schurman would stay at Altona with a party of brethren to look for further accommodation, while Dulignon and the remainder stayed at Bremen. This was a bold step, since Bremen had already proven hostile to their cause.<sup>2)</sup> Nevertheless, on 20 September 1672 they tendered a request to the



council of the city for permission to stay on a temporary basis. Regrettably, the only evidence to have survived the last war is a reference to the receipt of this request, with no details of action taken,<sup>3)</sup> but it seems likely that it was granted, since the majority of the Labadists are known to have remained at Bremen for some six months before joining Labadie at Altona.

The remainder of the year passed quietly,<sup>4)</sup> while foundations were laid for a long stay. Labadie embarked on a course of sermons and prophetic *exercises* on the theme of separation from the world in order to be a covenanted people of God (2 Corinthians 6:16-18). On 22/24 October Anna van Schurman wrote to her niece in Holland but gives no details of life at Altona; rather her concern is for the spiritual health of her relative, whom she exhorts along Labadist lines: to shun 'an illegitimate Church' and 'a people who often serve God only out of self-love, to be free from the gnawings of their conscience and to enjoy God's bounties instead of His judgements'.<sup>5)</sup> In the calm of Altona the Labadists were able to reflect on developments elsewhere. Princess Elisabeth wrote from Herford with the news that, shortly after their departure, the town had been forced to billet 5,000 Munsterite troops, in defiance of her abbatial immunity. Besides, the year of 1672 has gone down in Dutch history as the *Rampjaar*, the year of disaster; the epigram of 'radeloos, reddeloos, redeloos'<sup>6)</sup> was coined to sum up the peril of a land at war on every side and racked with internal power struggles. Labadie interpreted this as the work of God's hand, saving his children from disaster and severely judging those who had ill-used them.<sup>7)</sup>

Many still followed Labadie's vicissitudes keenly. Edmund Ludlow continued to write of the community's peregrinations in his *Voyce*; Christiaan Huygens, the *savant*, wrote from Paris to his brother Lodewijk for more details of Labadie's marriage to Lucia van Sommelsdyck; and Constantijn Huygens wrote on 10/20 December to Lady Swann, wife of Sir William, English diplomat at Hamburg, for further details on the same subject.<sup>8)</sup>

Advent of 1672 brought new and far-reaching developments. The Labadists gained an influential protector in Count Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve, half-brother to King Christiaan V and governor of Norway. While on a diplomatic mission to Schleswig, Gyldenløve heard of Labadie, visited the community house and attended the conventicles, which evidently im-

pressed him. He left with the assurance that he would champion their cause at court. This was a timely boon, since Advent also saw the first frictions with the establishment. For years it had been traditional for the Lutheran consistory to levy a contribution for its pastors from every inhabitant of the town, including Jews. This tax was collected annually in December. When, however, pastor Schepler called at Labadie's door, Yvon flatly refused to pay. It was against their conscience to give to a church not their own; no pastor had the scriptural warrant to enforce financial giving; besides which, the spiritual could not be purchased with the temporal. To support their stand they appealed to burgomaster Eiffler, on whose land they dwelt, who upheld their exemption. Schepler, enraged, vowed that by next Christmas he would have engineered their expulsion through 'an influential patron'. From the sequel it is clear that this was Rudolf Roland, president of the Altona council, who was frequently at loggerheads with burgomaster Eiffler.<sup>9)</sup>

This threat troubled Labadie little, because of the support of Count Gyldenløve. To use this to the full, he drew up a letter early in 1673 which Gyldenløve could deliver to King Christiaan on his return from Schleswig. Signed by Labadie, Yvon, Dulignon and a new pastor named Jaspas Robijn,<sup>10)</sup> it presents humble obedience to His Majesty, with the request for his protection of their lifestyle: 'God having given to us the desire and the grace to withdraw from the confusion and the corruptions of the world, in order to live in piety, retreat and sanctification as true believers have done hitherto, particularly the first Christians.'<sup>11)</sup> They further presented three petitions: that a special taxation arrangement be made whereby the community would pay a fixed sum annually; that they might be exempt from the obligation to billet troops in the event of war; and that they might be granted a small piece of land for use as a cemetery.

Assured of Gyldenløve's patronage, the Labadists sent word to Bremen for the others to join them, and by Easter they had acquired sufficient premises to house the entire membership. The bulk of the accommodation was on burgomaster Eiffler's land, the main house in the Johannistraße,<sup>12)</sup> but with several others nearby. Anna van Schurman lived in the Reichestraße (or Reichengasse). Unlike at Herford, Labadie had no public preaching obligations. They also installed the printing press.

They declared themselves willing to print works by anybody who did not object to the Labadist name on the title-page.<sup>13)</sup> This, however, was an infringement of a royal privilege of 1658 whereby Victor de Löw, a Dutch *émigré* and a churchwarden of the Reformed church, had sole printing rights at Altona.<sup>14)</sup>

Nevertheless in 1673 six works rolled off the Labadist press. Labadie, under the anagrammatic pseudonym Daniele Jona Beda, published the fruits of the daily *exercises* in a Latin treatise on the command of God for the Church to be separate from the world.<sup>15)</sup> Next Yvon produced two works directed against Antoinette Bourignon, in order to allay suspicions of a link with her numerous followers in nearby Holstein. The *Wahre und reine Lehre*<sup>16)</sup> was a staunch defence of predestination, a doctrine which Bourignon detested, while the *Kurtzer Begriff*<sup>17)</sup> attacked the popular correspondence between Bourignon and De Cort which had appeared as *La lumière née aux ténèbres* and *Le tombeau de la fausse théologie*. He did so, however, with so many an *ad feminam* that Pierre Poiret, Bourignon's disciple, who valued Labadie and had thought of joining him, now felt his honour obliged him to sever connections and champion the lady. Next came the fruit of three years of study, Yvon's *Essentia religionis christianae patefacta*,<sup>18)</sup> with its clarion call to regenerate souls to be separated for God:

No one may be in the new Covenant who is not inwardly renewed, serving the Spirit of God; transformed in body and soul; dead to sin; breathing and expressing the life of God; seeking Him in all things; by His light knowing and vitally believing His mysteries; following after Him through the influence of sincere love; filled, owned and led by the spirit of Christ; willingly and spontaneously complying with Him, and totally dependent on the will of God in all things, be they outward or inward, spiritual or corporal, temporal or eternal; in short, none can be of the new covenant who is not joined to God inwardly and incontestably regenerate.<sup>19)</sup>

Towards the end of 1673 Labadie produced his final work. Both Anna van Schurman and Yvon reveal that he had spent much of that year as one who sensed his end approaching. He

had sought to direct his followers increasingly away from himself into meditation on Jesus as Lamb and risen Lord. He was often lost in contemplation and would say: 'There is nothing left for me than to go to my God.' The fruit was *Jésus révélé de nouveau*,<sup>20)</sup> a collection of canticles of mystical union with God, which includes the verses which he was to ask his followers to sing at his deathbed:

O gloire de Jésus, si propre à nous ravir,  
Que tu merites bien que toute notre vie,  
Notre ame la voyant, en demeure ravie,  
Et s'emploie du tout à toujours y servir.

O Jésus, en qui seul est le divin pouvoir  
De nous attribuer quelque part de ta gloire,  
Ne pouvans pas assés telle qu'elle est la croire,  
Pour nous la faire mieux croire, fais nous la voir!<sup>21)</sup>

Finally there appeared perhaps the most significant of all Labadist writings, Anna van Schurman's *Eukleria*.<sup>22)</sup> This took its title from Luke 10:42, where Mary took the better part by sitting at Jesus' feet, and is a reasoned autobiographical account of her progress from worldly glory to a humble life of discipleship in Christ. In simple yet beautiful Latin she speaks of her disenchantment with Cartesianism, which she saw as profane, with the world of learning and with the established church of her day. Its honesty of spiritual confession and its accomplished style have led to *Eukleria's* comparison with Augustine's *Confessions*.<sup>23)</sup> Its effect was immediate. Throughout Germany and the United Provinces, *Eukleria* was read and approved. Leibnitz and his circle praised it; many leading Pietists, both of the Frankfurt and Halle schools, drew inspiration from it, particularly Eleonore van Merlau and Johann Jakob Schütz. And though some saw fit to refute it,<sup>24)</sup> and the theosophist Gichtel queried its veracity, the *Eukleria* did the Labadist cause much good. Already in September 1673 we read of copies being sent to influential acquaintances and of plans for a Dutch translation.

Of community life at Altona, where *Eukleria* finishes, we learn little besides the author's sense of wonder at being called to experience the life of the Early Church. We do learn that she was excused housework because of her advanced age, and

that in the conventicles the women, who did not speak or teach, would sit and embroider or knit, a practice known in Anabaptist circles and which would resurface with the Moravians. The main thrust of the work is summed up on two pages: the Jerusalem church was the model for all times and knew the especial honour of God; over the years, however, this grace eroded and gave way to 'the mystery of iniquity', when Constantine merged church and empire. Nevertheless, God has in all ages been willing to restore the original blessing where churches are true; such people will always be led by the Holy Spirit even if they are but two or three; the prophecies are waiting to be fulfilled on any who will flee the Babylonian captivity of the church and be separate from the spirit of the age.<sup>25)</sup>

On 13 August 1673 the Lutheran clergy wrote to the king to warn him of the dangers of Labadie's presence. 'They stressed his Jesuit background, his constant dismissals, his novelties of faith and practice; drew attention to his followers' refusal to pay church taxes and submit to the normal consistorial inspection; complained that children were left unbaptized and inveighed against the unauthorised printing-press. All of this, claimed the clergy, made for schism, public nuisance and civil unrest.'<sup>26)</sup> The reaction from Copenhagen was swift. On 13 September the king instructed the German Chancellery to draw up a mandate against the Labadists. In it he stressed the 'dangerous errors' and 'offensive aberrations' of which he had heard, outlawed conventicles and the printing-press, and gave orders to the Altona council to notify Labadie *cum suis* that they should depart from the town by Christmas.<sup>27)</sup> This order arrived at Altona on 22 September and the council delegated its secretary and councillor Beckmann to notify Labadie of the contents. The community received the mandate in a civil and submissive fashion, requesting only a copy for their own records, which was granted. That it was unexpected is clear from a letter written by Anna van Schurman to her niece Vincentia van der Haer on the same day as the order itself (13 September), for here there is no trace of anxiety, only a repeated desire for Christians to live up to their name.<sup>28)</sup> That the mandate concerned them little is also clear from a letter which Anna van Schurman wrote to one Daniel Meyer four days after the mandate's arrival (26 September), in which she reiterates spiritual concerns and barely mentions the temporal. It

becomes clear that to the Labadists the practice of the truth mattered more than the security of the place in which they should live it out.<sup>29)</sup>

The community agreed not to contest the mandate but to request an extension of time. On 21 October the pastors wrote to the king, stressing their peaceful and obedient intentions and seeking to put him at ease concerning rumours he had heard, adducing testimonies from the people of Altona, who apparently valued the newcomers' presence. They requested permission to winter at Altona before leaving, given the sick and aged people among them.<sup>30)</sup> Such permission was evidently granted, though no record is known. Almost simultaneously the Labadists had recourse to the king for other reasons. Seeking a fresh abode was no trouble, since Anna van Schurman speaks of six different offers of shelter received, but the cost of moving needed preparation. A Jew from Hamburg, son of an acquaintance at Altona, offered to change a sum of gold into silver coin for them. He returned some silver but, on the pretext of going to acquire more, absconded with his loot. The brother who had arranged the transaction had naïvely neglected to ask for a receipt, so the Labadists, once the fraud was discovered, wrote directly to the king for justice. The Jew was hunted down and imprisoned and the Labadists gained much public sympathy from the affair. This and the support of Count Gyldenløve probably explain why the royal mandate was not implemented.

Early in 1674 Labadie gave a bible exposition in an unheated hall and fell dangerously ill, his symptoms being described as 'a violent cholick'. Anna van Schurman admits the community's shock at discovering the mortality of one who seemed so in touch with the immortal. Confined to bed, Labadie would gather his closest disciples and teach them, and Yvon records that the theme was of a new separation, not just from the world but also from the inbred power of self. He was never downcast or complaining, though in great pain. On one occasion he was offered some unpalatable medicine and drank it with the words 'I will, for love is obedient'. On another, in such pain that he bent his head to the ground out of the bed, he declared 'Thus I bow before Thee, O Lord'. After some days he rallied his strength and there was hope of recovery, but on 6 February he relapsed, incontinence set in and it was clear that he was dying. During the remaining week he was

regularly singing praises to Jesus as Lamb of God and exhorting his followers to do likewise. Finally, on 13 February, his 64th birthday, he was blessed by Yvon, who asked if he had any last words for his 'children'. 'No', he replied, 'only that Thy will be done for ever and ever'. With that, at about ten o'clock in the evening, he died.

He left a will, reproduced in Dutch translation by Anna van Schurman.<sup>31</sup>) In this he declares an eternal debt of gratitude to God for all His undeserved goodness and gives a brief account of the faith in which he sought to live out his days. Knowing himself to be 'a nothing by nature and by sin', he prays for forgiveness of all transgressions. As for the world, he dies as he has lived, denouncing it as base and godless, adding that he owes it no debts. For his burial he wants no pomp but 'the greatest poverty and simplicity'. In a gesture rare for his day, he declared that his corpse might usefully be opened to discover why he had suffered so much. Nonetheless, since the body will one day rise again, he concludes:

I give it with all my heart once more to God and commit it to Him as a drop of water to its source, praying to God, my spring and my ocean, that He will receive me to Himself and as it were swallow me forever into the abyss of His being... It is enough. I remain united with God and with the saints in God, and to be joined to these is everything.<sup>32</sup>)

Thus his life ended as it had continued, with the image of engulfment, of subsumption into the divine ocean of God's being. Here, before its time, is Fenelon's *pur amour*, though Labadie does acknowledge (*Traité du soi*, p. 34, cited by Yvon, *Doctrine dy Bapteme*, pp. 185, 186) some degree of personal identity in eternity.

Two touching memorials are preserved from the pens of Labadie's closest disciples. In the second part of *Eukleria*, Anna van Schurman compares Labadie to all the patriarchs and asks how she could be blamed for following the truest of leaders.

I will say that in truth he expressed the life in the Spirit and the life of the holy patriarchs, who walked with God and for God and, seeing what was invisible, despised visible things and sought a heavenly home. ...He was a most special in-

strument of God's grace, used in an especial manner by the Spirit of Jesus Christ to encourage the faithful and to distinguish and improve the true church of the New Testament.<sup>33)</sup>

A few days after Labadie died, a letter addressed to him arrived from Ludlow, and Yvon undertook to answer it, incorporating in it his own tribute to the 'Serviteur de Dieu', as Labadie was known among them:

The glory of Jesus has taken him; the love which he felt at going to behold it consumed him day and night. Never was he more steeped in God than in the last days of his life. For a whole year he has done nothing but prepare his children for this tender parting; he unceasingly inculcated God, Jesus and their love as above all other things, and God blessed his labours, accompanying them with the grace and power of his Holy Spirit. He has gone to rest in God; he has left us here to aim towards Him in all ways that might please Him.<sup>34)</sup>

In one sense, he adds, Labadie himself lives among them, because the same Spirit that God had given him, remains.<sup>35)</sup>

If Labadie's death had been simple and edifying, his burial was a different story. Since he had, officially at least, died in the Reformed faith, it was logical that he should be buried in the Reformed cemetery, in which for years Catholics and Mennonites had also been interred. Therefore Anna van Schurman requested permission for the burial from Rudolf Roland, president of the council. It was not granted, the pastors refusing to inter in their cemetery the body of a man who had decried them as a synagogue of Satan. The Labadists therefore appealed to King Christiaan, who on 17 February sent an order to president Roland that he should allocate a plot in the Reformed cemetery forthwith.<sup>36)</sup>

While this order was in preparation, pastor Schepler was also writing to the king. He and his assistants lamented the flouting of the royal mandate of September last, since the Labadists were still in the town and intending to remain there, and underlined their unwillingness to receive the body of this 'leader in schism' should the Reformed refuse to inter it. They



feared not only the reaction of nearby Hamburg and of the powerful Lutheran landowners of the region, but also the triumph which the Reformed would feel at having dumped an unwanted burden on the Lutherans.<sup>37)</sup>

A letter of 20 February from the representative of the Danish resident at Hamburg reveals that president Roland was refusing permission for the burial without direct orders from the king (the order of the 17th had not yet arrived).<sup>38)</sup> Anna van Schurman had asked the resident to intervene, and the Labadists' former protectress, Princess Elisabeth, also beseeched him to champion the Labadist cause. Still the body awaited its burial. On 24 February Yvon, Dulignon and Anna van Schurman wrote to the king with a new proposal: that he grant them a small piece of land for use as a cemetery.<sup>39)</sup> This was a bold step, since the royal eviction mandate had not been revoked, but merely postponed.

Still, however, the Reformed pastorate refused to accept the body. The matter became common knowledge and appealed to the contemporary taste for the macabre. Visitors came to see the body and letters were written to newspapers, an example being the *Diarium Europaeum*, which printed details of a letter from Hamburg. The Labadists, it claimed, were in no hurry to bury the body, since they desired to inter it in whatever place God would indicate as their lasting abode; the local population valued the community and wanted it to remain; and the letter concludes with the last known eye-witness description of Labadie:

A man of well formed and friendly countenance and demure eyes, short of stature and his hair white with age. He spoke warmly, willingly and with great eloquence.<sup>40)</sup>

Finally, on 14 March, the king agreed to the Labadist proposal and sent instructions to president Roland to grant a piece of land to the community for the burial.<sup>41)</sup> In such a *volte-face* by the court, which effectively confirmed the Labadists' right to be in Altona, we can see the probable influence of Count Gyldenløve, and other sources indicate the help of a new Labadist member, the former Lutheran deacon Hermann Strauch. Now armed with this royal permission, the Labadists obtained a piece of land behind their house in the Johannissgasse,<sup>42)</sup> and there, in all solemnity, buried the body

'like a treasure in the ground, to await the resurrection of the dead'.<sup>43)</sup>

With its founder dead, the community had to determine its future. Yvon, Dulignon and Robijn called the church to prayer for guidance. Still they had no definite royal permission to remain at Altona, so they looked for new retreats. On 8 March Anna van Schurman wrote to the eminent Puritan divine, John Owen, with whom Labadie had corresponded since 1669. She asked him to mediate on their behalf with the court in London, since they were desirous of settling in England. This was no small request, since Charles II had imbibed, during his time at Paris, Louis XIV's detestation of Labadie.<sup>44)</sup> Yvon, she writes, will be sending more details, and she passes this further comment on Labadie's death:

Our God was pleased not only to adorn and shower this his servant, faithful in all His house, with remarkable and abundant graces and gifts from his earliest years,... but also to grant him to die as he had lived, peacefully and contentedly, in a most ardent love of God and glorification of His name.<sup>45)</sup>

In his aforementioned letter to Ludlow, Yvon gives further insights into the spiritual state of the Labadists at this time. He refers to the possible opening of doors in England and to the offer of full religious freedom on his estate by a Scottish earl,<sup>46)</sup> but adds that the community will not take man's advice without the voice of God. He asks Ludlow if he has any insight as to where 'the work of the Kingdom' might usefully continue, and adds a touching picture of the simple faith of his flock:

Jesus is maintaining us in the full liberty that he won for us through his Spirit; through him we serve the Father in spirit and in truth... We seek only his glory, our business is his service, and we say to him daily: 'Here we are, we are ready; send us where you will, even to death and the cross, and we will follow you through your love.'... We rest content in belonging to God, and enjoy among us all the good things of the communion of saints... He assures us of his presence by a thousand proofs and we are overwhelmed with the effects of his love. We see that Jesus was admirably simple,

innocent and more pure in heart than little children, and we seek to imitate him.<sup>47)</sup>

Contrary to the common expectation that decline would set in after Labadie's death, the ensuing period was a time of growth and influence. A steady flow of new members came and the church's favour with the townsfolk was such that when, one night, a chimney-fire broke out in the Labadist house, the neighbours turned out to a man, regardless of the danger, to pass buckets of water and offer their assistance. Acceptance finally came from the Danish court too. Early in November 1674 a letter arrived from a nobleman at court advising them that the time was right for them to send a representative to Copenhagen to meet the king. He even suggested Hermann Strauch as most suitable for the task.<sup>48)</sup> Given the writer's intimate knowledge of the climate in the royal residence and his understanding of the Labadist position, this must once more have been Count Gyldenløve, who in September had returned to Copenhagen from Norway on a diplomatic mission.

Therefore Strauch penned a letter on 11 November to the king's right-hand man, Peder Schumacher, Count Griffenfeld, Chancellor of Denmark and author of the 1665 *Kongelov* (Royal Law) that had ensured the king's absolute power. Strauch had met Griffenfeld once before, when he had been to Copenhagen in connection with Labadie's burial, and now he made bold to present before the king, through his chancellor, three requests from the community: that they be allowed to remain at Altona with the same rights as other subjects; that they may exercise their crafts and trades for their own maintenance, including printing; and that the piece of land granted for Labadie's burial be given to them as a cemetery either by sale or long-term rent.<sup>49)</sup> The letter was accompanied by a memoir from the elders, countersigned by Anna van Schurman for extra weight, which reiterated the demands and stressed the benign nature of the printing, which 'would serve only to satisfy the desires of divers good souls in various places, who seem to be edified by the little writings produced by this congregation'.<sup>50)</sup>

Strauch was received at court on 12 November and, through the mediation of Gyldenløve and Griffenfeld,<sup>51)</sup> gained favour with the royal family. The protocols of the municipal tribunal of Altona for 30 November record receipt of

a royal decree of 14th in favour of the Labadists, whereby they were to be allowed to remain undisturbed in the town, exercise their trades and bury their dead. The only reservation concerned the printing-press, which was to cease functioning.<sup>52</sup>) More good news was to follow. When the Lutheran clergy again came at Advent to collect their tax, the Labadists complained to president Roland, who replied with some surprising news; the magistrate had, unbeknown to them, agreed to their earlier proposal of a fixed rate of taxation and had set a comparatively low tax on all the properties. Once this was paid, nobody could legally demand anything further from them. Their future was assured.

Anna van Schurman gives an enthusiastic portrayal of God's many blessings on their common life at this time, likening the community to a garden planned and hedged about at Amsterdam, dug, planted and manured at Herford, and coming to flower and fruit at Altona. She singles out the example of one sister, who had to travel to The Hague to visit her dying mother.<sup>53</sup>) Through God's mercy she survived a storm and an attack by pirates on the voyage and reached the capital safely. Her mother had been strongly opposed to her Labadist involvement and was strengthened in her antagonism by the local pastorate. Yet now she and they noted only a deep and humble love in the daughter, which impressed and won them. True, the mother died after a delirious fit and rumours swept the capital that the daughter had driven her to distraction, but the Labadists saw in the episode the triumph of Christ as messenger of reconciliation. Furthermore, it was this sister's example that induced the family maid, Sara Moot, to forsake all and join the Labadists at Altona.

By far the greatest fruit of the Labadists' stay at Altona however, has only recently come to light in a set of letters from Anna van Schurman to Johann Jakob Schütz, jurist at Frankfurt am Main and, alongside Spener, the leading light of the nascent Pietist movement in that city. Five of these letters date from Altona (3/13 July 1674 - 19/29 April 1675). The contact had started earlier in the year as a result of Schütz's reading of *Eukleria*. The ensuing correspondence was intensive (six letters, and replies, in eight months over a considerable distance) and was accompanied by parallel correspondences between Yvon and Schütz and between Anna van Schurman and the eminent Pietist Eleonore von Merlau.<sup>54</sup>) It

is evident that Yvon and Anna van Schurman conferred over their letters so that he answered some points and she others, and the impression is most clearly conveyed that the Labadists were the teachers and the Pietists the pupils.<sup>55</sup>)

Anna writes in the first preserved letter of her joy at finding 'a pure and believing lover of God', whose letters 'breathed' the love of God and a desire for Christ's glory. She then presents, over various letters,<sup>56</sup>) a picture of Labadist spirituality aimed at instructing Schütz in the leading of the Frankfurt *collegium pietatis* along similar lines. Recurring themes are: 'being prepared in God's school on earth', 'crucifixion with Christ', 'sincere denial of self and all things', 'the most glorious and interminable triumph of Christ'. The essence of the spiritual life is seen as separation to God out of this fallen world, in order to live a new life of humility and serving love among a truly committed people who do not shrink back from the radical demands of discipleship. To reinforce such directives, the community ensured a steady flow of their literature to Schütz.<sup>57</sup>) If we then consider the relative chronology of certain developments, the extent of Labadist influence on early Pietism increases still further. For example, Schütz, Spener and Spizel began to share their concerns for the training in piety of theologians at precisely the point at which Anna van Schurman makes mention of having sent a copy of Labadie's *Reformation de l'Eglise par le pastorat*. Again, with the structure of the Pietist *collegium*, or conventicle; these had been inaugurated in 1670, taking the form of services with a sermon or exhortation by a minister. Four years later, however, Schütz received a copy of Labadie's *Traité ecclésiastique... de l'exercice profetique* which reveals the value of extempore inspirational discourses on a passage of scripture by a variety of laymen, and Frankfurt promptly reconstructed its *collegium* along Labadist lines (letter of 19/24 April 1675).

Further indications of Labadist influence at this time may be seen in events on the Lower Rhine. The Labadists had left German soil in 1672, but still established churches noted with horror that conventicles and separatist gatherings were springing up apace; these are repeatedly referred to as the fruit of *Labadismus* and *Schlüterei*. It would be misleading, however, to suppose a direct Labadist influence here; it seems rather that Labadie had served simply to stir up and direct a separatist/Pietist undercurrent already present, and that now

his name was used as a convenient blanket condemnation of any sectarian activity. Suffice it to say that in 1673 pastor Walenkamp of Wesel had to defend himself against charges of Labadism; that the synod had to take measures against those who sought to attend services while still infected with 'the filth of Labadism'; and that a commission of enquiry was set up to investigate why Labadist conventicles were so popular. In 1674 the General Synod of Jülich, Cleve, Berg and Mark declared conventicles desirable in principle and gave outlines for their proper conduct (art. 60), thus hoping to prevent separation by taking house-meetings into the established organism. Moreover the synod stressed the need for a campaign against lukewarmness and irreligion, so as to render Labadism unnecessary. The Labadist presence at Herford continued, as has been seen, with the arrival of Reiner Copper, a Reformed minister from Isselburg in the Rhineland, as chaplain to Princess Elisabeth. Copper had been suspended for six weeks the previous year for inveighing against laxity in the church, and now at Herford he met a handful of Labadist sympathizers,<sup>58</sup>) and one of them, Marie-Marthe de Reneval, he married. Six years later he was to join the Labadist community and become a pastor. Finally, the pastor of Nendorp in Friesland, Petrus Dittelbach, came to Altona to meet the community, having been inspired by *Eukleria*,<sup>59</sup>) and had frequent conferences with Yvon and Anna van Schurman. He too was soon to join the sect.

Yet there was opposition amid the blessings. The Jesuit Drechsler refuted *Eukleria*;<sup>60</sup>) John Brown, pastor of the Scottish church at Rotterdam, wrote to Anna van Schurman to dispute her views on the sabbath; and the Reformed visitor of the sick from Altona, Johannes Berckendahl, attacked the community in a pamphlet, as he had attacked Antoinette Bourignon and others.<sup>61</sup>) Then came the colourful but eccentric Johannes Rothe. A native of Amsterdam, he had undergone mystical awakenings which convinced him that he was God's chosen mouthpiece. He therefore disseminated fanciful prophecies that God was about to bring disaster on the United Provinces and raise up His chosen Head, whom he identified as a certain Theodorus Hubi. Such would have been laughed to scorn but for the 'disaster year' of 1672, which seemed to give his declamations some fulfilment. Rothe achieved something of a status and gathered around him other visionaries

and spiritual misfits.<sup>62</sup>) At some point in 1673 Rothe made contact with the Labadists and sought to join them, but withdrew after a short time because of Labadie's lack of meekness (a virtue singularly lacking in Rothe also). Thereafter he challenged Labadie on three occasions to withdraw with him to some secret place and pray to see which of them God had appointed.<sup>63</sup>) Labadie dismissed the challenge as absurd and wrote to Rothe to face him up with the poverty of his spiritual state. At this, Rothe let it be known throughout the Duchies that the Labadists were persecuting him, and wrote to the king to have them expelled. No action was taken, and Rothe made for his own undoing by writing to William IV of Holland to tell him that God opposed him and would bring him low. This put a price of 3,000 guilders on his head and he was soon arrested. Throughout the episode the Labadists seem to have acted with calm and prudence, and it is significant to note that, as holiness and separation became the centre of the community's life, the need for visions and signs, once prized by Labadie, was finally laid aside.

With the community set for a long stay at Altona, circumstances arose which were to force them to leave. Denmark and Sweden, mindful of the advantages which supremacy in the Baltic would bring, were on a war footing,<sup>64</sup>) and the Labadists followed events carefully, both from common rumour and by notifications from their patrons at Court. Labadie's policy had always been to flee wars, so they decided to do likewise. A refuge was offered in Hamburg, only a few miles away, but the community decided to remain at Altona until the last possible moment. Then, as rumours and warnings increased, an opening came in the United Provinces. Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck, elder brother of the three Labadist sisters, had inherited the family seat of his maternal ancestors, Walta-slot (or Walta-state) at Wieuwerd in Friesland, by his parents' will of 6 May 1661,<sup>65</sup>) which also stipulated that he was to pay to each of his sisters the sum of 60,000 guilders. Now an arrangement was reached between Cornelis and his Labadist sisters that they would each cede to him half of this their entitlement in return for Walta-slot.<sup>66</sup>) They had not exactly *bought* it (Robijn's letter carefully uses the term *overgenomen* — taken over), but in effect they had assumed ownership on behalf of the community for 90,000 guilders. Cornelis was happy with the arrangement, since he had heavy commitments at The

Hague and had inherited the grand parental home there.

Dulignon was dispatched to confer with Cornelis about practical arrangements, as a result of which five brothers set off to make ready the house and grounds for the community's arrival. This first party survived a squall in the Channel and arrived at Wieuwerd in mid-May 1675, the local synod noting their coming with considerable apprehension. The remainder stayed at Altona well into June, as is witnessed by a long letter which Anna van Schurman wrote from there on 18 June to Samuel Rachel, professor of law at Kiel, who had taken issue with Yvon over his attacks on Antoinette Bourignon.<sup>67)</sup> The bulk of the Labadists finally set sail early in July under Yvon and Anna van Schurman. They were caught in a storm which drove them towards the English sandbanks, but one brother, Jasper Danckaerts, was an experienced mariner from Zeeland, who had been in the West Indies; he took the tiller and the ship reached port safely. A skeleton crew at Altona under Dulignon waited until the last possible moment before troops reached the town, and set off amid tearful farewells from many townsfolk who had taken the sect to their hearts. By 14 July Anna van Schurman could report in a letter that the last of the flock had now arrived safely at Wieuwerd.<sup>68)</sup>

Anna van Schurman leaves us with perhaps the best picture of the heart which was in the Labadists in this time of transition after Labadie's death. In her letter of 10 November 1674 to Schütz she speaks of her desire 'to consecrate my all, as it were afresh, to His will and glory, and to the service of His sons and daughters, and especially in the conquering of the relics of the old man, both in myself and in others'.<sup>69)</sup> And at the conclusion of her *Eukleria* she writes in a fashion reminiscent of Causade and the 'sacrament of the present moment':

We live from day to day, depending on God; not stepping ahead of His providence through anxiety or human anticipation, and our way of life is not always to be stretching out for what is to come; we have learned that one must not be too wise; but to follow Christ humbly, faithfully and in truth and love is our happiness and our glory.<sup>70)</sup>



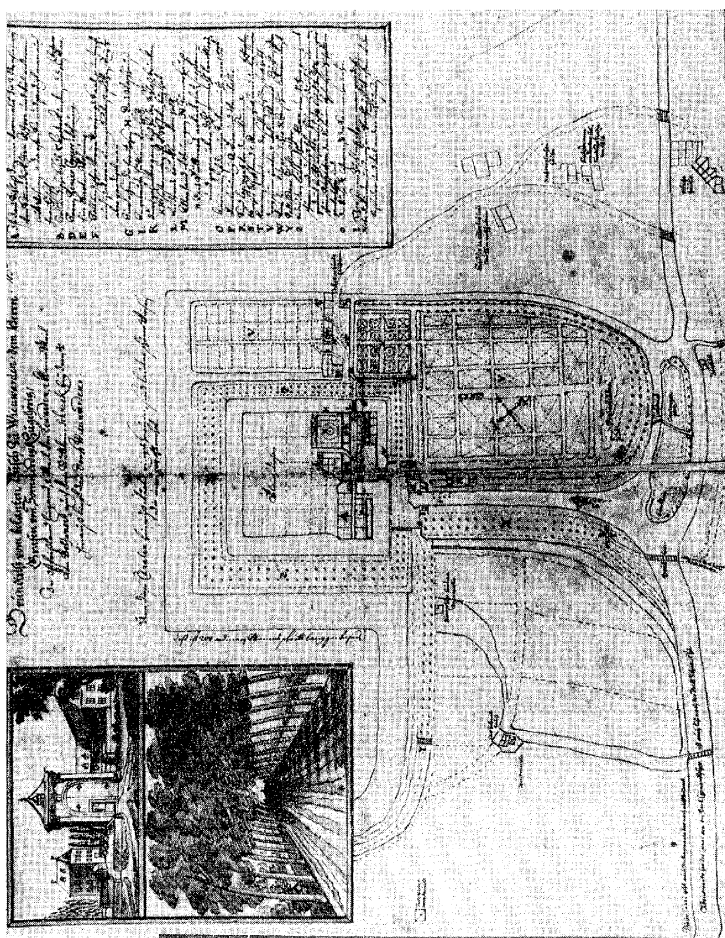


Fig. 3. Ground plan of Walta-state of 1686, by Johann Andreas Graff (1637-1701). Nürnberg, Staatsarchiv, Rst.Nbg., Karten und Pläne, Nr. 1085. Reproduced by kind permission.

*Key*

- A. The castle itself, surrounded on three sides by a moat. Here lived, among others, Yvon and the van Sommeldycks.
- a. Dining room, where also sermons were preached in French.
- B. Dutch school.
- C. Apothecary downstairs, barber upstairs.
- D. Reiner Copper's lodgings.
- E. Guest house.
- F. Dining room for Dutch members, where also sermons were preached in Dutch.
- G. Dining room for French members.
- H. Laundry.
- I. Wooden huts.
- K. Path leading to the bridge to the castle.
- KK. Stone bridge with three arches.
- L. Wooden bridge.
- M. Assorted lodgings.
- N. Chicken-house.
- O. Cotton-mill (labelled 'cotton milling invention').
- P. Brewery.
- Q. Wine cellar.
- R. Lodgings for newcomers.
- S. Anchorage for larger vessels.
- s. Anchorage for smaller vessels.
- T. Crane for offloading barges.
- V. Three large gardens.
- v. A smaller garden.
- W. 'Four secret rooms' (?).
- X. Tannery.
- Y. Pallisade gates to close avenues.
- Z. Avenues. The stretch marked \* to \*, and pictured in the inset, gave an exceptionally fine view of the buildings.
- ♀. Main gate, reproduced in inset, with a smaller wicket door for pedestrians. It was shut at sermon time.
- ♂. Rope-walk.

In outlying areas may be seen two windmills, a pump for purifying rainwater, a smithery, a pig-pen, houses for the cattle-men, and a room where conventicles were held in Dutch.

## CHAPTER 11

### One Heart and Soul. Labadists at Wieuwerd, 1675-1692

Times had changed since last the community had been on Dutch soil. The 'disaster year' of 1672 and the revolution of that year had left five of the United Provinces under the direct control of William III of Orange, while Friesland and Groningen were under the governorship of Hendrick Casimir of Nassau-Dietz, third cousin to the prince. The relationship between the two was cool, so the eastern part of the land kept somewhat aloof. Moreover, the overt hostility of Grand Pensionary de Witt had been silenced by his assassination in the revolution, so the time was ripe for the Labadists to attempt reinstatement on Dutch soil. Indeed the climate at the stadholder's court at Leeuwarden was pious and the governor's mother, Albertine Agnes, was openly praised for her godly virtues by Anna van Schurman.<sup>1)</sup>

Opposition from political bodies, then, presented less of a threat than the inevitable hostility of the church. The classis of Leeuwarden had been among the first in the land to sense the dangers of the Labadist schism back in 1669, and now it flung its full weight against the newcomers. The synod, meeting on 1 June 1675, dwelt at length (arts. 24, 25, 44, 45) on 'this pernicious evil, affecting both church and nation' and drew up measures to be put before the States of Friesland for the control, if not banishment, of the sect. Particular areas of concern were conventicles, denunciations of the Reformed church and its pastors, and worst of all the dissemination of literature. The States, meeting on 12 June, agreed to pursue the matter and ordered the formation of a commission consisting of councillors Aylva, Glinstra and Winter, with representatives of the synod,<sup>2)</sup> to examine the Labadist leaders as to their creed and their intentions. The whole was to be led by Herman Witsius, newly appointed professor of theology at Franeker.

At an uncertain date late in July the commission met with Yvon and Dulignon and over two days considered thirty-three points.<sup>3)</sup> Any apprehension that Wieuwerd might have felt at the presence of Witsius, who had opposed the Labadist schism in print,<sup>4)</sup> evaporated as the Labadist leaders astutely steered their way through some issues and round others. For example, question 7 bluntly asked whether they believed that the Holy Spirit had departed from the Reformed church; the answer: God alone in his omniscience must answer that, they cannot. Yet all was honest, Yvon even admitting (question 20) that at Altona marriages had been conducted without the authorities knowing. Every effort was made to avoid the Schlüterian vocabulary of the *Marks of Regeneration*, for the synod had expressly deplored this, and to stress the community's full acceptance of the Belgic Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Synod of Dort, just as Labadie had done at Herford. Would they therefore have fellowship with the Reformed? The Labadist position was to distinguish between general and particular fellowship; the first they could certainly hold with the Reformed, but for the latter fellowship there had to be genuine practice of self-denial and godliness. Again, Labadie had made this point in *Veritas sui vindex* three years before.

After some deliberation the commission decided to use the counsel of Gamaliel and to 'wait and see'.<sup>5)</sup> The States of Friesland sought a final judgement from the theology faculty of Franeker, and Witsius, with his colleague Nicolaas Arnoldi, again advocated toleration. Thus, by September 1675, the Labadists found their future in Friesland guaranteed. Ecclesiastical reaction ranged from mild acceptance by the classis of Leeuwarden, to outright indignation from the classis of Dockum, which noted in its protocols that the entire community, and especially its pastors, ought to be banished.<sup>6)</sup> The classis of Sneek, in whose territory Wieuwerd lay, regularly thereafter presented motions to the synod for further tightening of restrictions on the community, but the States of Friesland, perhaps mindful of the numbers of wealthy and respectable members the Labadists counted, or perhaps disinterested in the whole affair, would not implement them. The Labadists, for their part, held a debt of gratitude to the commission that they were not slow to remember and acknowledge.<sup>7)</sup>

Walta-slot and its estate, known as Walta-state or Thetinga,

was ideally suited to Labadist purposes, as the ground plan (Fig. 3) makes clear. The traveller approached by road or canal from Leeuwarden, Bolsward or Sneek, and would have noticed first the twin rows of stately trees forming shady avenues around the entire complex. In a region of reclaimed land and few trees, this gave the appearance of a veritable wood, such that the locals referred to the estate as the *bos* ('wood'). There were outlying farm buildings for cattle and pigs, two windmills for the milling of grain, a pump for the purification of rainwater, a smithery and an island called Rabbit Island, reached by a wooden drawbridge. Then came well planned gardens and meadows, before vessels docked at a jetty before the great Renaissance gate, where there were cranes for the unloading of supplies, and several outbuildings which the community quickly put to industrial purposes, with a brewery and cotton-mill. The small inset to the ground-plan, the only known picture of the Labadist community, shows to the left of the main gate a three-storey manor-house (Walta-slot itself), surrounded on three sides by a moat, with a slate roof and two chimneys, looking to be in 17th century style, although the castle was much older.<sup>8</sup>) It was reached by a three-arched stone bridge. Here lodged Yvon and his family, the van Sommelsdyck sisters, and other notables, who had the pleasant advantage of a dining-room overlooking the moat. Elsewhere there were other large buildings, mainly residential (the inset shows on the right a structure of considerable proportions, with a saddle-roof) but with some industry, including a tannery. Here also the community installed its printing-press, curiously omitted from the ground-plan, and Hendrik van Deventer, a convert from Altona trained in medicine, set up an apothecary and laboratory. It is known from contemporary sources that much building work went on at Walta-state, so it is likely that not a few of the edifices marked on Graff's plan of 1686 were of Labadist workmanship.

Visitors were quick to arrive, particularly churchmen seeking reassurance (or otherwise) as to Labadist intentions. In July it was Theodorus Couperus, pastor of Werga, who came to see Yvon but was palmed off by another 'speaking brother' (Labadist leader) and wrote an ironic account of his 'loving welcome'; Yvon replied on 5 September, and Couperus printed a rejoinder.<sup>9</sup>) Another visitor disputed with Dulignon about Labadie's hermeneutics in an unnamed *traité*, and he

too received a firm but brotherly letter from Yvon.<sup>10)</sup> Wilhelmus à Brakel, pastor at Leeuwarden, who had known the community at Amsterdam and, he claimed, thought of joining them, wrote a long and imperious letter to Anna van Schurman, a close friend of his late father's, to sound out the community's current position on the Marks of Regeneration. To keep individual letter writing to a minimum, Yvon produced a brief piece by way of introduction, *Korte Onderrichtinge*,<sup>11)</sup> in which he outlined the community's foundation and aims, stressing its readiness to suffer, its renunciation of the world, and its desire for righteousness in all things. Perhaps mindful of offence given to visitors by members with more enthusiasm than prudence, he underlined the distinction between those *in* the house and those *of* it: not all those found on the premises were true Labadist members. Throughout this initial period, we find constantly repeated the Labadist maxims of separation, sanctification, discipline, the glory of God and the establishment of his kingdom.<sup>12)</sup>

The community life of the Labadists in Friesland has received generous attention and is well documented.<sup>13)</sup> There follows a summary of its chief characteristics. The whole was modelled on the Jerusalem church after Pentecost, which was seen as the purest manifestation of the kingdom of God. To this great 'work of the Lord' (*l'oeuvre de Dieu* was the Labadists' own definition of their community) all had to be sacrificed: time, possessions, affections, abilities, even the will. Possessions were 'laid at the apostles' feet', or in this case Yvon's, as soon as an aspirant arrived at Wieuwerd, to be used for the common good. Those seeking admission to the first class of membership, the 'elect', were also expected to arrange the sale of any property held by them outside the province, and only then would they be received, as having thus given proof of their detachment from worldly things. Clothing was simple and modest, with jewellery and the braiding of hair forbidden. Anyone arriving with expensive clothing was given more suitable garb and the costly items were sold. The women wore a kind of habit made of coarse frieze, their hair tied back and covered with a coif reminiscent of a nun's;<sup>14)</sup> such was locally known as a *bos-rock* and had a market even outside the community, among relatives and sympathisers as far away as Zeeland.<sup>15)</sup> The men wore rough peasant's smocks for work and a reserved, dark costume for worship. One member,

Petrus Dittelbach, records once having asked for money from the common fund to buy a new set of working clothes, only to be told that the money would be better used publishing the second part of Anna van Schurman's *Eukleria*, an indication of priorities at Wieuwerd.

The strict doctrine of separation from the world meant that no member worked outside. That meant over 200 workers employed on the estate, and there was no shortage of opportunity. New buildings were ever necessary as numbers grew, both for residence and for industrial purposes, which gave scope for masons, carpenters, plumbers and pump-makers. Cottage industry in plenty secured a degree of self-sufficiency as well as export possibilities. Cloth manufacture, wool-carding and even cotton-milling was practised, while the smiths made and sold oven-plates. There was the printing-press and a type-foundry, a tannery, a bakery and a brewery (for which the Bustin family cultivated the yeast), two corn-mills, a laundry, an apothecary and a laboratory. Over and above this and the domestic duties, there was agricultural labour and work in the gardens and grounds. Each area of responsibility had an overseer from among the 'speaking brothers'. Hermann Strauch supervised the laundry, Reiner Copper the woods and plantations, Johannes Hesener the printer's, all under the final oversight of Yvon. At the laboratory Hendrik van Deventer began the labours that would win him international reputation. Assisted by Copper, he worked on the classification of chemical salts, experimented to find a universal cure for vegetable poisons, began the manufacture of soap, and produced a variety of pills for the treatment of fever; these 'Labadie pills', as they were known, were popular among those who equated spiritual novelty with mystic powers, and brought a healthy revenue to the community.<sup>16</sup>) He also acted as physician to the community and the surrounding area, developing an effective treatment for rickets and performing minor operations.

A recurrent theme in Labadist writings was mortification of the flesh and the overcoming of the self-love of the heart by disciplines. Work provided ample opportunity. Artisans were kept from growing proud of their work by being changed from one job to another (one lamented to Dittelbach that he was now Jack of seven or eight trades and master of none). Those of proud disposition were given the most menial of tasks:

Dittelbach carried turves, Balthasar Cohlerus, former pastor of Nijega, stood at the wash-tub, which was even nicknamed 'the grave of pride'. On one occasion a brother planted some trees in the wrong place; although well planted, he was made to dig them up again and replant them where required, after which he was allowed to follow his own mind. One father, felt to have ambitions for his son in the world of learning, saw him dispatched by the leaders to work as a shepherd-boy.

Disciplines pervaded every area of life, their purpose (as regularly admitted to visitors) being to distinguish between the fleshly and the spiritual members. One brother explained that a long period of acclimatisation was necessary for any who had just left the world, in order that its poison might work its way out of them and the Spirit of holiness work within *and generate faith*. Disciplines were the test, and overseers and leaders would watch to discern the moment when faith began to operate, and that member could then enter the company of the 'elect'.<sup>17</sup>) Many, however, found the mortifications turned the paradise of Walta-state into a hell. One family had a chest, ornately worked and with carved verses on it, of which it was justly proud; one day the chest was taken and painted black. A young German was allergic to dairy produce. He was urged to deny himself and to 'plague the old ass' (his body, in St. Francis' terms), but fell sick almost to death before prudence was allowed to prevail. For those who infringed the strict code, there were punishments varying from the enforced wearing of clogs for one woman who had been dishonest with money, to having to stand by the door at every service (a man named Tjummes, for insubordination). And there was always the threat of reduced rations, or even worse, of public confession of faults before the *grande assemblée*.

Three classes of membership existed at Wieuwerd, as has been seen. Visitors were welcomed for a period and were called 'Monsieur' and 'Madame'. There was special accommodation for them, including two cottages just outside the main gate, though noble guests were offered the 'Blue Room' in the castle itself. Aspirants were also addressed in the polite but impersonal form, and were expected to enter fully into the work and worship of Labadist life until such time as they chose to leave or were found suitably full of faith (by Labadist definitions) to enter the 'first class', the 'elect', where they were called 'mon frère' and 'ma soeur'. The probationers were



referred to as the 'second class' or the 'corps mystique', who had left the world but not yet their self-love and self-interest. In 1686 this category numbered forty.<sup>18)</sup> Accommodation for both classes was in cells for four or five single people, in conditions that Dittelbach called 'cramped', or family quarters commensurate to need. All rooms were to be open to the elders at all times, much as in a monastery. The lack of firewood in the area, and the cost of turf to burn, meant that winter was an uncomfortable season, but the brother whose dialogue with a visitor has been recorded was at pains to reassure him that 'we are very well accommodated, with a beautiful house and beautiful surroundings, we sleep well, almost all of us *à la française*, we are well fed, well clothed and well heated, so that nobody is lacking in any necessity.'<sup>19)</sup>

For the 'elect', some 250 at the optimum period of Labadist growth, life was indeed a constant delight, and there is an infectiousness in the sense of joy and gratitude in, for example, some of Anna van Schurman's letters of this period,<sup>20)</sup> or in the conversations recorded in *Eukleria part 2* and the Labadist necrology *Fidelle narré*, where we find constant ejaculations of 'How good to be among the children of God' and 'How good is the house of the Lord'.<sup>21)</sup> Dittelbach recalls that nobody could bear to be away for more than a couple of days, and that one brother had told him how the very air thickened as he approached the next village, and he felt the smell of the world upon him. Cornelis van der Meulen, returning from a preaching trip to Amsterdam, announced at the meal table that he had walked the entire length of the Kalverstraat without meeting anyone who was not a damned worldling. Yet what if someone chose to leave? Some did, finding the way of self-denial more than they were willing to bear, but as at Amsterdam with Antoine Lamarque,<sup>22)</sup> there was a problem: their goods and capital had been surrendered on arrival, and they had to make their appeal to Yvon for any necessities to leave with. He, like Labadie before him, would seek to reason and express his amazement that anyone could contemplate leaving *l'oeuvre du Seigneur* (for to do so, to Labadist eyes, was tantamount to wilful damnation), but he was ever at pains to stress that those leaving were financially and materially helped, a fact disputed by Dittelbach.

Families, of which there were many, were expected to keep to a particular code of behaviour. Labadist belief, since the

*volte-face* at Herford, in children as ‘sons of the kingdom’ and an especial blessing from the Lord, meant that families were often large. Hendrik van Deventer, for example, who so far as we know married at Wieuwerd, had fathered ten children by the time he left in 1692. Brother Elbert, who died in Surinam and whose wife was barren, felt sure that he would have to answer for it in heaven. Diurre Baukes, one of the community’s farmers, who loved a widow past the age of childbearing, was told that, for that reason alone, he could not marry her.<sup>23)</sup>

Under Yvon, the community finally resolved its position on the baptism of children.<sup>24)</sup> Many were the scruples, even within the established church, about christening the infants of unregenerate parents, and the likes of Lodensteyn of Utrecht and Koelman of Sluis had not done so for some years. Labadie, then on German soil so keenly aware of the dangers of Anabaptism, had steered a middle course, feeling that the community’s children could receive the sign, being of proven regenerate parents, but that any preferring to let their offspring wait, could do so. Yvon, in his *Doctrine du Bapteme* of 1683, resolved the issue. Rebaptism was out of the question (pp. 132-139), paedobaptism was satisfactory for children of truly believing parents, but given that Abraham only circumcised (a parallel seal) those of his house who wished to remain with him (p. 51), it is best to wait until some concrete signs are produced in the life of the child, as proof of its calling and election.<sup>25)</sup>

Children were seen as the fruit, and therefore the responsibility, of the whole community, and parents were forbidden to be possessive and even overtly affectionate. Adults were called Uncle and Aunt, and each child received a personal tutor or governess, who was responsible for its education in community ways and good manners. Schooling was catered for by the large number of educated people among them. Dittelbach, for example, had been pastor of Nendorp in East Friesland, and was therefore given the task of teaching Latin to several youngsters, including Dulignon’s son Jean Benjamin. Progress was made, but Dittelbach (*Verval en val*, pp. 20-22) makes the pertinent comment that the constant attempts to ‘bring out the sheep’ in the children and to ‘deny the wolf’ by restraint and regular corporal punishment meant that they lived in constant *fear*. They could be given a good thrashing by tutor or parent, and were expected to thank God for having blessed

them with parents and others who loved them enough to save them from the world. So Dittelbach saw his task as being to restore some sense of enjoyment to life.

The process continued at meal times. There were three dining areas at Walta-slot, judging by Graff's plan, and we know that the three classes of residents ate at separate tables. On occasions an eminent visitor was honoured by being given a place on the 'elect' table, as Sophie of Hannover had been at Herford and as prospective proselytes of ability such as Dittelbach, the local pastor Johannes Hesener, or the English vicar Justin Treffry were now. Each table had a *conducteur*, who supervised the prayers and chanted a canticle or psalm before the meal and was expected to account afterwards for the spiritual condition of all in his charge.<sup>26</sup>) Meals were eaten in comparative silence, the *conducteur* alone speaking, and anyone whom he chose to bring into the conversation. As a visiting *refugié* was told in 1687: 'At table nobody speaks except the *conducteur*, and we have banished from our church that worldly tendency to speak all the time and in confusion. We are constantly exhorted to peace, unity, submission and respect, and to keep minutely the orders of the *conducteurs*, who watch over everything at the tables so as to indicate to our dear brother [Yvon] the state of each.'<sup>27</sup>) Yet the *conducteurs* themselves were not beyond discipline. Dittelbach was made a cantor at table, but was held not to pause long enough between lines, which led to ill-feeling; Dittelbach offered to stand down from being a cantor, but was told to be obedient instead.

Being separate from the world in so many ways brought with it a degree of intractability and self-righteousness, whereby the community would not accept well-meant advice from the unregenerate. A glaring example of this was their agriculture and livestock farming. The land around was good grazing land, and the community did own some forty cattle and a herd of sheep, with some pigs. Yet because of the vision of self-sufficiency from the world, an extra mill had been built and all effort was put into crop farming to make bread. However, the land only had thin topsoil, having for centuries been under the sea, and the constant ploughing brought the thick underlying clay to the surface, with the result that in the winter the land flooded and in summer it dried and cracked. A farmer in Jet, a hamlet belonging to the estate, had regularly

raised objections but, as these were never heeded, now held his peace.<sup>28)</sup> Again, a brother from Groningen once sent Yvon an eight-page memorandum on how the agricultural economy at Wieuwerd was being mismanaged, for example how the hens were fed considerable quantities of grain in return for an inadequate yield of eggs, but this too received scant attention and the brother chose to leave. All of which stands in contrast to the enthusiastic portrayal given to the visiting *réfugié*:

We can do without almost all the men of the world because we have almost everything here. We have more than forty good cows, a fine flock of sheep, some horses and the provender to keep them sleek, all of which is of great value to the Children of the Lord. We have some workable land and good gardens, all well cultivated by brothers who understand these things, who cause the land to produce all sorts of commodities for the house. We have woods around our house, sufficient for our heating, along with some bought turf. We have poultry, there are some brothers who fish, and one who makes our beer; we have millers and a mill; we have bakers, and generally every profession. We have a pharmacy or apothecary with all it requires, well staffed with people to run it and containing all necessary remedies for bodily ills. It is a marvel to see us all working...<sup>29)</sup>

Another area where spiritual enthusiasm took the place of common sense was in printing. The press that had been with them since Amsterdam had been installed at Wieuwerd, but now, although one brother whose name had been used on title pages at Altona, Cornelis van der Meulen, was still with them, the community chose to print and bind their own literature and ship it to Amsterdam, where it appeared under the name of Jacob van de Velde, a bookseller with premises on the coin de la Bourse (until 1682) and later on the corner of the Korte Niesel. A good dozen Labadists were employed full time printing and binding these works, and therefore a considerable financial saving might have been expected. Yet so many of the books were given away before ever being dispatched to Amsterdam. Most surviving letters and accounts of visits, from Herford onwards, mention the sending of free copies almost as a matter of course, as a means of spreading the word of the kingdom. As the brother told the *réfugié*: 'We send

books, that are made and printed here, wherever we are asked to, that all men might see their miserable condition and their need to be released from it.<sup>30)</sup> The result was that, in financial terms at least, the efforts were nugatory. On another occasion it was decided to make a new set of type for the press, and the brothers working at the foundry set to work, at considerable expense, to produce it. When finished, however, the type proved too thin and to look ugly on the page, so the scheme was abandoned with a serious financial loss.

Spiritual life revolved, as before, around the daily prophetic *exercise* for extempore sharing on a given theme or text, and around sermons. Yvon would preach on Sundays and sometimes in the week. The trouble was that he preached in French, although the number of French members had dwindled to a handful by 1687,<sup>31)</sup> so one of the sisters interpreted the address simultaneously into Dutch. Others of the ‘speaking brothers’ (there were usually around five, a new one being appointed whenever one died) preached in Dutch, both at Walta-state itself and in the surrounding villages, on tuesdays, wednesdays, thursdays and fridays. For example, from 1679 until it was stopped by the classis of Sneek in 1682, Johannes Hesener and Herman Strauch preached at nearby Jet on thursdays and sundays; the classis heard a local schoolmaster, Marten Hendricx, who said that nobody was allowed to attend who had not been cleared by the *bos*, that the door was guarded throughout, that several locals attended regularly and that the Labadists were attempting to entice Pieter Cornelis Hesener, a churchwarden and relative of the Labadist elder, to attend.<sup>32)</sup> The subject matter was constant: ‘we are exhorted, among other things, to hate the world, to love to our utmost the ‘work of the Lord’, to labour each to the best of his ability to preserve and increase it.’<sup>33)</sup> The world with all its evils and depravities was forever painted in the blackest colours in these sermons, as also, it seems, were the attempts by other Christians to preach the gospel without supporting it with the kind of life style enjoyed at Wieuwerd. Little stress on the atonement, on God’s love for sinners, rather a clarion call to the converted to be more deeply converted, by joining the ‘Reformed church separated from the world and gathered at Wieuwerd in Friesland’, as the community was clumsily known in its literature.

Such an approach had its logic, for it was rooted in the

Labadist doctrine of realised eschatology. Here, at Wieuwerd, was God's true people, the expression of his heart, a 'people set apart', the faithful remnant of Old Testament prophecy. As such, they would be sought out by all God's elect. The *refugié* visitor was told that what he saw before him was 'a stone cut from the rock, very small in its beginning, but which will grow exceedingly great'; or again, more explicitly, 'We are commencing the millennial kingdom, and all the elect in all the world will come to our side.'<sup>34</sup>) All that they needed to do was preserve their way of life and make contact with these 'elect'. Hence the free dissemination of literature, and hence again the regular apostolic journeys by 'speaking brothers' throughout the United Provinces and the Lower Rhine and even beyond. Within ten years of arrival in Friesland, we may reconstruct cells of Labadist sympathisers within the conventicle movements at The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Bommel, Cleve, Mörs, Krefeld, Duisburg, Mülheim, Düsseldorf and Herford, all regularly visited and instructed. The task was not easy, for these groups were not exclusively Labadist. Rather do we get the impression of separatist groups being wooed by Labadists, Quakers, Pietists, the followers of Antoinette Bourignon, and others.

Contact of a sort was maintained between these groups, with a stiff respect outwardly but scant regard behind the scenes. William Barclay, the Quaker, for example, actively sought to influence Princess Elisabeth at Herford, who had protected Labadie but who also favoured Friends, to leave the former and embrace the latter; not that she would be deserting something worthless, but rather embracing something better. He wrote on 16 March 1677 to ask Elisabeth to do her utmost to entice Anna van Schurman to leave Wieuwerd and be freed from 'a selfish spirit mightily exalting itself among them under the specious pretence and notion of self denial and mortification.'<sup>35</sup>) Similar moves were made to persuade the followers of Antoinette Bourignon to ally themselves to the Quaker cause. Bourignon's disciple Pierre Poiret was in extensive correspondence with Yvon and Anna van Schurman from September 1676 until March 1677, seeking a *rapprochement* following Yvon's written attacks on Antoinette three years earlier. He claimed to have intended visiting Walta-state with a view to joining the Labadists, and hints to Yvon that Anna van Schurman was not averse to the idea, but he felt that

Wieuwerd's doctrinaire stance on so many issues (he especially meant predestination) meant he could not. Labadie's associate from Amsterdam, Johannes Bardewits,<sup>36</sup> had lent Poiret copies of Yvon's works against Bourignon, so here was yet another independent conventicle group toting its favours from one sect to another.<sup>37</sup>)

Then William Penn visited the community. His sorry dealings of 1671 had continued to fester within him,<sup>38</sup>) and in 1677 he had noted in his journal his desire to 'visit de Labadie's people', since 'these simple people are to be pitied.'<sup>39</sup>) Accordingly on 12 July 1677 Penn and John Claus (*not* George Fox, as some have claimed) took ship from Harlingen to Leeuwarden and a wagon to Wieuwerd, requesting a meeting with the leaders, and especially Anna van Schurman. They were civilly received, but some hesitance was felt where Anna was concerned, for she had not set foot outside her room for over a year because of gout and rheumatism. Nonetheless the next morning Penn and Claus met with Yvon, Dulignon, Anna van Schurman, one of the van Sommelsdyck sisters, and Peter Schlüter (described as a 'doctor of physick'). The ogre of former dealings, Labadie, was dead, and now matters seem to have improved. Yvon outlined the community's foundation ('if God would not give them a purer church, they would sit down by themselves, resolving never more to mix themselves among the Babylonish assemblies of the world') and Anna van Schurman gave a testimony of her conversion from vain learning and dead religion to a living faith in a living church, 'among whom she desired to be found a living sacrifice, offered up entirely to the Lord.' Finally the sister van Sommelsdyck (we guess at Lucia, who was, after all, Labadie's widow) spoke 'in a very reverent and weighty frame of mind' of her former spiritual thirst and its eventual assuagement by the maxims of Labadie, concluding: 'I count myself happy that I ever met with him, and these pastors, who seek not themselves but the Lord. And we are a family that live together in love, of one soul, and one spirit, entirely given up to serve the Lord; and this is the greatest joy in the world.' Concerns and exhortations were shared, and, records Penn, 'they were, beyond expectation, tender and respectful to us.' He was able to conclude: 'They are a serious, plain people, and are come nearer to Friends, as in silence in meetings, women speaking, preaching by the Spirit, plainness in garb, and furniture in their

houses.’<sup>40</sup>) From this time onward a greater tolerance may be detected between the two sects, and a certain ambivalence: Jasper Danckaerts in his journal<sup>41</sup>) can be scathing in the extreme regarding Quakers, but was not averse to visiting one of their meetings in England in preference to any other.

From the days of its birth at Amsterdam, the community had actively sought to gain proselytes from among the pastorate of the Reformed. After all, if they were truly ‘elect’, they were bound to respond, and with their learning and spiritual experience they would be of considerable value to the cause. Yvon’s links with Voetius of Utrecht and several pastors on the Lower Rhine, Dulignon’s with Rochefort of Rotterdam, and Anna van Schurman’s with Daniel Meyer and Samuel Rachel have already been noted,<sup>42</sup>) and now in Friesland there were promising signs. The pastorate of Wieuwerd and nearby Britswerd was an obvious target, and it had the advantage that its incumbent was selected on the basis of voting rights in the parish, of which the van Sommelsdycks held the majority. Pastor Johannes Lespierre had died in February 1677, and while his brother Hermannus, an influential member of the classis of Sneek, did all in his power to find a replacement free from the taint of Labadism, two deacons were invited to fill the gap. Circius Robijnsma, later pastor at Wijckel, lasted only a month, for undisclosed reasons. Then came Werner Cancrinus, but within weeks the classis learned with horror that he had attended conventicles at Britswerd at the home of Doede Sipkes, who was ‘infected with Labadism’, which gatherings had on occasions even been held at night, with the local schoolmaster, Marten Hendricx, in attendance. Despite censure he continued to attend, so the classis barred him from the pulpit at Wieuwerd. Cancrinus moved to Franeker as vice-rector of the grammar school, and in May 1680 was suspended by the classis as being ‘about to join the Labadists’; yet, for reasons unknown, by October of that year he had been reinstated and had renounced his Labadist links. He became pastor of Wier in 1682.<sup>43</sup>)

For its part Walta-slot sought an incumbent for the village who would be supportive. Accordingly the Labadists approached Petrus Dittelbach, pastor at Nendorp in German Friesland, who had met the community at Altona and been particularly impressed by Anna van Schurman. He was a reformer at heart and had penned a *Nootwendigh Vertoog* con-



cerning the ills of his flock at Nenndorp.<sup>44</sup>) Dittelbach considered the call seriously, seeking the counsel of the classis (Coetus) of Emden, but finally decided not to take it. He continued to be visited by Labadist missionaries, for Nenndorp lay on the route to Hamburg and Altona, and visited Wieuwerd once or twice, but did not seek a closer union until forced to take sides in the polemical war between Wieuwerd and Jacobus Koelman in 1683.

The next choice was Johannes Hesener, son of the pastor of Schingen. On his father's death the parishioners had clamoured for him as their replacement, but this had not been granted. During the interregnum, however, Hesener was visited by the elders of Britswerd and Wieuwerd when he preached one day at Oosterend, and was sufficiently impressive to be nominated to the parish. The classis of Sneek, understandable touchy on the matter, would not present the official letter of nomination until Hesener had given written assurance of his rejection of the 'dangerous and evil sect' and his intention of supporting synod and classis in all things (14 May 1678).<sup>45</sup>) Hesener replied that he could not do this because 'as yet the dangerousness of this sect has not appeared to me,' so the classis forbade him to enter the living. Hesener appealed to the synod, that convened at Bolsward a few weeks later, and having undertaken to oppose all false teachings and dangerous practices that he might encounter, was approved for the cure and installed on 18 June. Yet matters did not go well, Hesener finding his parishioners sufficiently nominal and formalist for him to seek release from his obligation to christen their babies. When he then went a stage further and refused to celebrate communion, he was again cited before the classis and threatened with suspension from office (5 November). Members of the classis performed Hesener's duties at Britswerd and Wieuwerd and sought to persuade him, but he resolutely refused to celebrate the communion, given that 'there was not one regenerate person in his church'<sup>46</sup>) (29 April 1679). On 6 May he was formally suspended from office, and, although he wrote an appeal<sup>47</sup>) and sent it to the synod, he quickly took the most logical step, given the similarity of their sentiments, and joined the Labadists at Walta-state.

Another ordained man to join the community was Reiner Copper. Born at Mörs in 1643, the son of a soldier, he became

pastor of Isselburg on the Lower Rhine. On 12 April 1673 at Wesel, he preached an inflammatory sermon against lukewarmness among the ministers of the church, which not only secured his suspension but also doubtless gained the attention of the large core of Labadist sympathisers in that town. Doubtless through this connection, Copper was then called to Herford as chaplain to Princess Elisabeth, where he came into contact with the group of Labadist/Quaker sympathisers protected by the princess and the Countess of Horn.<sup>48</sup>) In 1677, through the office of the Countess of Dhaun-Falkenstein, he was transferred to Mülheim an der Ruhr, a town already favourable to conventicle piety through the ministry of Theodor Untereyck, and thence (20 November 1680) to Duisburg as pastor of the Salvatorkirche. Here he attracted large audiences to his addresses, visitors attending from Mörs and Krefeld, and his fame spread as a moving preacher of the gospel. Less popular, however, was his strict examination of his parishioners as to fitness for the Communion, which eventually convinced him, like Hesener and many another, that he could not in good conscience administer the sacraments. His colleagues were willing to cover for him, as Lodensteyn's did at Utrecht, but Copper made for his undoing by opposing, together with a Labadistically minded auxiliary preacher called Herman Barlemeier, the magistrates' ruling that conventicles in private houses were illegal. The classis examined him by way of twenty questions, as a result of which, in February 1683, Copper was removed from office.<sup>49</sup>)

By now Copper was in touch with Wieuwerd, and when Jacobus Koelman's *Historisch verhael* appeared against the Labadists in March of that year, he wrote to Yvon to support and encourage.<sup>50</sup>) This resulted in an invitation to visit Walta-state, which Copper gladly accepted, travelling straightway with his wife and daughter, by way of Krefeld. Koelman (*Der Labadisten Dwalingen*, preface and p. 389) claims that Yvon was too clever for Copper and inveigled him into staying, but this stands in contrast to Yvon's statement, quoted from an opponent, that it was Copper more than anyone else who was preaching community of goods at Wieuwerd in 1684.<sup>51</sup>) The evidence points to Copper as more than willing to join, not only because of kindred ideas on the sacraments and the *solis regentis* nature of the church, but also because, as Dittelbach records, he was much given to self-denial and self-discipline, even to the point of penance.<sup>52</sup>)

Thus, by 1685, the Labadists could boast four 'speaking brothers' at Wieuwerd (Yvon, Strauch, Copper and Hesener), with Dittelbach and van der Meulen in a junior capacity. Jaspas Robijn was leading the daughter colony in Surinam, Peter Schlüter that in Maryland, and Jasper Dankcaerts commuted between all three.<sup>53</sup>) Four of these were ordained men.

Other attempts were less fruitful. Balthasar Cohlerus had been pastor of Nijega since 1675, where he also had conceived scruples about the state of his parish and would no longer administer the sacraments. Unlike Hesener and Copper, he did not wait to be cited before the classis, but chose to withdraw from the ministry altogether. On Easter Sunday 1679 he preached a final sermon, a blistering tirade against the damnable nominalism of his flock, and tendered his resignation. Lengthy discussions occupied the classis,<sup>54</sup>) which did all in its power to win him over, given the freshness of the Hesener affair, but Cohlerus was intractable, penning a seven-part justification of his actions. Accordingly, on 8 July he was pronounced suspended from office and his case brought to the magistrate, on the grounds that some of his remarks had been slanderous. Cohlerus withdrew to Wieuwerd, doubtless expecting to be received with the joy and honour that Hesener (whom he greatly admired) had been. It was not to be. Somehow the Labadist leaders discerned pride within him, so Cohlerus was not admitted as a 'speaking brother' but was kitted out in a peasant's kirtle and dispatched to the wash-tub. This did not go down well with Cohlerus, who chose to leave in the spring of 1680, complaining at the lack of respect shown to one of his station. He proceeded to Amsterdam and tried to join the followers of Gichtel,<sup>55</sup>) but failure dogged him here too and he dropped dead on the very day that he was due to be excommunicated.<sup>56</sup>)

There was even an attempt to win an English vicar to the cause. Justin Treffry (or Treffery) had been priest in charge of St. Fimbarrus' church at Fowey in Cornwall. The Treffrys were the local squires, but Justin was only loosely related. His father, Henry, had been a captain in the service of the States of Holland, so there was a Dutch flavour to the family. In some undisclosed way, perhaps linked with the Labadists' landfall in Cornwall on their way to America in 1679,<sup>57</sup>) Treffry and his sister came into contact with Wieuwerd. The sister travelled to Friesland, liked what she saw and moved in

early in 1684. At her invitation her brother came to investigate, writing in delight to his parishioners: 'I can but praise and worship God for his great and peculiar mercy towards me, and stand amazed at his excellent goodness in bringing me, small, unworthy and wretched as I am, to this place, to his House, and among this blessed company of his children.'<sup>58</sup>) The Labadists, for their part, would gladly have persuaded Treffry to remain, but there were two major obstacles. Firstly he was married and his wife, Susanna George, had no intention of becoming a Labadist; and secondly he openly questioned Copper's interpretation of the apostolic community of goods. Yvon had to intervene and redefine it all.<sup>59</sup>) When presented with the Labadist doctrine of marriage, whereby it was held to be scripturally permissible for the believing partner to leave the unbelieving and join the community, the marriage having been outside of Christ in the first place, Treffry would not have it and decided to sever connections.<sup>60</sup>) He returned to Fowey and his cure, leaving his sister at Wieuwerd, and died in 1696.

Anna Maria van Schurman, the most illustrious and in many ways the most engaging Labadist, had been in failing health since the community arrived in Friesland. Confined to her room, she had nonetheless continued to promote the wellbeing of the community by example and by letter. Not long before her death she wrote to Labadie's former acquaintance from Zeeland, Jacobus Koelman, begging him to come and visit the community.<sup>61</sup>) With the aid of Dittelbach she succeeded in completing a second part of her *Eukleria*, which was subsequently printed with appended letters concerning her death. Fearing posthumous adulation, however, she burned most of her correspondence, and then, on 4 May 1678, she passed away.<sup>62</sup>) In her will<sup>63</sup>) she gave heartfelt praise to God her creator, and Christ her sanctifier, who had led her to 'a true gathering of his people, among whom God has shown me such great grace.' Her body she left to be buried in all simplicity and without pomp, having already registered (*Eukleria* II, ch. 6) her wish to be buried alongside her old friend Sara Moot on the north-east side of the church in the cemetery at Wieuwerd. The extent of her financial commitment to the community is alluded to: 'As for a part of my worldly goods, already sold by me, consisting of a house at Utrecht, a part of my library, together with furniture...,

amounting together to nine or ten thousand guilders,' they have been used for her maintenance and 'pious works, voluntarily and without pressure from anyone.'<sup>64</sup>) What was left, particularly some land at Lexmond and Achthoven, she made over to Yvon's wife, Catharine Martini, a common formula for leaving material goods to the Labadist community.

In a letter of 12 May 1678 to Princess Elisabeth at Herford, Yvon paid tribute to the noble lady who had done so much for the Labadist cause. In her sufferings, much as Labadie had done, she had 'expressed the patient Lamb', and now through the cross of suffering had entered into glory, 'where all infirmity is swallowed up in victory.'<sup>65</sup>) In an open letter of the same date Yvon recalls her deathbed, where her beloved Labadie was not forgotten; when one in attendance told her that she would soon be at the Lord's side, she responded: 'Into his side, into his side', said our dear father [Labadie], and breathed her last.<sup>66</sup>) Her friend and regular correspondent, pastor Daniel Meyer, penned a Latin poem in her honour, which Yvon appended to the second part of *Eukleria*.

Pierre Dulignon, the third member of the Labadist triumvirate, grew sick at about this time, with a tumour spreading from his mouth to his chin. In January 1679 he was treated by the celebrated Helvetius at Johannes Bardewits' house at Amsterdam and wrote several letters of calm assurance to Yvon at Wieuwerd.<sup>67</sup>) Apparently recovered, he visited the faithful at Rotterdam, Utrecht and The Hague before returning to Wieuwerd, where he set to work to complete his *magnum opus*, the 515-page Labadist catechism, which appeared only days before he died. Yet the growth proved malignant and Dulignon was treated again, this time by a French surgeon at The Hague, before being operated on by the Labadists' own physician, Hendrik van Deventer, who had to remove a great part of his lower jawbone.<sup>68</sup>) To crown his sorrows, Dulignon was informed at The Hague of the death, on 28 December 1680, of his wife, Aemilie van der Haer, and Yvon preserved in the Labadist necrology *Fidelle Narré* a most moving letter from the bereaved husband (pp. 278-289). He was not to be long delayed in joining her, for on a trip to The Hague to seek further treatment, Dulignon died on 18 February 1681.

The least known of the Labadist founders, Dulignon made up in humility and godliness for what he lacked in overt leadership ability. William Penn recorded on his visit that

Dulignon spoke in a manner ‘not so lively’ as Yvon, but even opponents such as Koelman, who likened him to a monk, had to acknowledge his piety and ascetic devotion.<sup>69</sup>) From his papers three works were published posthumously. *Le Pauvre d’esprit* defines the heart of a true penitent, general confession blending with a good dose of Labadist *extra-mondanité*: ‘Je me suis contenté du monde, je me suis complu en moy-meme, j’ay convoité les creatures...’<sup>70</sup>) *L’Humble de Coeur* presents humility as an essential grace of God, which no man by nature possesses, being at root proud and self-loving. Dulignon distinguishes between *humilité negative* (the renunciation of pride), and *humilité positive* (the recognition of our miserable condition and our surrender of ourselves to be led nearer to the heart of God through his purgings), adding that man has to choose between *vérité* and *vanité* as the motivating force of his life.<sup>71</sup>) A more substantial work, *La Corruption du souci*, presents in graphic terms the ravages brought to the human condition by the cares of life, which he attributes in large measure to self-love in the heart of man: ‘That criminal love of self, be it gross or subtle, of body or soul, is nothing but a lust, a flame of hell, a mortal poison which, in corrupting the heart and the foundation of man, corrupts all that proceeds from them. This criminal self-love, of which God is not the author, but the devil, and which constitutes the essence of sin, is nothing less than a hatred of God. It is this that caused the schism between the rebellious creation and its creator, and which puts all things else in subjection to its nature, even God himself, if it could.’<sup>72</sup>)

It is, however, for the Labadist catechism that Dulignon deserves to be best remembered,<sup>73</sup>) for here is Labadist doctrine in a simple form. True, some is verbose, for example the sections taking us through the history of the people of Israel, but there is admirable clarity in his summary of those points which make Labadism distinct. God is eternal, omniscient, omnipresent, all-holy, yet endlessly merciful and loving (pp. 16-18). He has purposed to redeem for himself a people, which purpose operates through absolute predestination of the elect according to his divine foreknowledge (pp. 29-31), with neither reference to good works nor foreknowledge of future good works (pp. 34-36, a rejection of the Molinist position whereby God could somehow *adapt* predestination in the light of future penitence and good works performed by individu-

als). Man's sinful dereliction is total and hopeless but for the grace of God, but through the atoning work of Christ man is brought into a new relationship with God in Christ himself, which is described as 'a mutual and very real, though spiritual, belonging and possession, whereby the Christian is truly Christ's and Christ the Christian's; Christ truly lives in him, lives and reigns, and at the same time the life of the Christian is hidden in Him, so that he, in a supernatural manner, no longer lives or acts but through Jesus Christ, truly experiencing that without Him he can do nothing.'<sup>74</sup>) There follows a strict life of discipleship, with a choice of two ways, two doors, obedience and compromise, with no middle ground (p. 38). Scripture will guide him, but it is not sufficient of itself, man's receptiveness having been extinguished by the Fall; scripture's 'divine light' can only be imparted by the Holy Spirit (p. 10). To grow in grace, the Christian must practise a rigorous five-fold denial: of self principally, and in all its forms, but also of Satan, the world and its systems, the earth as our lasting habitation, and of flesh and blood ties should they not be of Christ (pp. 352ff). The Holy Spirit sanctifies him and joins him to a sanctified people, where all aspects of life become holy: marriage, relationships with men, trades and crafts, eating and drinking (pp. 358ff). On earth the Christian lives the life of Christ. He moves in uprightness, loves purity and hates anything which besmirches it; walks humbly in goodness and gentleness; is childlike and simple, yet 'wise as a serpent'; gladly shows love and service to all men; works industriously; and loves stillness, shunning noise and empty talk (pp. 387ff).

Yvon himself, in addition to his pastoral and administrative oversight, also wrote prolifically throughout this period, so that between 1681 and 1687 seventeen works left his desk, many of them of considerable length. Some were devotional, but the majority were polemical and apologetic. In 1681 he was the first to enter the lists against the doctrines of Spinoza, just as he had been the first of a long line to attack Antoinette Bourignon. Princess Elisabeth of Herford having given him a copy of Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologo-Politicus* (1670) with the request that he refute it, Yvon springs to the defence of God, who had been presented by Spinoza as remote, unattainable and impassive. If, as Spinoza had maintained, there was no eternity, no spiritual dimension beyond the consciousness of man, and above all no possibility of a relationship between

God and man, then there can be no religion *per se*. As such, Spinoza was an atheist, and the fact that he was the figurehead of a new trend towards rationalism meant that he had to be opposed strongly. Yvon concludes with a refutation of the notion that reason be the final arbiter in spiritual matters, a theme reminiscent of Labadie's declamations against Wolzogen thirteen years before.<sup>75</sup>)

More involved by far were the polemical battles that began in 1683 when Jacobus Koelman, Labadie's former acquaintance in Zeeland, denounced the Labadists. He had corresponded with Labadie in 1668 on matters of church reformation, but had been disabused by the Labadist schism of the next year, which he could not countenance. He had spoken to Hesener in 1679 and urged him to avoid the doctrines of Wieuwerd,<sup>76</sup>) and now in March 1684 appeared his *Historisch Verhael*,<sup>77</sup>) a historical account (suitably nuanced) of the Labadists' foundation and development. His reason, revealed in the preface to his sequel, *Der Labadisten Dwalingen* (1684), was to buttress the many souls who were being tempted by the activities of Labadist missionaries to leave the established church. The first work attacks the community historically, the second predominantly theologically. Much reads strangely, not least the assertion that the Labadists have never clearly stated what they believe, although *Veritas sui vindex*, the *Abrégé* and the catechism were readily available. Koelman's weightiest points concern Labadist eucharistic and ecclesiological notions. Yvon and confederates, he claims, by restricting the administration of the sacrament to those whom *they* deem elect, have ridden roughshod over the apostolic injunction to individual self-examination. (*Hist. Verhael*, 303-311). Their belief in a church of the elect Koelman dismissed as idealistic, Donatist and unscriptural, quoting in his defence the parable of the wheat and tares and certain key passages of Calvin's *Institutes* (e.g. IV, chap. 1, V, 19). Yet his own ground was none too firm, for the parable in question, once cited by Augustine against the Donatists, if anything favoured the Labadist position, for while churchmen for centuries had deduced from it that good and bad will ever be alongside each other in the church (*Hist. Verh.*, 314), Jesus himself interpreted the scene of the planting as the *world*.<sup>78</sup>) Nor was Calvin wholly free from bias on the point, for the *Institutes* were written at precisely the point (1533-35) when the Anabaptists of



Münster were revolting Europe with their separatist 'Messianic Kingdom'. Inevitably this had forced Calvin *cum suis* to adopt a conservative stance by way of reaction, embracing the state-church model introduced by Constantine I. Ever since then, Reformed theologians had followed the master's ecclesiology, not questioning to what extent it reflected sober belief or a phobia of sectarianism.

Yvon replied in twofold fashion. A direct reply was prepared, *Remarques sur le... livre que Mr. Koelman a écrit*,<sup>79)</sup> which also took up arms against Wilhelmus à Brakel, now transferred to Rotterdam, whose two letters had been appended to Koelman's work.<sup>80)</sup> Indirectly he took to heart the chief criticisms and sought to correct them by penning works on those subjects, stating the Labadist position. Such was to be Yvon's technique for some years, while warfare continued with Brakel and Koelman. For example, the response to Koelman's *Verhael* was included in Yvon's *Doctrine du Bapteme*,<sup>81)</sup> for Koelman had specifically taken issue with the Labadist position on deferred baptism. Again, Koelman had cited (and poorly interpreted) the parable of the tares in Matthew 13:24-30, 36-43, so Yvon produced his *Explication de la Parabole de l'Yvrave*.<sup>82)</sup> Koelman justified a degree of outward adorning (*Dwalingen*, pp. 625ff), so Yvon produced *Les Ornemens Mondains*, a work of stark asceticism, where not only adornments of the body are to be eschewed, but also certain forms of creative art and even certain furniture in the home.<sup>83)</sup> Criticism from both Koelman and Brakel that there was little stress at Wieuwerd on Jesus as redeemer and friend of sinners drew from Yvon a 440-page work entirely devoted to Jesus, *Emmanuel*.<sup>84)</sup>

Koelman and Brakel each replied to each counterblast by Yvon,<sup>85)</sup> as did he to theirs, leaving us a vast and hopelessly prolix dossier on Labadist affairs in the mid-1680s. The theological arguments quickly reach a point of stalemate, the ministers both seeing schism and separatism as the work of the devil, while Yvon saw it as true obedience to God's will. Yet we can draw strands of historical detail from the mass also, for example that Labadist books were to be bought not only at J. van de Velde in Amsterdam, but also at The Hague (B. Beek), Rotterdam (Doesburg, on the fishmarket), and Frankfurt (A. Lippius);<sup>86)</sup> that it was Copper who sent a copy of Yvon's *Preservatyf* to Koelman, with a cool letter,<sup>87)</sup> and

that the same 'speaking brother' had also been proclaiming far and wide throughout the winter of 1684 that there should be no private possessions among Christians.<sup>88)</sup>

Visitors continued to flock to Wieuwerd, both the seeking and the curious. In 1684 it was Catharina Smit, a woman of doubtful repute who was nonetheless associated with several eminent men of the day, not least the elderly Rhinegrave von Salm. Her account, preserved in a letter of 11 October from Christiaan Huygens, is of a membership approaching 500 at Wieuwerd, with a party of forty having recently departed to start the colony in Surinam.<sup>89)</sup> After the Revocation certain French *réfugiés* came to investigate, and one recorded a conversation with a Labadist brother that we have already cited,<sup>90)</sup> though his impartiality is open to debate. The conversation centred predominantly on millenarianism, the Labadist claiming that the kingdom of God is now and citing Jurieu's *Accomplissement des propheties* (1686) in his defence, the *réfugié* advancing the fanciful notion that the millennium is already past. He saw in the community a manifestation of Labadie's Jesuit training, in Labadie himself a nascent Pope, and in the community lifestyle a cosy retreat from the reality of the Christian calling to militancy and suffering (which, being a *réfugié* would have been topical indeed). His more sober points were that Wieuwerd risked turning from faith to works, even if they were the works of self-denial, and that their doctrine of the world as utterly depraved and corrupt had taken away any sense of *mission*. Dittelbach records another *réfugié* as condemning the Labadist concept of mutual confession of faults as Popish, and leaving Wieuwerd with the comment that he had fled from France to get *away* from confession.<sup>91)</sup>

Better fruit was gained from contact with the Merian family of Basel, kinsfolk of the celebrated artist Matthäus Merian. One son, Caspar, had met the Labadists at Amsterdam. He was lonely, having just lost his wife and child, and it was not long before he travelled to Wieuwerd to join the community (1677), where he remained until his death on 12 April 1686. While a member he wrote to his relatives in an attempt to win them too for the cause. His sister Maria Sybilla, who had not long published a book of entomological drawings of exceptional merit,<sup>92)</sup> proved open to the Labadist message, but there was a snag. Since 1665 she had been married to Johann Andreas Graff, a pupil of her father's, but the marriage was

not a success and Graff was not a spiritual man. So Maria was not free to follow her own inclinations, and the situation worsened when in 1681 her stepfather, Jacob Marrellus, died and she went to look after her mother, Johanna Catharina (née Heim). Correspondence continued and Maria found her heart constantly drawn, particularly by the hymns and poems sent to her from Wieuwerd (doubtless *Heylige Gezangen*, the Labadist hymnal), and finally in 1685 she determined to travel to Wieuwerd with her mother and her two daughters, Johanna and Dorothea. Whether or not this was with Graff's permission is uncertain, but she was there a year before her husband came to take her home to Nürnberg.<sup>93)</sup>

Here the problems started. Copper met him at the gate and explained the community's position, whereby a believer was free from marital obligations towards an unbeliever should that partner seek to interfere with their spiritual walk. Graff was aggrieved, the more so because he had no money to return with. He was given a room outside the main complex and some work to do, carrying stones for the builders. Dittelbach used to watch him every day out of the window of the printer's.<sup>94)</sup> Graff tried on two separate occasions to become a member, but on both occasions his motives were suspected and he was refused. Finally, with the strain of work and the emotional torment of his marital position, he fell ill. Normally permission would have been needed to visit a non-member in such circumstances, but Maria went of her own accord to see him. It could not however, save the marriage, and when he recovered, Graff embarked on a tour of a tour of the United Provinces before returning to Nürnberg, where he started divorce proceedings. He died in 1701. His gift to posterity, however, is the ground plan and inset picture of Walta-state, drawn in 1686 in great detail and suggesting that he did, in fact, have some enjoyment and leisure during his abortive stay in Friesland.<sup>95)</sup>

All this while Hendrik van Deventer, the community's physician and pharmacist, had been acquiring a reputation. Not only had he classified chemical salts into hot and cold, liquid and solid, acid and alkaline, but he had succeeded in treating rickets. This disease, then known as the 'English sickness', was ravaging much of northern Europe, and van Deventer perfected a treatment using bandages, splints and special boots (doubtless made in the community), which, while not eradi-

cating the root problem, at least straightened bent limbs. Such was his reputation that patients came from near and far, necessitating the purchase (10 July 1692) of a house in the village of Wieuwerd for use as a surgery.<sup>96</sup>) Here he also performed operations, for example on a schoolmaster from IJtens, who came to him with a diseased arm and found the help that he had despaired of finding, and again in 1688, when he operated on a woman named Rijkhals at Rotterdam.

Noise of his ability reached Copenhagen. King Christiaan, who had known the Labadists at Altona, at that time had three legitimate children, Prince Christiaan, Princess Sophie Hedwig and Prince Karl, aged fifteen, thirteen and ten. They were not healthy, having inherited tuberculosis, but they also had contracted rickets. To the indignation of the Danish medical profession, the king sent his personal physician, Henricus a Møinichen, to visit van Deventer at Wieuwerd early in 1689. No doubt the visit would have interested a Møinichen anyway, for he had been present when the Labadist Herman Strauch had visited the Danish court in 1674.<sup>97</sup>) Now he bore an invitation and a passport (dated 19 March 1689) for the unqualified medical man to travel to Copenhagen.<sup>98</sup>) The Labadist physician complied and stayed until 4 June, inflicting on the royal children the torture of sitting, eating and sleeping tightly strapped and splinted. On 29 September of that year, van Deventer returned for a longer stay of some seven months until 11 March 1690, and for this reason was able to bring with him his wife and several other Labadists, no doubt for spiritual support in the fallen world, and for all of this the king willingly paid. The account books for 1690 reveals a total of 5,930 *Reichstaler* paid to van Deventer, a colossal sum when compared with the cost, the same year, of a new royal yacht (2,090 *Reichstaler*) and some tapestries (3,500 *Reichtaler*). Yet by all accounts the monarch was delighted with the Dutchman's 'straightening skills'. A third visit was made from 12 July until 27 September 1690 and a fourth from 17 February 1691 for an unspecified period, though a letter written from Wieuwerd on 11 June makes it clear that he was still there. Again the king rewarded him handsomely. The benefit was twofold: Wieuwerd gained much-needed capital and the king healthier children, for two of the three lived longer than might otherwise have been expected.<sup>99</sup>)

Slowly times were changing at Walta-slot as 1690 neared.

Perhaps because the constant hostilities with the Reformed church had drained the community's financial and spiritual substance, perhaps because of the wider acceptance of Pietism, which was a close relative of their own creed, in the churches of the United Provinces, the Labadists grew more tolerant. In 1682 Yvon had led the committed folk into the garden to watch the passing of a comet, which he claimed was a sign of the impending judgement of God on a nation and a church that refused their message of sanctification and separation. Now in 1688, however, with the Koelman-Brakel controversies behind them, the community made conciliatory moves. It paid its annual church tax of 480 guilders for the first time in years<sup>100</sup>) and made plans for Yvon and others to make a tour of several towns to see what was now happening in the churches. After all, Yvon had not, to our knowledge, left the mother community for fourteen years. A letter written from Wieuwerd by Lambert Bustin to his mother-in-law at Middelburg tells us that 'our dear pastor Monsr. Yvon and his company returned a fortnight ago, almost all in good health... They were travelling for some ten to eleven weeks, at The Hague, Rotterdam and Amsterdam.'<sup>101</sup>) At Rotterdam Yvon had called on the widow of pastor de Rochefort, Labadie's former protector, and had lodged with a sister of one of the community members, Marie La Croix. At The Hague the Labadists had met several supporters, and especial note is made of Peter Ernst van Wevort van Ossenbergh, councillor at the Hof van Brabant, who rendered the party many services before dying suddenly one night at a young age. This was the son and heir of Petronella van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck and had been brought up under the watchful eye of three Labadist aunts (the van Sommelsdyck sisters) and a Labadist governess, Madeleine Henry.<sup>102</sup>) A receipt preserved in the papers of another of the van Sommelsdycks, Françoise van Nassau-Ouwerkerke, throws additional light, for it tells of payment made of £2.6.10 for accommodation at The Hague of 'Monsr. Yvon with his wife' on 15 June 1689.<sup>103</sup>) The visit proved a success and was repeated the following year, if we are to believe a letter written on 7 October 1690 by one A. Harscamp of Arnhem to Françoise's maid, in which he mentions that 'the Wieuwerd friends have again been to church in The Hague, and left with great contentment.'<sup>104</sup>)

A capital source for our understanding of life at Wieuwerd

as the 1680's drew to a close, has only recently come to light in the form of a series of letters addressed to Jacoba Walleran, widow of Pierre Sandra, a merchant in rubber and gunpowder at Middelburg. The writers were her daughter Anna Sandra and the latter's husband, Lambert Bustin, who had been one of the consistory loyal to Labadie at Middelburg. The letters number nineteen, with an additional Dutch transcript of one French piece.<sup>105</sup>) The especial significance of these letters is the warmth and tenderness of heart that they reveal, whereas many testimonies give the impression that austerity and puritan control held sway at Wieuwerd. There is a clear bond between the Bustins and their mother, though she was not a member of the 'house of the Lord' and as such ought to have been shunned as irrevocably lost, according to our normal interpretations. But here are the Bustins caring for her welfare, advising her on a proposed move to another house, anxious to send their love to, and receive news from, other relatives, and often sending little gifts: a Labadist *bos-rock* (habit), a cheese, a Friesian bonnet. In return Jacoba Walleran advised on such matters as culturing yeast and combing wool, made and repaired breeches and, on the eventual death of her daughter Anna, gladly received Lambert as her own son.

Striking too is the beholdenness of Jacoba, though at a distance, to the Labadist community. A lengthy extract of one of her letters is reproduced in Lambert's of September 1689. She looks forward earnestly to Yvon's next visit, when she hopes 'that God will give me the grace to receive from him the consolations that I need.' She stresses her need of their prayers, adding that other relatives hang upon them also. Most valuable of all, though, is her *cri de coeur*, so Labadist in its direction and vocabulary: 'The sorry disasters befalling our armies both on land and at sea, the ruin of individuals, and the desolation of the churches by pastors and members alike, ought to bring us to humble ourselves before God and to keep ourselves from the wolves that seek to seduce the elect... Alas, the need we have for a fear of God and a true detachment from self-love [for the raising of children], that we may offer them to God by an utter detachment from the love of this world... You have chosen the better part, which will never be taken from you.'<sup>106</sup>) For their part, the Bustins were recommending to her that she sell all (the wars giving a fine opportunity for selling a gunpowder business) and come to join 'les enfants du de-

funct nôtre cher Père' (as Labadie had now evidently become), 'which will be a great rest to your soul.'

The extent of Labadist yieldedness and docility to whatever God may send is clear in their attitude to sickness and death, of which these letters are full. In the first preserved (20 May 1689) Anna Sandra tells of the death of a brother named 'Smeltegel' (probably Smytegelt, a known Utrecht family), which had come unexpectedly. 'The Lord wishes to teach us in all things and cause us to watch over ourselves, that we may not be caught unawares, for we know neither the time nor the hour that the Lord shall come.' Four months later it was the turn of Elisabeth Du Pied, wife of Lambert Bustin's nephew Leonard (Dutch: Leendert) and sister of Jean Du Pied, who was one of the last Labadist 'speaking brothers'. An account of her last state and words, in the style of Yvon's *Fidelle Narré*, reveals that Elisabeth died six days after giving birth to twins, one of whom, Anna Elisabeth, survived. Throughout her sickness she was visited by all and sundry, and there is no hint at prayer for healing or recovery, rather a calm and joyful expectancy of death. One song frequently quoted by her from the Labadist hymnal *Heylige Gesangen*<sup>107</sup>) began:

Hoe mag't hedens daegs geschieden,  
dat de lieden  
sien de doot als een gedrogt?

(How can it be that nowadays people regard death as a monster?) The example of Labadie himself, viewing death as the ultimate stage of the 'engulfment' of the Christian into his God, had instilled into his 'children' that the call to glory was not for one moment to be resisted but rather welcomed. True to the pattern of earlier deaths recorded by Yvon, Elisabeth departed this life with glad expectancy, thanking God above all for this, 'that he had brought her to this his house and among his children.'<sup>108</sup>)

In 1691 an epidemic struck the community with at least one member dying a fortnight between July and September. 'It seems,' wrote Bustin on 24 August, 'the Lord has not yet completed his harvest in this house, for as I have already told you, he took to himself the widow of Jan Barents, and yesterday we buried another brother, and there are still a good many sick.'<sup>109</sup>) Three weeks later, on 12 September, he wrote: 'The

Lord is visiting his house with sickness, and at present there are some 36 or 40 ill; last night another died, and God is receiving now one and now another, which serves as a warning to us also, to be on our guard.’<sup>110</sup>) On 18 September he was expecting the death of another sister at any moment, ‘God doing his will in all things’. By 5 October, the last of the letters preserved, a certain stability had been achieved, with the sick slowly recovering and only one death to report, Grandma Boute (perhaps Baute, related to another of the old Middelburg consistory), who died of old age.

Most touching and certainly most compelling of all is the insight into the Labadist heart offered by Lambert Bustin as he traces the sickness and final decline of his wife Anna. She had fallen ill with a fever, with considerable pains in her limbs and kidneys, and despite medical treatment from Hendrik van Deventer and another physician (‘S.L.P.’ – unidentified), who prescribed a compound of marjoram, she declined steadily. On 17 July 1691 Bustin wrote to Jacoba Walleran (her mother): ‘I would not be surprised if the Lord made an end, and perhaps he will not delay, but he is a God who has all men in his hand and may dispose of his creatures according to his good pleasure. At any event I can tell you that I have placed her once more on the altar, who is Jesus Christ, for whatever end he may ordain according to his good will. She has ever been most tender to me and has given me much consolation and support in my weaknesses, for which I thank her, as do I you, dear Mother, who gave her to me according to what God had predestined in his adorable counsel from all eternity. I could scarce express in writing the joy that she has to be going to meet her adorable Husband and Saviour of our souls.’<sup>111</sup>) Two days later she was dead, and Yvon preached a funerary address ‘that I wished you could have heard’. The link between the mystical, eternal church triumphant and the gathered family of saints below at Wieuwerd is at its most intimate here, as we note from the letter of condolence sent by Pierre Yvon on 20 July 1691: [God was]-‘taking her to himself for ever and snatching her from us as regards her physical presence, although we feel ourselves more than ever united with her by the bond of spirit, faith and love which had made us one heart and soul together in Jesus Christ our Saviour. When she saw the tenderness of our hearts, which would gladly have wished, for our own consolation and edification, that God



would allow her to remain here below, she was willing to acquiesce and remain if the Lord willed it, though she testified on several occasions how she felt it would be still better to quit the body and be ever with the Lord. ...Her heart was so peaceful, so open, so content and so grateful to the goodness of God towards her, who had brought her to his House amid these his Children and who was coming to take her to himself from the midst of them...<sup>112)</sup>

A reference in Yvon's letter that remains tantalisingly vague, is to a celebration of the Communion that must have taken place early in 1691. This of itself was rare, indeed a visitor to the community twelve years later was informed that it had only been celebrated a handful of times for as long as anyone could remember, for Labadist eucharistic theology rendered the sacrament almost unattainable given that the presence of one unyielded heart rendered it null and void. Yet what makes Yvon's reference special is that he speaks of 'the renewal that took place among the members of our church... and was sealed by the sharing of the Holy Communion.' We are reminded of the occasion at Herford when God moved in an especial manner at a Communion service,<sup>113)</sup> and of a reference by Dittelbach to the Communion having been used at Altona as a means of preserving unity and preventing people leaving. Are we to deduce that the recent foray into the outside world had awakened worldly desires again in some hearts and that God had again worked unity through repentance and the Communion? Whatever the reason, the community seems to have been moving in a heart of unity and positivity as the year of 1692 drew near, which was to shake it to its very core.

## CHAPTER 12

### Disaster in the Jungle. Labadist Colonial Enterprise in Surinam, 1683-1719

A logical corollary of the Labadists' theological emphasis on sanctification and separation was that they had little concept of mission. They were less concerned to bring the gospel to the heathen than to gather together Christians seeking to be separate from the world. There were, however, a few isolated attempts to stir such missionary zeal. At Rotterdam in 1668 Pierre Dulignon had made known his desire to bring the good news to 'the blind barbarians of America', but nothing came of it.<sup>1)</sup> In 1680 Luise Huygens, on her deathbed, declared that her prayers were for 'the poor indians', who were unconverted and in such need.<sup>2)</sup> Still nothing was done, but as accommodation at Wieuwerd grew ever more cramped with a steady flow of probationers, the matter was taken more seriously. Moreover, the community saw that Holland was not heeding its message and as such presented no good climate for the living out of God's life, so a fresh, new land, with tranquility, solitude and space, seemed the more inviting. A new *oeuvre de Dieu*, in the New World.

There was some thought given to an island off Madagascar, but a new development in the Dutch colonies gave them a perfect opportunity. Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck, the benefactor who had put the house at Wieuwerd at the disposal of his Labadist sisters, entered into a business venture and bought one third of the ownership of the colony of Surinam.<sup>3)</sup> The understanding being that he would become governor of that country, he therefore made over his estates in the United Provinces, including the family home on the Lange Voorhout at The Hague, to his relatives and prepared to sail.<sup>4)</sup> A good number of French *réfugiés* declared their willingness to travel with him. Here was too good a chance to miss: French travelling companions on the eleven week journey,

plus the assured support of the governor. The Labadists therefore appointed Pierre Bont and a couple of others to go forth as Caleb into the land of Canaan (Numbers 13) and bring word of Surinam's potential for a Labadist colony. Accordingly on 3 September 1683, Bont and friends set sail on the St. Peter, with the governor, some French protestant *réfugiés* and two franciscan missionaries, Fredericus van der Hofstadt of Leiden and Thomas Fuller of London, who were likewise spying out the land for Rome.

The ship docked at Paramaribo, at the mouth of the Suriname, on 23 November, after an uneventful crossing marred only by the death of the Walloon pastor d'Albas.<sup>5)</sup> Within hours it was evident that the colony was in a sorry state. There was no money for urgent repair of buildings, supplies in the storehouses were woefully inadequate. Though indian mutinies and pirate raids were daily threatening, Fort Zeelandia,<sup>6)</sup> the capital's only means of defence, had virtually no muskets or powder and not even a cannon to fire a welcoming salute for the incoming governor, the ship having to use one of its own.<sup>7)</sup> The full extent of these ills had been disguised by former governors, officials were lax and open to bribes, and the candidates for the forthcoming council elections included a notorious rogue 'whose wife was well known to all the sailors in Martinique'. The task of stemming the tide lay in the hands of one solitary pastor, Johan Basseliers, who had laboured tirelessly, though in failing health, since 1668 among a far-flung flock of some six hundred souls. In fact, the only people showing any sort of order, diligence and integrity, was the large contingent of jews occupying the area known as the Joden-savanna. 'I wish', wrote Van Sommelsdyck, 'I could see a quarter of their qualities in our Christians.'<sup>8)</sup>

So while the governor sought to put matters to rights, aided by Laurens Verboom, the commander of the garrison, Pierre Bont and his companions moved up the Suriname to survey the plantations before returning to Friesland. Their report was not exactly of a land flowing with milk and honey, and though some were more enthusiastic, the consensus was unfavourable. Nevertheless Yvon had received divine assurance that Surinam would be for them like Zoar, where Lot found refuge from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19:21f). So it was determined to send a party of colonists at the earliest opportunity.

Our knowledge of what happened next is based solely on the testimony of a Labadist renegade, Petrus Dittelbach, formerly pastor of Nendorp in East Friesland. His 1692 work *Verval en val der Labadisten*<sup>9)</sup> is a hostile polemic, so to what extent he has coloured events and biased inferences is a matter for conjecture, but his account seems credible in its broad out-line of events. Yvon and the other elders called the community to prayer to see who felt inspired to go, but it was clear that they already had a fair idea. The venture was presented as a great honour. The land was not as yet overcome by the worldliness of European Christendom and it would be possible to live truly separated from ungodly men. Besides, what greater privilege could there be than to carry 'the work of the Lord' to new lands? Finally it was agreed that the expedition be led by Jaspas Robijn and Johannes Hesener, the latter travelling as tutor to the many children. Also among the party were Lucia van Sommelsdyck, Hans Simon as chief carpenter,<sup>10)</sup> brother Huybrecht as physician, and Swem Hanske as cook. They were to be accompanied by a popular brother, Harmen Jurriaansz, who had formerly been cook aboard the state yacht of the States of Friesland and therefore knew something of nautical things, but he was to return to Wieuwerd when all was established.

The band left Wieuwerd, probably early in the summer of 1684, and immediately an axle broke on one of the wagons, which was viewed by some as a bad omen. They reached Amsterdam and boarded their vessel, where they received a visit from their old acquaintance, Johannes Bardewits, and his adherents.<sup>11)</sup> Since their Amsterdam days, however, the Labadists' attitude to Bardewits and his conventicles had changed; his continued residence in godless Amsterdam was seen as proof of a worldly heart. In fact, at Wieuwerd they referred to Amsterdam as *le grand monde* and to Bardewits' conventicle as *le petit monde*. Yet the merchant was keen to be fraternal and brought some fruit for the travellers' refreshment. Lucia van Sommelsdyck gave a short farewell address, concluding: 'The Lord is calling us to great things, and he is giving us a great heart for the task', but the mood was broken by Robijn, who upbraided Bardewits for remaining among so many people who daily blaspheme the Lord. Bardewits retorted that the apostles stayed at Jerusalem. Dittelbach, who was at that point at Amsterdam and was probably a spectator,

says that Hesener and Jurriaansz remained conspicuously silent and betrayed by their miserable faces that they were travelling more out of obedience than desire.<sup>12)</sup>

They arrived at the colony to find that governor Van Sommelsdyck had already made his presence felt. The storehouses were better supplied and in the hands of a capable clerk named Ciprianus; the fort now boasted cannon and shot; measures were being taken to combat the pirates who frequently terrorised shipping from their bases in Haiti and Jamaica; a town hall was under construction and an office had been opened to deal with distressed persons, widows and orphans. The only problem remained the indians. Within months of his arrival the governor had been forced to burn five villages of the troublesome Caribe and Arowakke tribes in retaliation for raids, and had then concluded a peace pact which only lasted a few weeks before an indian woman was murdered. At the point of the Labadists' arrival the governor was expressing in his letters the 'state of extreme consternation' that reigned among the colonists.

Imagine his concern, therefore, when the Labadists told him of their intention of settling some forty miles up the Suriname, the farthest that European planters had yet penetrated into the interior. Worse still, among them was his own sister. He therefore proposed that they settle within reach of the fort, take in some of the slaves that had recently arrived,<sup>13)</sup> and get established while waiting for the indian troubles to abate. He was also keen to keep Hesener, an ordained man, in the town, primarily as his chaplain but also because the parish of Paramaribo was temporarily without a minister.<sup>14)</sup> But the newcomers were adamant: Israel was to dwell alone (Deuteronomy 33:28). So it was that they were granted land, in the name of Lucia van Sommelsdyck,<sup>15)</sup> forty miles up the Suriname on the east bank, opposite the point where the Marchal Creek flows into it, and here they laid the foundations for their plantation, calling it La Providence, by which name the site is known to this day.

The mother community was kept informed by letter, and for its part sent supplies. The first reports, which were read out at mealtimes, were good. The soil, a mixture of silt and clay, was remarkably fertile, and seeds planted three days ago were already sprouting. Yvon was delighted and teased Pierre Bont, who had evidently been asleep on his first visit. Cornelis

van der Meulen wrote a hymn of praise for the new colony. Gradually, however, the letters changed and, coupled with explanations from the first party, painted a different picture. The land was low-lying and marshy, with jungle so thick that any passage had to be made with axes. There was an abundance of sugar but little else, and food was scarce. Moreover the newcomers were totally unskilled in its preparation. They wrote of bread made of bitter roots, grated and baked on an open fire, that tasted like the scrapings off the sawmill floor, and of an occasion when they caught twenty 'wild hogs' (doubtless peccaries, known locally as *pingos*) and in anticipation of good supplies tried to smoke the meat, only to see the maggots dropping out of it within days. This reveals a lack of knowledge of local methods, which they were later to learn. The indians made use of bitter cassava, preparing it in the manner described, but knew how to distinguish it from sweet cassava, which made a palatable dough tasting of chestnuts. As for peccaries, the indians knew that the only way to preserve the meat was to dry it in the sun.

Worse still, the rainy season was too wet to do much work, while the dry season was so hot that the Europeans could not work and the negroes did not want to.<sup>16)</sup> And while Wieuwerd could delight visitors with a 23-foot aboma (tree-snake), stuffed by indians and shipped as a memento by the governor to his sisters, it was clear from letters that these creatures crawled through the house like mice in Europe. Mosquitoes and ants were a constant plague, and the mere touch of an overhanging bush would cause a hail of woodlice. As for the indians, the Labadists agree with Thomas Fuller, the franciscan already mentioned, that they were savages, indolent and unpredictable, with a language consisting more of grunts than words, and who regularly attacked with blowpipes any white man they found wandering in the jungle.<sup>17)</sup>

The first harvest failed, not doubt through total unfamiliarity with land-clearance and agriculture in tropical climes. However, we sense a degree of self-infliction in the wounds. God was with them, so they did not need the aid of worldly men – such was the thinking. Dittelbach recounts what was said to him by the future governor of Surinam, Van Scherphuizen: 'It does not surprise me that the Labadists are failing in Surinam. They will not listen to me and others who know the land and have prospered. They follow their own heads.'<sup>18)</sup>

The other major aspect of tropical life for which the Labadists, like most Europeans, were unprepared, was disease. Mortality was high in the colony and many new arrivals did not last long. Over the years 1684-85 the Reformed Church lost pastors Flournois and Van Beynum, both within twelve months of their arrival. Worse still were the losses among the franciscans: by 1686 both Van der Hofstadt and Fuller, plus one newly arrived missionary named Croll, had died, the remaining pioneer, Johannes Graefdorf, was recalled by the Apostolic Vicar, and there ended Rome's involvement in the colony for several years. Even those who survived lost their health, for example pastor Basseliers, who wrote to the governor in 1684 requesting retirement on the grounds of infirmity and loss of memory, and who died five years later, prematurely aged, at fifty. The Labadists were not spared and suffered from malaria, tropical fevers and dietary complaints. One or two began to murmur and to blame their condition on the inequality of food distribution, alleging that the 'elect' got the best and the remainder the worst. One or two of the dead were opened in an attempt to find the cause of death, which may have been filaria (worms in the blood), which sapped the sufferer's energy and finally killed him.<sup>19</sup>)

In an attempt to improve their lot, an expedition was sent in the course of 1685 (within a year of their arrival) to look for new land with better prospects. A party travelled down the Suriname to beyond Paramaribo, turning east into the Commewijne and then branching north into the meandering Cotteca (or Cottica). Some planters were already here, but eventually the plantations ended and they were in waters barely known to Europeans. Finally they reached the Waneca (today Wana Creek), which turned north towards the coast, and they knew that the indians used this as a link to the next great river, the Marowijne. The land was not hospitable, but they found high ground that would be free from flooding, and well supplied with good quality building timber. Word was straightway sent to Wieuwerd.

The mother community had already been informed by the leaders at La Providence of the growing dissension there, which had prompted Yvon to preach on Korah's rebellion (Numbers 16). Now, however, the prospect of a new settlement and a new start gave hope, and plans were made for a second shipment of colonists. This time it would be better

prepared, with plenty of provisions, especially salt pork (the only meat, they were informed, that did not rot in the tropical climate), medical supplies, tools for the construction of a sugar refinery, and a chest with 3,000 guilders. Maria van Sommelsdyck would travel to join her sister, and the expedition would be led by an experienced seafaring man, Jasper Danckaerts. A native of Vlissingen in Zeeland, he had become a cooper in the East India Company at Middelburg, where at the age of 28 he had met Labadie. He had travelled widely, including several Atlantic crossings, had already helped the community on its crossing to Friesland,<sup>20)</sup> and had been one of the two pioneers sent to Maryland in 1679 to assess its possibilities for a Labadist settlement.<sup>21)</sup> He was to see the party safely across and established, then travel to the Waneca to verify its potential for a new colony, then return because he could not be spared from Wieuwerd.<sup>22)</sup>

With Yvon's parting exhortation to shun strife ringing in their ears, the party set off, but was harbour-bound at Texel for several days because of fierce storms. The Amsterdam friends again came to wish them godspeed, not disguising their concern at this new venture,<sup>23)</sup> but the Labadists were confident of the hand of the Lord on their undertaking. After all, were they not the 'house of the Lord'? They were in for a cruel shock. As the ship neared the West Indies on its way across the Atlantic, it was attacked and taken by pirates, who plundered the cargo and left the voyagers, naked and penniless, drifting on the pirates' own vessel, while the marauders made off on the merchantman. Maria van Sommelsdyck later told Dittelbach of their anguish at seeing evil men lay hands on what had been consecrated to the Lord. They managed to reach Brava, one of the Cape Verde islands, and completed their journey to Paramaribo aboard an English vessel. So instead of being able to bring much-needed supplies, the Labadists reached La Providence destitute. They found a shanty settlement where, contrary to impressions received at Wieuwerd, there were not plenty of fish, neither had any indians given their children to educate. Sickness was rife, and the children ran about the compound with their legs painted with pitch to protect them from mosquitoes.

In May 1686 the proposed reconnaissance of the Waneca was undertaken. Here we are aided by a capital source, discovered at the museum at Paramaribo but now lost, in the form



of a Labadist journal, covering the whole expedition from Monday 20 May until their return to La Providence on Wednesday 12 June.<sup>24</sup>) The author does not name himself, but from his evident relish of exploration, his keeping of a travel diary,<sup>25</sup>) his familiarity with navigational terms and techniques, his ability to chart and take soundings, and his mention of prior experience in the New World all point to Jasper Danckaerts. To more so because of a reference to his impending return to Wieuwerd; the Labadists did not believe in missionary furloughs, so this was evidently in response to a summons from Papa Yvon. He lists his companions as Robijn, Jurriaansz, Hans Simon the carpenter, two negro bearers and an indian lad named Pito as interpreter. The account is a fascinating insight into the everyday life of early planters in Surinam, as well as the sentiments of the Labadists of La Providence.

They set off on a small barque and survived a near wreck on a sandbank at the mouth of the Cassipoere. Between there and Thoracica there were errands to run, and so as not to waste the tide, the writer and one negro went in the canoe. They took a model of a sawmill that Hans Simon had prepared and delivered it to Samuel Nassy, an early planter and one of the jewish community. Next another jew, Elia Elii, was visited, who had travelled over with the second party of Labadists, and from him they collected a pillow with velours case. Finally they delivered some salve prepared by Huybrecht to the home of pastor Basseliers. They found he had gone on a visit to the Commewijne, but his house was full of young ladies from Paramaribo, invited by his daughter; all were dressed in a completely wordly manner, notes the writer, but he did accept a letter from one to deliver to the capital.

The next day, after a fruitless attempt at fishing, they reached Paramaribo about 3 p.m. While Robijn went to confer with the governor,<sup>26</sup>) the writer called on M. d'Alibert at the government plantation, to buy two hundred pounds of *tayer*<sup>27</sup>) and the same amount of yams. Supplies, however, were short and so the negro returned to the barque with one hundred pounds of yams and no potatoes. Meanwhile the writer spoke with the clerk of the storehouses, seeking to press Labadist maxims. Ciprianus claimed he was desirous of being separate from the world, but it was evident that his job kept him bound to it; he obviously needed a much deeper touch of the 'trium-

phant grace' of God. The writer left with six rye loaves at one shilling each, hardly the size of twopenny loaves back home. He then visited his niece, named Clefson, whom he found 'worldly and quite depraved', where he was just enjoying a meal when he saw the barque gliding past the window. By running hard he caught up, and they sent the canoe to fetch him.

Rumour had it that a Dutch ship lay at anchor in the estuary, with the inviting prospect of mail and supplies, so they went to investigate but found that the vessel was English and that the governor's barque was already alongside to examine it, for English ships had been forbidden by law to trade in the colony. So the Labadists turned east into the broad Commewijne and anchored beyond the mouth of the Orelijne-Creek (they call it Peersen Creek), where Surinam's equivalent of Ulysses' siren supposedly operated. Early morning starts were necessary to catch the tide, and by seven o'clock on 23 May, after four hours sailing, the travellers left the Commewijne and bore left into the Cottica. At the confluence they noticed a clearing of quite some size, where the governor was planning to erect a fort that would bear his name: Fort Sommelsdyck. They passed the mouth of the Pirca, which by now was well populated, and soundings revealed a steady 6-11 fathoms, a considerable depth. An attempt at going ashore was thwarted by hordes of mosquitoes, so they continued rowing, against the current, for two days. On Sunday 26th they noticed canoes with Englishmen aboard, converging on a plantation, and thought this must be for a service of worship, since in the absence of a church, these regularly took place in a house. On closer inspection it turned out to be a wedding reception, the widowed owner of the plantation having just remarried.<sup>28</sup>) She was English and had once been a Quaker – ample judgement, to Labadist eyes! – but was now 'so vain and worldly, not only in her dress but also in her whole manner', though now some fifty years of age, that the travellers felt disgusted. So having made the acquaintance of an English postulant named Boreland, and asking details of the journey ahead, they rowed on.

A more encouraging time was had at the plantation of Frans Daems. He was away catching turtles at the coast,<sup>29</sup>) but his wife welcomed them. She had once lived at Leeuwarden, so there was common ground, and the visitors sensed that she

had 'something good and from the Lord in her heart'. The midwife, too, who was assisting her in her pregnancy, was of good disposition; she was a Lutheran from Bremen or Hamburg. Also in the house was a girl of about thirteen, 'who seemed sweet and gentle', and her mother would gladly have sent her to be educated by the Labadists, feeling sure her husband would be in agreement. They decided not to await him, but pressed on from there to the home of one Overschilde, who had come from Curaçao. He was able to show the Labadists a better way of preserving their maize than simply hanging it under the eaves. The travellers were keen to press on, and by late in the day were beyond the last two plantations on the Cottica, belonging to Pieter Cosijn and M. Forel. On the way they passed an indian village, where they bartered an axe for some dried pingo meat.<sup>30)</sup> Cosijn and Forel were keen to join the party, and on Tuesday 28 May they caught up in their canoe and spent the night on the barque.

Now the real exploration began, as the party left the Cottica and turned east into the Coeremoutibo. Conditions were cramped aboard the vessel as the wet season was upon them and all had to sleep below deck, and at various points they went ashore, finding good clay soil and rich vegetation. They passed the point which their brothers had reached the previous year, marked by some particularly high ground, and on 30 May reached the Wana, or Waneca. That night Cosijn and Forel slept ashore at an indian village, a sign that relations were improving, and the next day rowed ahead to try to find guides from the indians on the Wana. The Labadists were undecided, some (one senses the exploratory keenness of Danckaerts) wanting to find the source of the Coeremoutibo in the nearby hills, others feeling the current would be too strong against them. So they explored the Coeremoutibo a little further until they found their way blocked by trees growing straight out of the water. Going ashore on the south side they found good land, high enough to avoid flooding, with promising soil and plenty of good building timber (which was scarce in the colony as a whole). They were not the first there, however, for a sawmill already stood in a clearing, operated by slaves on behalf of a jewish planter, and here there were already a number of sawn planks of red louro, the same timber, notes the writer, as was used for sugar crates in Brazil.<sup>31)</sup> Climbing a hill, they looked out over a valley of great beauty,

but waterless. The whole area was well supplied with *cabes*-trees, a relative of the cedar.

By now Cosijn and Forel had returned, bringing seven or eight canoes laden with indians, who were looking over the barque with great interest. They gave information about the Wana and the passage to the Marowijne, estimating a journey of two days and fraught with difficulty. The Labadists therefore decided against pressing on to the Marowijne, the more so because Jurriaansz was by now suffering great pain from ulcerated fingers.<sup>32</sup>) They would come by sea the next year and look at the Marowijne that way. For now, they would explore the first stretch of the Wana, hoping that their *basilicum* ointment would help Jurriaansz. So they proceeded upstream and selected a site suitable for a watermill, before dividing into two groups. Jurriaansz and one negro would stay with the barque while the rest explored the creek.

Before long they were confronted with another wood growing in the water. The creek ran straight through the middle and the indians had cut a very narrow passage, but they had to bend low for quite a distance, the trees bruising their backs and raining ants and woodlice upon them at the slightest touch. Finally they were in clear water again, a stretch broad as the Leeuwarder Vaart back home, so they named it thus; being the first to chart this section of the creek, the name stuck and has been in use ever since. The creek grew steadily narrower and they were running over biribiri grass, evidence of sunken pasture, with palm trees and islands of vegetation; the creek ran a fathom wide and almost as deep for a good distance ahead, which led them to christen it Langestraat or Langedelft, adding another name to the cartography of Surinam. It was like boating down a channel between the fields of Friesland, reflected the author.

They marked a palm tree with a special sign, so that they would recognise it whenever they came down the Wana from the other direction in the future, and then decided to return to the barque; they were soaked with rain, exhausted and muddy, Harmen Jurriaansz would be getting anxious, for they were long overdue at the barque, and they had glimpsed from afar the hilly banks of the Marowijne, guessing that they had traversed about two thirds of the Wana. So they turned and flew before a strong current, risking often to strike submerged trees, but arrived safely at the barque. Returning down the

Coeremoutibo they made a further exploration ashore, discovering a clump of courbaril trees,<sup>33)</sup> from which they tapped two pounds of gum, naming the area Lokusberg. Hardly had they set off again than they sighted a tiger in a large tree on the bank. They immediately set off in pursuit with a musket,<sup>34)</sup> but their prey had long since loped off. They had to content themselves with a meal of turtle, which Hans Simon had caught, supplemented with a fresh haddock and some fowl.

Returning by way of known haunts, the travellers welcomed Pieter Cosijn aboard and offered him a *dram*,<sup>35)</sup> aware that his knowledge of the indians made him the most useful contact for future involvements in the area. By now they were out of provisions (apart from yams) and were unable to buy any wherever they stopped. At the home of Pieter de Later, a former cooper from Middelburg, they were well received, and the wife would gladly have sent her son to be taught surgery by the Labadists. From his and previous references it is plain that the Labadists were already known in the colony for their education and for the medical prowess of Hendrik van Deventer. They were also shown some turtles that were being kept alive by one planter for food, though he estimated they would lose half their weight through change of diet.

On 8 June at 6.00 a.m. they reached Paramaribo. Here they saw two vessels at anchor, and both had brought letters and supplies. An English ship from New York had brought a letter from Petrus Bayard<sup>36)</sup> to Johannes Hesener, while the Dutch vessel, from Vlissingen, had a cargo of supplies from Wieuwerd as well as some mail. With delight and relief the explorers were able to load aboard the barque six barrels of Irish beef, one of dried cod, a hogshead of Turkish beans, one of dried peas, another of split peas<sup>37)</sup> and a square slab of 'kassie', probably *kasje*, cheese. Harmen Jurriaansz visited the surgeon, named Commewijn, who advised a poultice of fresh cowdung, lamenting that the quality in the colony was not what it was back home. Various visits were made and time spent with the ships' captains, but though they were both believing men, they proved hostile to Labadist maxims, with the exception of one Wijnbergen, who seemed touched. On the way back to the barque, the writer survived a potentially fatal accident when a large barrel, being rolled down to the beach, went out of control and narrowly missed him.

Turning for home, the party anchored, after a day of tack-

ing upstream, near the mouth of the Para Creek. Jurriaansz' fingers were not responding, though they had brought with them a supply of fresh cowdung, so they determined not to take long; nonetheless a few rowed up the Para some way in the canoe, finding the soil to be inferior to the Wana. Here also they saw evidence of the indian massacres of some twenty years before, when English planters had either been butchered or forced to flee, and the desolate plantations remained as a pathetic memorial. They noted one that had belonged to a certain Capt. Thorn, but went no further, returning to the barque by sunset.

Coming to Thorarica, the Labadists spotted the English vessel that had brought them from the Cape Verde islands, and called at pastor Basseliers' to see whether he had any letters for them. Finally, on Wednesday 12 June, the intrepid party reached La Providence, but it was no happy homecoming: 'the Lord had visited his House in a somewhat particular way.' Jan Swanepol had been 'called to him in his unending mercy',<sup>38)</sup> others were severely ill: Huybrecht the doctor, brother Hanske and his wife, sister Swem the cook, Pieter Gerritsz the carpenter, brother Sikke, and Doeke and Grietie Alberts. The children had distended, streaming eyes, and one, named Hendrik, was lame in one leg. So while the explorers were returning fresh and healthy, with only an uncerated finger between them, the plantation was in the throes of an epidemic.<sup>39)</sup>

The outbreak of disease was the last straw, and the murmurings broke into a torrent of recrimination. Elders were accused of high-handedness and inequality, and memories were awakened of how, on the voyage to the colony, only the elect went ashore whenever the ship docked, while the rest remained aboard to guard the baggage. Sometimes a brother or sister died with accusations on their lips, though how true Dittelbach's renditions are is open to dispute. One, which has a genuine ring, was of a brother who declared to Hesener: 'I heartily regret having ever gone along with your high ideas', and then died. One who later returned, Pieter Gerritsz, told Dittelbach of the black irony of it all: within four years of Yvon's *Fidelle narré*,<sup>40)</sup> with its spiritual and moving accounts of several members' last words, here were many dying forgotten, with rather choicer language on their lips. The elders sought to stress that the pains were God's judgement on their murmurings, and were not surprised when sister Swem the

cook, who had been foremost in the recriminations, drew near to death. They tried to persuade her to admit her guilt, but she called Pieter Gerritsz to stay with her as a witness and refused to retract anything that she had said. 'I am going to God, so what could induce me to lie?', she groaned. 'On the last day it will be clear that I have spoken the truth.' With that, she turned her back to them and breathed her last.<sup>41)</sup>

It was fast becoming clear that the colony could not last long. Pieter Gerritsz was the first to talk of returning to Wieuwerd. The leaders sought to reason with him and persuade him to remain, be it because they still held to God's providence in all trials and had faith in *l'oeuvre de Dieu*, or be it because they foresaw that Gerritsz' revelations would 'cause a stink'. Robijn's wife, Sara van der Poll, derided Gerritsz for his folly, saying he was going to sin against the House of the Lord, but he was adamant and left, on crutches, with Sara's cry ringing in his ears that she hoped the Turks captured his ship. As it was, he returned safely and was met at Franeker by Pierre Bont, while Sara died of malaria shortly afterwards. Gerritsz, needless to say, received a coward's welcome at Wieuwerd and was ostracised by the majority, living alone in the Blue Room, normally reserved for visitors. Finally he left the community, leaving behind a fiancée who had no intention of leaving.

Yet he had set a precedent. One by one, disillusioned Labadists returned from Surinam, including Robijn and Danckaerts. On their return to Walta-slot they found a host of new faces and realised that while failure had dogged them in the tropics, the mother colony had been steadily increasing. Those who remained at La Providence were subject to constant danger of sickness and an early grave, and a case in point was Hesener, who died in 1687, not yet forty years of age.

That a presence was maintained, however, is clear from events in 1688. Governor Van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck, while doing much to get the colony on its feet and securing defences that effectively prevented its capture by the French under Admiral du Casse a year later, had alienated sections of the population by his tendency towards pomp and self-importance. Finally, on 19 July, a band of mutinous soldiers assassinated him and Laurens Verboom, the commander of the garrison, and went on the rampage. Those loyal to the dead governor, predominantly the observing Reformed

churchgoers and the jews, rallied together, armed and munitioned, with two barques in support, and on 23 July anchored half a mile above the fort. Among them were the Labadists, lending a hand to avenge their dead protector.<sup>42)</sup> After a few skirmishes the mutineers were captured and either hanged or broken on the wheel. A brief interregnum ensued, after which the colony gained a new governor, Johan van Scharphuizen.

Ownership of La Providence was retained by the community for a number of years, and when the last of their own members left, it was tenant-farmed in their name by various agents known as 'directors'. In 1699 Maria Sybilla Merian, who had left the mother colony at Wieuwerd eight years before,<sup>43)</sup> followed her daughter and son-in-law out to Surinam, where she had long desired to study and paint the insects.<sup>44)</sup> Part of her research took her up the Suriname river and she records: 'In April 1700 I was on the plantation of Miss Sommelsdyck, named La Providence.'<sup>45)</sup> Some of the moths and larvae that she drew there feature in her classic work on the insect life of the colony, *Metamorphosis insectorum Surinamensium* (Amsterdam, 1705).

When Lucia van Sommelsdyck died (between 1703 and 1707), La Providence passed to her elder sister Anna,<sup>46)</sup> and when death claimed her too, we find the plantation in 1715 as belonging to Jaspas Robijn. By now, however, community of goods had been abandoned at Wieuwerd and each member had to fend for himself, and this was causing evident financial problems. On 7 January 1715 Elisabeth Kinkhuysen, daughter of the secretary to the council of Surinam, appeared before the governor, Johan de Goyer, with a serious complaint. She had received permission from Robijn *cum suis* to continue the administration of the plantation for three years following the death of her husband, Pieter Hendrikse (nick-named 'the Pope'), and was owed sums of money by Robijn amounting to 7,575 guilders. Robijn was delaying payment by all possible means, so the governor authorised the bailiffs to hold the whole plantation of La Providence in surety against payment of the sum.<sup>47)</sup> The precise outcome is uncertain, but in 1719 the plantation was still in Labadist hands, administered by one Jan van Voorst.<sup>48)</sup> Now an inventory was drawn up for its sale, the sellers being listed as Robijn, his new wife Marthe Yvon (daughter of Pierre) and Vincentia van der Haer of



Leeuwarden.<sup>49)</sup> We may assume that the sale was necessitated in order to pay off the outstanding debts, and a further 1,000 guilders were subsequently subtracted from Robijn's will (he died 18 July 1724) to cover the costs of 'a very difficult lawsuit in Surinam'.<sup>50)</sup> By 1770 we find La Providence in the ownership of a portuguese jew, having grown to 3,500 acres, one of the largest in the whole of Surinam.

## CHAPTER 13

### Piety in the Plantations. Labadists at Bohemia Manor, Maryland, 1679-1722

While the community of La Providence was pursuing its troubled existence, another attempt was made in Maryland, which enjoyed better success. In fact, the initial Labadist reconnaissance in North America took place well before the departure for Surinam, in 1679. At first sight we may wonder at the choice, for the United Provinces had lost their last possession on the northern continent, New Netherland, to the English by the Treaty of Breda in 1667.<sup>1)</sup> English colonists were settling in plenty alongside the existent Dutch planters, and the relationship between the two nations was akin to flint and tinder. Moreover, the governor of New York, Edmund Andros, was a Catholic, and the Labadists might have feared restrictions on their liberty. Worse still, the staple product of the North American colonies in the Chesapeake region was tobacco, a plant abhorrent to all good Labadists, and the bulk of the labour was carried out by slaves. Yet land was to be had here at favourable rates for large tracts; there would be a sizable Dutch population, largely devoid of the gospel; and the deciding factor in Wieuwerd's thinking was doubtless the 'promise of freedom of religion' offered by several of the states, including Maryland.

Therefore, as accommodation at Wieuwerd grew increasingly cramped, it was determined to send two leading members to reconnoitre the land in America with a view to securing a suitable site for a new *oeuvre de Dieu*. The task fell to Peter Schlüter, now known by the Dutch equivalent, Sluyter,<sup>2)</sup> and Jasper Danckaerts.<sup>3)</sup> The former had studied medicine in the Palatinate and theology at Leiden, had been an elder of the community since its Herford days, and was noted by Penn as able in disputation.<sup>4)</sup> Danckaerts, a cooper from Zeeland, had been with the community at Sundern, Altona and Bremen,

being chosen to go on several evangelistic expeditions, but within a year of arrival at Wieuwerd had lost his wife, Susanna, in childbirth.<sup>5</sup>) He was an experienced seafaring man and refers in his journal (1 October 1679) to his having lived at one time in the West Indies.

The pair left Wieuwerd on Thursday 8 June 1679,<sup>6</sup>) travelling under assumed names: Sluyter called himself Vorsman (or Vorstman) while Danckaerts used his mother's maiden name of Schilders. It is a handsome windfall indeed that the journal which Danckaerts kept throughout the expedition, was discovered in the last century and published,<sup>7</sup>) for it offers a wealth of information on life in the colonies at this early point, as well as insights into the hearts of individual Labadists. The two travellers made for Amsterdam and booked a passage aboard a small three-masted trader called a flute-ship, the Charles, belonging to Margaret Philipse, an enterprising if frugal businesswoman and wife of the richest man in New York. Danckaerts studiously avoids explicit references to the community or any of its members, but Margaret was not slow to detect that they must be 'of such and such a people, who lived at such a place' (in other words, 'Labadists from Wieuwerd'), nor was a young crew member called Jan. Danckaerts himself spotted a cooper who had joined the Labadists at 'A' (Amsterdam or Altona?) but who had left to join 'la femme réformée,' Antoinette Bourignon.

For over a week they were harbour-bound, while Margaret Philipse travelled to Friesland,<sup>8</sup>) and Sluyter and Danckaerts had time to explore Texel. Perhaps to protect their identities, perhaps out of curiosity, they attended several Dutch Reformed services, at Buiksloot ('sermon was wretched'), Nieuwendam ('zealous, but not serious enough'), and Oudeschild ('by a very poor man, both in body and mind'). When finally they did sail, on 26 June, they promptly ran aground within sight of the harbour. Once under sail, Danckaerts' nautical prowess was immediately evident; he had his own sextant, charts and sounding-line, joined the pilot in certain activities, and before long was being included on the watches. Sluyter remained below, laid low with toothache, and Danckaerts records that, while God blessed them often with his presence, they could sleep little 'in consequence of the clatter of so many godless and detestable people.'

Their course lay through the English Channel, with a final

landfall at Falmouth, and this rare Labadist visit to Britain is recorded in the journal. They booked in at the English Ship inn at Penryn, and on Sunday 9 July Danckaerts visited an Anglican service. He found people smoking in the churchyard until the final toll of the bell, when they went in. The ceremonies reminded him of popery and the sermon, read from a book, was 'not very edifying.' While the ship's cargo was examined and a Quaker took over as captain, the two travellers wrote numerous letters for dispatch via London, and visited Pendennis Castle, admiring its strength but deploring its home-brewed ale, and made the acquaintance of the governor, Richard, Lord Arundell, son of the celebrated Royalist defender of the castle in the Civil War. A crew member called Robert Sinclair, a presbyterian from the Orkneys, took them to a service of that denomination, with which they were better satisfied, but for the irreverence of the congregation. Over the next few days they bought supplies of butter, vinegar and brandy, as well as certain confiscated goods sold to them cheaply by customs officers, and Sluyter visited and dined with some Quakers at Falmouth. On their return to the ship they found Margaret, 'miserable and covetous,' preparing to exchange the ship's boat for another, ungainly and unservicable, which she was planning to have rebuilt at New York, where timber was cheaper. The crew was against this but dared not say so, so Danckaerts sprang into the good boat and vowed not to leave it until sure they would keep it. He grappled with the Quaker captain, who, he said, deserved to be shipwrecked anyway, and pandemonium reigned aboard until the mayor himself arrived and ruled that the ship should keep its good boat. So they set sail and everyone calmed down, contemplating the rolling countryside in the sunshine, and Danckaerts concludes with his judgement on the English, which has a timeless ring to it:

The people are quite civil, but very ignorant in religious and godly things, through very shrewd in worldly affairs, especially in entrapping strangers.')

The Atlantic crossing itself is a fascinating account of wildlife (whales, porpoises, jellyfish, sharks, flying fish and turtles) and the foibles of men. Whenever there was a storm or fear of 'the Turk' (Mohammedan corsairs operating from North Africa)

men would pray, but once it was over they would return to drinking and profanity. Backbiting was rife, as was the vermin, and even past acquaintances chose not to recognise the Labadists, an example being the ship's pumpmaker, who had once done some work at Walta-slot itself. In short, the travellers cared little for the conduct of anyone aboard, except the first mate's wife, who listened to their message with sobriety. Approaching the 'Bermuda Triangle'<sup>10)</sup> they encountered the worst storm anyone aboard had ever known. The tiller could scarce be controlled by three men, mountainous waves threatened to wash the unwary overboard, and the tackle was severely beaten. Danckaerts suggested to the captain a better way of rigging the sails, which was adopted with some success, and something of the warmth of the Labadist heart is seen in Danckaerts' concern for Sluyter: 'Feeling my heart touched and tender, I went below to tell my comrade our condition. I embraced him and committed him, and he me, to our beloved Father, in case there might be no opportunity afterwards to do so, if he were pleased further to dispose of us.' When finally the tempest abated and sodden clothes draped every available inch of rigging, the Labadists were able to reflect on the magnitude of God's power in the elements and the depth of his lovingkindness: 'What reason his children have to rely upon him, to lose themselves and their ways in him! What do they not enjoy, wherever they may be, when God lifts, only a little, the curtain and lets them behold him. ...Yea, praise the Lord, for he shows himself to be what he is!'<sup>11)</sup>

Approaching land, everyone's calculations varied as to their position and distance from New York, but Danckaerts thought he recognised the shoals of Cape Cod, and was proven right. There was difficulty approaching harbour because of adverse currents and fog, so while waiting the crew invited aboard a party of indians they spotted. These were Susquehannocks, noted by earlier travellers as the noblest of the indigenous tribes, but from Danckaerts' description it is evident that the Labadists held the usual 17th century view that *all* dwellers in the New and Third Worlds, whether Iroquois, pygmies, aborigines or Mexicans, were alike savages. 'They are dull of comprehension,' Danckaerts records, 'slow of speech, bashful but otherwise bold of person and red of skin. They wear something over the thighs and a piece of blanket around the body. ...Their hair hangs down from their

heads in strings, well smeared with fat.<sup>12</sup>) Finally, on Saturday 23 September, the Charles docked in a bay teeming with whales, tuna and eagles,<sup>13</sup>) and the Labadists delightedly took their leave from what they called a vermin-infested Babel. Only the Scottish presbyterian said so much as a thank-you for all Danckaerts' services during the voyage, or for that matter Sluyter's, who had treated large numbers of passengers medically, including Margaret Philipse herself.

The pair lodged with one Jacob Swart, near Wall Street.<sup>14</sup>) Governor Andros was away in Maine, so they did not go to pay their respects, but embarked on a tour of the New York region. On 24 September they attended a sermon in the chapel of the fort, preached by the elderly Gideon Schaets from Fort Orange, whom Danckaerts found so peculiar that he wondered if he had been drinking.<sup>15</sup>) Four days later a more significant contact was made. The travellers bore letters to one Arnoldus de la Grange, a respected planter with lands on Christiana Creek in Delaware, who also ran a shop in New York selling tobacco, liquors and haberdashery. He now came to call on them, 'dressed up as a great fop, as indeed he is', and invited them to accompany him when he returned to the South River (as Delaware was then known) in a few days. Initial impressions were not too favourable, Sluyter reproving him for his dandified manner, but La Grange was to be a valuable protector and adherent in days to come.<sup>16</sup>)

On their tour, the Labadists found the Dutch planters more hospitable than the English, though all alike entertained them with such varied fare as oysters, peaches, turkey, water-melons and raccoon-meat. Sometimes their medical supplies were required, especially their *tincture calaminaris* (calamine lotion) and *balsam sulpherus* (a mixture of olive oil and sublimated sulphur). Their identity remained secret, but at one inn, run by French catholics, they were taken for priests and shown great reverence. A few were touched by their message of separation and sanctification: Jacques Cresson, son of the former gardener to the Prince of Orange, who lived on Staten Island, a German Lutheran woman, and a Dutch couple named Claesen, to whom they gave a Dutch translation of Labadie's *Recueil*,<sup>17</sup>) but by and large the inhabitants were 'a wild and worldly crew'. Their preachers were little better, one, Charles Wolley, offering mediocre sermons while 'thinking he was performing wonders.' As for the Quakers, the only nonconformist

group represented in significant numbers, Sluyter visited a meeting and found them 'sitting in silence and gazing' for the whole duration.

Till now the two travellers evidently had no fixed idea of where land might be usefully acquired, but on 6 October 1679 they were given a lead. They lodged with an eminent New York constable, Resolved Waldron, who in 1659 had been sent by governor Stuyvesant as envoy to Maryland. He now spoke in glowing terms of the fertility of that region and recommended them to his fellow envoy of those days, Augustine Herrman, who owned several plantations there on the Bohemia River.<sup>18)</sup> Within days, as chance would have it, they had met Augustine Herrman's son, Ephraim. Born in 1652,<sup>19)</sup> Ephraim had been a clerk in the office of the secretary of New York at the age of twenty. He had then acquired land in Delaware and in 1676/77 was clerk to the courts of Upland and Newcastle, clerk of the Customs and receiver of quit-rents, in which capacity he was regularly in correspondence with William Penn. He had journeyed to New York in August 1679 as delegate of the church of Newcastle, to examine a postulant named Tesschenmaker. While there, on 3 September, he had married Elizabeth Rodenburgh, daughter of the former vice-governor of Curaçao, and now, planning to return with his bride to Delaware, he invited the Labadists to accompany him.

In early November a party of ten duly set off on a yacht and after four days reached the Quaker village of Burlington. It has been seen that Labadists lost little love on Friends, and although some reconciliation had been achieved through Penn's visit to Wieuwerd,<sup>20)</sup> Danckaerts' narrative is open in its scorn. On Sunday 19 November they attended a service of worship, but 'what was uttered was mostly in one tone, and the same thing, and so it continued until we were wearied and went away.' Beyond Tincum Island they lodged with a judge and were visited by three Quakers, including Alice Grey, 'their greatest prophetess, who travels throughout the whole land to *quake*', and Anna Salters, an elderly widow who had been among those who had cried hosanna at James Naylor's unfortunate entry into Bristol in 1656. Danckaerts sat next to the prophetess at dinner one day and records: 'she began to groan and shake gradually, until at length the whole bench shook. Then rising up she began to pray, shrieking so that she could

be heard as far as the river. This done, she was quickly in the dish, and her mouth began immediately to prate worldly and common things.' His conclusion, doubtless the official Labadist line, is that 'these people are still covetous, and that almost all of them are attached to the world and to themselves.'<sup>21</sup>)

As they neared their destination, the Labadists made the acquaintance of another future benefactor, John Moll. Formerly of Amsterdam and Bristol, the Anglo-Dutch wars had bankrupted him and he had emigrated, securing three plantations in Delaware as a means of repaying his creditors. Now he had risen to the office of presiding justice at the court of Newcastle. The Labadists found him obliging and courteous ('he offered us his house and all that was in it'), and open to reading their books, though otherwise lacking evident godliness. His English wife, 'a pious Independent,' had formerly held conventicles in her home, but was still, by Labadist standards, a worldling. Better responses were gained from Ephraim's sister, Anna Margareta, and his wife Elizabeth, who was blessed with 'the quietest disposition have observed in America.'

No canal linked the Delaware to the Chesapeake in those days,<sup>22</sup>) but rather the 22 mile Delaware Road, a broad wagon track hewn through the woods. Initial impressions of Maryland were favourable: the fertile soil yielded abundant grain, the many waterways teemed with fish, and fowl were so plentiful that a musket of shot could bring down ten at a time. Yet there were two major drawbacks, duly noted by Danckaerts (28 November 1679): the principal crop was 'that vile tobacco, which all vanishes into smoke,' and the 'insatiable avarice' of those plying such a trade 'must be fed and sustained by the bloody sweat of these poor slaves.'<sup>23</sup>) Little did he realise that, not two decades hence, the Labadists would have succumbed in both areas.

On 2 December they arrived at Augustine Herrman's domain. He owned some 24,000 acres of the best land the state could offer,<sup>24</sup>) divided into several plantations.<sup>25</sup>) The largest, Bohemia Manor (named after his homeland), had been in his possession since 1661, and lay between Bohemia River, Great Bohemia Creek and Back Creek. Here Herrman resided in a grand house (destroyed by fire in 1815), with his second wife, a 'miserable, nay doubly miserable' Englishwoman, 'who is the



most artful and despicable creature that can be found' (!). When the Labadists arrived, Herrman was sick and his plantation in evident decline, but the land was so promising that the two travellers were keen to reach some agreement. Doubtless through the good influence of his son Ephraim, Augustine told them he was willing to sell to them at a favourable rate, chiefly because they were not English. A verbal contract sealed, the delighted Labadists set out to tour the area.

Warts were quickly apparent. Tobacco could not be avoided, since it was the basis for all taxation, and the abundant grain harvests were more often than not decimated by weevils. When ships arrived with provisions, preferably alcohol, there was a mad flurry of self-indulgence and little was stored for the days ahead. Danckaerts records seeing 'neither church nor cloister' and of hearing the regular complaint that what ministers there were 'are worse than anybody else, yea are an abomination.' He concludes: 'The lives of the planters in Maryland and Virginia are very godless and profane; they listen neither to God nor his commandments,' adding that the frequent social disorders are merely proof of God's judgement. They could, however, rest secure in the knowledge that Bohemia Manor lay miles from the nearest worldly habitation, whereas other tracts of Herrman's land were 'resorted to by everyone, especially by these miserable Quakers.'

The new year of 1680 saw the travellers back at New York, where they met governor Andros. He queried their lengthy stay in the country without coming to see him, and the same suspicion was evident in the mayor, Francis Rombouts, who took their particulars.<sup>26</sup>) A Frenchman they met filled them in on what common rumour reported of them, be it as French spies, Jesuit envoys, Dutch agitators, Mennonites or David Jorists. 'Everyone had his own opinion, and no-one the truth.' They were, however, able to assess the spiritual success of their mission thus far. Ephraim Herrman, who had been converted young but 'could find no satisfaction in the hypocrisies of the Reformed Church,' was hungry for their teaching. So was his wife, who was already amending aspects of her living along Labadist lines. Moreover Arnoldus de la Grange and his wife were visiting them regularly for counselling, and letters from John Moll asked for devotional literature. Now they met another potential ally. Petrus (or Peter) Bayard had come to America in 1647 with his uncle, governor Stuyvesant. A dea-

con in the Dutch Reformed Church, he lived at New York in a house on Broadway with his wife, Blandine Kierstede. A spiritual man, and aware of his own religious deficiencies, he frequently withdrew to Bombay Hook, an island in the Delaware near Duck Creek, which he had bought from the indians in 1679. Danckaerts calls him 'a very good sort of person' and notes that, under their guidance, God 'began to touch and enlighten him, both in regard to the destruction of the world in general and of himself in particular.' Hereafter, Bayard too put himself under Labadist direction.<sup>27)</sup>

Before embarking for Boston, the travellers had their first success with the indians. They had attempted to evangelise the natives before, often punning on *sachem* (indian: chief, lord) and *sakemaker* (Dutch: doer of all things) in attempting to explain the person of God, but without success. The chief reason for this was the readiness of supposedly Christian planters to flout state law in order to ply a lucrative liquor trade with the indians, who were then reduced by alcohol to the level of bestiality. 'How,' cries Danckaerts, 'will they escape the wrath and anger of the Lord and King, Jesus, whom they have so dishonoured and defamed, and caused to be defamed among the heathen?'<sup>28)</sup> Yet now at Albany they met a creole woman convert, Aletta, whose spirituality was both genuine and akin to their own. Her nephew, Wouter, a full-blooded Mohawk, was also converted and zealous to grow in Christ. After lengthy conversations it was agreed that the Labadists would take him back to Holland with them to train him in a trade and the faith. Wouter was to travel overland and meet them off their ship at Boston.

On 7 June 1680 they took their leave of a preoccupied governor Andros,<sup>29)</sup> and made the five day trip to Boston. During a stay of one month in Massachusetts, awaiting the arrival of Wouter (who never came) and of the ship that was to take them back to Europe, they met the aged governor, Simon Bradstreet, and made a short tour. Rumours about them had already reached Boston, perhaps from Gideon Schaets, pastor of Fort Orange, Albany, who had delivered a tirade against the two travellers from the pulpit ('although he is a poor, old, ignorant person and ... not of good life') shortly before they left. Nevertheless, the Boston churches presented 'no more devotion than others, and even less than at New York.' They visited Harvard,<sup>30)</sup> but could give no great commendation of

it: they found some ten scholars smoking and drinking, with no professor to teach them; virtually no Latin was spoken; the library contained little of value; and the printing press could not match even the Labadists' own. The high spot, however, was a meeting (7 and 8 July) with John Eliot, the 'apostle to the indians,' who had translated the bible into their language over twenty years earlier and who could remember days of much deeper spirituality in the land. Eliot presented them with a copy of the indian bible,<sup>31)</sup> and the Labadists reciprocated with a copy of their *Veritas sui vindex*.

A sixteen-gunner, the *Dolphin*, left Boston on 23 July with Sluyter and Danckaerts aboard, and after an uneventful voyage docked at Gravesend on 17 September. The Labadists rowed upstream to the city and took lodgings at the *Inlander inn*.<sup>32)</sup> The city itself was only gradually recovering from the ravages of the Great Fire, so they proceeded to Whitehall and St. James' Park. Here they admired the waterfowl and saw the royal guard, and were just passing derogatory comments on the royal stables (worse than those at Wieuwerd) when a cry of 'To arms!' told them that Charles II was passing. The king responded to their salute, but the Labadists were clearly unimpressed.<sup>33)</sup> They visited the Dutch church at Austin Friars, where they saw the United Provinces' envoy, Dirk van Leeuwen, whom Danckaerts had known of old, and witnessed the state procession of the Duke of York and Karl Ludwig, prince electoral,<sup>34)</sup> who had come to request aid against Louis XIV in the Palatinate. After a stay of five days, the pair took ship again for Harwich, concluding that, while they liked the Monument and the Banqueting House, 'Whitehall and Westminster, and all within them, are not worth going to see.'

The final leg of their sixteen-month mission was the crossing of the Channel on a flea-ridden packet-boat. Passing through Rotterdam and Delft, they reached The Hague, where they decided not to call on Françoise van Sommelsdyck, sister of the Labadists of that name. At Amsterdam they bought a bible for Ephraim Herrman,<sup>35)</sup> sending it via Arnoldus de la Grange, and searched in vain for a copy of Augustine Herrman's map of Maryland. Finally, on Friday 11 October they caught the boat for Sneek, the skipper filling them in on news from Wieuwerd, and the following morning reached Walta-state to a tender welcome. They left behind at New York a small nucleus of souls already committed to their

teachings and meeting together as a conventicle. Of great significance are letters written in October 1682, long after the Labadists' departure and well before their return in force, by pastor Henricus Selyns of New York to the classis of Amsterdam, bewailing the Labadist inroads (for by now Sluyter's identity had been discovered) and revealing something of their teaching:

We have Quakers, Jews and Labadists, ...and the Labadists are the fewest. The latter generally attend my morning and afternoon services on Sundays, but after that they meet by themselves. About a year and a half ago, God's church suffered considerable harm from one Domine Petrus Sluyter, alias Vorsman, who travelled all over the country with another named Jasper Schilder. ...They regularly attended church and said they had nothing against my doctrines; that they were of the Reformed Church, and stood by the Heidelberg Catechism and Dordrecht Confession<sup>36</sup>) ...Afterwards, in order to lay the groundwork for schism, they began holding meetings with closed doors, and to rail out against the church and consistory, as Sodom and Egypt, and saying they must separate from the church; they could not come to the service, or hold communion with us. Thus they absented themselves from the church.

He adds, however, that 'most of those who had ceased attending church services, upon my arrival [August 1682] returned, and now come to the Lord's Table.'<sup>37</sup>)

The early 1680's were the Labadists' period of optimum growth in Friesland, and no doubt it was the concomitant pressures of building work and pastoral care that precluded any immediate colonisation plans for America, particularly where elders were concerned. It was not until 1683, the very year in which the Surinam connection was explored, that Wieuwerd felt able to despatch its first party of pioneers to Maryland. Not surprisingly, Danckaerts and Sluyter took the lead, and again Danckaerts is our primary source for details. A second, though much shorter, manuscript journal tells us that the missionaries left Walta-slot on 12 April, embarking at Amsterdam on the ship New York under captain Rich. On the way they called at Rotterdam to collect Sluyter's wife and his teenage stepson Paulus (of whom nothing more is known).

This time their landfall in England was at Dover, where they bought supplies, admired the castle and received a hefty customs bill. Visits were also paid to Canterbury, which impressed them little, its buildings being in a poor state of repair, and to Deal, where they were appalled at the irreligious conduct of the Anglican congregation. The remainder of the voyage passed uneventfully and they reached New York on 27 July.<sup>38)</sup> On the journey Danckaerts worked on a translation of the Psalms into metrical Dutch, intending to replace the defective existing version by Petrus Dathenus. In a preface dated Wieuwerd, 8 January 1691, he reveals that the bulk of the work was done on this second Atlantic crossing, which he misdates in retrospect to 1682.<sup>39)</sup>

Scholars have hitherto maintained that the Labadists proceeded to Bohemia Manor but found that Augustine Herrman's suspicions had been aroused and that he was no longer willing to sell. They therefore deduce a legal battle lasting some twelve months before Herrman finally granted them a plantation on 11 August 1684. Various facts, however, suggest otherwise. There is no documentary evidence for a recourse to law;<sup>40)</sup> Herrman's will of 27 September 1684, which post-dates his land grant, shows no sign of hostility, only a later codicil revealing a change of heart; and a document of 31 October 1683 finds Sluyter as a physician in New York. In those days by no means all physicians had degrees in medicine, nor was a medical licence required;<sup>41)</sup> Sluyter himself had studied medicine in Germany, assisted Hendrik van Deventer at Wieuwerd and treated many people on his previous American visit. Now a statement by a physician, several surgeons and pastor Henricus Selyns speaks of 'Dr. Vorstman' having been called from Wieuwerd 'to practise his art as a Doctor in this congregation' – the Dutch Reformed church of New York. However, a faulty diagnosis and unprofessional treatment of a case of gastroenteritis led to the death of the patient and a censure for malpractice.<sup>42)</sup> So we surmise that the Labadists stayed a while at New York, consolidating their gains of three years before, and this is the more likely because a letter of Augustine Herrman dated 1683 reveals that, now he is failing in health, the indians of the area are becoming troublesome, stealing horses and cattle; he asks the council for vigorous measures to restore order.<sup>43)</sup> No doubt he also sent similar warnings to the Labadists.

On 26 April 1684, together with Petrus Bayard and Arnoldus de la Grange, Sluyter and Danckaerts were naturalised as American citizens,<sup>44</sup>) and shortly afterwards, the indian troubles doubtless over, made their way to Maryland. The chief difference they would have noticed as they navigated the South River (Delaware) was that the previous year had seen the foundation of Philadelphia. In fact, it was the two Labadist patrons, Ephraim Herrman and John Moll, who were instructed to cede the territory to William Penn, and Moll had so impressed the Quaker leader that he made moves to coopt him on to the new council of Pennsylvania. Penn, we read, appointed 'six strong Foxian Quakers, one Swede and a sweet Singer of Israel,' and a letter written some years later reveals that this was John Moll. Why Penn should refer to Labadists as 'sweet singers of Israel' has never been explained.<sup>45</sup>)

Augustine Herrman, as has been seen, was happy to proceed with the sale of part of Bohemia Manor to the Labadists. Sluyter and Danckaerts nonetheless acted with prudence and included in the deed of sale the names of Peter Bayard (deacon of the church), John Moll (magistrate) and Arnoldus de la Grange (respected merchant). Dated 11 August 1684, the deed comprised some 3,750 acres, made up of four necks of land, and the buyers were the five named persons 'with their company'. The same was confirmed a few weeks later when Herrman drew up his will on 27 September. He bequeathed Little Bohemia to his second son Casparus, Three Bohemian Sisters to his daughters, and Bohemia Manor to Ephraim, save only that portion already sold to the Labadists.<sup>46</sup>)

It was not long, however, before Augustine Herrman realised the Labadists' intentions. Whether or not he received warnings from the Reformed Church at New York, two ominous notes were certainly struck. Firstly, by an act of conveyance of 10 October 1684, only two months after the sale, Moll and La Grange sold their shares to Danckaerts and Sluyter,<sup>47</sup>) and secondly Ephraim, who had left his wife at Newcastle and plunged fully into Labadist life, now began an active campaign to proselytise his brother and sisters. Fearing the loss of his entire family estate to the newcomers, Herrman speedily drew up a codicil to his will, appointing three neighbours as trustees and executors, because 'my eldest Sonn Ephraim... hath Engaged himself deeply into the Labady faction and religion,

seeking to persuade and Entice his Brother Casparus and sisters to Incline thereunto alsoe, whereby itt is upon Good ground suspected that they will prove no true Executors of this my last Will..., but will Endeavour to disanull and make it voide, that the said Estates may redound to the Labady Communalty.<sup>48)</sup> Tradition has it that Augustine further pronounced a curse on his son and heir, to the effect that he would not live two years from his union with the Labadists. Whether it was this fear or the material blandishment of a prosperous manor that swayed Ephraim is uncertain, but when his father finally died in 1686, Bohemia Manor duly passed to him, with the exception of the Labadie Tract. Ephraim left the community and return to his wife, remaining at first in Newcastle but returning to Bohemia Manor, where we find him as magistrate in 1687. Yet the shadow of the curse remained, and while its two year deadline was not met, Ephraim nonetheless died suddenly in 1689, at the age of thirty-seven, and the manor passed on 3 June 1690 to his younger brother Casparus.<sup>49)</sup>

Meanwhile the Labadists set about building up their community. Unlike La Providence in Surinam, it does not appear to have been given a special name, but was known at Wieuwerd as New Bohemia.<sup>50)</sup> Numbers were small,<sup>51)</sup> so Sluyter was the only elder, Danckaerts returning home to lead the second expedition to Surinam. Sluyter's wife took charge of domestic organisation. The model in all things was the mother colony in Friesland, and contact was maintained both by letter and by visits, judging by Dittelbach's allusion to Peter Bayard having visited Wieuwerd. Community of goods was the basis for daily living, Yvon and Sluyter corresponding on the subject, and the same crafts and trades were plied to bring in an income. In addition, Sluyter ran a pharmacy and an apothecary's shop, much as Hendrik van Deventer did at Wieuwerd.<sup>52)</sup> Yet the different conditions in Maryland meant differences in work and husbandry. Agriculture centred not only on corn, but also on hemp, flax and the inevitable tobacco; several breeds of cattle were reared, while at Wieuwerd it was mainly sheep; because of dense forestation, woodworking skills were of more value than stonemasonry.<sup>53)</sup>

To fashion such a community out of uncultivated woodland required a considerable amount of labour, so it is no wonder that pastor Selyns of New York could report of the Labadists,

in a letter to Amsterdam of 20 September 1685, that 'their blustering has mostly been quenched.' So great was the task, indeed, that Wieuwerd was called upon to send a second party of colonists in the early summer of that year.<sup>54</sup>) Selyns reports their arrival, adding: 'they have been reinforced also by Dutch Quakers, who have come to Long Island,' a union less in fact (for Labadists despised Quakers) than in the mind of the Reformed minister, who blocked all separatist sects together as a common threat.<sup>55</sup>) Once the house and farm buildings were complete, there was still much to do, and a cemetery in the garden was still occupying them in 1688, as Selyns gleefully notes: 'The tempest which arose in connection with the arrival of the Separated Labadistic [missing]..., has mostly disappeared in smoke without any further violence. Vorsman and his party embrace, at the most, not more than twelve Labadistic Apostles. They are working night and day to get ready their Churchyard at New Bohemia, and it is not to be changed in the least,' and indication of the resilience of the vegetation that had to be cleared.<sup>56</sup>) This inequality of the work force to the task of running the plantation was doubtless the chief factor in the Labadists' introduction, around 1690, of negro labour.

It seems, however, that Sluyter's manner was even more imperious than that at Wieuwerd, and he ruled with a rod of iron. For example, in Friesland the community's land had been reclaimed from the sea and had few trees; firewood was scarce and turf expensive, so the bedrooms had no fires, even in the cold of winter. Sluyter took the letter rather than the spirit of the law and outlawed fires completely, as a mortification of the flesh, even though wood was there in such abundance that they had to burn it in the fields to keep the plantations clear. Worse still, his wife could invent rules and enforce them at whim, especially where mothers and children were concerned. Dittelbach, whose objectivity is severely questionable, recounts the instance of one family from Amsterdam which had travelled out on the first expedition. Sluyter was impressed and wrote to Wieuwerd in praise of the parents' self-denial and wholehearted commitment to the cause; gradually, however, as authority grew more capricious, the marriage came under scrutiny. The wife was censured for kissing the children in public, this being considered overtly unregenerate conduct, and the husband was urged to observe continence in



their marital relations. When the wife remonstrated, she was scornfully upbraided for her lack of self-denial. The husband began to dispute Labadist marital doctrines and asked to leave, whereupon a new tack was adopted: if he could not observe the full standard, he could nonetheless continue among them, not as one of the 'elect' but still as one of the community (a hint, as Dittelbach underlines, of a financial motive). The offer was not accepted, and the family returned to the fatherland.

They were not the first. A young man who had come out with the second party in 1685 returned to Wieuwerd within months. Perhaps it was for reasons of discipline that Peter Bayard finally withdrew from the community. He had been living at New Bohemia since its foundation, leaving his wife Blandine in their house at New York,<sup>57)</sup> but on 4 May 1688 he conveyed his share in the plantation to Sluyter and Danckaerts<sup>58)</sup> and returned to his wife, becoming a wealthy merchant at New York. It seems, though, that he remained a sympathiser at heart, and his son Samuel continued in membership. In all of this, however, it was not as though Peter Sluyter himself was in perfect submission to authority. When Herrman Strauch died at Wieuwerd around 1692,<sup>59)</sup> and the mother colony urgently needed an elder to replace him, Yvon summoned Sluyter to return, but he declined, stating that what the Lord had ordained, He would not revoke, and so he would remain where the Lord had placed him.

Reactions to the Labadists were varied. Visitors were treated in a hospitable manner and came away with favourable impressions, as, for example, pastor Rudolphus Varick, who called by in June 1690 and who records: 'I was also *en passant* at Sluyter's, alias Vosman's [sic], in New Bohemia. They received me civilly and were about sixteen in number in their cloister, attending to agriculture.'<sup>60)</sup> The eminent French traveller and colonial statesman, Lamothe-Cadillac, visiting New York in 1692, mentions 'Abadians' in the same breath as Lutherans, Jews and Quakers as being an accepted denomination.<sup>61)</sup> Yet there is evidence of opposition, perhaps because of local suspicion of this secretive sect, or perhaps in the wake of the minor revolution that had taken place in Maryland in 1689, and this opposition was so serious a threat that the Labadists appealed directly to William III of England. On 7 November 1692 Lord Nottingham, Secretary of State, in-

structed governor Lionel Copley of Maryland to offer the community full protection, 'the King being informed Mrs. Vorsman... and some others, do live peaceably and religiously together upon a plantation on Bohemia River.' It is the king's desire that 'they may, as others his Majesty's good Subjects, Enjoy all possible peace and quietness in the Management of their private affairs and Concerns.'<sup>62</sup>)

The momentous year of 1692, which saw community of goods suspended in Friesland, seems to have affected New Bohemia little, the only significant effect being that Danckaerts, who left the Labadists at that point, sold his share of the Maryland estate to Sluyter before a notary in Friesland on 22 March 1693,<sup>63</sup>) leaving Sluyter in sole titular ownership of the Labadist community. By this point his first wife had died, and now he married Anna Margareta Couda, widow of Lege de Bouchelle, and thus became stepfather to her two children, Susanna and Petrus, who were to be of significance later. He ensured dynastic control of the plantation by inviting his younger brother Jacobus and his cousin Hendrik (Henry) to travel from Europe to join him, of whom there is little evidence that they were even accredited Labadists themselves. Jacob and Henry, together with two other adherents, Nicholas de la Montagne<sup>64</sup>) and Herman van Barkelo,<sup>65</sup>) were naturalised by an act of 18 October 1694 and, together with Samuel Bayard and John Moll jnr., sons of the original benefactors, formed the second generation of leadership at New Bohemia. Sluyter remained the elder, and by persuading governor Copley that he was an ordained man according to Dutch Reformed tradition (which was not strictly true), obtained a licence to conduct marriages within the community, provided the parties involved were full members.<sup>66</sup>)

It was not until 1698 that the community saw fit to apportion out the land to individuals. On 15 July Sluyter drew up several documents which were endorsed by a commissioner for oaths on 1 August. He retained for himself his own dwelling and adjoining land, known as Rich Neck, and divided the remainder as follows: John Moll jnr., 'my well beloved friend', received some 580 acres of the uppermost neck of land, from the ford on the Bohemia River along to the Appoquinnimink Path; Samuel Bayard bought three adjoining necks from Long Creek as far as the cart road to the Delaware; Herman van Barkelo and Nicholas de la Montagne would each take half of

the lowest neck, which stretched from Sluyter's own plantation to the mouth of Long Creek. With each parcel of land went hunting and fishing rights and the condition that all taxes be paid, plus a nominal quit rent to Samuel Bayard on 20 March each year.<sup>67</sup>) The reason for such a partition of the land is unclear, but a letter from pastor Selyns of 14 September offers a few hints. He informs Amsterdam: 'The Labadists departed from New York to New Bohemia, ...[missing] in Maryland. They have had poor success, and are divided among themselves. Their numbers being very small, each one has his own property and his share in the allotted acres. In a few years they will have turned to nothing.'<sup>68</sup>) Though the division seems to have been made by common agreement and not out of disunion, we sense that community of goods was proving a burden. The solution chosen, with personal stewardship of possessions and common sharing of fixed assets, bears close comparison with the later experience of the Moravians, who in similar circumstances chose the same solution.<sup>69</sup>)

In early August 1702 the community was visited by a Quaker preacher, Samuel Bownas, who gives a detailed account of what he found. He came with a friend, who was well informed as to Labadist tenets in general but who was under the impression that full community of goods was still in practice.<sup>70</sup>) The pair came to Sluyter's house and 'were civilly entertained in their way':

When supper came in, it was placed upon a long table in a large room, where, when all things were ready, came in, at a call, about twenty men or upwards, but no woman; we all sat down, they placing me and my companion near the head of the table, and having paused a short space, one pulled off his hat, but not the rest till a short space after; they then one after another pulled all their hats off, and in that uncovered posture sat silent (uttering no words that we could hear) near half a quarter of an hour; and as they did not uncover at once, so neither did they cover themselves again at once; but as they put on their hats, commenced eating, not regarding those who were still uncovered, so that about two minutes might have elapsed between the first and last putting on of their hats. I afterwards queried with my companion concerning the reason of their conduct, and he gave this for answer, that they held it unlawful to pray till they felt

some inward motion for the same, and that secret prayer was more acceptable than to utter words; and that it was most proper for every one to pray as moved thereto by the Spirit in their own minds.

Bownas further lists their trades and occupations, principally 'a very large plantation of corn, tobacco, flax and hemp' and 'the manufactory of linen.'<sup>71)</sup>

All the while, Bohemia Manor had been developing and growing more populated. Niedy's Wharf at Bohemia Landing on the Bohemia River had become a significant landing-place for traffic *en route* to the South River, particularly for the liquor trade. Settlers of all kinds were granted land. Anglicans had grown sufficiently numerous for a church to be built, St. Augustine's, on the manor of that name, in 1703, but there were others: Mennonites, such as the Van Babber family, who built a mill in 1704, later bought by Sluyter; Jesuits, who founded the Maryland Mission in 1704 under Thomas Mansell and were granted a tract of land near the head of Little Bohemia Creek, which they called St. Xaverius, after St. Francis Xavier; even indians, who were given permission to settle on Casparus' Herrman's land, to universal consternation.<sup>72)</sup> The Labadists, seated on a large tract of good land, grew increasingly prosperous. They owned a shallop (a large two-master, rigged like a schooner) for transportation of their produce, and filled key positions in the county; for example, John Moll jnr. and Samuel Bayard were justices of the peace in 1702.<sup>73)</sup>

As the years passed, the Sluyter clan diminished.<sup>74)</sup> Peter's daughter Elisabeth, who had married the young Samuel Bayard, had died around 1699. His stepson Paulus had also died around this time, as had Peter's second wife, Anna Margareta, and his younger brother Jacobus passed away in April 1714, leaving only a cousin, Henry, alongside the Labadist patriarch. Meanwhile the Bayards were increasing. On the death of Elisabeth Sluyter, Samuel had married Susanna Bouchelle, stepdaughter of Peter Sluyter, who was by all accounts a singular woman, both in piety and erudition.<sup>75)</sup> In February 1716 Samuel and his brother-in-law<sup>76)</sup> divided their inheritance on Bohemia Manor, and Samuel moved there to live, constructing the so-called Great House, into which he incorporated various Bayard family memorabilia,

such as a fireplace dated 1667. He only lived there for five years, however, for on 23 November 1721 Samuel died at the age of forty-six, leaving four children.

In the autumn of 1721 the Labadists received a visit from another man with interests in community living. Conrad Beissel, a German, had spent a year at Germantown in Pennsylvania, before retiring to live as a recluse at nearby Conestoga. There he met Isaac van Bebber, a Mennonite who shared his religious convictions, and together they paid a visit to Maryland, Isaac to visit his relatives on Bohemia Manor, Beissel to call on the Labadists. A notoriously inaccurate account in a later biography tells us little of the visit,<sup>77)</sup> but it seems that Beissel was shown manuscripts by Labadie and Yvon, and that the prosperity of New Bohemia disappointed him. He was unable to countenance their retreat from community of goods, and left with a feeling of decline; he took with him a few Labadist books, including the 1651 *Premiere Apologie*. Eleven years later Beissel founded his own communitarian society, called Ephrata.<sup>78)</sup>

On 20 January 1721/2 Peter Sluyter, now in his seventies and sick in body, drew up a will.<sup>79)</sup> His soul he commends to God, his body 'to be buried after our own humble way in the Garden of the so called Great House,<sup>80)</sup> where severall of my Brethren and Sisters in Christ Jesus [are] expecting the General resurrection of the dead, and the Eternal life for the Soul and Body in the Everlasting Communion with God and all his saints and Holy ones through Jesus Christ, our gracious Lord, Saviour, King, Head and all what can be wished and expected.' Having outlived all his family, he constituted his stepson Petrus Bouchelle as his heir and executor, to inherit his house, plantation, goods, pharmacy and apothecary's shop. His watch he left to his cousin Henry, and his papers and books to 'my brother Johannes,' of whom nothing else is known. Small legacies were also made to assorted 'daughters' and 'sons-in-law', though as has been seen, this could refer to various relations.

A sudden spate of deaths removed most of the senior Labadists within months of each other. On 23 November 1721 Samuel Bayard had died young; John Moll jnr. passed away in Kent County at some point early in 1722; around the same time Peter Sluyter breathed his last and his estate passed to Petrus Bouchelle, a prominent doctor and presbyterian

elder;<sup>81</sup>) and on 4 February 1722 his cousin Henry passed into eternity, leaving to posterity a choice passage in his will concerning his anti-Labadist spouse: 'as my wife, to my sorrow, had always some difference with my friends, it is my desire that she retire to her former home in Philadelphia, or elsewhere.'<sup>82</sup>) Herman van Barkelo left the area and is found as an inhabitant of New Utrecht, a Dutch settlement on Long Island, in 1739. Nicholas de la Montagne's fate is uncertain. With the deaths of the leaders the community dispersed, to join other local churches. The church of Holy Trinity (old Swedes) at Wilmington, Delaware, records an unusual number of baptisms of children up to thirteen years of age 'from Bohemia', on 28 and 29 April 1722, and links them with Isaac van Bebber, the Mennonite. It is tempting to see in this the remnants of the Labadists of New Bohemia (who did not baptise children), as also in the enrolment in the communion registers of the same church of 'three Germans from Bohemia' on 14 April 1723.<sup>83</sup>) By the time Samuel Bownas revisited the site in 1727, 'these people were all scattered and gone, and nothing of them remained of a religious community in that shape.'<sup>84</sup>)

They left a twofold legacy in Maryland, firstly in the topography of Bohemia Manor and secondly in the spirituality of the colonies. Not only did the Labadie Tract continue to be so called until the present century, but the community's mill, on the Labadie Mill Creek, also remained for many years; Henry Sluyter bequeathed it to his son Benjamin, who in 1754 sold it to Solomon Hearsey, a religious man, who was still running it in 1771, when the first Methodist Society of the Eastern Shore was born in his house. Finally, Griffith's 1793 map of Maryland marks, towards the northern extremity of the Labadie Tract, the 'Labadie poplar,' the only tree to be so singled out and therefore doubtless of some renown.

The spiritual legacy was partly in the person of the remarkable Susanna Bayard, Peter Sluyter's stepdaughter. Her piety, which was Labadist born and bred, was exemplary; she also wrote voluminously<sup>85</sup>) and at the age of seventy could still mount and handle a horse with consummate skill. When 63 she welcomed the young George Whitefield, who came to Bohemia Manor in November 1740 and was 'kindly received by old Mrs. Bayard, a true mother in Israel.' Frequent contact followed, the Methodist pioneer often staying at Susanna's

house on his way to Reedy Island and Philadelphia.<sup>86</sup>) In a letter of 26 June 1746 he refers to the Great House as 'my headquarters.'<sup>88</sup>) The warm friendship continued until Susanna's death in 1750.

The other side of the Labadists' spiritual legacy in America is that they gave their name to a strain of separatist, pietistic spirituality which often had nothing directly to do with them, just as had been the case in Labadie's own day at Herford.<sup>88</sup>) The classic example is the complaint brought in 1725 (after the community of New Bohemia had disbanded) by some parishioners in the Raritan Valley against their pastor Theodorus Freylinghuysen (or Freylinghausen). The pastor and his church council had drawn up certain 'Letters of Citation' against the church members as a whole, who in turn composed a 246-page 'Complaint' and sent it to Amsterdam.<sup>89</sup>) Freylinghausen's party, we read, 'claim to be well nigh omniscient. ...This was the case of Labadie... and others.' Of his conventicles: 'Is that the way to win souls, when one holds secret meetings?... Or when in the City of New York, or elsewhere, one visits only such as bear the Labadistic marks of being born again, passing by all others as worldly people who are still in the natural state?' The document further states, as though the Labadists were still in force: 'Among the Labadists one must renounce the Reformed Dutch Church and make a new confession, in order to be received by them, a Church Reformed, but separated from the world.' Yet the Labadists had already ceased to exist in America, leaving behind a leaven of spirituality among their sympathisers and a phobia among devotees of the established churches of the colonies.



*Fig. 4. Lucia van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck (1649 - c. 1707), c. 1670, by an unknown artist. By this time she was a Lbadist and here, in the background, she is symbolically rejecting the world. The jewellery, forbidden in the community, has been added later by another hand to match that worn in the remainder of the family set. Oil, 110×87 cm. Colour: dress, blue, with white lace to the neck; sleeves, white; shawl, pink; hair, auburn; rose, white. From private collection of Rt.Hon. the Earl of Elgin, Broomhall, Fife, reproduced by kind permission.*



## CHAPTER 14

### Twilight of an Era. The Final Years in Friesland, 1692-1744

While Labadist fortunes overseas waxed and waned, the mother colony at Wieuwerd was entering a crucial phase of its existence as the year of 1692 dawned. Central to it all was a disenchanting former member, Petrus Dittelbach.<sup>1)</sup> His involvement in the community had been comparatively short (some five years) and punctuated with disagreements. It cannot have been easy for an ordained man to submit to elders with no recognised training, but from his own subsequent account we sense more than a trace of pride in the former pastor of Nendorp, and regularly we find Yvon and others admonishing him for disobedience. His wife and son, who had followed him to Friesland more out of duty than desire, were openly hostile to the disciplinarian ways, and it was over the issue of discipline of children that Dittelbach finally chose to leave the Labadists around 1688. Wieuwerd thereafter regarded him with the utmost suspicion, and when Yvon heard that an adherent at Emmerich had offered Dittelbach hospitality, he straightway wrote to remonstrate, calling the renegade 'an enemy of the Work of the Lord.' On his preaching trip to Amsterdam in 1689/90,<sup>2)</sup> Yvon had given the stewards at the door express orders to deny access to Dittelbach.

Now came several letters from Dittelbach, the first dated 10 December 1691, in which he outlined all his objections to the Labadist stance on marriage and the upbringing of children. He could see, he claimed, no fruit in the children to suggest that the policy of strict discipline was paying dividends; indeed, the children seemed to be going about in constant *fear*. In the last of his letters, Dittelbach informed Yvon that it was his intention to refute the Labadist position in print, but would refrain from so doing provided that Yvon read his letters privately to the whole community. Such could have

seemed brotherly and fair-minded, but word reached Wieuwerd that Dittelbach was visiting many who had left, amassing details of grievances. Needless to say, there was no deal, and Yvon wrote to Bardewits at Amsterdam<sup>3</sup>) to say that Wieuwerd had no intention of replying. Nevertheless Labadist feathers were ruffled, and the start of 1692 saw one elder regularly commuting between Wieuwerd and Amsterdam, gathering information and encouraging all adherents.

The blow fell early in March. *Verval en Val der Labadisten*<sup>4</sup>) (Decline and Fall of the Labadists) appeared at Amsterdam, its preface dedicated to Cecilia, wife of Eberhard von Danckelman, the second most powerful man in Germany, and within weeks it had sold out. It comprised a reworking of the three letters to Yvon, adducing scriptures to counter Labadist matrimonial doctrine and cataloguing any number of domestic scandals, most of which have been outlined in preceding chapters. The recurrent themes are of high-handed authority, unequal distribution of benefits, financial mismanagement and a stubborn refusal to be guided by anyone with greater knowledge than they. With such a *régime*, Dittelbach concluded, it was only a matter of time before the Labadist community crumbled.

Response to the book was immediate and within eight weeks a second, expanded edition was in preparation. Wieuwerd held its tight-lipped peace. Support was not lacking, pastor Ernst Buchfelder from Emden reassuring them that any discerning reader would detect the self-centred spirit of Dittelbach's diatribe. Their name became more widely known too, one visitor coming all the way from Italy on the strength of what he had read. Yet the work served as a potent catalyst to a reaction already stirring within the Labadist ranks. Hendrik van Deventer, the success story of the community, finally expressed his reservations. His achievements as surgeon, physician and obstetrician had gained him both reputation and riches, and now he saw the community as restricting both. Only the previous year he had made the discovery for which he would be best remembered, namely that childbirth was eased considerably with the womb in an oblique position, and that the mother ought therefore to give birth in a crouching, rather than supine position. With such a discovery he saw his future assured, but not in a backwater like Wieuwerd. After all, despite his successes, he did not as yet even have a

medical diploma, for his efforts were primarily for the benefit of the community. Worse still, all his income went straight into the common fund, and his own family<sup>5)</sup> benefitted little from it. The recent epidemic<sup>6)</sup> had decimated the population at Walta-slot and cut its income, and van Deventer found himself effectively subsidising the entire community operation. He estimated that of recent years he had contributed some 10,000 guilders, more than all the rest put together. Now he was convinced that it was his duty as a Christian father to devote himself first and foremost to his family, and took the bold step of suggesting the suspension of community of goods.

A body-blow, with far-reaching repercussions. The whole Labadist way of life was founded on common sharing, and the majority of members had been drawn by the witness of such a lifestyle, disillusioned as they were with the greed and selfishness of the world. Yet the financial strain of the colonial enterprises had taken a heavy toll, the income of the titled members was not inexhaustible, and without van Deventer's support, the common fund faced bankruptcy. Confronted with such a crisis, Yvon called the whole assembly together every day for a week to consider the implications, and though the majority of the 'speaking brothers' still championed full sharing, the voice of Hendrik van Deventer, backed up as it was by thousands of guilders, prevailed. As with the marital question at Herford twenty years before,<sup>7)</sup> a serious *volte-face* was given a spiritual gloss. Yvon, Danckaerts and the other elders explained that the original community at Jerusalem had not remained in that form for long but had been dispersed by the Lord to spread its influence far and wide. And so it was that, around the end of May 1692, community of goods was abandoned by the Labadists in Friesland. Each member was instructed to write down how much he or she had put into the fund<sup>8)</sup> and drop the note in at Robijn's room by eight o'clock the following morning, and efforts would be made to refund as much of it as possible.

Yvon was at pains to stress that *community* had not ceased among them, but only the sharing of possessions, and Danckaerts insisted that the 'Work of the Lord' could now begin in earnest, but they were unable to prevent large numbers leaving. Petrus Dittelbach, in the sequel to his *Verval en Val*,<sup>9)</sup> notes with glee that his prophecy had been so speedily fulfilled. Large groups of Labadists appeared at Amsterdam,

acting strangely and saying nothing. One, a native of Mörs, told Dittelbach that he had not actually read his book, but still felt it to be all lies. Dittelbach wrote to Reiner Copper at Wieuwerd, asking to know any just grievances, but the only reply was a hastily convened meeting at Amsterdam to refute Dittelbach by word of mouth. A few of the former members rented a house in the town, to continue communal living there, but no details of its fate are known. In the Rhineland, church councils noted the return of Labadists to their region, urging utmost vigilance.

The exodus was so great that a community of some three hundred souls at the time of the division, shrank to a mere thirty within a decade. Those who remained were expected to provide for themselves, and any wishing to stay who had no independent means were to be taken under the direct care of a wealthier member. Some who left (Dittelbach cites one German family) voluntarily left a quarter of what they had brought in as a subsidy for such poorer members. Elders also opted to depart. Cornelis van der Meulen left immediately and nothing is known of his final years. Jasper Danckaerts remained a while at Wieuwerd. In March 1693 he made over his share in the Maryland plantation to Peter Sluyter, but is still listed as resident at Walta-slot when on 1 June 1696 he married Christina de Hartog, a native of Rijnsburg.<sup>10)</sup> Shortly afterwards, however, he withdrew to Middelburg, there to produce an elaborate manuscript, *Triumpf des Hebreuwsche Bibels*, before his death around 1703. Reiner Copper hesitated for a time, but when Countess Hoorn heard of the Labadist collapse, she called him to Bielefeld. Our sole source<sup>11)</sup> is ambiguous as to whether he truly left the community or merely embarked on a tour of the Rhineland to strengthen the faithful there, but whatever the reason, he travelled by way of Mörs and Krefeld, where he had attracted a following years before, and held conventicles.<sup>12)</sup> After some time he decided to return to Wieuwerd and took a boat down the Ems to Emden, where, however, he fell seriously ill. Pastor Buchfelder, a good friend of the Labadists, read him passages from Yvon's *Fidelle narré* on his deathbed, and on 18 December 1693 Copper died.

Hendrik van Deventer remained at Wieuwerd a further two years, which is surprising in the light of his desire to succeed quickly in his medical career. Yet Friesland had been his home for well nigh twenty years, and the prospect of leaving

cannot have been easy. As part of his own repayment of capital he had received outright the house in Wieuwerd which he used for lodging patients, and on 26 March 1694 he purchased another, painted red, at the eastern end of the village, and moved into it himself.<sup>13)</sup> Here he continued to practise, including another operation on the schoolmaster from Ytens.<sup>14)</sup> However, later that year, for reasons unknown, Gerhard Lammers, professor of medicine at Groningen, issued van Deventer with a medical diploma.<sup>15)</sup> Mindful of his prospects, he sent the certificate to The Hague, requesting permission to practise there, and it is no small mark of the man's reputation that the application was given serious consideration, even though his lack of Latin stood heavily against him. Permission was finally granted a year later and van Deventer bought a house at Voorburg, on the outskirts of The Hague, called it Zions-lust, and began writing books.<sup>16)</sup> The fact that he produced them at his own home and on his own press (one title page states 'Gedruckt tot Voorburg op Zions-lust, bij en voor den Autheur') leads us to assume that he had brought from Wieuwerd, again as part of his repayment of capital, the Labadist printing-press, which had not been used for some years. It is important to note that, although the doctor had caused the death of community of goods at Wieuwerd, he was not regarded as an enemy, indeed a visitor in 1703 was told that 'in Amsterdam [sic] lived a *medicus*, named Henric van Deventer, who was of their cause,'<sup>17)</sup> and his chiliastic texts written towards the end of his life have a Labadist ring to them. He died at Voorburg on 12 December 1724.

Groups of Labadists still loyal to the cause left Wieuwerd for Franeker and Leeuwarden and remained in close contact, among them Vincentia and Maria van der Haer, who had bought a house in Wieuwerd in April 1694 but four years later sold it and moved to Franeker.<sup>18)</sup> For the few who remained at Walta-slot, the whole financial structure had to be reorganised. The fixed annual tax<sup>19)</sup> had risen from 1,200 to 1,500 guilders as recently as April 1691,<sup>20)</sup> but that was for three hundred souls, not thirty. So the van Sommelsdyck sisters approached the States of Friesland for an annulment of the former agreement and for their land to be taxed in the normal manner.<sup>21)</sup> This was granted, and in the taxation records for 1700 (the first available after the division) we find Walta-slot as comprising 63 *pondematen* of land, with an an-

nual *floreen* tax of twelve florins.<sup>22</sup>) That money was tight is clear from a notarial act of surety drawn up for the van Sommelsdyck sisters by Edo Frieswyck of Sneek on 9 October 1692 to secure payment of an outstanding sum from one Hendrik Santbeek, a plumber at The Hague, and to ensure that Jean Benjamin Dulignon, soon to come of age, would receive his inheritance.<sup>23</sup>) Yvon made his own financial position sure when, on 21 October 1695, he wed Lucia van Sommelsdyck, Labadie's widow, a lady of independent means.<sup>24</sup>) Nevertheless, some charitable work continued, with Yvon acting as guardian to a blind orphan of 23, Isaac Bausaert. It did not, however, work well, for Bausaert rejected all discipline, absconded to Leeuwarden and fathered an illegitimate child by a whore of the town; when reproved, he made it clear that he would do it again, and Yvon was forced to seek his transfer to a house of correction at Amsterdam.<sup>25</sup>)

An invaluable source of information on the Labadist community after the division is the account of a visit paid to Wieuwerd by one Gottlieb Stolle. He had studied law at Leipzig before becoming a private tutor, and now aged thirty, he took his *protégé* on an educational tour of Germany and the United Provinces. Since he was a pious man and had read with profit works by Spener, Poiret, Labadie and Yvon, a visit to Walta-slot was included in the itinerary, and his journal records in detail all the events of Sunday 10 June 1703.<sup>26</sup>) Accompanied by a friend from Leeuwarden, who was none too friendly towards the community, they arrived at seven in the morning and asked to see Yvon. The latter's servant came to satisfy himself of their intentions, and seemed cool until the travellers stressed their acquaintance with the great Halle pietist, Francke.<sup>27</sup>) However, the servant informed them that Yvon was confined to bed with gout and gallstones, and could barely speak on account of his weakness, so would be unable to meet them. Instead they were introduced to Conrad Bosman, one of the 'speaking brothers' and a former spinner from Amsterdam, but being unable to converse satisfactorily in French or Dutch, they asked for a German speaker and were taken to another room to meet the only remaining German resident, Johann Friedrich Lange.<sup>28</sup>) Over breakfast he told them that he had studied at Jena under professor Johann Musaeus<sup>29</sup>) before moving to Frankfurt am Main to be near Spener. Here two Labadist missionaries had won him over

and he had become a 'speaking brother' at Wieuwerd in 1689. He had forgotten almost all his Latin and set no store by learning, preferring now to consecrate himself solely to godliness. Indeed, comments Stolle, 'the good fellow was a simpleton, and had altered not only his abode but also his intelligence, so that, though he was not exactly coarse, he would be taken for a peasant far sooner than a graduate.'<sup>30)</sup>

The visitors were shown several works by Labadie,<sup>31)</sup> as well as manuscripts and letters by Anna van Schurman. They particularly wanted her *Eukleria*, but only the Dutch translation of 1684 was available. Nonetheless, Lange gave them copies of anything of which he had duplicates, and told them they could purchase many others from a bookseller named Bruyn in the Pepperstraat at Leeuwarden. They were also told that when Gottfried Arnold, the celebrated pietist church historian, had published his 'Impartial History of Churches and Heretics' in 1699,<sup>32)</sup> he had based his account of the Labadists on Dittelbach's *Verval en Val*, so Yvon had sent him material on Labadie's life and the community's history for use in a later edition.<sup>33)</sup>

The time being now nine o'clock, the visitors were asked to join in the morning's *exercise*, which now only happened once a week, for two hours on a Sunday morning. Stolle records:

It took place in a room on the ground floor of the manor, where Yvon lives. When we came in, most had already arrived, among them Yvon's wife, who nodded us a gracious greeting. Despite her rank and riches, she was simply dressed and looked rather old, although she cannot be above forty.<sup>34)</sup> Her unmarried sister<sup>35)</sup> is much older.

The speaker on this occasion was Frère Thomas,<sup>36)</sup> who was once a brewer but now operates a spinning-wheel; a man with the wit and ingenuity to wear a pious expression and to speak without hesitation for a good while. He began with a long prayer from his own head, for which he and the whole company arose and the men removed their hats, and none sat down again until it was finished. Next the 24th Psalm was sung (which, being the psalm it is, the said Frère Thomas wanted sung briskly) each in his own language yet to the same tune, and despite the fact that most sang in Dutch, many in French and one of us in German, because it all went smoothly there was no obvious confusion.

After the singing brother Thomas read a few verses from the Gospel of John and discoursed about them for around an hour, to which the seated company listened with deepest attention. Admittedly, he used many a tautology, so far as I could deduce (for he was speaking in Dutch), and often said what he had already said; neither did he keep to any set order, nor even to his text; but he brought forth many exemplary thoughts and suchlike things, which one would not easily imagine from a common and unlearned man. He spoke rather softly but with confidence. The whole address was made up chiefly of reflections.

When he had finished, another followed him, who also did pretty well. After that the exercise was closed by Frère Thomas with a long and reverent prayer.<sup>37)</sup>

Yvon himself, they were informed, usually attended the gatherings but did not lead them because his voice was now so weak. In the whole proceedings Stolle was impressed by the concentration and reverence of the congregation.

A further attempt at an audience with Yvon failed, but he did send them food and wine for lunch, over which Lange told them that the Labadist leader was small of stature, of medium build and lacking in the strength which had kept Labadie speaking and writing until his death at 64 (Yvon was now 57 and had written little for over ten years). Following his marriage to Lucia van Sommelsdyck they had had one child, but it had not survived. Further questions were put and answered, again furnishing us with precious snippets of information. Since the division the much-publicised discipline and rules had been waived, 'for those are only papist ways,'<sup>38)</sup> and Lange had not experienced any strictness; rather each was left to the guidance of God and was exhorted to pay heed to the chastenings of the Holy Spirit in the heart, seeking counsel and brotherly support whenever it was needed. Gone were the denunciations of established churches as vipers and swine, indeed Lange himself had not had to make any new profession, but had remained a Lutheran. This fact is corroborated by Dittelbach, who records that within weeks of the division Yvon was adopting a new policy of magnanimity; for example, he told van der Meulen's sister at Rotterdam that she should remain within the established church, watch and pray. A celibate man at Amsterdam (formerly 'le grand monde,' to be



shunned like the devil himself) was counselled similarly.

Stolle also enquired whether any links existed between Wieuwerd and the Waisenhaus, the communitarian orphanage founded by the Pietist August Francke at Halle. Lange was not sure but remembered that a girl had once written to Yvon from the Waisenhaus and Francke had penned a few lines at the bottom of the page. Neither was Lange able to give a clear picture of the Labadists' current opinion of Pierre Poiret and Jakob Böhme. With this the visit ended and the travellers were escorted to their coach by Lange and Yvon's servant (Bosman having left to hold the weekly catechism for the children from one till three o'clock), the latter pressing upon them the scripture 'whoever comes to me and does not hate father and mother, ...cannot be my disciple' (Luke 14:26). When Stolle offered Lange something for all his help, it was courteously declined. And so, with a last, appreciative look at the well-kept grounds, the travellers continued on their way to Franeker.

Four years later, in 1707, Yvon was dead. His whole life, from boyhood at Montauban to infirm age in Friesland, had been lived under the influence of Labadie. Largely unsung by comparison with his master, his contribution to Labadist influence, by writing<sup>39)</sup> and by example, was considerable, and while Johann Zentgraf, professor of theology at Strasbourg, could publish a refutation of Yvon's views of predestination in the very year of his death<sup>40)</sup>, the Rotterdam publisher Barent Bos produced a translation of some of Yvon's manuscript remains, *Van de Reden en van't Geloof* ('Of Reason and Faith') and *Van't Ware Woord Gods* ('Of the True Word of God').<sup>41)</sup> These are typical of Yvon's style of writing: straightforward, with less flourish than Labadie but with the direct force of clarity, sometimes employing the question-and-answer style of a supposed dialogue. In the former text, Yvon defines faith as 'the supernatural capacity imparted to the true believer in his new birth and new creation through grace, whereby he is enabled to attain and to receive in his spirit and heart the supernatural (though revealed) truth, as it is in God and in Christ, and as it has been revealed to the saints inwardly and outwardly<sup>42)</sup> through the Spirit and word of God Himself; which testimony is the sole, true and sufficient foundation of the faith of elect and true Christians.'<sup>43)</sup> A brief epitaph to Yvon the man is preserved in the preface to a work by

Campegius Vitringa, tutor in church history and sacred languages at Franeker:

The memory of Petrus Yvon, that faithful servant of Jesus Christ now departed, will always be valued by me on account of his particular fear of God, his learning, his perception in discerning the way of God, and because of our mutual inclination the one to the other, and our kinship, which I have learned to honour.<sup>44)</sup>

Within months of Yvon's death, his widow, Lucia van Sommelsdyck, also passed away. This presented the only surviving van Sommelsdyck sister, Anna, with a problem; she was now 67, unmarried and infirm, and with her death the estate at Wieuwerd would pass to her nearest relative, her sister Françoise, wife of Henry van Nassau-Ouwerkerke (or Auverquerque, as he preferred to spell it), who was not a Labadist.<sup>45)</sup> This could easily mean the expulsion of the remnant of the community. Therefore on 11 December 1707 Anna drew up a testamentary codicil whereby she made over all her lands in Friesland to Françoise on condition that Jasper Robijn, Thomas Vermaat, Conrad Bosman and Jean Dupied be allowed to remain on the estate at Wieuwerd<sup>46)</sup> until the death of the longest lived; they were to enjoy its revenues, provided they pay all taxes and maintain the property, of which a detailed inventory (unfortunately lost) was drawn up. Yvon's daughter Marthe, now 36, was to be paid an annual pension of 500 guilders should she outlive the last of the four named Labadists, all of whom were now over fifty. The right to nominate the local pastors and schoolteachers passed to Françoise, who was urged to let nothing disturb the peace of the Labadists.<sup>47)</sup> Françoise endorsed the agreement on 20 December 1707 and confirmed her acceptance before the London notary Philip de Gols on 12 April 1709.<sup>48)</sup>

The taxation records for 1711 list ownership of Walta-slot as having passed to Françoise, so we may assume that Anna died early that year, at seventy-one.<sup>49)</sup> The following year, on 12 September, Françoise drew up her own will before notary Philip de Gols in London, in which she reiterated her full acceptance of Anna's stipulations concerning the Labadists' right of abode.<sup>50)</sup> The actual legacies to her three children were made in a codicil of 18 October 1712, where we read:

To my son William Mauris, Count of Nassau Auverquerque, the House and all the land in Friesland that I have inherited from my sister, and which is now in the use during their lifetime of four persons named by my sister and confirmed by me; yet my son has the ownership. Moreover it was my sister's desire that these lands should not be sold. My desire is that my son shall perform all this for the said company, which was so recommended to me by my sister, and which I hold in such regard.<sup>51)</sup>

The legacy, however, was not quick to come, for Françoise lived a further seven years beyond the drawing up of her will. There is evidence that Willem Maurits sought to skirt round his obligation to the Labadists, but he reckoned without the spirit of his mother, who on 28 July 1720, at the age of 78, penned a note reinforcing her previous codicil:

This will serve [to confirm] that I renounce, for me and mine, my right to the furniture and all that is listed in an inventory, in the house left to me by my sister de Sommeldyck; as such I do not intend that my heirs hereafter may lay any claim to it. Signed by my own hand, leaving all to the five persons named by my sister.<sup>52)</sup>

Within weeks, her point made, Françoise van Nassau-Auverquerque was borne to her last resting place in Westminster Abbey.

Meanwhile the Labadists lived on in peace, gradually growing older. No outreach was now attempted, the residents preferring to live out their days in quiet contemplation. On 10 October 1713 Jaspar Robijn continued the trend of leaders marrying late in life by wedding Marthe Yvon, at forty-two twenty-four years his junior.<sup>53)</sup> The following year a census was taken of the population of Friesland, listing adults, children over seven and children under seven, thus giving exact figures for the Labadist presence at Wieuwerd.<sup>54)</sup> Walta-slot is listed ('otherwise called the Wieuwerd *Bos*') as housing forty adults and forty children under seven, with none younger, which represents about a third of the population of the village (120 adults, 103 children over seven, 17 under seven) and indicates the absence of younger families at Walta-slot. Individuals owning land, or in the Labadists' case enjoying the

right to the revenues of land, are listed separately, and several are noted as 'belonging to the *Bos*': Vermaat, Dupied, Bosman (Robijn curiously absent), plus Diurre Baukes, Willem Olmesson and Daniel Coppenole.<sup>55</sup>) As the leaders aged, so too did the ancient house itself, and a jotted list of necessary repairs sent to Willem Maurits on his succession in 1720 illustrates the decay: the guttering of the great barn had collapsed and the rain was coming in; the capstones atop the bridge over the moat needed leading together and crampons fixing; the long avenues were overgrown and untidy; the fruit trees in the orchard could not produce their fruit because the long grass was sapping all the goodness from the soil; the flower garden needed urgent attention, but would not be replanted with shrubs because they blocked the view of the main wing of the house; the trees of the 'bos' itself were in need of having branches lopped off to stop them pressing on the hedges; and the pavilion in the arbour needed new windows and was in danger from a tree that had begun to lean over it.<sup>56</sup>)

Willem Maurits took possession of his lands in Friesland late in 1720. He was a military and diplomatic man and, unlike his immediate relatives, chose not to live in England but to remain in Holland, where he rose to the rank of Field Marshall of the Dutch army, governor of Sluis and Dutch Flanders (1730) and ambassador of Zeeland to England (1722). He resided at The Hague, paying occasional visits to Walta-slot, but his knowledge of Frisian affairs and even of what he actually owned there, was scanty, and various agents kept him informed of events, local usages and what was expected of him. Cornelis Pieters, the tenant of the largest portion of the Labadist agricultural land, was his *bijzitter* or representative on the local council (*grietenij*) and advised him of how to use his voting rights.<sup>57</sup>) And when the pastorate of Britswerd and Wieuwerd fell vacant at the close of 1721, Willem Maurits sought the Labadists' advice on whom to appoint; on 30 January 1722 Robijn wrote suggesting Georgius Oevering from Warrega, a graduate of Franeker. Willem Maurits accordingly bade the *grietmann* of Baarderadeel, Hans Willem van Aylva,<sup>58</sup>) nominate Oevering to the cure.<sup>59</sup>) The change in the parish registers is immediately noticable, with prayers written in among the births, deaths and marriages, and a *cri de coeur* about not merely making church members but forming a sanctified 'people of King Jesus', so it

is evident that Oevering's spirituality was akin to the Labadists' own.<sup>60)</sup>

The right of abode at Walta-slot was, however, causing some concern to the Labadists. Robijn was now into his seventies, Dupied his late sixties, and the isolated situation of the house, separated from Leeuwarden by roads that were scarcely passable in winter, was proving burdensome. Therefore, early in October 1721, Robijn purchased a house in the Poststraat at Leeuwarden and in so doing awakened rumours of an impending sale of the estate at Wieuwerd; interested parties addressed obsequious letters to Willem Maurits to stake their claim, foremost among them members of the Aylva family, one of the most influential of the region.<sup>61)</sup> As yet, however, there was no suggestion from the Labadists' side of annulling the existing arrangement, and a letter which Robijn penned to Willem Maurits on 30 December makes no mention of it. Rather does he present his compliments on the latter's return from England and stress the community's satisfaction with Hans Willem van Aylva, the new *grietmann* of Baarderadeel, for whom they had been instructed to vote; Aylva has visited them and made known his high regard for them and his intention of rendering them whatever service he may during his term of office.<sup>62)</sup>

Further correspondence ensued and the matter of possible sale was clearly discussed, for Willem Maurits asked the Labadists to give him a rough estimate of how much the land could realise, together with its voting rights, if put on the market.<sup>63)</sup> On 30 January 1722 Robijn, Vermaat, Bosman and Dupied sent word that their advisers were of the opinion that the estate could sell for 80,000 francs, varying according to the state of the market.<sup>64)</sup> The count made plans to visit Walta-slot in the summer, to work out what of the furnishings and effects he might wish to keep. In fact, his ambassadorial duties prevented the visit, but about the middle of the year Robijn and his colleagues wrote requesting permission to leave the house anyway. No reply arriving, the request was reiterated in detail on 11 December 1722:

We had greatly desired and hoped, last summer, to have the honour and privilege of seeing and speaking with Your Excellency mouth to mouth here in Friesland; but your important business having prevented this, we are obliged, the best

we are able, to do so by letter, being incapable by reason of our great age and infirmity of travelling to Holland.

Since our last letter... touching our evacuation of this place and our move elsewhere, it has come to our mind in this connection to propose to you (if you are in agreement) and to ask of you that you be so kind as to grant and bestow upon us the complete and full enjoyment of the revenue of four of the largest places and lands at present belonging to your estate, (these places and lands are at the present time occupied by Cornelis Pieters, 109 *pondematen*, Pieter Hessels Fopma, 105 *pondematen*, Anne Douwes Goslinga, 122 *pondematen*, and Pieter Cornelis, 95 *pondematen*) so that we may receive the revenues from them until the death of the last living amongst us; after that, the aforesaid places and lands would revert to the profit of Your Excellency as being the owner.

The principal reasons why we would wish very much to retire to the town, are firstly that we are growing ever older and more infirm, and that living here so far from the towns we are unable to have ready to hand those things which we need for the care of the sick and the support of the weak, above all in winter when we can travel neither by water nor by road; secondly that on account of our age and infirmity we are unable to take care of so large an estate in the manner it requires, and cannot any longer deal with so many peasants and share-croppers, needing as we do, in our decrepit age, a little rest and tranquility.

Thirdly, we would very much wish, before we decline any further, to be able to place the persons who are here with us somewhere where they will be able to make a sober and frugal living.<sup>65</sup>)

Willem Maurits wrote accepting the proposal and on 23 August 1723 his agent in Friesland, Daniel Maure, visited Waltaslot and drew up a document making official the annulment of the prior agreement and the count's acceptance of the Labadists' terms, while allowing them to remain on the estate as long as they wished while Willem Maurits decided his future plans. Should he opt to retain the estate, the Labadist leaders would receive the revenues of the four fields they had suggested, amounting to an annual sum of 1,428 florins and a few pence; should the count elect to sell, he would compensate

the Labadists to the tune of 5,000 *rijksdaler* (12,500 florins) in cash.<sup>66)</sup>

A note in the count's own hand reveals that he was in two minds as to what to do; the estate would need looking at to assess its condition and the cost of its maintenance and repair, while at the same time his agent at Leeuwarden could initiate the preliminaries for a sale.<sup>67)</sup> As for furnishings, all that Willem Maurits was keen to keep was a series of portraits of his maternal forbears, the van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck family, doubtless a set similar to that which Veronica van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck brought to Scotland on her marriage to Alexander Bruce, Earl of Kincardine, and which still hang at the home of the Earl of Elgin in Fife.<sup>68)</sup>

The passing of time, however, largely resolved the matter, for within two years all but one of the five senior Labadists had passed into glory. Robijn had drawn up a will in 1721, leaving small legacies to others of the community (Thomas Vermaat, Jean Dupied and his aged mother; Sara Baute,<sup>69)</sup> Willem and Gertruid Olmesson – here written as Ollemesse – Harmen Wybes and Hendrik Baukes, a relative of Diurre<sup>70)</sup> as well as to several relatives;<sup>71)</sup> when finally he died on 18 July 1724, only weeks after his wife, Marthe Yvon, his estate was valued on behalf of Conrad Bosman, who was claiming collateral succession. It is no small mark of Labadist generosity that, out of total assets of 24,800 guilders, 3,645 were found to have been spent on 'the maintenance and feeding of several known poor persons.' The unresolved lawsuit in Surinam,<sup>72)</sup> estimated as requiring 1,000 guilders to settle, was another major debit, and once fees had been subtracted, all that Bosman collected from the *rekenkamer* was 528 guilders and 17 stuivers.<sup>73)</sup>

Jean Dupied and Thomas Vermaat died around the same time, leaving Conrad Bosman as the sole surviving Labadist 'speaking brother.' He and his wife, Elisabeth Sluiter,<sup>74)</sup> decided that the time had come to leave Walta-slot, so an agreement was reached with Willem Maurits, which Bosman made public in a declaration drawn up on 25 July 1725 in the home of secretary Petraeus of Baarderadeel, at Oosterwierum.<sup>75)</sup> The agreement was that the entire estate would revert to the count, to deal with as he please, excepting only that Bosman would retain until his death the use of a house and garden situated on the *hornleger*<sup>76)</sup> at Walta-slot, where he and his wife had

already been living for some years, together with the right to use all footpaths and waterways passing through the count's lands to the villages of Wieuwerd and Britswerd. Moreover, Bosman would receive an annual tax-free pension of 600 guilders taken from the income of the land, a privilege that would continue until his death regardless of whether or not the count chose to sell the estate. The date set for the official changeover was 12 May 1726<sup>77)</sup> The count lost no time and made preparations for a speedy sale. His agent, P.H. Petraeus, secretary of Baarderadeel, informed him on 1 September 1725 that he had approached Arent van Haersma, *grietman* of Oostergoo, as a potential buyer, but that his own feelings were that the sale would not be easy.<sup>78)</sup> Nine days later he wrote again: Haersma had visited Walta-slot and estimated the value as 60,000 florins, which Petraeus felt to be well below the true figure; moreover, Hans Willem van Aylva had been grumbling about not having been informed of the sale and given the first option that he had requested. On 29 September Petraeus wrote a third time, underlining the difficulty at the present time of selling the entire estate, and making the suggestion that, with the main selling month of October at hand, Willem Maurits would do best to offer each field for sale as a separate entity, since fields were fetching good prices on the open market.<sup>79)</sup>

The sale, however, did not work out at that time, and while Diurre Baukes did buy a house in Jorwerd in March 1726 and Bosman one at Britswerd on 6 September 1728,<sup>80)</sup> the Labadist remnant continued beyond the date set for the changeover and was still living at Walta-slot in 1729, when the sale was finally agreed. On 23 June a notary at The Hague, Johannes Arnold, drew up a patent on behalf of Willem Maurits as seller, which was ratified on 11 July by notary van Lamminga of Leeuwarden and secretary Petraeus of Baarderadeel.<sup>81)</sup> The buyer was Hans Willem, baron van Aylva, councillor of the States of Friesland and *grietman* of Baarderadeel, and his sister, Judith Maria. The sale was announced publicly on 3 October and concluded on 12 November.<sup>82)</sup> What was actually bought and for what price has regularly been misrepresented,<sup>83)</sup> but the correct list is as follows.



At Wieuwerd:

|  |     |  |
|--|-----|--|
| ‘The noble manor, with all dependent houses, gatehouses, gardens, moats, trees and plantations, called Walta-slot... |     | free from florin tax.                  |
| <i>Aasgama-zate</i> (pasture)  | 109 | annual florin tax of 33½ f.            |
| <i>pondematen,</i>   |     |  |
| <i>Zylstra-zate</i> (pasture)  | 57  | ----- 19½ f.                           |
| <i>pondematen,</i>   |     |  |
| <i>Alverda-zate</i> (pasture)  | 32  | ----- 9½ f.                            |
| <i>pondematen,</i>   |     |  |
| <i>Ekkinga-zate</i> (farm + mill)  | 42  | ----- 11¼ f.                           |
| <i>pondematen,</i>   |     |  |
| <i>Hÿbesma-zate</i> (farm + mill)  | 50  | ----- 10 f.                            |
| <i>pondematen,</i>   |     |  |
| <i>Osinga-zate</i> (pasture)   | 11  | ----- 5 f.                             |
| <i>pondematen,</i>   |     |  |
| One untaxed house and garden   |     |  |
| Other land   | 3   | <i>pondematen,</i> free of florin tax. |

At Britswerd:

|                                  |     |                            |
|----------------------------------|-----|----------------------------|
| <i>Sjaukema-zate</i> (farm)      | 50½ | annual florin tax of 20 f. |
| <i>pondematen,</i>               |     |                            |
| <i>Jildersma-zate</i> (meadow)   | 30  | ----- 10 f.                |
| <i>pondematen,</i>               |     |                            |
| <i>Roorda-zate</i> (farm + mill) | 74  | ----- 22 f.                |
| <i>pondematen,</i>               |     |                            |
| <i>Abbinga-zate</i> (farm)       | 95  | ----- 20½ f.               |
| <i>pondematen,</i>               |     |                            |
| <i>Falstra-zate</i> (pasture)    | 105 | ----- 33½ f.               |
| <i>pondematen,</i>               |     |                            |

At Bozum:

|                     |    |            |
|---------------------|----|------------|
| Two unnamed meadows | 22 | ----- 3 f. |
| <i>pondematen,</i>  |    |            |

At Schillaard:

|                     |      |   |
|---------------------|------|---|
| Small piece of land | 3    | free of florin tax.                             |
| <i>pondematen,</i>  |      |   |
| In total            | 683½ | <i>pondematen,</i> annual florin tax of 197¾ f. |

The total price was 100,000 guilders, of which 700 guilders were to be subtracted annually from the income of Falstra-zate at Britswerd and paid as a tax-free pension to Conrad Bosman, who was living there.<sup>84)</sup>

The new owner, Hans Willem van Aylva, remained at his former residence, Botniahuis at Weidum, while repairs and extensive alterations were carried out at Walta-slot, which were still going on in 1731.<sup>85)</sup> In 1732 his servants were able to move in, several being admitted to church membership of Wieuwerd and Britswerd,<sup>86)</sup> and finally in 1733 Hans Willem came to live in his new mansion, only to die within months, aged 39. His sister Judith Maria maintained the property in her own name until 1737,<sup>87)</sup> when she married Frederick Carel, Count van Wied, into whose name it passed.<sup>88)</sup> The great house continued to be taxed, and therefore presumably inhabited, until the mid-1740's, but by 1747 it is no longer mentioned, having been allowed to fall into decay. At length it was pulled down, and a visitor to the site on 26 January 1763 records: 'Of the demolished manor at Wieuwerd nothing is to be seen but a few heaps of rubble.'<sup>89)</sup> The site is now occupied by three farms, whose tenants are still known locally as *boskerboeren*, after the Labadist *Bos*. As for Conrad Bosman, he seems to have moved to Leeuwarden around 1731, and it was here, through the agency of pastor Johannes Schrader, that he came into contact with the Pietist mystic Gerhard Tersteegen. The latter was well disposed to Labadie and in 1729 had translated the *Manuel de piété* into German.<sup>90)</sup> Now he included Bosman in his vast correspondence, calling him 'dearly beloved brother in the precious grace of our sanctifier, Jesus Christ,' and speaking of such Labadist matters as sanctification, the death of self-love, and the full sacrifice of the heart to God.<sup>91)</sup> By 1744, however, we find Bosman back in Wieuwerd; a census of that year lists him as *bijzitter* (a representative on the local council), with more capital to his name than anyone else in the village.<sup>92)</sup> Later that year he died.

As far as watertight documentary evidence is concerned, the Labadist story ends here. However, it has received an epilogue which makes up in popular appeal for what it lacks in historical proof: the mummified bodies in a vault of the parish church at Wieuwerd. The story need occupy us little here, having been amply related and analysed elsewhere,<sup>93)</sup> but may be

summarised thus: in March 1765 some workmen discovered a burial vault that had been sealed and long forgotten, since it bore no inscription. Inside were eleven coffins of varying date, judging by their style,<sup>94</sup>) but without identification, and when one was opened, it was found to contain the body of an aged woman, in a remarkable state of preservation.<sup>95</sup>) The *Leeuwarder Courant* (no. 410), in good journalistic fashion, immediately publicised the find as the body of Anna Maria van Schurman. We could wish that it had not, because although scholarly investigation and a letter from Anna's last surviving relative rendered this unlikely, if not untenable, the popular belief lived on.

Over the years the picture gained more detail but no greater clarity, while the concrete evidence (the mummies themselves) gradually fell victim to the Dutch taste for macabre souvenirs and the Franeker medical students' desire for specimens.<sup>96</sup>) Attention was drawn to Anna's testamentary wish to be interred beneath the wall on the north side of the church, beside her old friend Sara Moot, and elderly villagers recalled this having been done; but a later sexton remembered being told by his ancient predecessor, who had held the office in 1700, that Anna's corpse had later been exhumed and transferred to the vault. Then came the evidence of a silversmith from Leeuwarden, Frans Stellingwerf, who claimed to have been a Labadist and who was buried, in accordance with his will, in the vault at Wieuwerd, where several of his brethren reposed.<sup>97</sup>) Against this may be said that, while Stellingwerf was indeed old enough to have been a Labadist (he was baptised on 24 September 1697), he was still alive when the vault was discovered in 1765 (he died some five years later) yet offered no authoritative statement in the controversy over who actually lay there; this suggests that his will was motivated by the rumour of Anna van Schurman's last resting place. In short, the matter cannot be proven, but the bulk of the evidence points to the vault having been an ancestral tomb of the Walta family, with possible Labadist additions, while the scanty textual references we have point to Labadist burials on the north side of the churchyard.<sup>98</sup>)

A more concrete, though small, legacy of Labadism is regional to Friesland. While the authorities gradually dropped the sect from their records,<sup>99</sup>) it lived on in popular memory and local tradition. At Wieuwerd the farmers working the land

on the site of Walta-slot are still known as *boskerboeren*, after the Labadist *bos*, the double line of trees surrounding the estate and, from a distance, giving the appearance of a wood in a singularly unforested region (*bos* means 'wood'). In fact, the term *Labadistenbos* survived the community and has frequently been used since to designate the rectangular wooded enclosure of a farm or estate. 'Labadist cloth', a coarse woollen frieze once used to make the *bosrock*, the habit for Labadist women,<sup>100)</sup> was still to be found in the province at the turn of this century. The district of Baarderadeel, in which the Labadist properties were situated, has houses where tradition claims Labadist conventicles to have been held, or with pious inscriptions of a Labadist sort and of Labadist date. Further afield in Ferwerderadeel we find a *Labadistenbos* near Broek onder Akkerwoude and a 'Labadist house' at Vaardeburen, near Blija.<sup>101)</sup>

The final legacy of the Labadists is wide but nebulous: their spirituality. The vagueness stems from the fact that, like 'Donatist', 'Cathar' and 'Anabaptist' before them, the term 'Labadist' was taken up as a convenient slogan to cover any group meeting as a conventicle and practising pietistic devotions in separation from the world. As such it was frequently applied to groups which, so far as can be judged, were never related to Wieuwerd. This was especially the case on the Lower Rhine, where even Quakers were sometimes deemed 'Labadists', even though, as has been seen, Quakers and Labadists could not mix. In 1700 pastor Hermann Barlemeier of Kirchherten was suspended from office on a charge of Labadism and retired to Wesel, but this was long after the Labadist apostles had ceased touring the Lower Rhine. At Duisburg in 1695 and 1696 we find references to 'erring Labadists' in the same breath as fear of schism, an indication that, to the Reformed authorities at least, the name Labadist was synonymous with 'separatist'. And the fact that Samuel Nethenus of Bearl could report that his parishioners were speaking in one breath of 'hypocrites, Labadists, Quakers and phantasts'<sup>102)</sup> shows that the common man cared little for fine distinctions between his whipping-boys.

The same confused thinking has been responsible for 'sightings' of supposed Labadists ever since, especially in Friesland and Groningen, where conventicles and lay preachers were common until 1834, when a separation took place in the

Dutch Reformed Church and the conventicles became more or less official as a separate denomination.<sup>103</sup>) The fact that even then some of the lay preachers ('oefenaars') could not settle in the new organism and separated from it to preach once more to their select flocks, indicates that the phenomenon of sectarianism goes deeper than any one man, certainly deeper than Labadie or Yvon. It touches on the eternal tension between two views of the church, one traditional, sacramental, all-embracing but sometimes embracing compromise and sin in the process, the other radical, militant, fundamentalist, with admirable zeal for the glory of God but frequently lacking wisdom and charity. So while claims have been made that 'Labadists' were still to be found into the present century, it makes more sense to speak of Labadist *concepts* as does, for example, the historian J. Reitsma when viewing the decline of church observance in the parish of Kooten as late as 1868.<sup>104</sup>)

Four main strands of Labadist influence may be detected: the activity of travelling missionary bands over much of the Lower Rhine and the United Provinces; the dissolution of communal sharing in 1692, which sent scores of Labadists out into the world to seek solace in the conventicle movements of many a town; the final disbanding of 1729, which joined a small number to the Schraderian conventicles of Leeuwarden; and the work of Labadist literature. By far the most important were the first and the last. Labadist literature, as has been seen, was influential both on noble benefactors and on individuals and groups seeking a walk of deeper surrender and spirituality. It guided the early days of Frankfurt Pietism, was read by Quakers even though the two groups could not agree, was highly regarded in the Philadelphian movement a few years after the collapse at Wieuwerd, and held a place of respect among the Mennonites of America. Some of Labadie's hymns, translated by Tersteegen with a preface of high praise to their author, have passed into German hymnals. Labadist apostles, meanwhile, acted as a catalyst to a reaction already stirring against the stultifying atmosphere of the state church. Their effect was such that the Labadists were, in their heyday, a talking-point over much of protestant Europe. Gerhard Croese, pastor of Albla, near Dordrecht, wrote in 1696 (with the community still in existence, though 'dissolved and dispersed'): 'So great was the Fame of this Society, that there was scarce any place in these Countries where there was not a great

talk about these Teachers and Workers, so that in Foreign Countries there was scarce any where, unless it were among such People, who have no regard to what is done abroad, who had not heard something of them.<sup>105)</sup>

The message of bands and literature alike was the peculiar contribution of labadism. To the reader three centuries hence, who has witnessed John Wesley, the Moravians, and the house-church movement, Labadism presents little that could be called objectionable; indeed it would be hard to fault Labadie and Yvon of heterodoxy where doctrine is concerned, though one might have wished for less self-satisfaction in their way of presenting it. Yet in their day their message was electric. Calvinism knew of a 'universal' church, the timeless, mystical 'communion of saints', militant and triumphant, comprising all believers in time and eternity, and a 'particular', local church, where regenerate and unregenerate worshiped alongside each other, to be sorted at the end of time like wheat and tares. Labadie, however, presented the *local* church as militant and triumphant here and now, a communion reserved solely for the palpably regenerate, separated both from the corrupt masses of the world and from the bulk of a formalising and compromising church. Again, the Anabaptists had been saying this for a century, but the careful censorship of the established church authorities meant that Anabaptist writings never reached the masses, and thus Labadie's creed, though only a continuation of Melchiorite and Hutterian ecclesiology, burst on the Reformed with all the force of novelty.

Here, then, is the heart of Labadism, its conception of the church. Like the Donatists and Anabaptists before them, Labadie and Yvon detected a 'Fall' in the church in history, at the point where Constantine I (and later Theodosius I) fused church and state into one organism, dividing the empire into areas that were at once religious and political units. At a stroke an empire that had been pagan was now christianised, and anyone born in that empire and 'christened' could be deemed a faithful son of the church, regardless of his or her life.<sup>106)</sup> This the Labadists could not accept, seeing the whole thrust of the New Testament as being the creation and victorious progress of a people separated to God, pursuing holiness and sanctification, God's house, Christ's body. Hence the constant stress in Labadist writings on the model of the church at

Jerusalem in the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. Here was a people 'of one heart and soul', enjoying the bountiful favour of God, scarce needing to witness much by mouth, for their very *life* stood as a testimony and a judgement. As Yvon puts it: 'The true people of Jesus, its conception, its progress, its life, its spirit, its conduct, its innocence, its holiness, its purity, its zeal all divine, in short its heavenly life, raised far above the flesh, the world and the earth, pregnant with all virtue, enemy of all vice, is one of the most beautiful proofs of the truth of the Christian religion, and of the certainty of the divine mission of its great Master.'<sup>107</sup>)

Here was the hub of the controversy between Labadie and John Brown of Rotterdam,<sup>108</sup>) who maintained the strict Calvinist position (perhaps taken to the absurd) that a church could exist without a single regenerate soul in it and still be a true church on account of its preaching and sacraments. To which Labadie, following Schluter, replied: is a herd of swine to be called a flock of sheep merely because a lamb or two has strayed into it?<sup>109</sup>) The duty of the true Christian, maintained Labadie, was to come out from such a dead church. This flew in the face of Calvin, who, once again spurred by a dread of Anabaptism, had inveighed against those who 'withdraw from a genuine church, while they think they are shunning the company of the ungodly.'<sup>110</sup>) Yet there was no problem in this for the Labadists, for to them such a separation was a coming away, not from the church, but from the *world*.<sup>111</sup>) Such true hearts would join together as a church of the elect, for whom alone Christ had died,<sup>112</sup>) and would gain a new corporate identity, pursue corporate repentance, corporate salvation, corporate sanctification. For such a church, every area of living would be 'holy to the Lord', be it body and soul, trades and crafts, eating or drinking.<sup>113</sup>) Hence the overwhelming sense of privilege and joy already amply detected among individual Labadists, the pangs at having to leave, even for a few days, the 'maison du Seigneur', which to them was the start of the millennium, a foretaste of heaven on earth, and the lodestone that would one day draw all men to their cause.

Here, surely, is the lasting tribute to this man of the sixteenth century, misplaced and misunderstood in the seventeenth,<sup>114</sup>) this spiritual enigma who claimed, and in measure proved, that to make a good Christian you needed the head of a protestant and the heart of a Catholic. The prag-

matic zeal of the Calvinist reformer, the ascetic life of the monk and the inner fire of love of the mystic, all combined in Labadie and, urged on by a prophecy received in his twenties, yearned after the new Jerusalem, the restored glory of the primitive church on earth, that would be, as Labadie himself had been, the herald of the coming King Jesus.



# Notes

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. The name derives from a regional version of *l'abbaye*, the abbey. There was a Pred de Labadie near Villandraud.
2. The biographer's assertion (Geneva, bibl. publique et universitaire, Ms.fr.68, fol.1) that the king called him *cher*, means little, for most *lettres d'annoblissement* began 'Notre cher et bien-aimé NN'. The office itself became hackneyed through excessive bestowal.
3. See Appendix 2, genealogy of the Labadie family. Henri IV held Marie Coibo in some esteem, and there was a persistent rumour that Jean was her bastard son by the king, who died 14 May 1610, three months after the birth. Petrus Dittelbach, a renegade Labadist (see pp. 235, 313 and bibl. part C), claims that Labadie's disciple, Pierre Yvon, often remarked that his master was as like the monarch as two peas. Were this true, it might help to explain Jean's often imperious manner.
4. Luxembourg favoured him, we read, as did Maine and Épernon, and 'Maréchal de Matignon considered him his favourite' (Geneva, BPU, Ms.cit., fol.2; Émile Maufras, 'Histoire de Bourg-sur-Gironde', pt.ix. *Revue catholique de Bordeaux*, 12-14 (1895-97):496).
5. Maufras, pt.vii, p. 366. The church of Saint-Girons is now demolished and the inscription sits over the door of the magistrates' court. Maufras (pt.viii, p. 460) also speaks of Labadie's command of 100 infantry sent to protect Louis XIII on a journey in October 1615. Other details on Jean-Charles in *Archives hist. du dépt. de la Gironde*, 34 (1899):84-87.
6. Geneva, BPU, Ms.cit., fol.2.
7. The biographer (Ms.cit., fol.4) attributes to this Labadie's poor health throughout his life.
8. Gui du Faur, sr. de Pibrac, *Quatrains moraux*, probably the 1592 Tours edition. One example, which seems prophetic of Jean's later years, is: 'Heureux qui met en Dieu son esperance,  
Et qui l'invoque en sa prosperité  
Autant ou plus qu'en son adversité,  
Et ne se fie en humaine assurance.' (no. 22)

9. Bordeaux, arch. mun., sér.JJ, inventaire-sommaire, arts. *étudiants, crimes*.
10. Wilhelm Goeters: *Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus... bis zur Labadistischen Krisis 1670* (Leipzig, 1911) mistakenly speaks of a planned legal career.
11. In Labadie's time these were: Antoine Suffren (1617-1620), Pierre Coton (1620-1622), and Jacques Lespaulard (1622-1627).
12. In 1623 this was Jean-Jérôme Bañole, who was to be of importance in Labadie's spiritual development (see p. 15).
13. See Appendix 1:1.
14. Bordeaux, arch. dépt., G 1622, fol.406 (registre des insinuations).
15. Clauses 147-154.
16. Will dated 25 March, list of effects 29 April. His funeral was a grand affair, funded by the *jurade*, with a march-past of the garrison and the civilian militia.
17. *Constitutions*, ed. G. Ganss (St. Louis, 1970), art.13 (p. 82).
18. Bordeaux, arch. dépt., sér. H, *Jésuites*, registre des voeux, 1628.
19. Maggio was of the spiritual camp. Bérulle was deeply affected by a retreat under him in 1602, and Maggio was also to be suspected of the 'new spirituality' in days to come.
20. Michel de Certeau, 'Crise sociale et réformisme spirituel au début du XVIIe siècle: une 'Nouvelle Spiritualité' chez les Jésuites français', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 41 (1965):346.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
22. In 1617 a Parisian Jesuit, Jean de Machault, translated a work by Harphius under a pseudonym. Labadie himself was inspired by the life of Alvarez (Geneva, BPU, Ms.cit., fol.7).
23. Details in Louis Cognet: *La spiritualité moderne. L'essor, 1500-1650*, (Paris, 1966), chap.6.
24. Henri Bremond: *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France*, vol.xi, chap.2 Paris, 1933.
25. Labadie prayed to God that he might speak in their place (Geneva, BPU, Ms.cit., fol.10 of second version, fragmentary and in another hand).
26. Details in Certeau, 'Crise', pp. 355, 356.
27. The autobiography had been translated by Jean de Brétigny in 1601 and reprinted in 1607; Francis Ribera's *Vita B. Matris Teresae de Jesus*, translated from Spanish by M. Martinez, appeared at Cologne in 1620.
28. Loyola admittedly only saw her in outline, not in substance, as with Labadie (see pp. 11, 25).
29. Ignatius Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, ed. W.H. Longridge, *Annotation 4*. (London, 1930). The *Exercises* (Week 1,iii; Week 2,i) also speak of a state of spiritual bliss where the soul is quiet before God, devoid of human care; also of mental prayer.
30. Loyola did, however, stress that, in the last resort, *obedience* ranked higher than any vision, and that all spiritual movements had to be sub-

mitted to one's confessor. A fine example of this is to be found in A. Kleiser, 'Das Selbstzeugnis P. du Tertres über seine inneren mystischen Erfahrungen', *Zeitschrift für Askese und Mystik*, 1 (1926):187-191).

31. Certeau, 'Crise', p. 360.
32. Geneva, BPU, Ms.cit., fol.7 of second version.
33. Several are listed in Labadie's *Declaration* of 1650 (see bibl. pt.B, 1-12), but it is impossible to date them exactly. One stanza of a poem written at this time, *De duplici Christi Jesu nivate, aeterna et temporali*, is reproduced in Appendix 1:2 (Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.7 of second version).
34. See note 27 above.
35. Probably the abridged version, *Vitae sanctarum*, ed. Z. Lippeloo, Cologne, 1595.
36. Probably Luis de la Puente: *Vita P. Balthasar Alvarez*, tr. M. Trevinnius, Cologne, 1616. Labadie also took a copy of the life of St. Catherine of Genoa when sent to convalesce in the country (Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.12).
37. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.9; see Appendix 1:3.
38. *Ibid.*, loc.cit.; see Appendix 1:4.
39. Here he was struck by the piety of a peasant, Jean Dupuch (?); illiterate, he had learned by heart all the words of Jesus that he had ever heard, and his eyes were always on things above. He would say to trees: 'Tree! Who made you? Did you make yourself?' and give glory to God. (Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.13).
40. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fols.4,5 of second version; see Appendix 1:5.
41. His last work, *Jesus revelé de nouveau*, of 1673 (bibl. pt.B, 96) went some way to fulfilling this.
42. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fols.1-6 of second version.
43. Mende, bibl. mun., Ms. fr. 10; see bibl. pt.A.
44. The manuscript records for that year are incomplete.
45. He had written several devotional works (C. Sommervogel *et al.*, eds.: *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 2nd edn., Paris/Brussels, 1890-1960, s.v. Jacquinot). Another eminent Jesuit, Léonard de Champeils, lamented that the provincial was 'too inclined to give his approval to trends hitherto unheard of, as long as they bore a veil of piety' (M. de Certeau: *Correspondance de Jean-Joseph Surin*, p. 444, Paris, 1965).
46. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.13 of second version.
47. Iganitus Loyola also had experienced the inner voice, calling it *loquela*.
48. Dabillon said of Labadie in later years that he had found in him 'nothing but a good religious' (Paris, BN, Ms.fr. 15722, fol.173v°).
49. *Relation touchant le P. Jean Labadie*, a lost work, quoted in extracts by Antoine Arnauld in his *Lettre d'un Docteur en Théologie* (Paris, 1651); this portion is p. 411, see Appendix 1:6.
50. Certeau, *Correspondance*, p. 435.
51. For this Jacquinot received a stinging rebuke from the General.

52. Labadie was to have further dealings with Maroni; see below, pp. 41ff.
53. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.10 of second version; also, with hindsight, the *Declaration* of 1650, p. 91.
54. For further dealings with Gault, see pp. 20, 21.
55. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.16; see Appendix 1:7.
56. The same accusation would be made, for the same reason, thirty years later; see p. 145.
57. See p. 15.
58. Certeau, *Correspondance*, p. 436.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 452, 453.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 439, 440.
61. Baïole is elsewhere described as 'greatly enlightened and of consummate virtue' (*Vie d'A. de Solminihac*, 1662, pp. 45, 46).
62. Certeau, *Correspondance*, p. 449.
63. *De interiori et sublimi spiritu*; see bibl. pt. B, 12.
64. Certeau, *Correspondance*, pp. 449, 450.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 437.
66. *Ibid.*, loc.cit. It is important to note that Surin evidently prized Labadie's graces, though deploring his taking of them as the base for all his actions. Surin speaks of Labadie's visions as having been good and edifying at first, adding that he had 'de très bonnes choses' (p. 437).
67. See p. 26.
68. Certeau, *Correspondance*, p. 436.
69. 'ab omni vinculo liberum ob invaliditatem ipso petente dimisimus.' Original cited by Godefroy Hermant, *Défense de la piété*, p. 23. Paris, 1651.
70. Appendix 1:8; original cited by Hermant, *Défense*, p. 67
71. Certeau, *Correspondance*, p. 443. Labadie was 29. What would the good *père* have thought of a 30-year-old Jesus of Nazareth?
72. *Ibid.*, p. 450.
73. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.3 of second version.
74. Pierre Pourrat; *La spiritualité chrétienne*, vol.4, Paris, 1928, p. 64f. It is important to note the comment by Lallemant's editor (in 1694, when mystical spirituality was more acceptable): 'Le Saint-Esprit fut son maître dans la théologie mystique. Il ne l'apprit point des hommes.' (Pourrat, 4:63) The same could have been said of Labadie.
75. Acquaviva himself was sympathetic to the mystics and valued Louis de Blois.
76. See p. 338.
77. See p. 10.
78. A. Kleiser, 'Selbstzeugnis P. du Tertres', pp. 188-190.
79. Certeau, 'Crise', 364-377. It is to be noted that Cluniac too left the order a year after Labadie. Both became prime examples to General Vitelleschi of the dangers of mystical devotion and the 'new spirituality'.
80. *Constitutions*, ed. Longridge, sect. 260.

81. Certeau, 'Crise', pp. 359, 360. Even one extempore line during a liturgical service could prompt a tearful letter to the archbishop of Bordeaux.
82. It must be pointed out that Labadie *was* prepared to submit to those in whom he saw marks of genuine spirituality: the village prophetess, the pious peasant Jean Dupuch, the sage old Jesuits who could remember better days. Only to those whose leadership he regarded as human and institutional did he refuse deference.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. This letter was in private hands at Bourg in 1885, but is now lost.
2. P. Bourgoing's account, quoted by Pourrat, *Spiritualité chrétienne*, 3:502.
3. Labadie's verses written as a Jesuit reveal his own devotion to the *verbe incarné*.
4. It had been forbidden in 1622. A survey of the order in 1641 revealed 403 *pères* in 58 houses.
5. Eustache was nominated bishop of Marseille in 1639 but died before his consecration.
6. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.19.
7. The novelistic tone is the biographer's; ms.cit., fol.21.
8. He was soon (1 October) to be syndic of the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne.
9. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.22; see Appendix 1:9.
10. Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Geneviève, ms.1480, fol.103.
11. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.24.
12. Labadie (*Declaration*, 1666, p. 130) records that he and Caumartin travelled around the capital listening to various preachers, and were particularly struck by a sermon from Claude Bernard at his seminary, in which he inveighed against the pride and vanity of Parisian catholics.
13. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.25.
14. He was married to the richest heiress in France, who favoured the Jesuits. He was unpopular at Amiens because of his imposition of heavy land taxes.
15. Henri de la Mothe-Houdancourt, brother of Maréchal de la Mothe.
16. Nicholas de Bautru; the manuscript biography (fol.28) calls him Richelieu's favourite.
17. Jacques Lescot, confessor to Richelieu. Charged with the task of examining Saint-Cyran on doctrine, he resigned after some dozen sessions.
18. *Médecin ordinaire du Roi* and soon to be professor of medicine at Poitiers.
19. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.30.
20. *Introduction à la piété*, see bibl. pt.B, no.13.
21. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.29.

22. Amiens, bibl. mun., Ms.fr.1022, fol.2; see Appendix 1:10. Louvel must have felt his end nigh, for on 26 May he donated two adjoining houses in the rue de Beauvais for the foundation of an *hôpital*. In fact, he did not die, and Labadie's attempts to secure his parish for someone else meant the Louvel became one of his most implacable opponents.
23. This would be consistent, for he made a similar offer at Geneva (see below, p. 121).
24. Amiens, ms.cit., fol.3r<sup>e</sup>; Appendix 1:11.
25. *Ibid.*, fol.5.
26. *Ibid.*, fol.6; Labadie claims these sermons will greatly further God's purposes.
27. Was it the Madeleine de Flers who had been active in the *illuminisme* at the Hôtel-Dieu in 1630, or perhaps the Magdalene Leroy to whom the Carpentras manuscript belonged?
28. No date given, but Condren died of his sickness on 7 January 1641. Paris, Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, ms.1480, fol.106; see Appendix 1:12.
29. Du Ferrier says of Caumartin (fol.102) that he had 'une grande pente pour tout ce qui paroissoit surnaturel et extraordinaire.'
30. Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, Ms.438, fol.18. F-C. Louandre (*Histoire ancienne et moderne d'Abbeville*, Abbeville, 1834, p. 563f) says this was the couvent du Paraquet, whose nuns had arrived at Abbeville from Épagne in 1642. Their home was the Refuge de Saint-Valery in the rue de l'Hôtel-Dieu.
31. Hermant, *Défense*, p. 117f; see Appendix 1:13.
32. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.30; see Appendix 1:14.
33. M. Jean Orcibal was kind enough to draw my attention to a reference to these preachings from the pen of Des Lions (Paris, BN, ms.fr. 24998), but unfortunately neglected the folio number.
34. Best remembered for having set fire, in a fit of puritanical zeal, to a Michelangelo masterpiece at Fontainebleau. He later fell out with Louis and was dismissed in April 1643.
35. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fols.23, 30.
36. The chapter subsequently maintained (14 October 1645) that Caumartin had called Labadie and Dabillon in an irregular manner.
37. *Odes sacrés*; see bibl. pt.B, no.14. One extract quoted by Hermant, *Défense*, p. 116; see Appendix 1:15. Labadie's faith in the doctrine of transubstantiation, later repudiated, is clearly evident.
38. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.33, which does not tally well with the 1650 *Déclaration*. There was a *sieur* de Manicamp, Achille de Longueval, with whom Mazarin corresponded, but he was not under house arrest, as Labadie's Manicamp was. There was a *comte* de Manicamp, disgraced by Richelieu for neglect of duty while governor of Colmar, and interrogated at Amiens. Whoever it was, Manicamp became a firm devotee, telling others that Labadie was a prophet.
39. *Ibid.*, fol.33.
40. Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, ms.438, fols.4-6.

41. Fol.4; see Appendix 1:16.
42. Fol.6; see Appendix 1:17.
43. This has ever been a dangerous area, with letters of spiritual intimacy coming under frequently unspiritual analysis for which they were never intended. Any director opens himself up to suspicions of malpractice if viewed with a suspicious eye. What, for example, are we to make of St. François de Sales, writing to Mère de Chantal: 'I felt my soul lodge intimately in yours', or of the imagery of Madame Guyon's dream, related to Fénelon, of slithering down mountains in his embrace?
44. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.34; see Appendix 1:18.
45. Perpignan fell on 9 September. Richelieu returned, severely ill, on a litter.
46. It must not be forgotten that Richelieu, for all his political involvements, did have his spiritual side and had written (with help from P. Joseph) a *Traité de la perfection du chrétien* (1636).
47. Paris, BN, ms.fr.15722, fols.170, 171.
48. For De Troyes, see p. 7. He was arrested for his part in the *illumine* in Picardy in 1630. Seguenot was an Oratorian and prior at Saumur; his 1638 translation of Augustine's *De Virginitate* was condemned by the Sorbonne for its notes on the nullity of absolution without true contrition, and he was sent to the Bastille until Richelieu died.
49. Claude Lancelot, *Mémoires*, vol.1, pp. 256ff, Paris, 1738. He also gives a macabre account of how the body was sawn up so that eager Port-Royalists could each have a bit. Pierre Yvon, *Oprecht verhael*, p. 30 (Amsterdam, 1754) claims that Labadie was considered to preach Saint-Cryan's *oraison funèbre*.
50. Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, ms.cit., fols.7-14; see Appendix 1:19.
51. This had been attempted once before, in 1642, by P. Casenas, a Jacobin, who had straightway been censured by *grand-vicaire* Barboteau.
52. Paris, BN, ms.fr.15722, fol.171.
53. This was bad faith, for he had already sent to the Queen a list of 30 errors from Labadie's sermons.
54. Now Jacques de Chaulnes, *intendant* of the province; Honoré, duc de Chaulnes, already encountered, was now in Auvergne.
55. Paris, BN, ms.fr.15722, fol.240, dated 12 March 1644.
56. The progressive party claimed that the dean had acted unconstitutionally, convening only part of the chapter. Barboteau and eight others drew up a protest.
57. The figures in question were 200 *livres* for Lent and 150 for Advent.
58. Paris, BN, ms.cit., fols.162-174. By error the copyist omits testimony no.23.
59. Making 29, the total of the BN's defective copy.
60. *Récit véritable du procédé tenu par Monseigneur l'Illustrissime évesque d'Amiens..., pour servir de défenses aux sr. de Labadie... et Me. Dabillon* (no place, 1644).
61. *Veritable declaration des faussetez contenues dans un imprimé... intitulé: Récit véritable...* (no place, 1644).

62. Amiens, arch. dépt. de la Somme, G 597, cited by Pierre Deyon, *Amiens, capitale provinciale*, (Amiens 1967), p. 412, who also uses *Veritable declaration*.
63. Brother of Nicholas, grand master of the College of Navarre.
64. Both these offices were customarily held by notables.
65. The superior of the Minims, Antoine de Fourmanoir, claimed he had been forced to expel one of his order for having embraced the new doctrines.
66. Amiens, bibl.mun., ms.fr.1022, letters 6 (23 June 1644) and 7 (4 August 1644).
67. The collection of letters at Amiens contains a most curious piece (ms.fr.1022, fol.1). Undated, it is in Labadie's hand, but cannot have been his work, since it refers to the writer having fulminated an interdict against the clergy of Montreuil, which would not have been Labadie's prerogative (the governor had come and begged for it to be lifted). Addressed to 'Votre Eminence', we assume it to be a copy by Labadie, for his own polemical purposes, of a missive from bishop Caumartin to a cardinal at Rome. See extract in Appendix 1:20. From the letter we learn that Labadie's adherents at Montreuil were being denied the sacraments, which was the reason for the interdict.
68. Pierre Yvon: *Oprecht verhael*, p. 36. Amsterdam, 1754.
69. Sens, where d'Arcy was director of the diocesan seminary.
70. Amiens, bibl.mun., ms.cit., letter 22; see Appendix 1:21. The letter is undated, but urges Caumartin to speak 'with the force of him whose octave we celebrate today', i.e. 2 July, octave of John the Baptist.
71. A *monitoire* in September 1644 ordered the author of the *Veritable declaration* to come forward. Louis Pécoul took over Labadie's cause. The Pope appointed the bishop of Senlis to investigate, who finally ruled in favour of the Jesuits. Caumartin appealed to the Assemblée générale du clergé. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la Comp. de Jésus*, 3:867n.3 and 4:708 lists various polemics.
72. Cited by Hermant, *Défense*, p.281f.
73. Carpentras, Bibl. Inguibertine, ms.438, fols.15, 16; see Appendix 1:22.
74. *Ibid.*, fols.17-19; see Appendix 1:23.
75. Would the *intramondain* Arnauld have been more favourable? Probably, given his *éloge* of Labadie's preaching and reformatory zeal in his *Seconde Apologie pour Jansénius*, IV, chap.26 (he does not name Labadie since this was written after his abjuration).
76. He entered functions in 1645 and was expelled nine years later.
77. He would do so to his dying day, even inserting a clause in his will to this effect (again without actually naming Labadie).
78. Certeau, *La fable mystique*, p. 385 (Paris, 1982) cites a list of propositions made by Labadie while a Jansenist at Paris, concerning the errors of the Socinians, from a manuscript at the Bibl. Nationale.
79. The frequent spelling 'Listolfi' is a misreading of his signature: Lytolfi.



80. He had been introduced to their writings by the Gault brothers of Bordeaux.
81. Primary sources are: Paris, BN, ms.fr.15722, fols.162-172; 15734, fol.240; Coll. Dupuy 641, fols.131, 132.
82. Namely the belief that predestination was not so much free as attributed according to God's foreknowledge of future eventualities.
83. Labadie's clearest statement on this is in the *Eclaircissemens et contredits*, see p. 44 and Appendix 1:24.
84. Nicolas Fontaine, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Port-Royal*, pp. 342-344, Utrecht, 1736.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. This was probably Hughes de Drilhole, who had been *grand-vicaire* in 1639. He later had his papers burned for their extreme Jansenism.
2. Amiens, bibl. mun., ms.fr.1022, fol.14; see Appendix 1:25. Dabillon now fades out of the story, renouncing his Jansenism and dying in 1664 as *curé* of Magny.
3. The Jesuits had no house at Bazas, one having been requested in 1613 but refused.
4. Situated in the rue des Clercs (now rue de la Taillade), its superior was Jeanne-Françoise de Lansac de Roquetaillade.
5. Paris, BN, ms.coll. Dupuy 641, fol.131.
6. *Responses à un Recueil d'articles*, see bibl. pt.B, no.16; the work is lost, but extracts are quoted by Hermant, *Défense*, p. 120f.
7. Hermant, *Défense*, p. 29f, seems to be quoting from the letter.
8. Lengthy extracts cited by Hermant, *op.cit.*, pp. 120ff.
9. Amiens, bibl. mun., ms.cit., fols.23, 24; see Appendix 1:26.
10. Paris, BN, ms.coll. Dupuy 641, fol.132. For a comparison with several of the condemned propositions of Baius, see Lanténay, *Labadie et le Carmel* (Bordeaux, 1886), pp. 38-40.
11. *Eclaircissemens et contredits*, see bibl. pt.B, no.17.
12. Appendix 1:27.
13. Bibl. pt.B, nos.18, 19.
14. Details of life at Gans are given by Wallon de Beaupuis in Le Febvre de Saint-Marc, *Supplément au nécrologe... de Port-Royal*, (no place), 1735, pp. 61-67.
15. *Information faite par M. l'Evêque de Bazas*, quoted by Antoine Arnauld, *Oeuvres* 29 (Paris, 1779), pp. 417ff. As late as 1659, fourteen years after Labadie's departure, the convent was still in disarray, some 36 sisters still unable to settle, and Jean-Joseph Surin was trying to find a new *prieure* (Certeau, *Correspondance*, p. 818). Bishop Martineau also bewailed the lasting damage done by Labadie's maxims (Le Fougeray, Archives de la Visitation, ms. 'Lettres spirituelles de Loudun' 2, fols.988f).

16. *Information* cit., p. 418. The Labadist side of the story (Yvon: *Oprecht verhael*) is that Maroni sought reconciliation with Labadie and did not receive him publicly for fear that he might be arrested.
17. *Procès-verbaux, Ass. gén. du Clergé de France*, 3:264-266. Paris, 1769. The *arrêt* itself, which does name Labadie, is reproduced in *Archives hist. du dépt. de la Gironde* 35 (1900):106,107. As a postscript to the Bazas episode, the Jansenist party failed to secure Manguelen as Maroni's successor, and any hopes of continued involvement in the diocese were dashed by the appointment of Samuel Martineau de Turé, a strict disciplinarian and unfavourable to Jansenius. In January 1646 Manguelen, Wallon de Beaupuis and La Brouche returned to Paris.
18. He corresponded with the literary figures of the day and was renowned for his library.
19. He was capitoul (consul) of Toulouse in 1646; A. du Mège, *Histoire des institutions religieuses... de la ville de Toulouse*, II, 442. Toulouse, 1844.
20. Capitoul in 1647; *ibid.*, loc.cit.
21. Geneva, BPU, ms.fr.68, fol.38.
22. *Ibid.*, loc.cit.
23. *Ibid.*, fols.38, 39; it is uncertain whether this was a vindication of Françoise herself or of the reading of Canfield, which was said to have led to the possessions.
24. See bibl. pt.B., no.20, and Appendix 1:28. This notion was greatly developed by a *théologal* of Séz, Jean Le Noir: *L'Evesque de Cour opposé à l'évesque apostolique*, 1st edn., Paris, 1674, for example pt. I, p. 114: 'Les Evêques de Cour sont la cause de tous les maux de l'Eglise;... sans en estre chassez, ils cessent d'être Evêques et perdent leur caractere, & leur autorité selon les canons.'
25. *Relation touchant le P. Jean Labadie*, a Jesuit polemic of 1639, which has never been traced; this extract quoted by Arnauld, *Lettre d'un docteur en théologie (Oeuvres 29, Paris, 1779)*, p. 411.
26. Quoted by Hermant, *Défense*, pp. 37, 38.
27. Anne de Plaigne de Montbéraud, Guy II's second wife.
28. See above, p. 22.
29. Details in A. Auguste, 'Les origines du Jansénisme dans le diocèse de Toulouse' II, 315-334, *Bulletin de litt. ecclésiastique* (Toulouse), 1916.
30. François Mauduict's *Advis charitable* (see bibl. pt.C), a hostile biography of Labadie which many since have followed, mistakenly calls him *Douvrier*, which led Lantenay (*Labadie et le Carmel*, Bordeaux, 1886) to identify him with the Louis Douvriat who invented Louis XIV's epigram *nec pluribus impar*. For Doujat's real identity, see below, pp. 51f, 353.
31. Yvon claims that Labadie deliberately went back to Toulouse after a period in hiding, as being the least likely place for people to search for him.
32. This episode must post-date 1 September 1646, the date Guillaume was made principal, in which capacity he is referred to in the biography, Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.41.

33. *Ibid.*, loc.cit.
34. For its later history, see below, p. 353.
35. Often confused with the Jean Doujat, famed for his wit and six languages, who was to be regent of the college of law at Paris. That Doujat, however, was articulated at Paris in 1639 and remained there for the next ten years.
36. Quoted by Hermant, *Défense*, pp. 87ff.
37. *Ibid.*, ppl. 183ff; see Appendix 1:29.
38. Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, ms. 438, fols.20-67.
39. Fols.27, 29v°, 30r°, 35v°, see Appendix 1:30.
40. Feydeau, *Mémoires*, ed. E. Jovy (Vitry-le-François, 1905):35f. The whole matter of dating would be solved if the episode referred to the *false rumours* of Labadie's abjuration already encountered. It is significant that Feydeau does not regard Labadie as heretic, fanatic or sectarian, but merely as 'quietist', underlining the dangers of the teaching of 'detachment' which he found Labadie's former charges to have imbibed. The woman, who provided information for Hermant's *Défense*, spoke of Labadie as having 'un grand attrait pour se faire suivre et une grande autorité pour se faire obéir.'
41. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.43.
42. Especially Hermant, Arnauld and Sabré; see bibl. pt.C.
43. A Jansenist supporter, he had ceded his worldly goods to Port Royal by a codicil of 14 February 1647.
44. A variable measure of about 100 perches. The site is in the parish of Bernos near the moulin de Basset, and is still known to locals as *coumben* (convent), though not a stone remains.
45. Some details are preserved in Louis de Ste. Thérèse, *La succession du Saint prophète Elie*, p. 472, Paris, 1662.
46. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.44.
47. This and several treatises were later seized by the bishop of Bazas and presumably perished in the fire at the bishop's palace in the late 17th century, or through the attentions of the revolutionaries in 1793.
48. Quoted by Hermant, *Défense*, pp 42, 43; see Appendix 1:31.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 44. In 1666 Labadie continued this idea in his important work *Le Héraut du Grand Roy Jesus* (see bibl. pt.B, no.55).
50. As such (Johannes a Christo) he appears in Cosmas de Villiers' *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, I, 825. Orléans, 1752.
51. Hermant, *Défense*, p. 46; see Appendix 1:32.
52. One wonders why such a sign was necessary to impart what is, in fact, a basic Christian truth.
53. Hermant, *Défense*, p. 61; Appendix 1:33.
54. To two he gave new names: Jean Fils-de-Dieu and Marc de l'Enfant-Dieu, but their real identities are unknown, neither do they figure in the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*.
55. Hermant, *Défense*, pp. 74, 75.
56. Used by Hermant and Arnauld. Labadie vented his spleen on Blanchard

as 'hypocrite and old sinner', adding that he had seen a vision of a demon attacking La Graville; repulsed from all the other cells, it found a welcome at Blanchard's.

57. Great difficulties surround this assertion. The letter and attestation are reproduced in *Publycke Attestation*, pp. 66-69 (Amsterdam, 1669), dating from February and May 1664, but Blanchard died in 1661. As for L'Osius, he claims to be resident at Poligny and was a Dominican, but nobody of this name, or even vaguely similar, appears in the records of the Dominicans at Poligny or Besançon.
58. Fifth of that name and not second, as the *Dict. de biog. nat.* has it. An alternative spelling (used in the ms. biography) was Favas; see H. Barckhausen, 'Mémoires de Jean de Fabas', *Publications, Soc. des bibliophiles de Guyenne* 1 (1868), esp. pp. 220-223.
59. Was the unofficial seminary started by Labadie at Léguevin dedicated to St. Martha, or was the name based on the patron of Jean de Fabas' wife, Marthe de Pierre-Bouffière de Chasteauneuf?
60. These would be:
  - 1) Martinus Chemnitius, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, probably the 4-part edition, Frankfurt, 1574, revised 1596.
  - 2) *Petri Suavis Polani Historiae Concilii Tridentini libri octo*, translated from the Italian, London 1620.
  - 3) *A. Sadeelis Chandei... opera theologica volumine uno comprehensa*, Geneva, 1599.
  - 4) *La Confirmation de la Discipline Ecclésiastique observée ès Eglises Reformées*, no place 1566.Calvin's *Institutes* had run to at least sixteen Latin editions by this time.
61. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.46. Castets was a parish of some 500 Reformed communicants, in the *colloque* of Bas-Agenais; Royal was still there in 1660 (*Bulletin, Soc. de l'hist. du protestantisme fr.* 15 (1866):511f).
62. *Ibid.*, loc.cit.; see Appendix 1:34. The note itself is a fine example of the stiltedness of the times.
63. *Ibid.*, fol.47. The *seigneurs* of Grateloup at this time were staunch Calvinists; the families concerned were Coustin de Bourzolles, barons de Carlus, and Lecoq de la Cantinolière, but I have not identified the owner at this time.
64. For a more detailed analysis, see the works by Jean Séguy as listed in bibl. pt.D.
65. See above, p. 23.
66. *Manuel de Pieté*, p. 117. See bibl. pt.B, no.68 and Appendix 1:35.
67. Jean Séguy, 'Monsieur Vincent, la Congrégation de la Mission et les derniers temps', *Vincent de Paul; actes du colloque international d'études Vincentiennes*, Rome, 1981, pp. 217-238.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Pierre Jarrige: *Les Jesuistes mis sur l'Eschafaut, pour plusieurs crimes capitaux par eux commis dans la Province de Guienne*, (Leiden), 1649. On p. 31 Labadie is mentioned as being able to testify that the cited abuses were indeed genuine.
2. *Retraction du Pere Pierre Iarrige de la Compagnie de Jesus, Retiré de sa double Apostasie...* Anvers, 1650.
3. Labadie, *Lettre... à ses Amis de la Communion Romaine*, p. 12, Montauban, 1651.
4. Labadie, *Declaration* (Geneva, 1666, edn.), p. 66.
5. Notable among these were Antoine Garrissoles, professor of philosophy and Hebrew; Timothé Delon, professor of Hebrew and a noted orator; and Pierre Charles, *doyen* of the consistory (church council), who had saved the town from capture in 1620 by unmasking a traitor.
6. He even came close to losing his office for this reason, only an *arrêt* of the Conseil du Roi preventing it (26 June 1651).
7. He was followed into the Calvinist fold by his niece, Anne de Lif, at the same service, and his younger brother Izaak, who abjured at Bordeaux two years later.
8. Antoine Sabré, *Lettre... écrite au Sieur Labadie sur le sujet de sa Profession de la Religion pretenduë Reformée* [edited A. Arnauld]. Paris, 1651.
9. For a letter from Antoine Godot, bishop of Grasse, to archbishop Montchal of Toulouse (1 March 1651), see Appendix 1:36.
10. Bibl. pt.B, no.23.
11. Bibl. pt.B, no.24.
12. *Le grand chemin du Jansenisme au Calvinisme, enseigné par le Sieur Jean de la Badie...* Paris, 1651.
13. Other pamphlets followed: *Jansenismus per Heterodoxum et Orthodoxum Theses et Antitheses productus et profligatus* (Paris, 1651), and *Triumphus catholicae veritatis adversus Novatores, sive Jansenius condemnatus* (Paris, 1651). Both are of disputed authorship and both present Labadie as the true patriarch of Port-Royal.
14. L. Ceyssens, *La première bulle contre Jansénius 2*, pp. 133, 209 (Brussels, 1962) prints letters of 28 January and 18 August 1651.
15. See bibl. pt.C.
16. *Conference dv Sr. François Mavdvict, Xainctongeois, avec le Sieur Jean Labadie...* Montauban, Iean Rouyer, 1651.
17. *Response à la Lettre adressée à Messieurs les Pasteurs... de Montauban*; see bibl. pt.B, no.26.
18. Bibl. pt.B, no.25. The French original has never been traced, but the Dutch translation is relatively common.
19. Bibl. pt.B, no.27.
20. The University of Wisconsin, Madison, lists a collection of manuscript sermons attributed to Labadie (*National Union Catalogue*) from a collection bought from a Huguenot family and called the Montauban Col-

- lection. The sermons are a textual exposition of Hebrews xi, of poor legibility, with no internal evidence for authorship or dating.
21. The Yvons' favour did not last. After Labadie's final schism, Pierre was disinherited in favour of his younger brother Paul (Montauban, arch. dépt., 5E 635, no.232, will of 26 September 1673).
  22. *Publycke Attestation* (Amsterdam, 1669) pp. 51, 52 quotes from a letter of 16 September from Jean Daillé the elder, pastor at Charenton, to whom Labadie had sent word.
  23. *Défense de la Pieté et de la Foy de la sainte Eglise Catholique... contre les mensonges... de Jean Labadie, apostat.* Paris, 1651.
  24. Bibl. pt.B, no.28.
  25. Probably François Bonal, a *frère mineur* of whom little is known, rather than Raymond Bonal, founder of a seminary at Toulouse.
  26. Montauban, arch. dépt. de Tarn-et-Garonne, ms.fr.3, fol.355 (Perrin de Grandpré, 'Histoire de Montauban').
  27. Bibl. pt.B, no.29. Like his other works, copies of this book were sent to eminent pastors elsewhere, such as Jean Ricotier of Bordeaux, Charles Daubus of Nérac and Jean Daillé of Paris, whose acknowledgements are recorded in *Publycke Attestation* (Amsterdam, 1669), pp. 45-52.
  28. *Lettres*, ed. Congrégation de la Mission, I, 454. Paris, 1882.
  29. This was well timed, for on 21 May Louis had passed a declaration confirming the privileges of the Reformed. Moreover Montauban cared little for Saint-Luc, having refused to open its gates to him in March following his defeat by Condé.
  30. Act of sale of 16 December 1652; over the next six years he purchased nine more adjoining houses for 7,638 *livres*, subsequently refunded.
  31. Pierre Yvon, *Oprecht verhael* (Amsterdam, 1754), pp. 76, 77.
  32. He lived in the rue du Vieux Collège. His calibre shows in a remark made to the consistory when pastors Garrissoles, Delon and Charles had all died within two years: 'White beards are no longer in fashion.' He abjured, for money, around 1670.
  33. Paris, AN, KK 1219, fol.553; 1220, fol.218.
  34. Tubbing was racked and killed, leaving a wife in penury in England (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1654, p. 160; 1657-58, pp. 90, 108, London, 1880, 84).
  35. Geneva, BPU, ms.fr.68, fol.52.
  36. Helmut Kötting, *Die Ormée (1651-1653)* (Münster, 1983), pp. 197-199, 223f, citing letters at the Archives Nationales, Paris.
  37. On 5 March 1654 his father Pierre inherited his worldly goods.
  38. Izaac had been captain of cavalry and commandant of the château of Budos in July 1652 (*Arch. hist. Gironde* 23 (1883), 194, 195).
  39. Bordeaux, arch. dépt., 3E 2450, fols.1414-1425. Anne de Lif, the main beneficiary, spent large sums on funeral arrangements and repairing the family vineyards at Saint-Seurin-des-Arbres and elsewhere, ravaged in the Fronde.
  40. On 21 August 1653 the Conseil du Roy had had to forbid this.
  41. For example Vicomte de Lérans, executed at Toulouse on 21 January,

- after proceedings that were far from legal and on a disputed charge.
42. The Compagnie had existed at Montauban since 1646, with *théologal* Peyronet as prior, and was ardently supported by bishop Bertier. It met at the church of St. Jacques.
  43. John Thurloe, *A Collection of Papers* (London, 1742f), II, 328.
  44. Montauban, arch. dept., 5E 605, fols.644-648.
  45. Letters of 5 and 8 January 1656 from the church of Nîmes are in *Publycke Attestatien* (Amsterdam, 1669), pp. 38, 39.
  46. Geneva, BPU, ms.fr.68, fol.55.
  47. All sources agree on this, but no official record exists; the rector for 1655 is usually listed as one Jacques Bories.
  48. They were daughters of Jacques de La Chaussade-Calonges, an old companion-in-arms of Henri de Rohan.
  49. Geneva, BPU, ms. cit., fol.56. As for Suzanne, she very quickly married, for Labadie dedicated his 1657 work *Recueil de quelques maximes* (Bibl. pt.B, no.38) to her with her married name of Mme. de Bassillon. I have been unable to identify the husband.
  50. Bibl. pt.B. no.30.
  51. *Publycke Attestatien* (Amsterdam, 1669), p. 19; letter of 19 May 1656.
  52. Bibl. pt.B, no.31.
  53. *Pratique des oraisons*, pp. 3, 56, 71; see Appendix 1:37.
  54. See pp. 138ff for their subsequent, acrimonious dealings.
  55. Abraham Trommius, *Bevindingen van hem selven*, p. 264 (Groningen, 1720); see also Appendix 1:38.
  56. Bordeaux, arch. dépt., 3E 2450, fols.1414-1425 (notary Pierre de Brulz).
  57. See p. 127, where Labadie's sister Marie, on the verge of bankruptcy, writes to Colbert.
  58. The account in the *Procès-verbaux* of the Assemblée générale du clergé (4, pp. 161-169, 172-175, Paris, 1770) is obviously hostile; pro-Labadie accounts are by Yvon (*Oprecht verhael*, 1754, pp. 81ff) and Labadie himself (bibl. pt.B, no.35).
  59. A legal point was involved. The Chambre de l'Edit of Castres had ruled that, in case of mortal illness, nobody was to be held to have changed religion unless two magistrates, one of each communion, had been present as witnesses. Jeanne Moysset had attended the protestant *temple* until her death.
  60. Both quotations from *Procès-verbaux*, *Ass. gén. du Clergé*, 4, pp. 165, 166 (Paris, 1770).
  61. As for Jeanne Moysset's corpse, it was to be exhumed and reinterred in the chapel of the Cordeliers; this took place on 28 December 1657, after Labadie had left the town.
  62. *Action de graces à Dieu pour le Roy*, bibl. pt.B no.32; also a manuscript letter of Labadie to Martel of 8 November 1656, in the private collection of M. Robert Garrisson, Les Payrols, Négrepelisse, and used by kind permission; see Appendix 1:39.
  63. *Publycke Attestatien* (Amsterdam, 1669), pp. 42, 57, 58.

64. Geneva, BPU, ms.fr.68, fol.56.
65. *Mercurius politicus*, no.341, London, 18-24 December 1656.
66. Bibl. pt.B, no.33.
67. Bibl. pt.B, no.34.
68. Appendix 1:40.
69. Bibl. pt.B, no.35. This, together with nos. 33 and 34, were reprinted in quarto format in the eighteenth century; see no.36.
70. Geneva, BPU, ms.cit., fol.56. See Appendix 1:41.
71. *Publycke Attestatien* (Amsterdam, 1669), pp. 21, 22, 40, 43, 54-56.
72. Bibl. pt.B, no.38. The *Roole des livres* later appended to Labadie's works attributes to him also the anonymous *Apologie des Eglises Reformés de Languedoc* (see Bibl. pt.B, no.37).
73. R. Vaughan, *The Protectorate*, 2, pp. 185, 186 (London, 1839).
74. *Publycke Attestatien* (Amsterdam, 1669), pp. 3,4. Other testimonials followed, from the *collogue*, the Academy and one from over 120 notable citizens (*ibid.*, pp. 1, 6-10). See Appendix 1:42.
75. Cited in R. Mazauric, 'Lettres de Jacques Couët du Vivier à Paul Ferry', *B.S.H.P.F.* 122 (1976), pp. 247, 248 (the first so numbered).
76. Robert Garrisson, *Essai sur l'histoire du protestantisme dans la généralité de Montauban*, Montauban, 1935, pp. 42-44.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. See p. 77.
2. Though his subsequent testimonial speaks of his arrival in July, a poem he wrote bears the note '1 August 1657, the day of my arrival at Orange'; *Fragmens de quelques poésies* (see bibl. pt.B, no.97).
3. Reboulet and Labrune, *Voyage de Suisse, Relation historique*, I, 150, 151 (La Haye, 1686) tell a story strikingly similar to Labadie's own, concerning one Magnet, later pastor of the French church at Basel.
4. Siegmar, Graf Dohna, *Aufzeichnungen über die Vergangenheit der Familie Dohna*, vol.IIa, pp. 97, 98 (Berlin, 1878).
5. He stressed to his brother Christofle, who was *lieutenant-général* at the court of Sweden, the necessity of presenting Queen Christine with the full extent of protestant suffering in France, since the ambassador, Trélon, was playing it down.
6. London, British Library, Ms. Egerton 1717, fol.39v°; Jacques Pineton de Chambrun, *filis: Les Larmes* (La Haye, 1688), p. 4.
7. Dohna, *Aufzeichnungen*, pp. 96, 97, letter of the protestant consistory, 6 November 1658.
8. The letter is reproduced in photograph in J. de Coursac, *Choses et gens du parlement d'Orange* (Paris, 1934), pp. 46, 47.
9. Pierre Bayle, *Nouvelles Lettres*, cited by Eugène Arnaud, *Histoire du protestantisme de Provence...* 2, p. 291, n.2 (Paris, 1884).



10. Bibl. pt.B, no.39. The 1658 edition has a variety of metres, while that of 1671 standardises in almost every case, using alexandrines. The collection also contains a poem from Labadie's Jesuit days: 'Logé par dessus la nature'. The first edition dates the poems for use in December 1657 and might have been intended as the first of a series.
11. Appendix 1:43.
12. Quotations from first edition, cited by A. Salomon, 'Jean de Labadie', *B.S.H.P.F.* 78 (1929) pp. 21, 22.
13. W.F. & F. Leemans, in their masterly study, *La noblesse de la principauté d'Orange* (The Hague, 1974), list many catholic Deslonges at this period, but make no mention of any having been consul.
14. Louis-Gaucher de Castellane, comte de Grignan, related by marriage to Mme. de Sévigné, and his brothers François, archbishop of Arles, and Jacques, bishop designate of Uzès. The fact that both clerics had held the see of St.-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, close to Orange, surely explains their keen interest.
15. This was Jean Doujat, Labadie's old friend and protégé from Toulouse (see pp. 51ff). Disabused by Labadie's abjuration, Doujat gave his allegiance to the Congrégation des Filles de l'Enfance. Mme. de Mondonville used the very house at Le Touch where Labadie had retired, and some of her letters (ed. L. Dutil) were written from there.
16. Quoted by Marguerite-Marie Shibano, *De la fondation de la Congrégation des Filles de l'Enfance à la deuxième persécution*, I, 13f. Thesis, Ve section, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 1980/81.
17. *Ibid.*, loc.cit.
18. Auguste, 'Origines du Jansénisme... Toulouse', I, 276, quotes manuscript memoirs of Mme. de Mondonville which refer to a young girl 'arrachée d'un apostat nommé Abadie.' It seems that skirmishes continued; a manuscript life of Ciron at Toulouse (arch. dépt., G 45) is incomplete, but breaks off at a chapter heading '*Protestants. Abadie*', which suggests knowledge of further sources. Much will, however, have been lost when the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement systematically burned its records some years later.
19. Who this was is uncertain, for two Jesuits at Avignon bore this name. Pierre Gras was professor of grammar and humanities and was held in high regard at the college, but perhaps we would do better to choose Jacques Le Gras, a preacher and polemicist and as such perhaps better suited for a disputation with Labadie.
20. R. de Voyer d'Argenson, *Annales de la Compagnie du St. Sacrement*, ed. Dom Beauchet-Filleau. p. 178. Marseille, 1900.
21. Daniel Benoit, 'Un pasteur réformé au 17<sup>e</sup> siècle, Daniel Chamier...', *B.S.H.P.F.* 31 (1882), pp. 145ff, gives no indication of where this letter may be found, and my exhaustive searches have failed to trace it.
22. Full details are given by Bonaventure de Sisteron, *Histoire nouvelle de la ville et de la principauté d'Orange*, Avignon, 1741.
23. In his memoirs Dohna claims that he had to pawn his wife's jewellery in order to finance the project.

24. *Relation Exacte de Tout ce qui s'est passé entre le Parlement d'Orange* (sic), et Monsieur le Comte de Dona... (no place), 1658, p. 23.
25. One, Payen, was 75 and too frail to walk; he travelled from Avignon by coach, was given a peremptory hearing by Dohna and ordered to quit the town within four hours.
26. Yvon, *Oprecht verhael*, pp. 92ff. This is probably an error. *Leviathan* was reprinted in English in 1657, but no French or Latin translation appeared for some years; however, Hobbes' *De Corpore Politico* had been translated into French by S. Sorbière in 1652.
27. Bibl. pt.B, no.40. This fine work had been written in 1644, but only in 1657 did the synod of Dauphiné order its publication. To finance it, each church was to send two *livres* to the *député* of Orange, and in return would receive a parchment-bound copy of the book.
28. Appendix 1:44.
29. Letter of 7 November 1669, reproduced in *RGP*, groote serie 32 (1917) p. 256.
30. *Départ apostatique de Jean de Labadie hors de ces provinces Unies...* pp. 147-151 (no place), 1670. The author, in all probability Des Marets, was given the letter by pastor Pineton de Chambrun of Orange. Appendix 1:45.
31. Drevon had two daughters, but the elder, Rose, does not figure in his will of October 1657, so had presumably died.
32. Vatican, Archivio Segreto, *Legazione*, Avignone 56, fol.90r°.
33. Avignon, bibl.mun., Ms.fr.5327, fols.14, 15.
34. Vatican, Archivio Segreto, ms.cit., fol.61r°, see Appendix 1:46.
35. *Ibid.*, fol.90r°; see Appendix 1:47.
36. Geneva, BPU, Archives Tronchin 48, fol.39; see Appendix 1:48. The letter to Ruvigny is lost.
37. They were, by and large, an irreligious mob, some being taken to law for urinating in the cathedral (Avignon, arch. dépt., B 1080).
38. A fact confirmed by London, Archive of French Protestant Church, Soho Square, ms.45, fol.40.
39. *Mercurius Politicus*, 437 (7-14 October 1658), p. 906; see Appendix 1:49.
40. He too had made his way from Orange to London. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
41. Cromwell is alleged to have told d'Espagne that he had nothing against foreigners, so long as they were protestant!
42. A colourful character indeed, Jean-Baptiste Stoupe (sometimes Stuppa) was a Cromwellian agent, a translator of Puritan literature, in the pay of Condé and Spain, and evidently available to the highest bidder.
43. London, Archive of French Protestant Church, Soho Square, ms.6, fol.33r°.
44. *Ibid.*, ms.45, fols.39v°, 40; see Appendix 1:50.
45. The letter is usually dated 21 April 1659 in editions of Milton's *Epistolae Familiares* (e.g. *Works*, ed. Pickering, VII, 406-408, London,

1851), but William Parker, in his biography of Milton (p. 525) says it should be 27 April; he also feels the Dury referred to was not John but Giles, an elder of the Westminster church.

46. Labadie asked only that he be formally invited by a letter from the heads of families. This letter was duly sent (*Publycke Attestatien*, Amsterdam, 1669, p. 23).
47. London, Archive of French Protestant Church, Soho Square, ms.45, fols.40, 41; see Appendix 1:51.
48. This and other letters were collected and published as *Lettres d'adieu de Mr. de Labadie...*, bibl. pt.B, no.41. Some doubt surrounds another publication, *Lettre d'une fidele de l'Eglise Reformée d'Orange, à un Fidele de l'Eglise Reformée de Paris...*, bibl. pt.B, no.42. It appears in the Labadists' own *Roole des livres de Jean de Labadie, Pasteur*, but its dates, 6-20 April 1660, are well after Labadie had left the principality. The style is his and the tirades against moral laxity in the church are typical.
49. *Lettres d'adieu*, p. 168.
50. Appendix 1:52. It is appended to Yvon, *Doctrine du baptême*, 1683 and was signed *inter alia* by councillor Paul de Devron, *viguiier* Sebastien de Laurens, and *premier consul* Louis Dubois.
51. *Archives de la correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange Nassau*, ed. G. Groen van Prinsterer, 2nd ser., 5, p. 190.
52. The text of this Treaty of Avignon is at Avignon, bibl. mun., ms.fr.1409-1414, vol.1, fols.534f.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Philip Skippon, *An account of a journey...*, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. A. & J. Churchill, vol.6 (1732):702-706, gives some impressions of his visit in 1665; see also below, p. 127f.
2. The exiled regicide, Edmund Ludlow, who visited Geneva at this point, commented: 'Neither in doctrine or discipline, principle or practice, they have made such progress since the tyme of the first reformation as might have been hoped for, but... have rather gone backward.'*Voyce from the Watch Tower*, ed. A.B. Worden, *Camden 4th series*, 21 (1978), pp. 7, 8.
3. Geneva, archives d'état (AE), RCP 11, fol.156.
4. *Ibid.*, RC 159, fol.181.
5. *Ibid.*, fol.186.
6. *Ibid.*, fol.193.
7. Geneva, AE, *pièces historiques* 3364; see Appendix 1:53. The letter was signed by elders and heads of families, headed by Théophile de Garençières, a member of the College of Physicians.

8. Ibid., coll.cit.; see Appendix 1:54.
9. Geneva, AE, RCP 11, fol.88.
10. Ibid., fol.100. Westminster elected another pastor on 16 October, Jean de Kerhuel, formerly pastor of the French church at Sandtoft and who was, in a small way, as indomitable and self-assured as Labadie. The Westminster congregation continued at Somerset House chapel and was conformed to the Anglican liturgy on 19 April 1661.
11. AE, RC 159, fol.355.
12. London, British Library, Harleian mss. 3783, fol.104.
13. A letter from one of the envoys, Samuel Frisching, is reproduced in *Publycke Attestatien*, 1669, pp. 62, 63, dated 4 November 1659.
14. Geneva, AE, RC 159, fol.392.
15. There were six of these, of late 15th century date, depicting St. Peter, St. Paul, St. James, St. John, St. Andrew and St. Mary Magdalene.
16. A coveted honour; most foreigners lived as *habitants*, with few rights and heavy taxes, while a *citoyen* enjoyed numerous privileges. The normal fee for citizenship was 300 *livres*.
17. For subsequent, less amicable dealings, see pp. 121, 125.
18. AE, État-civil, St. Gervais 7, 29 July 1659. In all, Labadie conducted 11 baptisms and 4 marriages that year.
19. AE, Procès criminels, no.2595.
20. Since the Reformation, the bishops of Geneva had lived in exile at Annecy.
21. AE, RC 160, fols.78-84.
22. AE, *ibid.*, fols.138, 139.
23. BPU, ms.fr.432, fol.39; see Appendix 1:55. Geneva also sent congratulation by way of Dr. Colladon, a London physician. Labadie's letter seems to have been circulated, to the chagrin of the Company, which forbade its publication. On 30 July Colladon wrote of Charles' favourable reception of Geneva's homage.
24. AE, RC 160, fol.43f.
25. Ibid., fol.106.
26. AE, R 58, fol.135v°; R 11, 8 June. The English visitor already referred to, Philip Skippon (pp. 702-706) wrote in 1665; 'The citizens delight much in shooting with bows, guns, etc. ...On Sunday evenings there are sometimes dancing, musick, etc., and always recreations without the walls, as shooting at butts, etc., which some of the ministers preach against.'
27. AE, RC 160, fol.83v°.
28. Quoted in translation in *Attestatien* (1669), pp. 63, 64. Hummel had received Labadie's books from Étienne Tavel, lieutenant-colonel from Bern.
29. Henri Vuilleumier, *Histoire de l'église réformée du Pays de Vaud*, 3: 257, 258, Lausanne, 1927-1933. Significantly, both Lüthard and Hummel shared Labadie's affection for English republicanism and were in touch with the regicides at Vevey.

30. Spener, *Sendschreiben an einen Christeyffrigen außländischen Theologum*, p. 108, sect.5f, Frankfurt a.M., 1677.
31. See p. 97.
32. Geneva, AE, *notaires*, Bernard Vautier, vol.20, fols.234, 235. The handwriting is barely decipherable.
33. This was convenient, since it was at St. Gervais that the bulk of his ministry was concentrated; he conducted 20 baptisms and one marriage there that year, four times his involvement in all the other churches put together.
34. The house is clearly visible on maps until c.1750. Today a café occupies the approximate site.
35. AE, *notaires*, Louys Pasteur, vol.33, fols.175, 176.
36. *Attestation* (1669), pp. 64, 65.
37. Vuilleumier, loc.cit.
38. AE. RCP 11, 19 June, 13 September.
39. AE, R 58, fols.206, 241v°, 256; RC 161, fols.110f; RCP 11, fol.178. The seating request would have been a major problem, because foreigners were forever complaining that they could not find seats in the churches.
40. He was regularly requested to sign a traveller's *liber amicorum*, the forerunner of the autograph book; for several entries, see bibl. pt.A, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.
41. Geneva, AE, RCP 11, fols.163, 204; R 58, fol.248 (the terms in question were 'bougre, putain et faiseuse de monstres!'); RC 161, fol.272.
42. AE, R 58, fols.245, 259-265.
43. Son of duc de La Force, he was a member of the French church at Westminster that had sought to secure Labadie, and his signature appears on the consistorial minute concerning this call; it is reproduced in *Attestation* (1669), p. 23. This episode recounted in *RGP*, grote serie 32 (1917), p. 209.
44. AE, RC 162, fol.78.
45. AE, RCP 11, fols.212f; RC 162, fol.111.
46. AE, RCP 11, fols.234, 235; R 58, fol.297; RC 162, fol.152.
47. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr. Ki-Ar. 24<sup>a</sup>, fol.186v°; see Appendix 1:56.
48. AE, RCP 11, fol.227f.
49. AE, RC 162, fol.180, see Appendix 1:57; also Gregorio Leti, *Storia Genevrina*, p. 214, Amsterdam, 1686.
50. AE, RCP 11, fols. 248, 239, 240, 256.
51. AE, RCP 11, fols. 231-233; RC 162, fol.146; R 58, fols.299v°-300r°.
52. On 5 September 1662 Labadie was censured by the Company for adopting such novel postures during services.
53. AE, R 58, fols.313v°-314; RC 162, fol. 192; RCP 11, fols.242-244.
54. Anna's life has been well covered; see bibl. pt.D, works by U. Birch, A.M.H. Douma, G.D.J. Schotel and J. Voisine.
55. Max Geiger, *Die Basler Kirche und Theologie*, pp. 161, 162, Biel, 1952;

- see also *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, ed. H.G. Wackernagel, 3:559, Basel, 1962.
56. Basel, Univ.bibl., Mscr. Ki-Ar, 24<sup>a</sup>, fols.461-467.
  57. Basel, Univ.bibl., loc.cit., fol.186; see Appendix 1:58.
  58. Basel, Univ.bibl., Mscr. G.I. 64, fol.192; see Appendix 1:59.
  59. Reproduced in *Attestation* (1669), pp. 65, 66.
  60. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms.Eng.Hist.c.487, fol.923. The heavily censored printed editions recount the incident without naming Labadie.
  61. See p. 68.
  62. See bibl., pt.C, It was not the only work of its sort to appear while Labadie was at Geneva, for a work originally dated 4 August 1662 was subsequently published a year later, from an unknown author: *Lettres à Monsieur de Labadie, ministre très-célèbre à Genève, où se voyent les pretextes pour lesquels on sort de l'église romaine, et les raisons qui obligent à y retourner*, 39<sup>pp</sup>, 4°, Metz, P. Collignon, 1663. Both this work and its manuscript original (title slightly different) are in the *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Feu M. Ernest Labadie*, no.1979, Bordeaux, 1918.
  63. Geneva, AE, RCP 11, fols.240, 241; R 58, fol.310; RC 162, fol.192.
  64. Labadie had learned many of these as a child, see p. 2.
  65. AE, R 58, fols.306<sup>v</sup>-308, 313-314; *procès criminels*, 2649.
  66. AE, RCP 11, fols.267, 283, 286, 303.
  67. The figures need no comment. 1662: 14 baptisms and 11 marriages at St. Gervais, one marriage elsewhere; 1663: 48 baptisms and 13 marriages at St. Gervais, nothing at all elsewhere; 1664: 22 baptisms and 1 marriage at St. Gervais, 1 baptism and 1 marriage elsewhere.
  68. Bibl. pt.B, nos.45-47. By this stage Labadie had produced two works at Geneva, *La Pratique de l'oraison et meditation chretienne* (no.43, a reworking of no.31) and an unpublished *traité* on the Sabbath (no.44, later incorporated in no.93).
  69. *Oeuvres*, XIV, p. 781 (Paris, 1778). Facsimile reprint, Brussels, 1967.
  70. *Second advis charitable*, see bibl. pt.C; Geneva, AE, R 11, fols.269, 274, 309, 339. Mauduict's work was finally answered in 1669 (Bibl., pt.B, no.81).
  71. *Histoire veritable de la vie de Jean de Labadie, pasteur*, Geneva, BPU, Ms.fr.68. The work is a copy, the majority in one (very poor) hand but with extra folios of new material in another. There are no folio numbers.
  72. *Le tableau des hommes illustres de la Cabale de Calvin*, quoted in *B.S.H.P.F.* 1905, pp. 137-153.
  73. Basel, Univ.bibl., Mscr. Ki-Ar. 24<sup>a</sup>, fols.461-467.
  74. Bern, Staatsarchiv, B.III. 63, nr.45, orthograph.
  75. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms.Eng.Hist.c.487, fol.995. Was it also through Labadie that the regicides published, at Geneva in 1663, their tract *Les Iuges Iugés?*

76. Leiden's *Album Studiosorum* (no.477, 28 November 1659) gives his age as nineteen, which goes against the usual view that Dulignon was born c.1630.
77. Geneva, AE, R 59, fol.67; RC 164, fols.30-32; *procès criminels*, 3796.
78. AE, RCP 11, 13 May, 12 August; R 59, fol.70.
79. *Ephraïm Froissé*, bibl. pt.B, no.48, subsequently published at Middelburg. The French text, better suited to his purposes than a truly literal translation might have been, reads: '*dans les soixante-cinq ans Ephraïm sera froissé, pour n'être plus peuple.*'
80. Bibl. pt.B, no.49; see also Appendix 1:60.
81. AE, RC 165, fol.157.
82. BPU, Ms.Suppl. 25, fols.9, 11.
83. AE, *procès criminels*, 3821; R 59, fols.144, 145; RCP 11, fol.380; RC 165, fol.30. Favre received further admonitions in 1690 and died apostate in 1696.
84. AE, RC 165, fols.50, 64, 119v°, 175v°, RCP 11, fol.384; RCP 12, fol.32.
85. AE, RCP 11, fol.380; RCP 12, fol.30; *état civil*, St. Gervais 8, fol.14. An insignificant letter to Labadie of 17 December 1665, from Théodore de la Chaumette, pastor of Maringues, on pastoral matters, is at Geneva, BPU, ms.fr.433, fols.107, 108.
86. For legal measures over the previous two years, AE, *notaires*, Jean Comparet 25, fol.53; André Beddevole 8, fols.174v°-176.
87. Paris, BN, Ms. Mélanges de Colbert 132, fol.1; see Appendix 1:61.
88. For reference, see above, note 1.
89. See p. 124.
90. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms.Eng.Hist.c.487, fols.1224-1228.
91. For an insight into Anna's disenchantment with the established church, see a poem that she wrote in 1665, appended to A.M.H. Douma, *Anna Maria van Schurman en de studie der vrouw*, Amsterdam, 1924.
92. Geneva, AE, RCP 12, fols.42-45; RC 165, fol.192v°.
93. AE, RCP 12, fol.43 (see Appendix 1:62), 48; RC 165, fol.195.
94. AE, *notaires*, André Beddevole 10, fols.232-233 (19 January 1666).
95. AE, RCP 12, fol.65; RC 165, fol.206v°; RC 166, fols.41-43.
96. AE, RC 166, fols.44v°-45v°; RCP 12, fols.67, 68. The testimonial is appended to Yvon's *Doctrine du Baptême* (see bibl. pt.B) and can also be found in *Attestation* (1669), pp. 16, 17; an extract is in Appendix 1:63. Another testimonial, from the council of Geneva by the pen of councillor Chapeaurouge, is there also (p. 15), which praises Labadie's gifts and stresses the affection in which they still hold him – regardless of his regular invectives against the magistracy!
97. AE, *notaires*, Abraham Baveu 1, fol.98.
98. *Ibid.*, Esaïe Morel 6, fol.106.
99. AE, RC 166, fols.64, 72; RCP 12, fols.73, 80 (the last record of Labadie's actual presence at Geneva, 11 May 1666).

100. AE, RC 166, fols.94,98; RCP 12, fol.84.
101. Yvon's account (*A Faithfull Relation*, 1685, pp. 90ff) is confirmed by Theo Kiefner, *Die Waldenser auf ihrem Weg aus dem Val Cluson durch die Schweiz nach Deutschland, 1532-1755*, vol.2, pp. 113-117, 120-122, 208n.3 (Göttingen, 1985), who lists many who were probably of this party, as well as tracing the usual route for refugees.
102. Details in E. Staehlin, 'Jean de Labadies heimliche Durchreise durch Basel im Jahre 1666', *Basler Nachrichten, Sonntagsblatt*, 27 April 1958.
103. A problem surrounds this figure. Yvon (*Faithfull Relation*, 99) reveals that he had good testimonials from Die, Geneva and Heidelberg; we know that he studied theology, lodged at Labadie's house, and represented Dulignon in the lawsuit of 1664. The Ménuret who followed Labadie is known to have gone mad and died at Amsterdam in 1670. However, Stelling-Michaud's edition of Geneva's *Livre du Recteur* lists a Jean Ménuret as studying theology at the correct time, but says that he died in prison somewhere in Drome. Neither is Ménuret listed in Toepke's edition of matriculations at Heidelberg.
104. On 28 September Yvon and Dulignon were accorded testimonials by the Company, at their request; AE, RCP 12, fol.105.
105. Basel, UB, Mscr. Ki-Ar, 24<sup>a</sup>, fol.190.
106. Geneva, AE, RCP 12, fol.365.
107. M.Geiger, *Die Basler Kirche und Theologie*, p. 162, Biel, 1952.
108. A. Schweizer, *Die theologisch-ethischen Zustände der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts in der Zürcherischen Kirche*, pp. 19, 20, Zürich, 1857.
109. R. Pfister, *Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz*, p. 617, Zürich, 1964-85.
110. Gregorio Leti, *Lettere* I, 38, 39, Amsterdam, 1700 (my underlining); see Appendix 1:64.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. The Republic of United Provinces had been declared in 1577 but was not recognised by Spain until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.
2. William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces*, pp. 202ff, 3rd edn., London, 1676. He remarks, *inter alia*: 'Differences in Opinion makes more in Affections, and little in Conversation, where it serves but for entertainment and variety. They argue without interest or anger; they differ without enmity or scorn, and they agree without confederacy.'
3. The house still exists, on the south-west corner of the present-day Voetiussteeg.
4. See p. 98.
5. See p. 79.



6. See p. 173.
7. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. F. 65, B 11, fols.349, 350; see Appendix 1:65.
8. Anxiety about Socinianism was at a peak that year, since a Dutch translation of the Racovian Catechism (the Socinian manifesto) had just been published when Labadie arrived.
9. She died at the community's final retreat at Wieuwerd in Friesland, 30 January 1680.
10. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'English Dissenters in the Netherlands, 1640-1689' *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* n.s. 59 (1978), 36, 37.
11. Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, vol.6, p. 163A, The Hague, 1672.
12. See p. 124.
13. He was lodging at the home of Cornelis Muenicx (1633-1678; many wrong spellings of this name occur in works on Labadie), councillor at the Court of Flanders, and his wife, Barbara Veth.
14. He presumably repented, since he is found in 1686 as pastor of Boulonois.
15. Cited by Labadie in *Response au Libelle.. [de].. Henry du Moulin* (Middelburg, 1668), p. 10.
16. Bibl. pt.B, no.50, incorporating no.48; preface dated 1 January 1667. It seems that the evident parallel between Labadie himself and St. Paul caused offence, since the work is omitted from most subsequent bibliographies produced by the Labadists.
17. Further publications that year were Dutch translations of bibl. pt.B, nos.23, 38.
18. *Codex diplomaticus Neerlandicus*, 2nd. ser., vol.1, pt.II, p. 77 (Utrecht, 1852).
19. Bibl. pt.B, no.52. The Dutch edition has eluded me.
20. *Livre Synodal, contenant les articles resolués dans les synodes des Eglises Wallonnes des Pays-Bas* (La Haye, 1896), Synod of Heusden, September 1666, art.10.
21. Synods of Dordrecht, 1577, art.3; Amsterdam, 1578, art.7; Dordrecht, 1618/1619, arts.53, 54.
22. This goes against the traditional view that he refused throughout to sign.
23. A report of the impending classis was sent on 28 September to *Antistes* Hans Kaspar Waser of Zürich, a mark of the interest that the case was arousing (Zürich, Staatsarchiv, E.II.409, fol.498).
24. Cited in Pierre Yvon, *Doctrine du Baptême* (Amsterdam, 1683), p. 227.
25. *Ibid.*, loc.cit.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
27. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms.F.65, B 11, fol.350.
28. Bibl. pt.B, no.51. G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi, the Mystical Messiah*,

- p. 545, (London, 1973) praises Labadie's magnanimous attitude.
29. Antonie Everaerts, or Everard, a member of the Walloon consistory, who founded in 1668 a medical society in the town. He lived in the Latijnsche Schoolstraat.
  30. See note 19 above.
  31. Bibl. pt.B, no.56; preface dated 10 August.
  32. Appendix 1:66.
  33. Bibl. pt.B, no.57; preface dated 22 August.
  34. Appendix 1:67.
  35. There is an obvious incongruity here, but a letter from Anna van Schurman of 17 April does agree that 'Monsr. de la Badie ne se porte pas bien' (The Hague, KB, Ms.75 c.59).
  36. Labadie, *l'Idée d'un bon Pasteur* (1667), p. 85f; bibl. pt.B, no.53.
  37. Art. 53 of the Ecclesiastical Discipline was very strict on this point.
  38. Dr. Raven, 'De Labadie te Utrecht', *Kronijk, Historisch Genootschap*, 5th ser., vol.5 (1869), 71-74; protocols of 3 June 1667. The exiled Scottish pastor, Robert MacWard, inspired by Labadie's success, was also holding gatherings in homes in the town.
  39. The Hague, Archive of Dutch Reformed Church, ms.235, no.3, fol.1.
  40. Bibl. pt.B, no.54; preface of 17 July.
  41. *Le Triomphe de l'Eucharistie*, preface.
  42. Bibl. pt.B, no.55; preface of 24 July.
  43. *Héraut*, p. 70; see Appendix 1:68.
  44. All quotations from Joseph Brewer, 'Millenarianism: its development and significance within the Christian era', Ph.D. thesis, Leeds University, 1957 (fols.300, 302, 307).
  45. *De zelo sine scientia. Admonitio fraterna J.A. Comenii ad D. Samuelem Maresium*, Amsterdam, J. Jansonius, 1669. A useful analysis of this work and the Reformed position on chiliasm generally is: R.A.B. Oosterhuis, 'Een 17e eeuwsch dispuut over het chilliasme', *Stemmen des Tijds* 20 (1931), 345-358.
  46. Published Sedan, 1612; repr. Sedan, 1624; Geneva, 1631.
  47. The Hague, Archive of Dutch Reformed Church, ms.cit., no.4.
  48. *Reponse au libelle diffamatoire*, bibl. pt.B, no.58.
  49. Bibl. pt.B, no.59.
  50. That the objection was mere sophistry is clear from the fact that the word 'altar' had already been changed to 'wood' by the 1619 synod of Dordrecht.
  51. Bibl. pt.B, no.60.
  52. Antoine Hulsius, *Le Heraut Muët, Ou Refutation du Livre intitulé: Le Heraut du Grand Roy Jesus* (Leiden, 1669).
  53. Ibid., *L'Accusation mal fondée, ou second Traitté justifiant comme Orthodoxe la Confession de Foy des Eglises Reformées des Pais-Bas*. (Leiden, 1669).
  54. These were later published as *Les Plaintes Apologetiques*, bibl. pt.B, no.65.

55. The Hague, Archive of Dutch Reformed Church, ms.cit., nos.7, 9.
56. The next year he received the *Eerste Edele*, Zeeland's highest honour.
57. The Hague, ms.cit., nos.13-15.
58. Cited in Pierre Yvon, *Doctrine du Baptême* (1683), pp. 226, 227.
59. Bibl. pt.B, no.60. The style and orthography are not Labadie's, but the work is attributed to him by the Labadists themselves. Similarly attributed is a like justification, *Question du Temps Resolue*, bibl. pt.B, no.61.
60. Bibl. pt.B, nos.62, 63.
61. *Proceedings, Huguenot Society of London* 46 (1960), p. 17, letter of Hans Konrad Keller of Leiden, 20/30 May 1667.
62. Antoinette Bourignon, *Le Tombeau de la Fausse Théologie*, pt.II, letter 2 (pp. 16, 17); see also pt.I, letters 3, 5.
63. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms.6 KS.150,2°, fol.216r°; my thanks to M. Fabrizio Frigerio of Geneva for this reference.
64. Bibl. pt.B, no.47.
65. Labadie, *Le Discernement*, p. 24; see Appendix 1:69.
66. Bibl. pt.B, no.46; it is in 33 numbered paragraphs and is really an annotated concordance of relevant scriptures.
67. Bibl. pt.B, no.64.
68. See p. 153.
69. Labadie, *La Puissance Ecclesiastique*, p. 140; see Appendix 1:70.
70. Bibl. pt.B, no.66.
71. Ludovicus Wolzogen, *De Scripturarum Interprete adversus exercitorem paradoxum...* (Utrecht, 1668).
72. Bibl. pt.B, no.65.
73. Bibl. pt.B, no.70.
74. *Specimen controversiarum Belgicarum* (1618), chap.5: 'In omnibus Ecclesiis nascentibus sive vegetis prophetiae ordo ex Pauli Instituto observetur.'
75. Labadie, *l'Exercice Profetique*, pp. 50, 51; see Appendix 1:71.
76. *Lange Rygh-Veter*, *Waar aan opgezamelt zijn alle de Versjes van verscheyde Schrijvers voor en tegen Jean de Labadie* (Amsterdam, no date); copy at Middelburg, Rijksarchief, coll. *Zelandia Illustrata* IV, 570; see Appendix 1:72.
77. The Hague, Archive of Dutch Reformed Church, ms.cit., no.26.
78. Antoinette Bourignon, *Avis et Instructions Salutaires*, pp. 18-21.
79. *Ibid.*, *La Vie continuée* (ed. Pierre Poiret), p. 291.
80. Works by his opponents, e.g. *Galbanum Jesuitique* (2nd edn., 'Cologne', 1668) make much of these providential illnesses.
81. Reproduced in *Avondt-Discours... Rakende D. Jean de Labadie* (Amsterdam, 1669), pp. 67-69, in a letter from pastor Charles de Rocheafort. Ménuret, meanwhile, was holding conventicles in Delft (Delft, gemeentearchief, archief Waalse Kerk 143, fol.8, 5 September 1668).
82. Cited in Johann Georg Bertram, *Das evangelische Lüneburg*, p. 241, Braunschweig, 1719; see Appendix 1:73.

83. Bibl. pt.B, nos.71, 72; see also no.73.
84. Bibl. pt.B, no.69.
85. Goeters, *Vorbereitung* II, 226.
86. *Pro-Wolzogen*: Maresius of Groningen; Heidanus, Coccejus and Gaillard of Leiden; Wittich of Nijmegen; Burmann of Utrecht; Perizonius of Deventer; Becker of Franeker; Schotanus of Friesland; and the magistracy of Utrecht.  
*Anti-Wolzogen*: Voetius, Lodensteyn, Essenius, Nethenus and Gentman of Utrecht; Vogelzang and Vitriarius of 's-Hertogenbosch; Koelman of Sluis; De Raedt of Vlissingen; van der Waijen and Witsius of Leeuwarden; Arnoldi of Franeker; Barenzonius of Goes; Ridderus, Rochefort and the Walloon consistory of Rotterdam; the consistory and magistracy of Middelburg; John Brown and five Scottish colleagues at Rotterdam; and Colonius and Ryffenius of Deventer.
87. For de Witt's earlier coolness, see p. 139.
88. *Galbanum Jesuitique, ou, Quintessence de la sublime théologie de l'Archicoâtre Jean de la Badie*, 2nd edn., 'Cologne', 1668.
89. The Hague, Archive of Dutch Reformed Church, ms.cit., no.23.
90. *Ibid.*, nos.17-20, 24, 25.
91. *Ibid.*, no.29.
92. *Ibid.*, no.32. Middelburg appealed (no.31), but to no avail.
93. Bibl. pt.B, no.68.
94. *Manuel*, pp. 60, 61; see Appendix 1:74.
95. *Lettre au Sr. Arondel*, p. 1; see Appendix 1:75, and bibl. pt.B, no.74.
96. *Lette du Consistoire d'une Eglise considerable en France*, reproduced in extracts and analysed in Théodore Colon [Labadie], *Justification* (see next note).
97. Theodore Colon [i.e. Labadie], *Justification ample et sincere*, bibl. pt.B, no.75. Wolzogen replied with *Reponse à la pretendue conviction manifeste... en ce qui concerne le livre de Louys de Wolzogue* (Utrecht, 1669).
98. Jacobus Koelman, *Der Labadisten Dwalingen* (Amsterdam, 1684), p. 190.
99. Johannes Coccejus, *Opera anekdota* (Amsterdam, 1706), vol.2, pp. 619-818, letter 434; see also nos.432, 439.
100. Bibl. pt.B, no.76.
101. Probably Yvon's analysis of Wolzogen, *Les deus ennemis, amis* (Amsterdam, 1669), or perhaps his *Extrait de quelques propositions erronées* (see bibl. pt.B, no.69).
102. *Protestation*, pp. 7, 8; see Appendix 1:76.
103. Reproduced in Desmarets, *Histoire curieuse* (The Hague, 1670), 96, 97.
104. Middelburg, Rijksarchief, Hss.verz.279, fol.322r°.
105. This had, of course, already been done in *Les Plaintes Apologetiques*.
106. Bibl. pt.B, no.79; the other tracts were nos.77, 78 and 80.
107. This was partially successful, even in Dutch Reformed circles, where

- conventicles were accepted. The classis of The Hague, meeting at Schoonhoven, lamented (Art.5) the dangers of separatist house meetings.
108. Bibl. pt.B, no.80, and the anonymous *Récit véritable de ce qui s'est passé au Synode des Eglises Vvalonnes... assemblé à Dordrecht... touchant la personne du Sr. Jean de Labadie* (Leiden, 1669). The Middelburg faction loyal to Labadie also produced *Kort Verhael, Van eenige saken, en voornamelijck van het gepasserde op het Walsche Synode tot Dordrecht, Rakende de Walsche Kerck van Middelburg...* (Middelburg, Henrick Smit, 1669), which reproduces a letter of 9 March from Labadie's old friend at Geneva, Jérémie Pictet, condemning Wolzogen's book and linking Wolzogen with the Socinians.
  109. Middelburg, Rijksarchief, Hss. De Gaay Fortman, 13, transcript of protocols of council of Veere, 15 June 1669, gives the full text.
  110. Two others existed, at Groningen and Bergen op Zoom.
  111. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms.Eng.Hist. c.487, fols.1224-1228, which gives the additional information that the Dutch and Scottish churches of Veere had declared the Labadists a true church.
  112. Veere, gemeentearchief, Ms. Poorterboek, 17 June 1669. Labadie's entry reads: 'Labadie, Jean de, sone van Charles de Labadie, oud ???, geb. in Bourg in Xantonge.'
  113. Middelburg, Rijksarchief, Hss.verz.279, fols.331v°-347r°; Hss. De Gaay Fortman 13 (no folio numbers); see Appendix 1:77.
  114. *Ibid.*, resolution of 22 July 1669.
  115. Reproduced in L. Sylvius, *Historien onses tyds*, vol.1, pp. 51, 52 (Amsterdam, 1685).
  116. *Publycke Attestatien* (Amsterdam, 1669), pp. 27, 28; other testimonials from various bodies are on pp. 25, 26, 28.
  117. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.
  118. Utrecht, Rijksarchief, fam.arch. Des Tombes, inv.nr. 1337, is a collection of letters from Lambert Bustin, formerly of the consistory of Middelburg, and his wife Anna Sandra, to her mother Jacoba Walleran. The Bustins followed Labadie in all subsequent travels and died at the community's final home in Friesland. The mother remained at Middelburg but was Labadist in her devotion. This key correspondence is analysed below, pp. 267ff.
  119. William Hull, *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, 1655-1665* (Lancaster, Pa., 1938), p. 141.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. The Hague, AR, Staten van Holland voor 1795, rep.nr.2662, fols.206, 207, letter of Grand Pensionary de Witt, 2 July 1669.
2. London, BL, Stowe Mss. 182, fols.101-107.

3. P. Scheltema, *Aemstels Oudheid*, vol.6, p. 157 (Amsterdam, 1872).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
5. Milada Blekastad, *Comenius*, p. 722 (Oslo, 1969).
6. See pp. 188, 275.
7. For its publication, see p. 224.
8. Yvon, *Doctrine du Baptême*, pp. 210, 211. Rous' work, frequently cited by the Labadists but seemingly unknown to their detractors, was a combination of two works, *The Heavenly Academie* (London, 1638) and *The Mysticall Marriage* (London, 1635), in which the author, an Anglican (and therefore Reformed) priest and provost of Eton, presents mystical devotions of a most intimate nature. The soul is encouraged to 'goe out of the body, yea out of the world' by mystical contemplation (*Marriage*, 266); to pursue, overtake and be married to Christ (*Academie*, 25); and to be united with Him who is a 'boundlesse Ocean of light' (187). The lover of God is to be 'stripped of his carnal wit' (105) and to practise 'denial' and even 'annihilation' of all external desires (*Academie*, 105; *Marriage*, 3). Not only are there clear parallels with Labadie's devotions and imagery here, but Rous is solid evidence of a Reformed mystical tradition that Labadie's opponents were seeking to deny.
9. Born Wesel 1641, son of Heinrich Schlüter; he studied at Heidelberg, Duisburg and Leiden.
10. Perhaps son of Joachim Steenhouwer (or Lithocomus), who died a citizen of Düsseldorf some twenty years before.
11. *RGP*, grote serie, 84 (1941), p. 498.
12. He was subsequently burgomaster of the city and has gone down in history as something of a rogue.
13. Leeuwarden, PB, Hs.1559 (bundle).
14. Cited in *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 24 (1927), 153. Lit. 'Philosophy seeks, theology finds, and religion possesses the truth'.
15. *RGP*, grote serie, 32, pp. 251-253.
16. Gulielmus Saldenus (under pseudonym Desiderius Pacius), *Zedig Versoek Aan de... Juffrouw Anna Maria van Schuurman...* (Utrecht, 1670).  
Heinrich Schlüter replied to this, *Ken-Teecken en van de Weder-Geboorte* (Amsterdam, 1670), 118-197.
17. Cited in D. Nauta, *Samuel Maresius*, p. 338, n.244 (Amsterdam, 1935).
18. Constantijn Huygens, *Sedige en Sielroerende Aenspraecke aen Juff. Anna Maria van Schurman, Om haer af te trecken van Jan de Labadie* (Amsterdam, 1670).
19. For example the letter from Johann Graevius to Nicolaus Heinsius, cited in G.D.J. Schotel, *Anna Maria van Schurman* (1853), supplement, p. 39.
20. Voetius, *Politicae Ecclesiasticae* IV, 502ff (Utrecht, 1676). The Voetian party was also quick to distance itself from separatism by publishing a condemnation of such activity: *Syngramma, of Zedige en Ernstige Bedenkingen omtrent de staet der Gereformeerde Kerke* (Utrecht, 1670).

21. See p. 175.
22. He had two. Alida had died in 1657, so this must have been Hillegonda (†1698).
23. Three of the sixteen children of the statesman Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck of The Hague and his wife, Luts van Walta; their grandfather François had been the richest man in the town. Anna (1640-c.1712) was known as Juffr. van Spijk; Maria (1645-c.1703) as Juff. van Plaat; and Lucia (1647-c.1707) as Juff. van Bommel, after their father's titles. Their brother Cornelis (1637-1688) was governor of Surinam (see pp. 273ff).
24. Aemilie, born 1649, was daughter of Jan van der Haer, secretary at the provincial treasury of Holland, and Levina Ockers. She, her mother and two sisters, Vincentia and Maria, heard Labadie at Middelburg, joined at Amsterdam and lived out their days in Friesland (Levina died July 1678, Aemilie December 1686).
25. Anna (1633-1691) was daughter of Quintijn de Veer, magistrate at The Hague. She left the Labadists in the summer of 1671, writing a letter to another member, urging her to leave (J. Koelman, *Der Labadisten Dwalingen*, 866-874). Koelman's *Historisch Verhael* contains a supposed meditation by Anna, dated 14 October 1670.
26. Born 1628, Wilhelmina was the daughter of Joannes van Buytendyk and his wife Elisabeth, Catholics of The Hague. Widowed in 1660, she had three children.
27. Elisabeth (1651-1674) died at Altona. Peter (1646-1722) became a 'speaking brother' and died in charge of the Labadist colony in Maryland.
28. Bibl. pt.B, nos.81-89; in addition there was a reprint of no.39.
29. No.82.
30. No.83.
31. No.81. It drew immediate response (probably from Wolzogen): *Preuves veritables de la pieté, sincerité, Debonaireté et de la Prudence du Sr. Jean de Labadie, Tirées de son livre intitulé Nouvelle conviction manifeste...* (Utrecht, 1670).
32. See pp. 120, 180.
33. Bibl. pt.B, no.84.
34. No.87.
35. No.85. For example, Rev.2:4 becomes: 'Il est en toi des choses qui te tachent, / Et des defauts de vertus qui me fachent; / C'est que tu as ton premier feu quité, / N'ayant plus tant d'ardeur de charité'. This *genre* was quite common, Lodensteyn having produced a versified rendition of St. Luke.
36. No.88.
37. No.86.
38. No.89. The work reveals sub-standard proof-reading, a sign that it was rushed through the press; *grave* accents are used almost exclusively, and we even find a 'm'ont de Tabor'!

39. Labadie, *L'Empire de Saint Esprit*, preface; see Appendix 1:78.
40. Henri & Daniel DesMarets, *Histoire curieuse de la vie, de la conduite, et des vrais sentiments du Sr. Jean de Labadie* (The Hague, 1670).
41. J. van der Waeyen & H. Witsius, *Ernstige Betuiging der Gereformeerde Kercke aen haer Afdwalende Kinderen* (Amsterdam, 1670).
42. T. Cannegieter, 'Een zonderlinge vergissing betreffende de geschiedenis der Labadisten te Amsterdam', *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kerkgeschiedenis* 6 (1897), 161-173.
43. Yvon, *Preservatyf tegen de verleyding* (Amsterdam, 1684), p. 707, also makes mention of conferences with Brakel at Amsterdam.
44. She was living on the Princegracht until the end of 1669, then moved to the Heerengracht. For details, see Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. Ay. 249 c., fols.4, 5.
45. Scheltema, op.cit., vol.6, p. 164.
46. Malbon had been minister at Blofield in Norfolk and Bungay in Suffolk before being silenced by the Act of Uniformity in 1662, when he withdrew to Amsterdam.
47. See p. 177.
48. Jan de Klerk, *Coppe Van een Brief Gesonden aan de Messrs. Jean de Labadie, En Pierre d'Yvon [sic], Aengaende de 21 Articulen En Henrici Schluters Notificatie over deselve*. Amsterdam, A. van den Burgh, (1670).
49. The official Labadist line on the 21 Articles came from Yvon two years laer, *Examen der XXI Artikulen*, see bibl. pt.B, no.114.
50. Bibl. pt.B, no.82.
51. Scheltema, op.cit., vol.6, p. 164.
52. Anna Maria van Schurman, *Eukleria* (Altona, 1673), p. 158.
53. The clerk to the burgomasters, Hans Bontemantel, was strongly anti-Labadist. His account of events (cited by Scheltema, op.cit., vol.5, p. 220) is that when the sewer was opened, such a stench arose that a workman dropped down dead on the spot. Labadie provided a coffin.
54. For example *Fidelle Narré* (Amsterdam, 1681); bibl. pt.B, no.122.
55. As before, he resolved to ignore the order and wrote to Ludlow at Vevey of his intentions (Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms.cit., fols.1242, 1243).
56. A.C. Duker, 'Briefwisseling tusschen den Utrechtschen kerckeraad en Anna Maria van Schurman', *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kerkgeschiedenis* 2 (1887), 171-178.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
58. Antoine de Lamarque, *Motifs qui ont obligé Anthoine de Lamarque de sortir de la Maison du Sieur Jean de Labadie*. (Amsterdam, Jean Beauman, 1670). A Dutch translation appeared under the fanciful title *Den verresen Jan van Leiden...* (Rotterdam, 1670).
59. Bibl. pt.B, no.87, its subtitle calling it 'une troisesme conviction manifeste'.
60. G.E. Guhrauer, 'Elisabeth, Pfalzgräfin bei Rhein, Äbtissin von Herford', *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 3rd ser., vol.2 (1850), pp. 460, 461.
61. See p. 180.



62. Anon., [probably Henri DesMarets], *Départ Apostatique de Jean de Labadie hors de ces Provinces Unies, apres y avoir semé ses convictions impies, impures et diffamantes*. No place, 1670.
63. The Hague, KB, Hs.75.k.112 is a poem dated 11 September 1672, which speaks of 'Smout het hoofd der labadisten'.
64. As a postscript may be mentioned that Labadie's stay at Amsterdam became the subject of a popular novel, P.H. van Moerkerken (the younger), *De Vraag zonder Antwoord*, 2nd edn., Amsterdam, 1922. It is, however, a sensational travesty, with trances, orgies and even a dancing corpse.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. The very month that Labadie's old enemy, Wolzogen, came to Amsterdam as Walloon pastor.
2. Bremen's touchiness is clear from the fact that when Theodor Untereyck, a pastor who had held conventicles that Heinrich Schlüter had visited, was called to the cure of St. Martini in the city (29 July 1670), his inaugural address was postponed a week while his Labadist connections were investigated (Bremen, Staatsarchiv, 2-T. 4.a.3).
3. Wesel, Archiv der evangelischen Gemeinde, Acta 72, nr.6, fols.642, 644. One of the van Sommelsdyck sisters lodged with alderman Thomas von Wylich, and Luise Huygens with his brother-in-law, Johan van Stockum. Others in the party were the chambermaid to Juff. van Sommelsdyck, two men named Cornelissen and Hertgens, Marie Lacroix and a Juffr. Holting from Rotterdam.
4. Among them Martin Hettle, painter, Joachim Sander, goldsmith, and Adrian Huisman, furniture-maker, with his brother Hendrik. These later left Labadie when Heinrich Schlüter did. Finally there was Jacobus Schlüter, Heinrich's brother, who sympathised strongly but did not leave Wesel (Wesel, ms.cit., fol.644). See also W. Rotscheidt, 'Heinrich Schlüter vor der Generalsynode', *Monatshefte für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte* 4 (1910), 241-249.
5. German 'Freiheit' = Latin 'immunitas' (ecclesiarum), a matter of canon law whereby certain church lands were automatically exempt from military presence, markets, fairs and executions.
6. This was known as the Brackmeyersche Haus. Ludwig Hölscher, 'Die Labadisten in Herford', *Programm des Gymnasiums Herford* 1 (1864), 1-15, calls it house no.814, on the site of the present post office.
7. Hölscher, house no.835, formerly known as Münzhof; the site is now occupied by a bank.
8. Wolfgang Ernst von Eller zu Laubach, *Landdrost* of Ravensberg. His wife was Juliana Charlotte Calcum.
9. Hannover, Landesbibliothek, Ms.XXII, 1459, fols.19-25, which errone-

- ously spells it Domp. This house was on the site of the school near the Hämelinger bridge.
10. Another letter was written by Johann Binch, the convent's librarian, to pastor Remerus Ligarius at Amsterdam.
  11. Hannover, Landesbibliothek, ms.cit., fol.22v°, see Appendix 1:79.
  12. E. Bodemann (ed.), *Briefwechsel der Herzogin Sophie von Hannover*, pp. 152, 153 (= *Publicationen aus den königl. preuß. Staatsarchiven* 26, 1885).
  13. Hannover, ms.cit., fols.20v°-22v°. Von Eller also wrote to the Elector on 13 November in praise of the Labadists.
  14. Guhrauer, op.cit., p. 465.
  15. J.H. Goslings-Lijssen, 'Uit het leven van Elisabeth van der Palz, abdis van Herford', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 28 (1936), pp. 173, 174.
  16. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, s.v. 'Sophie'. By birth she was Countess Palatine and by her marriage to Ernst August, Elector of Hannover, she came into the Braunschweig-Lüneburg family.
  17. London, BL, Kings Mss. 140, fol.24; see Appendix 1:80.
  18. *Ibid.*, fol.25r°.
  19. Hannover, Landesbibl., ms.cit., fol.25v°; see Appendix 1:81.
  20. Traditionally the Wolderuskapelle. The anonymous correspondent from Herford calls Labadie a 'grand Babillard' who harangues for over two hours, to the discomfort of the 'less regenerate' Calvinists present (*ibid.*, fol.25r°).
  21. *Ibid.*, fol.26r°.
  22. Detmold, Staatsarchiv, Ms.L.65, nr.16, fols.4v°, 5; see Appendix 1:82. On another occasion Schlüter claimed that since the days of the Apostles, there had been none to equal Labadie.
  23. See bibl. pt.C.
  24. Hannover, Landesbibl., ms.cit., fol.25r°.
  25. Not van Rahden, as some scholars print. Elisabeth used a notary named Engelbrecht von Rehden, but the envoy here was *licenciat* von Wahden, councillor of Herford representing the convent.
  26. K. Hauck, ed., 'Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs', *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 15 (1908), 221, 222.
  27. The Hague, AR, Rechterlijke Archieven Lexmond en Achthoven, inv.nr. 75.
  28. Bibl. pt.B, no.90; the preface is dated 27 January 1671 and bears the additional signatures of Heinrich and Peter Schlüter.
  29. Who this was is uncertain. It was *not* the Cornelis who matriculated at Leiden and who became a magistrate at 's-Hertogenbosch. More likely are the van der Meulens who were shopkeepers at Amsterdam or councillors at Veere.
  30. J. Kvačala, *Korrespondence Jana Amosa Komenského*, vol.2, pp. 151, 152. Prague, 1902.
  31. Cited in J. Wallmann, 'Labadismus und Pietismus', *Pietismus und Reveil*, Leiden, 1978, p. 159.

32. The originals were lost in the last war, but extracts are given by Guhrauer.
33. These, with chancellor Lorenz von Somnitz, favoured a polite request to Labadie to seek an alternative abode.
34. London, BL, Kings Mss. 140, fols.219, 220.
35. 'quand mesme ils seroient Turcs ou comme nous, étant la meme chose à ce qu'il croit' (fol.220r).
36. *Ibid.*, loc.cit.
37. Anna Maria van Schurman, *Eukleria*, Dessau/Leipzig, 1783, introduction, p.xii; see Appendix 1:83.
38. He refers to the young ladies of the community as 'die niedlichsten Püppchen, die man nur im Bette zu haben wünschen kann' ('the cutest little dollies you could ever want in bed').
39. London, BL, ms.cit., fol.219r.
40. *Ibid.*, loc.cit.; see Appendix 1:84.
41. E. Bodemann, 'Briefwechsel', p. 161.
42. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957), 165-167; Robert E. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit* (Berkeley, Ca., 1972), 229-232; E. Schulte van Kessel, *Geest en vlees in godsdienst en wetenschap* (The Hague, 1980), *passim*.
43. A.J.M. Lamers, *Hendrik van Deventer* (Assen, 1946), p. 26, n.1.
44. *Eukleria*, p. 177. See also Yvon, *Doctrine du Baptême*, pp. 219ff.
45. J. Borstius, *Kort en oprecht Verhael van het Danssen, Kussen en Omhelsen van Mr. Jean de Labadie, En sijn Geselschap...* (Rotterdam, 1671). This same text, with minor variants, was reprinted in *Getuygenis en Verklaringe Van eenighe Predikanten uyt Schotland* (pp. 54-64), Rotterdam, 1671. Borstius closes with a sensational account of whirling dervishes in the Levant!
46. J. Koelman, *Der Labadisten Dwalingen* (Amsterdam, 1684), 151-155.
47. *Bibl. pt.B, no.91*, the original not traced, but lengthy extracts are cited in Koelman, *Dwalingen*, 162-173.
48. Herford, Stadtarchiv, Ms.A.10.058, fols.21, 22.
49. A. Pauli, *Examen Errorum Ioann. de Labadies* (Hamm, 1674); *Anti-Labadie, das ist, Joann. de Labadie protestation et glaubensbekaentnis, nebst Io. Hundii und Adrian Paulii examine* (Hamm, 1674).
50. *Bibl. pt.B, no.92*.
51. William Penn, *Een Basuyne geblaesen*; most common is the second edition, Amsterdam, 1675.
52. William Penn, *Papers*, ed. M.M. & R.S. Dunn vol.1, p. 216 (Philadelphia, 1981).
53. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
54. Pennsylvania, Historical Society Library, Penn Papers 1:446-449; microfilm copy at London, Friends' Library.
55. *Ibid.*, loc.cit. Despite the hostilities, the Rotterdam Quaker Benjamin Furly still kept twenty-five Labadist works in his library.
56. Guhrauer, 'Elisabeth', 503, 504, gives lengthy extracts. The whole text

- appeared as *Citatie van het Keyserlijke Kamer-Gericht tot Spiers, Aande Abdisse van Hervord, Als mede aen Joan de Labadie en sijne Adhaeranten*, The Hague, 1672.
57. Johann Bertram, *Das evangelische Lüneburg* (Braunschweig, 1719), 239ff.
  58. Who this was is uncertain. Most follow Reitsma (*Geschiedenis van de Hervorming en de Hervormde Kerk*, p. 651, 3rd edn., Utrecht, 1916) and say Thomas Servaas, a docker from Middelburg, who came to join with a group of Herderites (see p. 181) following a schism. There is, however, no other evidence for this surname, while there is plenty for Thomas Vermaat, who became an elder of the community, dying around 1725.
  59. Originally from The Hague, Catharine was a special friend of Anna van Schurman and later became heir to her estate.
  60. H. Sander, 'Zeugen-Aussagen über Leben und Lehre der Labadisten in Herford', *Jahrbuch, Evangelischer Verein für westfälische Kirchengeschichte* 26 (1925), 105.
  61. *Ibid.*, p. 106. Other sources (e.g. Schotel, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, p. 212) say that Peter's wife was named de Vries.
  62. See p. 175; reference is to *Theosophia Practica*, 3rd edn., Leiden, 1722, p. 1710.
  63. This was fairly standard hermeneutics, and the Dutch Liturgy said the same (see also Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, 15); the basic scripture on this was 1 Cor. 7:14.
  64. Hauck, 'Briefe', no.274. There were two jurists of this name active at Speyer at this time, Johann Friedrich and Johann Ulrich. Which is meant here is uncertain.
  65. F.C. Borgmaier, Ms. 'Herforder Kirchengeschichte', cited by Hölscher, 'Labadisten in Herford', p. 12n.
  66. New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Ms. Boswell Papers, bundle of 'Letters to my Grandfather', namely Alexander Bruce, Earl of Kincardine. In 1659 Bruce had married Veronica van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck, eldest sister of the three Labadists, and it is to her that this letter is addressed.
  67. *Bibl. pt.B*, no.90.
  68. *Bibl. pt.B*, no.114; see also p. 183.
  69. *Bibl. pt.B*, no.115.
  70. This was not Yvon's own image, for Schlüter had used it in his *Ken-Teecken* (p. 165).
  71. *Bibl. pt.B*, n.93.
  72. See pp. 208, 214.
  73. Appendix 1:85. Dutch edn., cited by G. Oorthuys, *Kruispunten* (Wageningen, 1935), p. 142.
  74. *Bibl. pt.B*, no.62.
  75. *Bibl. pt.B*, no.94.
  76. Labadie, *Traité du Soi*, conclusion, cited (from German edn) by Hölscher, p. 8.

77. Münster, Staatsarchiv, coll. 'Fürstabtei Herford' 43, vol.2; 'Reichskammergericht' H.1126.
78. Herford, Stadtarchiv, Ms.A.10.058, fol.23 (report of Georg Kuhorn, 26 February 1672); fol.23a (report of Johann Stieber, 4 March 1672).
79. His brother and sister remained. Heinrich himself disappears from the records; he presumably returned to Wesel, but died not long after, for the *Bürgerbuch* of Wesel lists his widow as receiving citizenship on 23 December 1674.
80. H. Sander, 'Zeugen-Aussagen', pp. 100-110 (see note 60 above).
81. She later wed the Labadist elder Jaspar Robijn.
82. Herford, Stadtarchiv, ms.cit., fol.37, a notarial document of 4 April 1672, showing that not even the war and the need to make urgent proclamations to the public could induce the convent to lift its immunity.
83. Bodemann, 'Briefwechsel', p. 258.
84. 'Vor etlichen Jahren ist... Jean de Labadie's Geburt... Leben... usw. der Welt zu wissen gethan: nunmehr aber ist... seine... letzte Schuld-Zahlung der Natur... kund gemacht worden', *Diarium Europaeum* 28 (1674). See also J. Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener* (1970), pp. 294f.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER IO

1. Leeuwarden, PB, bundle Hs.1559, contains a copy in 17th century hand, with no indication of origin: '1672 den 4 Julij kwam Labadie met de geleerde Juffer A.M. Schurmann en andere Systers uit Holland [sic] naar Altona en etableerden hier te Altona een Conventikel.'
2. See p. 193.
3. Bremen, Staatsarchiv, 2-T.1.c.3e.
4. Jannibal, *Der Stadt Hamburg Chronicon*, records that they remained in the house and seldom had dealings with the outside world; see Appendix 1:86.
5. Original in Schotel, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, p. 235.
6. Roughly translated 'counsel-less, speechless, helpless'.
7. H. von Schubert (ed), 'Aktenstücke zum Aufenthalt Labadies und der Labadisten in Altona', *Beiträge und Mitteilungen, Verein für Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1904), 215.
8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms.Eng.Hist.c.487, fol.1310; Christiaan Huygens, *Oeuvres complètes* 7, p. 234 (The Hague, 1899); *RGP*, grote serie 32 (1917), 317. On 3 March 1673 Constantijn again requested whatever confessions Lady Swann could extract from 'your ancient Sybille' (Anna van Schurman) -- *ibid.*, p. 323.
9. Schubert, p. 206n.
10. Unidentified. Perhaps a relative of Hendrik Pietersz Robijn, carpenter at Amsterdam.
11. Schubert, pp. 219, 220.

12. Leeuwarden, PB, ms.cit. says house no.193, while J.A. Bolten, *Historische Kirchen-Nachrichten von der Stadt Altona* (Altona, 1791) II, 33 says no.192.
13. Works appeared under the names of Cornelis van der Meulen and Laurens Autein, though the latter had already died.
14. He produced a newspaper, the *Altonaische Relation*, and in 1672 was arrested because an article had offended Louis XIV.
15. Bibl. pt.B, no.95.
16. Bibl. pt.B, no.118.
17. Bibl. pt.B, no.117.
18. Bibl. pt.B, no.116.
19. Yvon, *Essentia religionis Christianae*, chap.XIII; see Appendix 1:87.
20. Bibl. pt.B, no.96.
21. Labadie, *Jesus revelé de nouveau*, book 2, canticle 18. Evidently his final illumination had not improved his versification!
22. Bibl. pt.B, no.104.
23. S. van der Linde, 'Anna Maria van Schurman en haar Eucleria', *Theologia Reformata* (Woerden) 21 (1978), 120.
24. Johann Gabriel Drechsler, *Eukleria Eukeatos, sive Melioris partis electio rescissa...* (Leipzig, 1675), a Jesuit production; and John Brown, *Epistola ad celeberr. A.M. à Schurman; in qua placidè examinatur nova ejus Sententia, De Sabbato ac Die Dominico, Quam in libello... Eukleria... proposuit ac defendit* (Rotterdam, 1674).
25. *Eukleria*, pp. 115, 116; see Appendix 1:88.
26. Schubert, p. 216. One signatory, deacon Johann Frische, was also a third-rate poet.
27. Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Archive of German Chancellery, Inländ. Register 1673, fol.257b; see Appendix 1:89. Also cited, with different wording, in J. Lieboldt, 'Der Aufenthalt des Jean de de Labadie in Altona', *Schriften, Verein für Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte* 1 (1900), 122.
28. Original reproduced in D. Winsemius, *Het grote geheim van Anna Maria van Schurman*, 2nd. edn., Kampen, 1979, pp. 320, 321, from which we also learn that Dulignon was now the father of a son, Jean Benjamin.
29. Schotel, supplement, pp. 133, 134.
30. Schubert, p. 219.
31. Anna van Schurman, *Continuatie van de Eukleria*, pp. 263-267 (appended to Yvon, *Oprecht verhael*, 1754).
32. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 270.
34. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms.Eng.hist.c.487, fol.1378; see Appendix 1:90.
35. At some point a bronze medal was struck to commemorate Labadie; see *Bulletin, Soc. d'hist et d'arch. de Genève* 4 (1914-23), pp. 285, 286.
36. Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, ms.coll.cit., 1674, fol.28; see Appendix 1:91.
37. Schubert, p. 223.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 224. Original is dated 10 (i.e. 10/20) February.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 224, 225.
40. *Diarium Europaeum*, XVIII, part 2 (1674), 533-536; see Appendix 1:92.
41. They were less stubborn over the burial, the following year, of another sectarian, Christian Hoburg (see p. 181), who was interred in the Reformed cemetery without fuss.
42. J. Lieboldt, 'Jean de Labadies Bestattung in Altona', *Mitteilungen, Verein für hamburgische Geschichte* 23 (1903), 208.
43. Anna van Schurman, *Continuatie*, p. 276. In fact, the end was more prosaic, the body being dug up nearly a century later when the garden behind the house was worked over. Leeuwarden, PB, bundle Hs.1559; see Appendix 1:93. In all the procedures regarding Labadie's corpse we note a reverence that was not normal in Protestant circles but runs closer to the Catholic veneration of saints. In fact, there was also a possible relic. Labadism forbade any jewellery, but one Labadist burial in the vault at Wieuwerd (see p. 331) contained a tooth on a silver chain. We know that Labadie was toothless when he died, so it is conceivable that this was a memento of the deceased patriarch.
44. Owen had recently been instrumental in the issuing of a Declaration of Indulgence (1672), which gave greater freedom to dissenters and which was probably the reason why the Labadists chose England.
45. Schotel, supplement, p. 132.
46. Doubtless Alexander Bruce, Earl of Kincardine (see chap.9, n.66).
47. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms.cit., fols.1376, 1377; see Appendix 1:94.
48. Anna van Schurman, *Continuatie*, p. 295. Strauch remains unidentified, though he was Lutheran and matriculated at Jena in 1668, giving his town of origin as Minden in Westphalia.
49. Schubert, pp. 225, 226. Another Labadist, Elisabeth Schlüter, had died and was presumably awaiting burial at this time.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 227.
51. A rare accord, for the two were keen rivals and the former was to bring about the latter's downfall two years hence.
52. Cited by J. Gierlinger, 'Jean de Labadie und die Labadisten', *Amtsblatt der Stadt Altona*, vol.8, no.26 (1928), 2; see Appendix 1:95.
53. This indicates one of the van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck sisters, whose mother, Luts van Walta, lived on Lange Voorhout at The Hague and died there on 18 June 1674.
54. Basel, UB, Mscr. G<sup>2</sup>.II.33. Correspondence with the latter began before her arrival at Frankfurt in December 1674. Throughout this period Yvon and Anna van Schurman plied parallel correspondences (with Schütz, Pierre Poiret, Samuel Rachel).
55. It is important not to over-stress the Labadist influence on Spener and Frankfurt Pietism; see the learned debate between Johannes Wallmann and Kurt Aland in their articles in bibl. pt.D.
56. 3/13 July, 12/22 August, 10 November, 22 December 1674; 9/19 February, 19/29 April 1675. Full details in Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob*

- Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus* (Tübingen, 1970), 290-306.
57. Schütz's library, with several Labadist titles, is preserved at the Gräfl. Solms-Laubachsche Bibliothek, Schloß Laubach, Hessen. Spener had also received a steady flow of Labadie's books through Sébastien Tridon, *réfugié* pastor at Geneva and an ardent Labadist supporter.
  58. Not Labadists pure, for they were equally open to Quakerism, which was anathema to the Labadists. This Herford group is frequently referred to in Penn's letters.
  59. He was to translate it into Dutch; see bibl. pt.B, no.104.
  60. See note 24 above.
  61. Johannes Berkendal, *Kurtzer Bericht, daß die Labadisten sich fälschlich berühmen des Nahmens der Evangelisch-Reformierten, ihrer Kirche, Confession, Catechismi und Synodi zu Dordrecht; samt einem Vorbericht vom Leben und Absonderung Joh. de Labadies*. (Altona), 1676.
  62. These included Alhardus de Raedt, who had known and approved of Labadie in Zeeland (see p. 143).
  63. Seven letters from Rothe to Yvon and Dulignon, from 13 May to 1 August 1674, are cited in Rothe's work *Provisioneel Oordeel Wegens het Geschrift... Korte Onderrichtinge...* (Altona), 1675. Bombastic and verbose, they actually say very little.
  64. The Scanian War (1674-1679) saw Sweden lose all her possessions on the Continent.
  65. The Hague, AR, hs.verz. Van Aerssen van Voshol, nr.50.
  66. Hertford, County Record Office, D/E Na. F.50, letter of 30 January 1722. Walta-slot was also known as Thetinga, Taingaborg (or Tamingaborg) and 't Blauw Huis.
  67. Schotel, supplement, pp. 116-131, a letter with valuable insights into the Labadist position on grace, free will and predestination.
  68. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-137.
  69. Basel, UB, Ms.G<sup>2</sup>.II.33, fols.4-8; see Appendix 1:96.
  70. Anna van Schurman, *Continuatie*, pp. 304, 305.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Letter of 23 June 1667 to Philip Ernst van Vegelin van Claerbergen, cited in *Leeuwarden 1435-1935. Gedenkboek* (Leeuwarden, 1935), 212.
2. These are not named in the records, but were probably the same as had first tabled the Labadist matter: Johannes Kleijenburgh of Wolvega, Petrus Feddema of Kubaard, Petrus Nauta of Foudgum and an elder from Dockum, Herman Hachting.
3. J. van Genderen, 'Een officiële verantwoording der Labadisten', *Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift* 10 (1955/56), 96-108.
4. Witsius and J. van der Waeijen, *Ernstige Betuiging der Gereformeerde*



- Kercke aen haer Afdwalende Kinderen*, Amsterdam, 1670. Nevertheless it must be remembered that Witsius was sympathetic to deeper reformation in the church and had written a trenchant piece on the lukewarmness and abuses of the Reformed church: *Twist des Heeren met syn Wijngaert...*, Leeuwarden, 1669.
5. Balthasar Bekker, *Kort Begryp der algemeine Kerkelyke Historien... tot den jare 1684*, p. 17f. Amsterdam, 1686.
  6. J. van Genderen, p. 108.
  7. Yvon, *Doctrine du Bapteme*, pp. 309, 310; Anna van Schurman, *Eukleria pars secunda*, p. 46.
  8. For its earlier history, see J. Hepkema, *Wieuwerd en zijn historie*, 10th edn., Oosterend, 1977, pp. 9-11.
  9. Couperus, *Een Kort Verhael...* (Leeuwarden, 1675), and *Een Nootwendige Verdediginge...* (Leeuwarden, 1675), see bibl. pt.C.
  10. Amsterdam, Vrije Univ. bibl., Hs.Inv.Bos.21, orthograph, 6/16 August 1675.
  11. Bibl. pt.B, no.119.
  12. *Korte Onderrichtinge*, pp. 3-10; Amsterdam, VUB, ms.cit., fol.1; Couperus, *Kort Verhael*, pp. 1-3; J. van Genderen, 'Verantwoording', p. 100.
  13. Chief sources are the works by Jacobus Koelman and Petrus Dittelbach, bibl. pt.C. Modern summaries are works by H. van Berkum, M. Goebel, J. Hepkema and J. Riemersma, bibl. pt.D. Unpublished sources of importance are London, BL, Egerton Mss.1717, fols.33-46, esp.36-38, and Utrecht, Rijksarchief, Fam.arch. Des Tombes, inv.nr.1137 (bundle).
  14. A self-portrait of Anna Maria van Schurman, aged 70 (i.e. 1677, two years after arrival in Friesland), wearing just such a habit, is at Franeker, Museum 't Coopmanshuis.
  15. Lambert Bustin sent one from Wieuwerd to his mother-in-law, Jacoba Walleran, at Middelburg, in September 1691; Utrecht, Rijksarchief, ms.coll.cit.
  16. A parallel is the supposedly miraculous 'Jesuit Powder' advertised in London twenty years before (*Mercurius Politicus* 439, 21-28 October 1658).
  17. London, BL, Egerton Mss. 1717, fol.40v°.
  18. Ibid, fol.38r°. The designation 'first' and 'second class' has its parallels, the 19th century community of the Separatists of Zoar choosing the same structure in America.
  19. Ibid, fol.36v°; see Appendix 1:97.
  20. Several are known: to Bernardus Swalue, her physician, from Harlingen, of 8/18 September and 21 October 1675 (Schotel, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, supplement, 141-147); to Daniel Meyer, a pastor (unidentified), of 14 July 1675 (ibid, 134-137); to Matthias Cramer, tutor in Western languages at Nürnberg, of 20/31 June 1676 (The Hague, KB, Hs 135 k 12, manuscript appendix); and to Gabriel

- Talientschker (unidentified, a friend of Cramer), of 23 November 1677 (*ibid*, loc.cit.).
21. Anna van Schurman, *Eukleria, pars secunda*, pp. 185, 188.
  22. See pp. 188ff.
  23. All of which did not prevent Yvon marrying, in 1695, Labadie's widow, Lucia van Sommelsdyck, who by then was forty-six. Regarding Yvon's marriages, we know that his first wife, Catharine Martini, died in 1684 (Yvon, *W. Brakels Onbillicke... Handelinghe*, p. 64, 1685, which tells of her recent death), but there are references to another wife (not named) both in the London (BL, Egerton Mss.1717, fol.36v°, of c.1686) and Hertford (Record Office, D/E Na.A.15, of June 1689) sources, so we assume that Yvon was married three times in all.
  24. See p. 213.
  25. *Doctrine du Baptême*, p. 64; see Appendix 1:98.
  26. Such attention to meals as times of personal growth has ample parallels in other Christian communitarian groups; see T.J. Saxby, *Pilgrims of a Common Life*, Scottdale, Pa, 1987, esp. section on the 18th century Trevecka Family in Wales.
  27. London, BL, Ms.cit., fol.37v°; see Appendix 1:99. See also Bekker, *Kort Begryp*, pp. 23, 24.
  28. See also p. 277.
  29. London, BL, ms.cit., fol.37v°; see Appendix 1:100.
  30. *Ibid*, fol.33v°, also 36v°.
  31. *Ibid*, fol.37r°. They were almost all relatives of Yvon.
  32. J. Reitsma, 'Johannes Hesener en Balthasar Cohlerus', *De Vrije Fries* 13 (1877), 142-43.
  33. London, BL, ms.cit., fol.36v°; see Appendix 1:101.
  34. *Ibid*, fols.34v°, 36r°.
  35. W.I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1935, pp. 13-14, 52. Barclay's copy of Labadie's *Veritas sui vindex*, with its attack on Quakerism, is at Oxford, Bodleian Library.
  36. See pp. 175, 275.
  37. Amsterdam, UB, Ms.AY 247a,b; AY 249a-d. Poirer's eventual appointment as editor of Bourignon's works marked the end of the correspondence and of Labadist/Bourignon relations.
  38. See pp. 209, 210.
  39. Hull, *William Penn*, 11.
  40. All quotations from Penn's *Travels in Holland and Germany, 1677*, in *Selected Works*, 4th edn., vol.2, London, 1825, pp. 461-467.
  41. See p. 294.
  42. See pp. 161, 175, 377.
  43. Reitsma, 'Johannes Hesener', 106; S. Cuperus, *Kerkelijk leven der hervormden in Friesland tijdens de Republiek*, Leeuwarden, 1916, p. 174.
  44. Reproduced in *Verval en val*, pp. 6-13.

45. Reitsma, 'Hesener', 108.
46. Ibid, 119.
47. *Geschrift, Behandigt Aan... het Synodus van Friesland, ...Behelsende een kort verhael van de Proceduren van het Classis van Sneek tegens Johannis [sic] Hesenaar...*, 23pp,4°, Amsterdam, 1679.
48. One of this group, Marie-Marthe de Reneval, he married.
49. Details in W. Schmidt, 'Verhör des Predigers Reiner Copper zu Duisburg', *Monatshefte für rheinische Kirchengeschichte* 35 (1941), 180-187; Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* 2 (1852), 359ff.
50. Yvon, *Doctrine du Baptême*, preface; letter dated 6 April 1683.
51. Yvon, *W. Brakels Onbillicke... Handelingen*. 59f.
52. Dittelbach points out (p. 45) that at Duisburg Copper had been lively and effective, but that now he was like a candle under a bushel, his zeal snuffed out.
53. Dittelbach also makes mention of a German brother, von Schönau, who appears to have been a 'speaking brother' and was once approached to write a life of Labadie. He remains unidentified.
54. Reitsma, 'Hesener', 133-139.
55. See p. 175.
56. Dittelbach, *Verval*, 87, 108.
57. See p. 291f.
58. Cited by Yvon, *W. Brakels Onbillicke... Handelingen*, 309-316, but not dated; see Appendix 1:102. Sadly, the parish records of Fowey are unable to shed light on this extended absence of the minister.
59. Yvon, *W. Brakels... Handelingen*, 59-65.
60. Dittelbach wonders whether Yvon's *Mariage chretien* of the next year was not intended to persuade Treffry to return. Yvon, op.cit., pp. 60/61 recounts a somewhat confused episode concerning another woman of Fowey, who came to visit the community with her son, who needed improvement. It did not, however, work out, and while the son was indeed happy to remain, the mother insisted on returning, sister Treffry arranging her transport.
61. Koelman, *Dwalingen*, 190.
62. Many claim 14 May, but Yvon's letter (see note 65) of 12 May speaks of Anna's death 'a week ago', and a press report dated 15 May, from Sneek, says the same (*Utrechtse Vrijdaegse Courant* no.40, 20 May 1678, cited by J.R. Jansma, 'De tandprothese van Wieuwerd', *Tijdschrift voor tandheelkunde* 51 (1944), p. 94: 'Sneek, den 15 May. De wijd vermaerde Juffr. Anna Maria Schuurmans, is voorleden Weeck tot Wieuwerd, 2 uuren van hier, op 't Huys van Walta, zijnde der Labadisten woning, overleden, tot groote droefheyt van die Broeders en Zusters').
63. Edited by H.J.G. Greebe, 'Het testament van Anna Maria van Schurman', *Stemmen van waarheid en vrede*, 1878, 501-514. The notary was Edo Frieswyck of Sneek, who was regularly used by the community (see p. 318).

64. Ibid, p. 505.
65. *Eukleria, pars secunda*, 184; see Appendix 1:103.
66. Ibid, p. 188.
67. Yvon, *A Faithfull Relation*, pp. 100ff.
68. It is tempting to link this fact with the discovery, in the supposed Labadist burial vault at Wieuwerd (see p. 331f), of a denture carved from ivory, in the form of a lower jaw, in date thought to be of the late 17th century. See Jansma, 'Tandprothese', which has illustrations.
69. Yvon, *Faithfull Relation*, 90-218, and his preface to Dulignon's *L'Humble de Coeur* amount to his testimonial to his lifelong colleague, with whom he enjoyed 'a tender and mutuall friendship.'
70. Bibl. pt.B, no.110, esp. pp. 124, 125.
71. Bibl. pt.B, no.111, esp. pp. 6-7, 68.
72. Bibl. pt.B, no.112; Appendix 1:104.
73. Bibl. pt.B, no.109. Dittelbach agrees with the list of available books sometimes appended to Yvon's works, that there was a *Greater* and a *Lesser* Catechism, both in French and Dutch, but neither French edition has been traced, nor the shorter Dutch version.
74. *Catechismus*, p. 381; see Appendix 1:105.
75. Yvon, *L'Impiété*, preface and pp. 206, 402ff. See also P. Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française*, vol.1, pp. 43-48, Paris, 1954.
76. Reitsma, 'Hesener', 126, 127.
77. Bibl. pt.C. The work contained a supposed meditation by Labadie's former disciple, Anna de Veer, of 14 October 1670, against schism. Yvon appended to some editions of *Doctrine du Bapteme* a rival meditation by the same lady, on separation of the believer from the unbeliever.
78. See L. Verduin, *The Reformers and their Stepchildren*, pp. 116-117, London, 1964.
79. Part two of bibl. pt.B, no.126. It is primarily historical, correcting inaccuracies, and not theological. Yvon points out in the preface that friends in other places were advising him that Koelman himself had damaged his own cause by such a bad book; indeed it was not even banned at Walta-state.
80. *Tot Waarschouwinge tegen de afscheydinge van de Kerke en overgank tot de Labadisten*, pp. 577-638. Brakel wrote three other works, see bibl. pt.C.
81. Bibl. pt.B, no.126.
82. Ibid, no.127, which according to the preface was also directed against a work by Essenius, *Oefening over de Gelykenisse Matt. XIII, 24, 30...* Utrecht, 1670.
83. Bibl. pt.B. no.133.
84. Ibid, no.130.
85. Bibl. pt.C, s.v. Koelman, Brakel, and pt.B, nos.132, 135, 137. In his *Dwalingen* (1684), Koelman set out to refute no less than fifteen works by Labadie, Yvon, Dulignon and Anna van Schurman.

86. Yvon, *Preservatyf*, 755-760.
87. Koelman, *Dwalingen*, 833-845.
88. Yvon, *W. Brakels... Handelinge*, 60-64.
89. Christiaan Huygens, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol.8, p. 548, The Hague, 1899.
90. See pp. 246ff.
91. Dittelbach, *Verval*, p. 38.
92. *Der Raupen wunderbare Verwandlung...*, Nürnberg, 1679.
93. She was known at Wieuwerd as Mme. Merian, not Graff, and her mother as Mme. Morell (Marrellus).
94. *Verval*, 18-19.
95. As for Maria Sybilla, she remained at Wieuwerd until 1691, when her mother died (see p. 287 for her later story). Her elder daughter Johanna got married in 1692 at Amsterdam to Jakob Herold, another ex-Labadist from Bacharach, who had once made himself unpopular at Walta-state by claiming that the mortifications served only to force certain people to leave. Dittelbach claims that the sorry Graff/Merian marital story was in part responsible for Yvon's *Mariage Chretien* of 1685 (bibl. pt.B, no.134).
96. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Nedergerecht, Baa.P.5, fol.195.
97. See p. 232. Van Deventer dedicated his *Novum Lumen* of 1701, an obstetrics textbook, to a Møinichen.
98. A.J.M. Lamers, *Hendrik van Deventer*, Assen, 1946, pp. 49-55, cites a later royal physician, Dr. Carl, writing in damning vein of what the Dutchman had done. He also reproduces valuable archival material on van Deventer's passports and payments.
99. Christiaan died of smallpox aged only twenty, but Sophie lived to 58 and Karl to 49.
100. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, C.L. Sneek 3, 5 June 1688.
101. Utrecht, Rijksarchief, fam.arch. Des Tombes, inv.nr. 1137 (bundle); see Appendix 1:106.
102. She features in the necrology *Fidelle Narré*; a native of Metz, she later became maid to one of the van Sommelsdyck sisters.
103. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.A.15. This was his second wife (see note 23). A letter from Wiewerd of 20 May 1689 (Utrecht, coll.cit.) reveals that his daughter Marthe was also of the party.
104. Hertford, coll.cit.F.5 ('Ick had het oock hier gehoort dat de Wiweertse vrienden weer in den Haag in de kerck quamen en met veel genoeg daer uyt quamen').
105. Utrecht, Rijksarchief, fam.arch. Des Tombes, inv.nr. 1137. Some of the letters are fragmentary, having been eaten away by damp. The dates are as follows:  
 20 May 1689 (Anna Sandra)  
 c. July 1689 (Lambert Bustin)  
 8 August 1689 (ibid)  
 September 1689 (ibid)

- 24 September 1689 (ibid)  
 9 December 1689 (ibid)  
 8 June 1691 (ibid)  
 11 June 1691 (ibid)  
 19 June 1691 (ibid)  
 6 July 1691 (Anna Sandra)  
 17 July 1691 (Lambert Bustin)  
 20 July 1691 (ibid)  
 20 July 1691 (Pierre Yvon), with Dutch transcript  
 23 July 1691 (Lambert Bustin)  
 10 August 1691 (ibid)  
 24 August 1691 (ibid)  
 12 September 1691 (ibid)  
 18 September 1691 (ibid)  
 5 October 1691 (ibid)  
 Anna Sandra writes in Dutch, Lambert Bustin in French.
106. Appendix 1:107.  
 107. Bibl. pt.B, no.99.  
 108. Ibid, no.150, esp. fols.8, 9, 13.  
 109. Appendix 1:108.  
 110. Appendix 1:109.  
 111. Appendix 1:110. Bustin records that they had been married fourteen years, namely since 1677, so they were wed at Walta-state itself.  
 112. Appendix 1:111.  
 113. See p. 206.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. Anon., *Avondt-discours* (1669), 67-69.
2. Yvon, *Fidelle Narré* (1681), 101.
3. The West India Company retained one third, and the last went to the city of Amsterdam. Negotiations were concluded on 6 June 1682 and officially ratified on 21 May 1683. The new owners together formed the Geoctroyeerde Sociëteit van Suriname (Patent Society of Surinam).
4. He left behind his wife, Marguerite de St-André Montbrun, who was unwilling to travel.
5. Probably d'Albus, an alternative to Daubus, a known Calvinist family (see p. 60).
6. Formerly Fort Willoughby, until the Dutch under admiral Crijnssen captured the colony in 1667.
7. A curious statement, since an inventory drawn up at the time of the colony's sale lists fifty cannons, 205 muskets and plenty of powder. Perhaps they were removed by the West India Company.
8. R. Bijlsma, 'De brieven van Gouverneur van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck...', *West-Indische Gids* 5 (1923/24), 437.

9. See pp. 314ff. below.
10. A key figure on such an expedition, since virtually every building in the colony was made of wood.
11. See p. 175.
12. Dittelbach had not as yet joined the community and may well be colouring his impressions with his subsequent disenchantment.
13. These came from Guinea, Loango and Angola. At this point there was an annual average importation of two to three thousand, soon to double. A population survey of 1684 reveals 2,983 slaves owned by 579 Christians and 1,298 owned by 232 Jews. Moreover the Dutch planters in Surinam had a reputation for particularly barbaric treatment of slaves.
14. There were two parishes. Thorarica, up the Suriname river, was pastored by Basseliers until 1685, but Paramaribo had lost its last incumbent, Adriaan Backer, the year before, and the likely replacement, d'Albas, had died on the voyage. There was no church building, sermons being preached at the town hall.
15. On maps of the period the land is shown as belonging to 'the sister of his Excellency A[erssen]'. A law of 7 July 1684 forbade land grants of more than a thousand acres, but the Labadists' own map lists two adjoining plantations in Lucia's name, so we may assume that La Providence comprised some 2,000 acres.
16. The Labadists did use negro labour, but treated them humanely.
17. Perhaps this is overdone. Some planters (see p. 282) knew the Indians well, bartered with them and spoke at least some of their language.
18. Dittelbach, *Verval*, p. 53. W.P.C. Knuttel, 'De Labadisten in Suriname', *West-Indische Gids* 8 (1926/27), p. 201, likens this to another ill-prepared, ill-informed and ill-fated colony started by pastors Copijn van Wilnis and Betting van Beets in 1845 on the Saramacca. See also *West-Indië* 1 (1855), 241-252.
19. Dittelbach's account, second-hand and with no medical knowledge, is fanciful indeed: one corpse had no digestive tract left. More likely is the reference to white granules in the abdomen, which could indicate the eggs of some parasite, or perhaps tuberculosis. The Moravians were to suffer from the same diseases a few decades hence.
20. See p. 237.
21. See pp. 289ff.
22. They were short of elders in Friesland. Robijn and Hesener were in Surinam and Sluyter (Schlüter) in Maryland, leaving only Yvon, Copper and Strauch at Wieuwerd.
23. They were in the best position to get reports from disillusioned planters returning to the fatherland, often on crutches.
24. Bibl. pt.B, no.148.
25. See pp. 290ff, 299.
26. Robijn was therefore senior in status to Danckaerts.
27. Also known as *igname*, this was a strain of potato.

28. Remarriages were frequent on account of the high mortality rate. The Labadist map lists the owner of this plantation as 'Caert' (Carter?).
29. The Labadist map marks Schildpad Baij (Turtle Bay), somewhat east of the estuary of Mott Creek. Today it is part of the Wia Wia nature reserve and the turtles are still there, weighing up to 300lb.
30. See p. 277; they had obviously learned their lesson. Such barter was widespread, but a law of 9 November 1684 forbade trade with indians in slaves, vehicles or timber.
31. *Ocotea rubra*, Dutch *wanenhout*, known in Brazil as *louro vermelho*, was the main utility timber, easily worked and not given to shrinkage.
32. He had suffered earlier in the year with a sickness of the legs, but the journey had done him good and no symptoms remained.
33. *Hymenaea courbaril*, Dutch *lokus*, a timber generally used for decorative purposes because of its deep red colour.
34. A law of 18 January 1684 forbade planters to travel unarmed on waterways, because of indian trouble.
35. This was distilled from the scum on sugar vats. Distilled once it counted as a healthy drink, distilled twice it was as strong as rum. The Labadists were not teetotal.
36. Bayard was one of the Labadists' Maryland friends; see p. 296. He had also sent a letter to pastor Basseliers.
37. A hogshead at this period was around 650 Amsterdam pounds.
38. Such was a Labadist dictum in case of death.
39. Similar accounts of epidemics are recorded by pastor Basseliers in 1676 and later by the Moravians.
40. Bibl. pt.B, no.122; see also p. 269.
41. Dittelbach, *Verval*, p. 59.
42. The Hague, AR, Sociëteit van Suriname 218, fols.366-372: 'Journael van de remarquablesten voorvallen op het fort Zeelandia... sedert 17 [Julij 1688],' which speaks of 'Christians, Jews and Labadists', evidence that the planters of La Providence were regarded in the colony as a sort of third race.
43. See pp. 264, 265.
44. Her interest was awakened by the collection of large and brilliantly coloured butterflies sent to Wieuwerd by governor van Sommelsdyck.
45. Maria Sybilla Merian, *Dissertatio de Generatione et Metamorphosibus Insectorum Surinamensium*, 1726 edn. (The Hague, P. Gosse), p. 20.
46. It is interesting that the longest lived of the three sisters was the eldest and the only one not to have been to the tropics.
47. The Hague, AR, Oud archief Suriname, Raad van Politie 230, fols.61-65.
48. The Hague, AR, Sociëteit van Suriname 130, 28 April 1718, fol.6v°.
49. R. Bijlsma, 'Surinaamse Plantage-Inventarissen uit het tijdperk 1713-1742', *West-Indische Gids* 3 (1921), appendix. He gives no reference, but details are probably in the collection AR, Oud notariële archieven van Suriname 517 (Procuratiën, 1719), which can no longer be consulted due to extreme fragility.



50. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Rechterlijke archieven, Baarderadeel.Y.1, fols.8-11.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

1. New Netherland became New York, and in return England ceded Surinam to the Dutch.
2. See pp. 178, 253.
3. See p. 279f.
4. See p. 253.
5. An account of Susanna's death (May 1676) is given in Yvon's *Fidelle narré*, under her maiden name of Spykershof.
6. The Labadists used New Style dating, while Friesland as a whole kept Old Style.
7. The original ('Dagh Teikeninghe van Onse Reise naer Nieuwnederlant') is at the library of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York. Printed editions are by H.C. Murphy (1867, reprinted 1966) and by B.B. James and J.F. Jameson (1913); see bibl. pt.B, no.146.
8. The diary hints at a visit to Wieuwerd, be it to check up on her passengers or to propose some business venture to the reputedly wealthy community. Yet Margaret's husband hailed from Bolsward, so perhaps she was merely visiting relatives.
9. Danckaerts, *Journal*, ed. H.C. Murphy (1867), 46. It is tempting to trace to this visit the contact that the community in Friesland later had with two of the Treffry family, a noted line from Fowey in Cornwall; see p. 257f.
10. Though not yet so called, the triangle was still as notorious, the crew telling of mirages, monstrous storms and faces in the sky.
11. Danckaerts, pp. 78, 80, 81.
12. *Ibid*, p. 99. The 18th century concept of the 'noble savage' was unthinkable to 17th century Europeans, who read the carefully edited *Jesuit Relations* of missionary activities among the indians.
13. Murphy's edition of the journal reproduces several of Danckaerts' pen and ink drawings, including one of this bay.
14. Now thought to be 255 Pearl Street.
15. Later that day the local minister, Wilhelmus van Nieuwenhuysen, made a better impression.
16. Arnoldus had emigrated with his father in 1662. His wife was Cornelia de la Fontaine. Subsequently he was to be attorney for the Duke of York, and in 1682 was selected from the citizens of Newcastle, Delaware, to welcome William Penn.
17. *Versameling van... grontregels*, bibl. pt.B, no.38. The travellers had a supply of their literature with them, the journal referring to bibl. pt.B, nos.26, 39, 84 and 93. Danckaerts was translating some of them into

- Dutch in idle moments. They also had copies of Pascal's *Pensées*.
18. For more on Augustine Herrman, see bibl. pt.D, works by E. Heck and G. Johnston.
  19. Augustine had five children by his first wife, Janneke Verlett: Ephraim Georgius (b. 1652), Casparus (b. 1656), Anna Margareta (b. 1658), Judith (b. 1658) and Francina (b. 1662).
  20. See p. 253.
  21. Danckaerts, p. 186.
  22. There was talk of one, but it was not dug until 1829.
  23. These were often *white*, impecunious immigrants taken on for a fixed period, with virtually no rights. On slaves, see W.B. Johnson, 'The origin and nature of African slavery in 17th century Maryland', *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73 (1978), and E.I. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820* (Baltimore, 1904).
  24. He had expressly requested the tract from Lord Baltimore, the governor, in exchange for drawing up a detailed map of Maryland and Virginia (now at London, British Library). A boundary dispute between the two states was still in full swing in 1679.
  25. Bohemia Manor was elevated to manorial status in 1676 and confirmed as such by patents of 4 August and 4 September 1682. The other plantations were Little Bohemia (between Great and Little Bohemia Creeks), St. Augustine's Manor (east of Bohemia Manor, between St. George's and Appoquinnimink Creeks), acquired in 1671, and Three Bohemian Sisters (north of Back Creek), which was not acquired until 1682 and was named after his daughters.
  26. Sluyter ('Vorsman') called himself a theologian, which indeed he had once been, and Danckaerts ('Schilders') a wine-racker.
  27. More problematic was the fervour for their cause shown by Theunis Idensen, son of their hosts, who bore marks of being demon-possessed. He poured out his sins to them, and after prayer showed some improvement. The Labadists, however, did not rush to enlist him, and on 17 June 1680 he joined the Reformed Church.
  28. Danckaerts, p. 274.
  29. He was soon to be impeached for financial malpractice.
  30. This was the New College, the second phase of its establishment, and this bleak account is attributable to the interregnum before Urian Oakes became principal one month later.
  31. *Mamvsse Wunneetupanatamwe naneeswe Nukkone Testament kah wonk Wusku Testament*, Cambridge, Mass., 1663. The very copy presented to Danckaerts, with his manuscript notes, is at Middelburg, Prov. Bibl.
  32. This stood in the area of the modern St. Katherine Dock.
  33. Charles had, after all, been strongly opposed to Labadie.
  34. He had known Labadie and read his works; see pp. 153, 196.
  35. Conceivably the Remonstrant version printed that year by the heirs of Paulus van Ravesteyn.

36. As Labadie himself had ever been at pains to stress; see p. 195.
37. H. Hastings, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, 829-830 (Albany, 1901-1909).
38. Bibl. pt.B, no.147.
39. Bibl. pt.B, no.149. Danckaerts notes that on his return he revised the draft and sent it for correction to 'Miss NN', receiving it back after two years. The problems with the Labadist printing press (see p. 251) delayed its publication, and it was finally preempted by Hendrick Ghysen's version in 1690.
40. Admittedly, most of Cecil County's legal records (in which lay Bohemia Manor) were confiscated and burned by the British in 1777.
41. For more details, see G.B. Scriven, 'Maryland medicine in the 17th century', *Maryland Hist. Mag.* 57 (1962).
42. Hastings, *Ecclesiastical Records*, pp. 869-871.
43. *Archives of Maryland* 17, p. 137.
44. *Ibid*, 13, pp. 27-28, 42, 49, which render the names *Slayter* and *Dancred*: the latter is frequently referred to by American scholars as Danckers.
45. C.P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1917), I, pp. 386, 387.
46. For the text of the will, see *Pennsylvania Magazine* 15 (1891), 322-326. St. Augustine Manor had already been made over to Ephraim by a grant of 25 April. The Labadist land was bordered on the west by Long Creek, on the north by the cart road to Reedy Island in the Delaware, on the east by the Appoquinnimink Path, and on the south by Great Bohemia Creek. It was known as the Labadie Tract.
47. Annapolis, Maryland State Archive, Cecil County (Land Records) 1 (MdHR 9822), fol.124.
48. Danckaerts, *Journal*, ed. James & Jameson, p. 141, n.2.
49. A letter of William Markham to William Penn, misdated 16 February 1687/8, records: 'Ephraim Harman lately dyed without a will, for he no sooner sickened, but he lost his senses, lay so six Days then Dyed.' *Pennsylvania Magazine* 90 (1966), 500.
50. London, BL, Ms. Egerton 1717, fol.37v'.
51. It is hard to determine exact numbers, sources varying widely. Samuel Bownas (see p.306) speaks of over a hundred all told in 1702; Rudolphus Varick (see p.304) mentions 'about sixteen' in 1690; Henricus Selyns gives an ambiguous reference to 'not more than twelve Labadistic Apostles' in a letter of 1688; and the Swede Andreas Sandel (see p. 388) says in 1702 that 'their number is now quite small.' The policy of introducing male visitors only to male members cannot have assisted the computation. The most detailed and seemingly reliable account is that of Bownas, but this does not count the negroes.
52. Annapolis, Maryland State Archive, Prerogative Court (Wills) 21 (MdHR 1299-2), fol.643.
53. A census of Bohemia Hundred in 1694/5 lists 213 cattle and 443 pigs, but is uncertain how many belonged to the Labadists; *Archives of Maryland* 20, pp. 269, 270.

54. Hastings, *Eccles. Records*, p. 906. Wieuwerd thus sent reinforcements to Surinam and Maryland within a few months.
55. A phobia already noted (p. 210). In fact, the Dutch newcomers were Mennonites under one Jacob Telner (or Tellenaer).
56. *Ibid.*, 957-959. The policy of burying in the garden had started with Labadie himself at Altona in 1674, but here in the colonies, with few public cemeteries, it was common practice. Moreover mortality was high in the Chesapeake region; see L.S. Walsh and R.R. Menard, 'Death in the Chesapeake', *Maryland Hist. Mag.* 69 (1974).
57. J.G. Wilson, *The Memorial History of the City of New York* (1892/93), 1, p. 447, reproduces a census of Reformed parishioners in 1686, listing Blandine as living alone in a house on Broadway.
58. Annapolis, Maryland State Archive, Cecil County (Land Records) 1 (MdHR 9822), fol.124. The conveyance was endorsed by Cecil County magistrates on 12 June.
59. Hertford, County Record Office, D/E Na.E.1, contains a notarial document of 9 October 1692, the last known reference to Strauch as alive.
60. Hastings, *Eccles. Records*, p. 1053.
61. E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of... New York*, vol.9, pp. 546-549.
62. *Archives of Maryland*, vol.20, p. 163. The fact that the instruction also bears the names of Bayard, Moll and La Grange as supposedly still living in the community indicates a Labadist tendency to stretch the truth in their own interests.
63. Annapolis, Maryland State Archive, Cecil County (Land Records), ms.cit., fols.124, 125.
64. Probably related to the two Johannes, father and son, who were prominent in New York under the Dutch; see A.J.F. van Laer, *New York Historical Manuscripts* (ed. K. Scott, 1974), esp. index to vol.3.
65. Alternative spellings abound. Perhaps he was related to (or synonymous with) the Reynier Hermanns van Burklow who was naturalised in Pennsylvania in 1691 and was an early settler at Germantown.
66. *Archives of Maryland*, vol.20, pp. 398, 399. Perhaps the practice was abused, for a revision of the licence in October 1695 stipulates that 'the said persons shall actually have resided in the said society for the space of three Months before the Solemnity of Marriage' (p. 399).
67. Annapolis, Maryland State Archive, ms.cit., fols.124-138.
68. Hastings, *Eccles. Records*, pp. 1230-1233.
69. For more on the Moravian position, see T.J. Saxby, *Pilgrims of a Common Life*, chap.8. Scottdale, Pa, Herald Press, 1987.
70. Another visitor to the area was given the same impression. Andreas Sandel, a Swedish pastor, records in a letter a visit to an Englishman on Bohemia Manor on 10 March 1702: 'There are also the Apostles, who were on the Labady at Bohemia when I arrived in this country. Following the apostolic example they hold everything in common. They do not observe Sunday or holy days. Their number is now quite small.' R.L.

- Springer and L. Wallman, 'Two Swedish pastors describe Philadelphia, 1700 and 1702', *Pennsylvania Magazine* 84 (1960), 211.
71. Samuel Bownas, *Account of [his] Life, Travels and Christian Experiences*, London, 1756, pp. 74-76.
  72. Cecil County comprised two parishes, made up of five hundreds, and in 1712 the adult population was 2,097.
  73. John Moll snr. died one year later. Peter Bayard had died at New York in 1699, one of the wealthiest men in the city. Samuel, while owning much of the Labadist land, continued to reside at New York until 1716, and in 1711 was judge for Bergen County.
  74. It is impossible to give an accurate Sluyter genealogy, because the source material is so vague. 'Son' can mean natural son, adopted son or stepson, and 'cousin' was commonly employed for a number of relationships. For example, Susanna Bayard lists Henry Sluyter as her *brother*, while her stepfather Petrus Sluyter refers to the same person in his will as his *cousin*.
  75. She could speak and write four languages. A family bible, with genealogical notes in her hand, has survived (*Proceedings, New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, vol.5, p. 144n).
  76. This was Hendrick (Henry) Sluyter, who must therefore have married Samuel's sister Sarah.
  77. 'Lamech' and 'Agrippa', *Chronicon Ephratense*, tr. J.M. Hark, Lancaster, Pa, 1889, p. 16, which says *inter alia* that New Bohemia was peopled from Surinam, that the Labadists had made a fortune in the land, and that they owned a fleet of ships (!).
  78. Ephrata and the Labadists agreed on community of goods, obedience, work and commerce, sanctification, segregation of the sexes, and a probationary period for new members. They disagreed on the Sabbath, which Ephrata observed in almost excessive detail, and marriage, for Ephrata was celibate.
  79. Annapolis, Maryland State Archive, Prerogative Court (Wills) 21 (MdHR 1299/2), fols.642-645. It was endorsed by Matthias Vanderheyden, deputy commissioner for Cecil County (who had married Anna Margareta Herrman, a Labadist sympathiser), but he did not follow the correct procedure and the will had to be re-validated on 10 November 1721.
  80. Not Walta-slot at Wieuwerd, as some have supposed, but the house recently constructed by Samuel Bayard. The Sluyter burial ground was still visible, though overgrown, when C.P. Mallery wrote his *Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor* in 1886, on land actually belonging to Henry Sluyter, at the confluence of the Bohemia River and the so-called Labadie Mill Creek.
  81. He died in 1736, and on 6 September his sons Peter and Sluyter claimed their inheritance.
  82. Mallery, *Ancient Families*, pp. 35, 36 (*Papers, Hist. Soc. of Delaware*, 1886).

83. H. Burr, ed., *Records of Holy Trinity... Wilmington..., 1697-1773* (1890), pp. 270, 271, where Samuel Bushell could well be one of the Bouchelle family. See also *Delaware History* 6 (1954/55), 156.
84. Bownas, *Account*, p. 76.
85. These writings were lost in the Revolutionary war.
86. The Bayard house still boasts a Whitefield Room, on the north-west corner of the first floor. During his stays there, Whitefield converted the six children of Susanna's son, Col. Peter Bayard.
87. J.W. Christie, ed., 'Newly Discovered Letters of George Whitefield, 1745-1746', *Journal, Presbyterian Hist. Soc.* (Philadelphia) 32 (1954), 265.
88. See p. 210.
89. Hastings, *Eccles. Records*, pp. 2244-2309.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

1. See pp. 254, 275.
2. See p. 267.
3. See pp. 175, 275.
4. See bibl. pt.C. It is to be noted that Dittelbach's prime grievance is against the Labadists of the 1680's. He is unstinting in his praise of Labadie and Anna van Schurman.
5. This was considerable, Dittelbach stating that the doctor's wife produced a child almost every year, 'and sometimes two at a time.'
6. See p. 269.
7. See p. 212.
8. Dittelbach records that, only a fortnight before, Yvon had received six women into full membership of the community, an indication of the sudden shock of van Deventer's move.
9. *Een Kort en Nodigh Verhael*, see bibl. pt.C. Dittelbach himself went to Amsterdam and worked as a proofreader, writing several works and causing trouble to the consistory. He died around 1701.
10. Leeuwarden, PB, Hs.5937a, a copy of the now defective Proclamatieboek van Baarderadeel, 1670-1701, fol.449, at the Rijksarchief.
11. Johan Henrich Reitz, *Historie der Wiedergebohrnen* V, pp. 119ff. Fascimile reprint, Tübingen, 1982.
12. At Krefeld these meetings infringed a decree of William of Orange, so Copper and his host were each fined five *taler*.
13. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Proclamatieboek van Baarderadeel, 1670-1701, fol.368. He later sold it on 26 September 1707.
14. See p. 266.
15. Dated 1 November 1694, it is reproduced in J.J. Kiestra, 'Bijdragen tot de levensgeschiedenis en verdiensten van Hendrik van Deventer'.

*Tijdschrift, Nederlandsch maatschappij tot bevordering der geneeskunst*, 1853, pp. 52-54.

16. His chief works were: *Manuale Operatien, 1. Deel, Zijnde een Nieuw Ligt voor Vroed-Meesters en Vroud-Vrouwen* (The Hague, 1701), which contains a fair amount of biographical detail; *Beschrijving, van de Ziekten der Beenderen* (Leiden, 1739); *De Laatste Monarchie* (Voorburg, 1708); *De Openbaringe van Jesus Christus* (Voorburg, 1710), the latter a theological tome over a thousand pages long. A full bibliography is in A.J.M. Lamers, *Hendrik van Deventer*, Assen, 1946.
17. Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Ms.IV.0.49, fols.269, 270; see Appendix 1:112.
18. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Proclamatieboek cit., fols.397, 489; Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, ms.cit., fol.283.
19. See p. 223.
20. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Resolutien, Staten van Friesland, 25 April 1691.
21. Ibid, 23 March 1693.
22. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Floreenskohieren, Baarderadeel, 1700, districts of Britswerd and Wieuwerd. One member, Diurre Baukes, now owned 67 *pondematen*.
23. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.E.1.
24. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Proclamatieboek cit., fol.435. He was 49, she 46.
25. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Nedergerecht, Baa.A, 14 March 1695.
26. Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, ms.cit., fols.264-287; see also G.E. Guhrauer, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts aus den handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen Gottlieb Stollés', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 7 (1847), 385-436, 481-531.
27. The identity of this servant is unknown. He is described as about forty, friendly but canny.
28. He matriculated at Jena in 1652, so was 69 when Stolle met him, and hailed from Cala in Thuringen. Max Goebel (vol.2, 269-270) without naming his source, tells of a tinker from Cala who received a pension of 400 guilders from the Elector of Brandenburg for medical services rendered (and Labadist medicine was renowned), but who ruined things by attempting to convert the Elector and his vain and frivolous wife. Word reached the Lord Chamberlain, Johann Kolbe, who had the tinker imprisoned and tortured. When released, he returned to the Labadists at Wieuwerd and, unable to support himself, he was maintained by Yvon.
29. Musaeus was professor of history from 1649 until his death around 1681.
30. Ms.cit., fol.267; see Appendix 1:113.
31. Stolle lists bibl. pt.B, nos.39, 96 and 99, as well as a work by a mystic named Maleval, *Recüeil de Poésies spirituëllés* (Amsterdam, 1689).
32. *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer Historie* (Frankfurt am Main,

- 1699, 1700). The revised edition of 1729 used Labadist material.
33. Doubtless bibl. pt.B, no.114, and probably the original French edition of no.139.
  34. In fact Lucia was now 54!
  35. Anna, by now 63. Maria had evidently died.
  36. Thomas Vermaat. In 1715 his son Jacob married Maria, daughter of Hendrik van Deventer.
  37. Fols.274-277; see Appendix 1:114.
  38. Lange admitted that popular opinion suggested otherwise, and Goebel (*Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* II, 262n) cites a satirical poem of 1712, directed against various Pietists, which includes a supposed visit to Wieuwerd to watch the Labadists tied to stakes and savagely whipped— a daily ritual!
  39. Since 1700 only two works had appeared; bibl. pt.B, nos.136 and 137.
  40. *Praefatio ad lectorem apologetica..., contra Petrum Yvonem scripta, in B. Patris m. Lutheri Liber De Servo Arbitrio..., editus à Sebastiano Schmidio..., Argentorati [Strasbourg], 1707.*
  41. Bibl. pt.B, no.138.
  42. The second text defines the ‘outward word’ as written, such as the scriptures and devotional literature, and spoken, as in sermons, while the ‘inward word’ was the direct revelation of the Holy Spirit to the human heart and conscience.
  43. Yvon, *Van de Reden*, p. 3; see Appendix 1:115.
  44. *Anacrisis Apocalypsios Joannis Apostoli*, 2nd edition, Amsterdam, 1719, preface.
  45. She was, however, a spiritually sensitive woman and was valued by the Quakers; see William I Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 25, 99f.
  46. Anna calls the house *Oudt-Taingaburg*, which Françoise corroborates in her will of 1712, and this goes against the usual belief that it was called *Tamingaburg* and linked to the ‘taming’ of the flesh.
  47. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.E.3.
  48. London, PRO, Prob.11.572. The Nassau-Auverquerque had come to England with William of Orange, to whom Henry was Master of the Horse. The family’s efficiently kept archive is now at Hertfordshire County Record Office. More confusion than illumination is offered by a manuscript at Leeuwarden, PB (bundle Hs.5937). An undated copy, it is a notice of sale, apparently of ‘the goods or lands of Madam van Sommelsdyck’, for 20,000 guilders, or with a different rate of taxation, 30,000 guilders. A reference to the ‘Society of Wieuwerd’ indicates the Labadists, while allusions to ‘the gentlemen’ rather than to patriarch Yvon suggest that the latter was dead. Assuming ‘Madam’ to be an error for ‘Miss’ and to refer to Anna as the last surviving Labadist sister of that family, we have a date 1707-1712. If, however, ‘Madam’ refers to Françoise van Nassau-Auverquerque, then the possible date extends to 1720. At any rate the price is ridiculously low, the estate



- having been acquired in 1674 for 90,000 guilders and later being sold for 75,000, so perhaps only the farmland is here in view. More intelligible is that the Labadists had already sold their livestock and farming equipment for 3,500 guilders; that there are only ten members able to live from their income; and that no less than 21 families have to be subsidised by those with an income, as being unable to support themselves. See Appendix 1:116.
49. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Reëelkohieren, Baarderadeel, 1711, fol.59. Three taxes were generally paid annually, the *huur*, the *5de penning* and the *floreen*; in addition there was a chimney tax of three florins per chimney.
  50. London, PRO, Prob.11.572, fol.177.
  51. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.F.11; see Appendix 1:117.
  52. Ibid, Na.E.3; see Appendix 1:118. The five persons were the four named 'speaking brothers' plus Yvon's daughter Marthe.
  53. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Proclamatieboek van Baarderadeel, 1702-1713, fol.361.
  54. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Oude burgerlijke stand, Baarderadeel 36 (Volkstelling, 1714).
  55. Diurre Baukes is listed throughout this period as farming a large part of the estate, and as late as 1735 he is found standing surety for someone for 900 guilders, so was evidently one of the wealthier Labadists (Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Nedergerecht, Baa.U16, fols.169f).
  56. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.E.3.
  57. Ibid, bundle cit.
  58. On 31 March 1721 Willem Maurits had written to the Labadists with instructions that his votes (seven out of ten for Wieuwerd and five out of ten for Britswerd) be cast *en bloc* for Aylva, who wrote to the count on 21 October to thank him. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.E.3 and Na.F.51.
  59. Ibid, Na.E.3. Oevering was approved on 14 April and installed later that month. He retired in 1749.
  60. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, DTB 69 (1722). The cure itself carried a stipend of 800 guilders, the highest in the area.
  61. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.F.51, letters of 16 and 21 October 1721, from Cornelis and J.W. van Aylva; see Appendix 1:119. See also Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Rechterlijke archieven, Baa.Y.1, fol.9v°.
  62. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.E.3; see Appendix 1:120.
  63. Letter of 15 January 1722, not traced.
  64. Hertford, coll.cit., Na.F.50; see Appendix 1:121.
  65. Ibid, D/E Na.E.3; see Appendix 1:122. This, and the letter of 30 December 1731, make mention of a certain 'Monsieur Yvon' acting as messenger between the Labadists and Willem Maurits. Robijn's will of 1724 also refers to a Marie-Antoine Yvon. There is no evidence that Pierre had any children besides Marthe, and these new figures seem not to have been Labadists. We may assume them to be Pierre's

- nephew and niece by his younger brother Paul (to whom there is reference in Montauban, arch. dépt., 5E 646, no.59, and 5E 648, no.25; Paul was *receveur des formules* and *avocat au présidial* at Montauban and may well have come to the United Provinces at the Revocation in 1685).
66. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.E.3; see Appendix 1:123.
  67. Frisian custom was to announce the sale on handbills for three days and then allow fourteen days for tenders.
  68. See illustrations 3, 4, reproduced by kind permission of Rt.Hon. the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.
  69. Several of this noted mercantile family from Middelburg had joined, being relatives of Francois Baute (technically Boute), a member of the Labadist faction of the Walloon consistory.
  70. See above, p. 391. A third Labadist of this name was Jurrian Baukes, referred to in Danckaerts' second journal.
  71. Marie-Antoine Yvon received 4,000 guilders, while Urseltje and Maria Pool shard 3,200. These latter were relatives of Robijn's first wife, Sara, whose name is normally given as van der Poll.
  72. See p. 287.
  73. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Rechterlijke archieven, Baa.Y.1, fols.8-11.
  74. Several of this name were Labadists, the first being the sister of Heinrich and Peter, who died at Altona (see p. 375); the second was Peter's daughter, who married into the Bayard family in Maryland and died c.1700 (see p. 307); this was presumably the daughter of either Hendrik or Jacobus, Peter's kinsmen.
  75. Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.E.3; see Appendix 1:124.
  76. *Hornleger* was a Friesian legal term linked with voting rights. Deriving probably from 'hora' (old Friesian 'to drive') and designating the piece of land where the cattle were driven for the night, it had come to refer to the particular field or farm of a given estate which carried voting rights. If an estate was divided up for sale, the voting right went with the *hornleger*. The Friesian oligarchy at this point encouraged the buying up of *hornlegers*. Bosman had astutely kept for himself the voting right.
  77. See Appendix 1:124.
  78. Petraeus was an experienced estate agent, claiming in his letter to have sold millions of guilders worth of property.
  79. Letters of 1, 10, 29 September 1725, at Hertford, Record Office, D/E Na.E.3.
  80. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Nedergerecht Baa.P.7, fol.305; P.8, fol.50.
  81. Ibid, Baa.U.16 (Hypotheekboeken), fols.1-9.
  82. Ibid, Baa.P.8, fols.92, 97; see Appendix 1:125, which clearly shows that Bosman was still living there.
  83. R. Swierstra (1973), p. 25; O. Santema in *It Beaken* 38 (1976), p. 13; and J. van Loon's manuscript notes from the Proclamatieboek (Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl., Hs.5937), are all inaccurate in their details.

84. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Nedergerecht, Baa.P.8, fol.97. Bosman's original suggestion of 600 guilders was nearly five years before, so interest was added. Bosman's wife, Elisabeth Sluyter, had died at the close of 1728.
85. *Ibid*, fol.174.
86. Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, D.T.B. 69 (1732) lists Niclaas Rudolph as gardener, Gozyntje Michiels and Annikje Rinders as maids.
87. *Ibid*, Reëelkohieren, Baa.1735, fol. nos. illegible throughout through damp.
88. *Ibid*, coll.cit., Baa.1741, fol.62.
89. G.A. Wumkes (ed), *Stads- en Dorpskroniek van Friesland*, p. 193. 1930.
90. *Bibl. pt.B*, no.68.
91. C.P. van Andel (ed.), *Gerhard Tersteegen. Briefe in niederländischer Sprache* (Göttingen, 1982) prints a letter of 31 December 1735 (pp. 39, 40) and another of 16 May 1739 (pp. 128-130), with a possible third of uncertain date (pp. 300, 301). In the second letter Tersteegen gives his own testimony of God's operations and quotes Bosman as having said how close he felt to God in his old age.
92. *Omschrijvinge van Familien in Friesland... 13de maart 1744*, cited by O. Santema, *It Beaken* 38 (1976), p. 14.
93. J. Hepkema, *Wieuwerd en zijn historie*, 10th edn, Oosterend, 1977, pp. 12-36, and J.R. Jansma, 'De tandprothese van Wieuwerd', *Tijdschrift voor tandheelkunde* 51 (1944), 90-95.
94. Six were of gabled shape, the form prevalent until the end of the 17th century, the remainder having the convex lid most often found thereafter.
95. Similar mummies are known, preserved by having dehydrated before putrefaction: at the Bleikeller in Bremen, in the vault at St. Michel, Bordeaux, and at the Convento de'Cappucini at Palermo; see J.F. Scheltema in *The Antiquary*, n.s.8 (1912), 18-24, 60-66.
96. Even Henry Cruse Murphy, editor of Danckaerts' journal, on a visit to the vault, could not resist taking away a memento.
97. Stellingwerf is no.467 in Elias Voet, *Merken van Friese goud- en zilversmeden*, 2nd edn., The Hague, 1974.
98. The Labadist necrology *Getrouw verhael*, p.61, tells of Luise Huygens looking out from the orchard at Walta-slot towards the churchyard in the village, knowing that soon her body would rest there. The side she would have seen, that nearest to the most precious spot on earth to any Labadist, was the north side. A letter in *De Navorscher* 63 (1914), 329, tells of the interment of Anna Maria van Schurman's maid, Cecilia van Neel (not Sara, as the correspondent maintains) at this spot.
99. Only on 6 January 1750 was a new pastor at Britswerd/Wieuwerd freed from the obligation of making a sworn declaration of dissociation from Labadist tenets. S. Cuperus, *Kerkelijk leven... in Friesland*, p. 173, Leeuwarden, 1916.

100. U. Birch, *Anna van Schurman*, 1909, reproduces a self-portrait by Anna, at the end of her life, wearing just such a habit.
101. W.K. van der Veen, *Uit de geschiedenis van de grietenij Ferwerderadeel*, p. 75, Leeuwarden, 1958.
102. M. Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens*, II, 385. Koblenz, 1852.
103. More details in J. Wesseling, *De afscheiding van 1834 in Friesland*, Groningen, 1980.
104. Cited by A. Sieders in 'Van haten en minnen, van honing en gal', *Theologische Studiën, vijfjaarlijks tijdschrift* (Leiden), Leiden, 1981, p. 16.
105. Gerard Croese, *The General History of the Quakers*, London, 1696, pp. 221-222.
106. See, for example, Anna van Schurman, *Eukleria I*, 115-116; Heinrich Schlüter, *Ken-Teecken*, 134; Yvon, *L'Homme Pecheur*, 1683, 298-299.
107. Yvon, *Emmanuel*, 1683, p. 54; see Appendix 1:126.
108. See p. 214.
109. Schlüter, *Ken-Teecken*, 165.
110. Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, ch.1, sect.13.
111. Labadie, *Le Discernment*, 24, 32, 154; *Les Divins Herauts*, 41; Anna van Schurman, *Eukleria II*, 9, 83.
112. Labadie, *Protestation de bonne Foy*, art.4; Yvon, *Emmanuel*, 205, 223f, 383.
113. Anna van Schurman, *Eukleria I*, 109; *Eukleria II*, 50; Dulignon, *Catechismus*, pt.3, ch.7.
114. The terms are from a personal communication of M. Robert Garrisson.

## Appendix 1. Original Quotations

1. (p. 3) Johannes de Labadie, filius naturalis et legitimus nobilis Caroli de Labadie et Mariae de Coibo conjugam paroecciae S. Gironsii de Burgo, Burdegalensis, adscriptus ecclesiae Sancti Eligii.  
(Bordeaux, arch. dépt., G, Regestrum ordinationum in ecclesia metropolitana, 22 September 1622)
2. (p. 10) Exortam caelo sobolem ingenitique parentis  
Aeternos partus, fecundae Virginis alvo  
Illapsos faetosque iterum, concepta duobus  
Numina magna uteris, geminis natalibus, unum  
Matre hominem, sed Patre Deum, concussa Deo mens  
Voce efferre audet.  
(Geneva, BPU, ms.fr. 68, fol. 7 of second scribal hand)
3. (p. 10) Meditant les paroles des cantiques, il sentit de merveilleuses choses, et durant plusieurs jours fut dans des ardeurs, langueurs, pasmoisons et ravissements ... qu'il luy sembloit ... qu'il estoit au ciel.  
(Ibid., fol. 9 of first hand)
4. (p. 10) Le maistre des novices luy dit que cet esprit n'estoit point du tout celuy de la Societé, qu'au contraire il luy estoit étranger et ... nuisible, qu'il pouvoit être bon à d'autres mais non pas à eux ...; qu'il estoit sujet à beaucoup d'illusions et de tromperies de l'esprit diabolique.  
(Ibid., loc. cit.)
5. (p. 11) Dieu, essence divine, Unité, Trinité! Gloire au Père, au Fils, au St. Esprit! Père, unique père; Verbe, unique fils; Esprit unique; mesme estre, mesme Dieu, mesme Esprit, mesme amour! Au Trin-Un amour et gloire au temps et à l'éternité!  
(Ibid., fols. 4, 5 of second hand)
6. (p. 13) Je dois estre accompagné de douze personnes, à qui je départirai l'esprit des douze Apôtres, & aller avec eux parmi le monde, *sine pera et baculo*, dans une absolue nudité, pauvreté & souffrance, prêcher avec eux, attaquer

les esprits et Docteurs pharisaïques, qui infectent de leur mauvaise doctrine le monde, & confondre & convertir les ames, & les ramener à la vraie vie évangélique; et pour cela, moi et les miens, devons beaucoup endurer de martyres d'esprit et de corps.

(*Relation touchant le P. Jean Labadie*, cited in Arnauld, *Lettre*, p. 411)

7. (p. 13) 'Je veux le renversement de mon peuple', dit le Seigneur. 'Celuy cy doit travailler à cette oeuvre, et je l'ay choisi pour en faire en la France l'ébranlement et le bon commencement. Je luy ay donné mon esprit et ma grace pour cela; c'est sa vocation et sa fonction. Il faut qu'il me soit un Jean, préparant mes voyes, qu'il crie au désert et presche la pénitence et le renouvellement. C'est mon dessein, c'est mon oeuvre. Je suis le tout-puissant et le Dieu fort qui le veut ainsi.'
- (Geneva, BPU, ms. cit., fol. 16)
8. (p. 16) Va donc sur la terre et sur l'onde,  
Me représenter dans le monde  
Par la ressemblance d'esprit;  
Pour cet effet parmi mes hommes,  
Je desire que tu te nommes  
Désormais Jean de Jesus-Christ.  
(Cited in Arnauld, *Lettre*, p. 413)
9. (p. 21) J'ai diligemment examiné la doctrine, la vie et les moeurs de Dr. Mre. Jean de Labadie, et après toutes epreuves ay trouvé qu'il estoit non seulement sçavant, mais pieux, intelligent en la foy et en la bible, homme de bons et beaux talens, et propre à servir Dieu et l'Eglise, voire un tres adroit et habile ouvrier en celle-cy.  
(Geneva, BPU, ms. cit., fol. 22)
10. (p. 24) Nous demeurons ... tous en grande paix, quoy que nous souffrons assés en toutes manières, ... où il est bon que dieu nous exerce, et où nous taschons de prendre patience. Il faut se contenter de ce que Dieu permet et de ce qui porte sa providence; en ce cas ie fairay mon possible, afin que ceux que Dieu a choisis le plus ce me semble pour le servir, ne se dispersent et de qui j'ay de meilleures esperances. J'ay bien de la consolation de les voir fort adonné à l'oraison et au renoncement d'eux mesmes, estre prests et indifferens a tout et grandement attachés a l'Evangile et a l'Eglise, esperant que Dieu achevera ce qu'il a commencé en eux, nonobstant toutes les diversions qu'on tasche d'en faire. C'est là tousiours le train, de tascher de nous calomnier et descrier; ... Dieu les benisse, et fasse que le mal qu'ils disent et diront de moy,

n'y soit jamais; mon plus grand souci là dedans, n'est pas de m'y voir touché, mais bien la crainte que i'ay, Monseigneur, qu'il ne vous touche. ... Sa bonté [i.e. God's], graces a son amour, me rend tout cela bien indifférent, attaque ou renfort, secours des hommes ou délaissement, rebut ou accueil, tout ce qu'il luy plaira selon sa conduite. Cete disposition m'est entièrement necessaire pour patir tout ce qu'il ordonnera m'arriver, soit le malice des démons, soit la malice des hommes; il nous fait estre but a toutes flesches, et icy et ailleurs, et partout où nous voudra la providence.

(Amiens, bibl. mun., ms. 1022, fol. 2)

11. (p. 24) C'est pourquoy, Monseigneur, je demeureray ferme, s'il vous plaist, à mon poteau, tout seul et tout delassé que je suis, souffrant les fleches qu'on me voudra décocher.

(Ibid., fol. 3r)

12. (p. 25) Le pere Condren, comme très versé aux choses spirituelles, luy dit que cette veüe n'estoit pas de Dieu, puis qu'il y avoit un object lascif et deshonneste, et se confirma dans la pensée que cet homme estoit trompé et que ses veües, qui estoient toujours sensibles et corporelles et par consequent suspectes, ... n'estoient pas de Dieu, mais des illusions.

(Paris, bibl. Ste. Geneviève, ms. 1480, fol. 106)

13. (p. 26) Les confrères auront besoin d'embrasser aussi l'honneur du Saint Sacrement en l'Eglise où est la Confrairie, et pour cela y assister en adoration et prière quand il y est mis en evidence, vaquer à la reparation des Autels selon leur commodité; et pour cela chaque année sera faite quelqu'une par la Confrairie, ou quelque sorte d'ornement, ou meuble donné à la devotion de l'Assemblée ...; en quelque lieu que les confreres se trouvent ils doivent faire grand estat d'honorer, et beaucoup faire honorer, le Saint Sacrement de l'Autel...

(Cited in Hermant, *Defense*, pp. 117ff)

14. (p. 26) Il avoit la satisfaction qu'il pouvoit espérer de S.E., qui le fit prier de venir manger chez lui et se disposer à luy donner une predication le lendemain pour la visitation de la Vierge. Il tesmoigna grande satisfaction de son discours et dit que les autres predicateurs de la Cour avoient bien de belles paroles, mais qu'avec elles Mr. de Labadie avoit les belles choses et les avoit abondamment.

(Geneva, BPU, ms. cit., fol. 30)

15. (p. 28) C'est mon vray Corps, c'est ma personne,  
Que moy-mesme, avant mon trespas,  
Dessous cet auguste repas,

- De ma main divine vous donne;  
 Ce n'est plus du pain de froment,  
 Il a changé tout de substance,  
 Et dans cet heureux changement,  
 N'en retenant que l'apparence,  
 Ce qu'il a gagné, c'est qu'au lieu  
 D'un peu de pain, il ouvre un Dieu  
 (Labadie, *Odes sacres*, cited in Hermant, *Défense*, p. 116)
16. (p. 28) Revenons a cette Assomption, et disons que vraiment le ciel a fait assomption a ce iour de celle que le ciel avoit laissé le jour de l'ascension en terre, comme si le ciel nous eust pardonné ce jour là, et touché de compassion, nous eust dit: 'c'est asses de vous oster Jesus, consolés-vous en gardant Marie, mais à condition de nous la rendre; elle vous est encore besoin, pour estre à la fille l'eglise ce qu'elle a esté a Jesus fils, c'est ascavoir a tous deux mere, comme elle a nourri et conduit l'un, il faut qu'elle nourrisse et conduise l'autre, durant l'enfance, et qu'elle soit le parfait tesmoin de Jesus naturel et de Jesus mistique.'
- (Carpentras, bibl. Inguimbertaine, ms. fr. 438, fol. 4)
17. (p. 28) Voir ce que les anges sont ravis de voir: ce visage angelique, cette chaire virginale, ce front maiestueux de Marie, ces levres qui ont tant caressé l'homme-dieu, ce col qu'il a embrassé, ce sein qu'il a sucé, ce deifique monument ..., ce corps qui a donné logis et demeure au Verbe, ce temple rare; et non seulement pour voir, mais pour toucher, si vous voulés, et baiser, mais avec respect infini, ... ce front, ces yeux, ces mains, ces piés, ce sein, ce visage, vous souvenant que le verbe fait chair l'a consacré, que la divinité s'y est reposée, que c'est le plus beau et saint depest du ciel et de la terre. Collés vous y, brulés y, pasmés y, mourés si vous voulés d'amour et de douceur sur elle: o temple divin, o arche pretieuse, o créature admirable!
- (Ibid., fol. 6)
18. (p. 29) Monsieur, vous avez tant d'esprit et de si belles parties, qu'il est dommage que vous ne les employiez à de meilleures choses qu'a des questions sur la religion, qui font peine à tant de monde ... M. de Labadie, croyez-moi. Quittez ces opinions nouvelles malvenues à la Cour et que je sçais qu'elle interdiera.
- (Geneva, BPU, ms. cit., fol. 34)
19. (p. 31) C'est a quoy je vous prie de faire tousiours reflexion, afin de n'avoir que jesus pour principe de grace et pour source de sainteté, afin de vous voir vaisseaux remplis à



sa fontaine, et ruisseaux derives de sa mer, luy debvans vostre totale sanctification temporelle et eternelle, afin de ne vous attribuer rien a vous mesmes en matiere de sainteté et de grace, mais referer tout à ce chef auquel vous estes redevables, ne vous referans a vous que le peché et la malice, dont nous sommes tous seuls la source...

C'est pourquoi vous m'avez tant ouy vous prescher ce J.C., vous inculquer ce J.C., sa vie et ses misteres, et vous exciter à lire, mediter, et ruminer tousiours son evangile, sa loy et ses maximes, pour vous refaire veritablement sur luy, et aprendre de luy a estre debonnares et humbles de coeur, a estre pauvres de corps et d'esprit avec luy, et le souffrir de bon coeur a estre patiens en vos tribulations, tentations, persecutions, calomnies, et angoisses, a estre penitens humiliés sous le pere et conformes au pere comme luy, enfin amans de ce pere et de toutes ses volontés, obeissans en tout à ce pere, glorifians partout ce pere, et charitables a tous ses enfans, misericordieux, compatissans et debonnares. Et voilà ce que je vous desire le plus, vous voir expressions vives de J.C., ses Images parlantes, et son vif evangile.

(Carpentras, bibl. Inguimbertaine, ms. cit., fols. 10, 11)

20. (p. 35) J'ay fulminé l'Interdict sur la ville, et l'ay fait signifier le 29 Juin; deux jours apres ils ont deputed vers moy pour me prier de le lever; ce qui ne m'a semblé à propos pour l'honneur de l'eglise. Depuis ce temps bien que j'aye fait par desoubs main ce qui m'estoit possible pour les Induire a demander avec soubmission cette grace, ... je receus d'eulx au lieu d'un remercement, un refus; mais estimant qu'il ne falloit pas tant avoir esgart a ce mespris, qu'a la priere de quelques gens de bien qui souffrent beaucoup de se voir si longtemps privés des sacrements, je leur ay donné et envoié signifier pour le reste de cette année....

(Amiens, bibl. mun. ms. cit., fol. 1)

21. (p. 36) Faire au plus tost retirer, en lieu secret et asseuré, celui qu'on veut faire représenter, et puis venir ici en diligence, ... et tesmoigner que vous perdrez plus tost tout et la vie mesme que de le livrer ainsi, soustenant que vous seul estes son Juge.

(Ibid., letter 22)

22. (p. 00) Nous tenons pour la verité; il n'y a rien plus fort qu'elle d'elle mesme, car la verité est la divinité, le coeur qui l'a veue ne la peut quitter, et celui qui l'a goustée, en est tousiours affamé; nous tenons pour la charité, n'est rien

moins que dieu aussi, car dieu est charité, dit le disciple de l'amour. Or il est escrit que la charité vient à bout de tout, et que les eaux ne scauroient l'esteindre. Nous tenons pour la parole divine, or il est escrit que le ciel et la terre passeront bien, mais que ses paroles ne passeront jamais; nous tenons pour toute la rigueur de l'évangile, pour les maximes saintes de J.C., pour le renoncement à soi et la mort au monde, et pour les verités pour lesquelles tous les saints sont morts, et JC mesme, qui par elles et sa mesme mort a vaincu le monde...

Pour moy j'ai tousiours plus craint pour les fidelles les attaques interieurs que les exterieures, et les combats de l'esprit au dedans que ceux du corps au dehors; quand le coeur et l'interieur vont bien, l'oppression exterieure ne font [sic] que les renforcer, on se rit facilement du monde et de tous ses dire...

Tenés bon en l'oraison, communion, retraite et solitude tant de corps que d'esprit, tenés bon au chemin de dieu pour venir jusqu'au bout, et atteindre JC. Dieu vous doit suffire. Ne cherchés point le monde, le monde passe, a quoy s'y arrester? Tout homme est menteur, Dieu seul veritable.

(Carpentras, bibl. Inguibertine, ms. cit., fols. 15, 16)

23. (p. 37)

Je suis obligé à ce depart pour le bien de l'église à plusieurs tiltre [sic], premierement pout tacher de calmer par là la tempeste et apaiser l'orage qui ne peut abatre que par mon absence, donnant lieu à la cholere en lui laissant les mains libres ...; en second lieu il semble que vostre foy n'a plus besoing de mon foible soustien, voire elle a besoing de s'esprouver un peu elle mesme, et sonder si elle est en dieu et subsiste par luy, non par l'homme ...; troisiemement il semble que dieu dès longtemps nous veult et appelle ailleurs ... Je scai bien qu'il se peut faire que vostre foy et esprit ne soient choquées, qu'on crie contre les maximes que vous pouvés avoir ouies, mais que l'esprit mondain et ennemy prend et interprete mal, et ne soient taxées soub le nom d'erreur, soub le nom de nouveaux dogmes et heresies. Mais, mes tres cheres, souvenés vous que rien ne vous a jamais esté avancé que de Catholique, que vous n'avés appris que les maximes de l'écriture, les sens des conciles et des saints... je ne croy pas que je vous laisse tellement que je ne pense plus vous revoir. Dieu m'est temoin que je m'en vay avec l'esperance de nous entrevoir et nous entreconsoler selon lui encore et peult estre avec plus de liberté et de force que jamais.

(Ibid., fols. 17-19)

24. (p. 39) Le pécheur agissant librement sans charité et sans grace, et par conséquent n'agissant que par convoitise, ne faisoit que pecher; voire mesme étoit reduit à cete extreme misère, de ne faire que pecher quand il operoit librement et par les principes d'une *volontaire convoitise*, et estoit en tel estat come *nécessité*, mais *non contraint* à pecher. J'ay dit, en effet, qu'en cet estat le pecheur nécessité à pecher par sa vraye faute, ne laissoit pas de mal faire et d'estre coupable, puisqu'il faisoit le mal volontairement et librement; ... j'ay dit que la nécessité, entendue comme il faut et comme distincte de la contrainte, ne detruisoit ni la bonne ni la mauvaise liberté, que la seule contrainte ruine.  
(Labadie, *Esclaircissemens*, cited in Lantenay, *Labadie et le Carmel de La Graville*, p. 40)
25. (p. 41) Le bruit du voiage de M. de St. Nicolas continue toujours et celuy que vous connoissés, espere l'accompagner. Si cela est, je scay qu'ils seront ravis de vous servir.  
(Amiens, bibl. mun., ms. cit., fol. 14)
26. (p. 43) Quoy que ie n'aye pas l'honneur de vous connoistre, ayant pourtant un parfait desir de vous honorer par l'inclination que m'en a communiqué Monsieur de Labadie, à qui i'ay le bien d'estre tout a fait joint d'esprit, ie prens la hardiesse de vous escrire celle-ci, lui ne pouvant pas le faire, tant a raison que les affaires ne le permettent pas, come par ce que là où il est, il se trouve actuellement malade; mais pour vostre soulagement et le sien, ie me sents obligé de vous faire scavoir que par deux derniers pacquets il vous a escrit toutes nouvelles, iusqu'au point des lettres du Roy, qu'il a receu n'agueres, portant ordre de se rendre à la Cour, et iusqu'aux nouvelles persecutions que les Jesuites et les ennemis tant de M. l'Archevesque de Bourdeaux Henri d'Escoubleau de Sourdis, que de Monsieur l'Evesque de Bazas Henri de Litolfi-Maroni lui ont suscitées; ... Nous esperons vous en faire scavoir d'autres particularités bientost, come aussi vous envoyer un bel acte et ordonnance, en laquelle [sic] M. de Bourdeaux reprennant tous les excès qu'ont comis contre lui les Jesuites, en prend subiect de leur interdire toutes directions, confessions, predications, instructions, et mesme celebrations de messe en toutes les Eglises et cha-pelles de sa jurisdiction, avec deffences tres exprees à tous ses diocesains de se servir d'eux. ... L'advis prins est, qu'en attendant que M. de Labadie repare sa santé et se prepare au voyage, Mss. les Evesques escrivent en cour, et croit-on que les lettres porteront coup estans escrites

- de forte bonne ancre. Enfin on iuge que le temps et le delay remedient souvent aux affaires, qu'il ne faut point se precipiter, qu'il n'est pas tousiours bon de se faire trop tost veoir a ceux qui le veulent, et qu'on est prins tousiours assés tost,...
- (Ibid., fols. 23, 24)
27. (p. 44) Tant s'en faut que j'en aye éloigné les vrays et vifs chrestiens, qu'au contraire on m'a cent fois ouy dire que c'étoit là leur pain quotidien; ... que j'estois prêt ... de le leur donner tous les jours, pourvu qu'ils fussent saints, [while admitting that he *might* have said] qu'il se pouvoit trouver telle ame sur laquelle Dieu pouvoit tenir telle conduite particulière, que la grace la portât à honorer la grandeur de l'Eucharistie par l'esloignement de sa bassesse. ... Pour moy, je ne suis, que je sçache, ny habitant des grottes, ny habitant des montagnes; ... je n'ay ni l'habit, ny le corps, ny l'ame de ce grand homme, et beaucoup moins encore son zele, sa science, sa sainteté et sa grace. Je suis un foible corps, un pauvre pecheur, un humble prestre de J.C.  
(Labadie, *Eclaircissemens*, cited by Lantenay, op. cit. pp. 42f)
28. (p. 48) En ce siecle de corruption et de renversement de toutes choses, autre estoit le pasteur extérieur et mondain qui tiroit le revenu, portoit le mitre et la croise, et à qui appartenoient les chaires et les châteaux, et autre le pasteur donné de Dieu, à qui estoient les troupeaux et la vraye grace pastorale.  
(Geneva, BPU, ms. cit., fol. 39)
29. (p. 52) On m'a décrié comme perversi et apostat, lorsqu'en verité je l'étudiois [la verité] et mesme la comprenois, ce me semble, et très-assurément la reverois et cherissois davantage.  
Lorsqu'on m'accusoit de mal interpreter l'Escriture, c'est lors même que je m'y sousmettois avec plus d'aveuglement et de foi; lorsqu'on me faisoit combattre nos mystères, il est certain que c'est lorsque je les adorois le plus...  
Croyez m'en, je vous prie, en amy: jamais je ne me sentis plus pur en foy et plus respectueux vers tous les points de la religion...  
(Cited in Hermant, *Defense*, pp. 183f)
30. (p. 52) [speaks of having been] lié des hommes et de l'esprit humain, dans la profession et annonciation de la parole de Dieu, de sa verité, du royaume de J.C. et des maximes de son evangile; il m'a fallu sous pretexte de soumission à celui ci et à celui là, sous pretexte d'escouter des sages et

des politiques, sous pretexte de n'estre ni indiscret, ni violent, ni temeraire, sous pretexte de ne haster pas les temps, et ne presser pas les choses, sous pretexte de donner bon exemple, sous pretexte de temporiser, et attendre et tousiours attendre, sous pretexte enfin de n'estre pas pris pour opiniâtre et superbe, et au contraire, sous pretexte de donner bon exemple de douceur et de docilité, tant biaiser, tant pallier, tant mesurer la portée du monde et tant s'acomoder à ses volontaires et malignes infirmités, qu'on n'a peu dire ni à prestres ni à laïques, les verités et leurs verités, taxer le monde et ses abus, et faire passer un chacun par la porte estroite.

Dieu m'a fait la grace d'annoncer quelques verités de la grace, mesme de la penitence, de l'eucharistie, de l'ordre du mariage, de la vocation et quelques autres, mais i'ai tousiours dit, et le dis plus que tousiours, que ce que i'en ai dit n'est rien au prix de ce qui en est, et que ie dirois en effet sans plus d'esgard à rien, si dieu me faisoit revenir à dire; je peux dire avoir esté gesné et forcé de liberté d'annoncer de vrai quelques beaux misteres de dieu, ... choses qui estoient plus pour plaire à l'esprit, ... pource que ces choses n'estoient pas rudes au coeur humain, n'escorchoient pas les personnes, et ne venoient pas iusque la division de leurs moelles et de leurs os, c'est à dire iusqu'au retranchement de leurs superbes et avarices, de leurs pharisanisme et mondanité, de leurs entrées obliques, simoniaques et seculières dans l'eglise, et jusqu'à ... ce que St. Pol appelle division de l'esprit d'avec l'ame, telles choses ont pleu, ont estés trouvées belles, et ont eu liberté d'estre annoncées.

Mais quand il a esté question de la porte estroite, et de l'entrée en elle par le renversement general, par la vocation pur divine, par la grace tout gratuite, par la penitence vigoureuse, par la deposition de charges, de dignités, d'offices et de benefices, briques enlevées, et auxquels on n'a eu ni apel, ni marques d'apel...; quand il a esté question de vrai et bon sacerdoce, et de vrai et bon mariage, de vrai et bon baptesme et naissance d'esprit, de vraie et bonne devotion, de vrai et bon pasteur et pastorat, et mesme de vrai et bon troupeau, et de vraie bonté en tout par la mort entiere au monde et à soi, par le combat et de soi par la reformation generale interieure et exterieure, et par la pratique effective de la pauvreté, de l'humilité, de la charité, de la patience, et des vraies

vertus chrestiennes, qui ne souffrent tant de richesses des prestres, ni tant de vanités és mondais, ni tant de luxe, de complaisance, de procès, de desunions, de fourbes, d'interets, d'avidités de bien et d'honneur,... d'hipocri-sies, et enfin de vices et d'excès en personnes, la verité n'a point eu lieu, il n'a jamais esté temps de la dire, les coeurs n'y ont pas esté disposé, les grans et riches ne l'ont pas voulu et partant ils ont arresté la mission et la prop-hetie; on a tout craint, on a tout sursis; il a fallu quiter l'eglise et la chaire...

[Labadie further inveighs against] lascheté, infirmité, res-pect humain et defaut, comme il l'est en effet dans les pretres, pasteurs, directeurs, et predicateurs humains dont la lascheté et la coupable condescendance a ruiné et ruine encore l'evangile, aide à la corruption du christia-nisme, et a mené insensiblement le mal jusqu'ou il en est venu, c'est à dire jusque estre incurable... Je n'ai peu em-pecher de mourir qui a voulu se tuer, ou se laisser tuer; la ville qui se rend et ouvre ses portes par peur et par lascheté attire son sacagement et son pillage....

Ma devise estant dès longtemps ces mots: *quite qui veut, et tient qui peut*, ... j'ai donc absolument laissé aller qui a voulu; je n'ai crié, ni fait crier après personne, j'ay donné liberté ... aux brebis et sotes colombes, colombes sans coeur et sans iugement, de s'esgarer. (Carpentras, bibl. Inguibertine, ms. cit., fols. 27, 29v°, 30r°, 35v°)

31. (p. 56)

Je vis tout au travers d'un lumineux nuage,  
Que s'approchant ton heure de régner,  
Tu pretendois commencer ton ouvrage  
En me faisant au desert enseigner,  
Et travesty, et sous une autre face,  
Y etablir le règne de ta grace.

Je vis que ton dessein estoit que sous autre arme,  
Sous autre habit que n'estoit par le mien,  
Mais sous celuy d'un solitaire carme,  
Ton oeuvre m'eust pour asseuré soutien,  
Et que portant l'image de ta face,  
Sous luy revint le règne de ta grace.

(Cited in Hermant, *Défense*, pp. 42, 43)

32. (p. 57)

Je veux donc commencer à cet an mon royaume,  
En assemblant mes esleus au desert,  
Où je leur vay faire couler mon beaume,

Et leur montrer mon paradis ouvert,  
Je vay, cet an, de mon regne de grace  
Monstrer par toy à mes amis ma face.

Sous cet habit je veux mon Eglise remettre,  
Faire partout refleurir mon estat,  
Chassant l'esprit qui s'en est rendu maistre,  
Esprit trompeur, superbe et apostat;  
Je veux de toy cette sainte folie,  
Je te veux Jean, et je te veux Elie.

(Ibid, p. 46)

33. (p. 57) Il paroist Roy et Maistre,  
Pasteur, Prophete et Prestre,  
Parfait en ce manteau;  
Il n'est serf ni esclave,  
Il est beau, il est brave,  
Enfin il est Agneau.

(Ibid., p. 61)

34. (p. 60) M. de Labadie est adverti par un homme de ses amis  
qu'un exempt des gardes du Roy vient d'arriver pour le  
prendre dans Castets demain matin, et que l'ami l'honore  
trop pour ne le pas avertir de ce que je sçay de tres  
bonne part; il est conjuré par des gens qui l'honorent et  
qui ont intérêt en sa conservation, de profiter de cet  
avis et d'éviter ce danger.

(Geneva, BPU, ms. cit., fol. 68)

35. (p. 65) Une Espece de Luxure spirituële, ... une Impurité d'esprit,  
& une convoitise ou sensualité mystique.

(Labadie, *Manuel de Pieté*, p. 117)

36. (p. 66) La nouvelle de l'aspostasie du malheureux l'Abadie  
m'afflige en un point que je ne vous scaurois dire. Quels  
triumphes pour les bons PP. ... Mais quel mauvais effect  
cella ne produira il pas dans les esprites foibles et plus  
pieux que prudens, contre la bonne doctrine.

(Paris, BN, ms. fds. fr. 2812, fol. 224)

37. (p. 78) ...l'épurement du coeur et la netteté de vie, ... de vivre en  
quelque façon derecueillement, soit interieur, soit exte-  
rieur, de coeur et de corps; ... une retenue de vie discrète  
et sage; ... estre attentif à Dieu et à son Esprit en soy, à  
sa lumière, et ses touchemens, et en suite fidelle à s'y rendre...

La grande desolation et les hauts cris; ... la porte ouverte  
aus ténèbres, aus angoisses spirituelles...

C'est le moyen de faire oraison mieus en patissant qu'en agissant.

(Labadie, *Pratique des oraisons*, pp. 3, 56, 71)

38. (p. 79)

Voorts, dewijle onder de predikanten deser gemeynthe een was, die uyt het *Pausdom* overgekomen zijnde, sich aldaer een groote naem maecte, *Iean de Labadie* genoemt, soo hadden wy lust den selven te begroeten; wy wierden met groote beleeftheit en ook eenigh onthael van hem ontfangen; doch alsoo hy in sijne discoursen met ons, die wy maer vreemdelingen waren, te veel liet blijken den sonderlingen yver die hy betoonde in sijn bedieninge met eenige minderachtinge van 't werck sijner mede-dienaren aldaer, soo gaf ons dit gespreck eenig misnoegen, ende sorge van quade gevolgen.

(Abraham Trommius, *Bevindingen van hem selven*, p. 264)

39. (p. 82)

Dieu ayant heureusement permis qu'au temps de nos plus grandes affaires, notre Compagnie me chargeast de faire l'Action de graces qu'il falust faire pour le Roy et pour l'heureux succès de ses Armes après la prise de Valence et de La Capelle, benist tellement ce petit employ, que quoy que ie n'eusse eu que le temps de mediter mon discours sans avoir celuy de l'escrire, il fust trouvé si plein et si bon, que chacun me pria de le mettre au iour pour les raisons que vous pouvés croire.

Je l'ay fait (Monsieur) le plutost que i'ay peu, et d'abord i'ay pensé que vous ne seriés pas marri d'en recevoir quelques copies, tant pour me faire l'honneur de voir la piece, que pour la communiquer à ceux que vous iugerés à propos. Je n'ay pas eu le temps de les faire relier, pour ceque i'ay voulu gaigner celuy de vous les envoyer par cet ordinaire. l'Exemple qui est au milieu des six que ie vous envoie, est pour Mr. de Ruvigny<sup>1</sup>), auquel i'ay creu que vous me fairiés l'honneur de le faire tenir seurement.

Peut estre que luy et vous trouverés la piece assés bonne, pour pouvoir paroître à la Cour, comme plusieurs de nos bons Amis en ont le desir et en sont d'advis. Et pourceque quelques uns d'eux de Paris m'ont offert de faire debiter mes oeuvres à Charenton, et qu'il semble necessaire que surtout celle là soit veuë; i'en envoie quelque nombre d'Exemplaires á Mr. d'Aliez,<sup>2</sup>) advocat au grand Conseil, demeurant á la rue de l'arbre sec proche la Croix du Tiroir á l'enseigne de la ville d'Alencon, affin que d'un part on soit edifié aussy bien loin que prés de la



parole que Dieu m'a donnée; et qu'aussy comme ie fais à mes despens toutes les Impressions de mes livres, ie n'y perde pas entierement tout, et en puisse retirer quelq. peu de chose, pour fournir aux impressions des pieces suivantes.

Je n'ay iamais voulu (Monsieur) vous parler de ce petit dessein, l'estimant trop bas pour vous, et pour raison de vous n'estre pas importun. Vous m'obligerés de faire qu'entre les exemplaires que ie vous envoie, Mr. Brassard<sup>3</sup>) nôtre Consul que ie salüe bien humblement en ayt quelquun, et la maison de Messieurs d'Alier vos parens un autre. Le reste est à vous, et tout autant qu'il vous plaira que i'en envoie; n'est qu'il vous plaise, Mr., faire cette faveur, que Mr. Grimald<sup>4</sup>) notre Premier Consul, á qui ie say que i'ay obligation, pour le bon témoignage qu'il rend de delà à la verité et à l'Innocence, selon que ie me donneray l'honneur de l'en remercier, en recoive un de votre main, avec un iuste compliment pour moy que i'ose vous coniuier de luy faire.

Quelq; soupçon qu'on veuille tenter de me donner que peut estre Mr. Brassard pour de petites rencontres que nous avons eües, ne me rendra pas office, ie ne scaurois mal á propos soupçonner sa conscience et sa religion; et d'ailleurs ie me fie tellement à vous, que si cela estoit pour arriver, vous me fairiés ce bien de m'en donner avis...

(Private collection of M. Robert Garrisson, Les Payrols, Négrepelisse; reproduced by kind permission. Notes: 1. Protestant *député-général*. 2. A noted protestant family, inter-married with the Bougys. 3. Jean Brassart, Calvinist, second consul of Montauban. 4. Abel Grimald, catholic, first consul of Montauban.)

40. (p. 83) Ces pretendus Bastions ne passent pas la hauteur d'une cabane de Berger, et de petites maisons de chaume levent la teste par dessus la leur ...; et les propheties des Ingenieurs ont esté vrayes, que pour détruire ces sortes de fortifications, il ne faloit que les laisser à leur foiblesse.

(Labadie, *Lettre de Philophrone*, p. 94)

41. (p. 84) Allez, mangez tandis qu'on vous romp du pain, car viendra le temps qu'il ne vous sera pas distribué. Il y a eu bien des lieux où l'on m'a dit la mesme chose et où en suite on ne m'a pas toujours eu, et on m'y a trouvé à dire: servez-vous du temps et de la commodité, jouissez de moy tandis que vous m'avez et possédez, car vous ne

m'aurez pas toujours; je vous entretiens longtemps et me hâte de vous dire tout, parce que je sçais que je n'auray pas tout le temps que vous vous figurez pour vous prescher.

(Geneva, BPU, ms. cit., fol. 56)

42. (p. 85)

Nous avons tous arreté d'un consentement unanime d'honorer de ce tesmoignage Mr. de Labadie, très-célèbre et très-vigilant pasteur de cette Eglise, qui se trouve obligé de se séparer de nous pour quelque temps, afin que sa bonne renommée ne soit en rien offusquée par ses envieux, mais que nous luy conservons entière l'estime qu'il s'est acquis auprès de nous... Pendant cinq ans plus ou moins qu'il a esté pasteur de cette Eglise, il a esté très-assidu et tout à fait attaché à edifier l'Eglise de Dieu, soit par sa plume, soit par sa bouche, soit par oeuvre et par toute sorte de travaux...; il a renversé le party des adversaires, ... combatu et abatu toute sorte de vices; il a porté les esprits de ses auditeurs à la pieté et à la vertu. Enfin il a fait paroître sa capacité et l'intelligence merveilleuse qu'il a des choses mystiques et des divins Mysteres, se les estant rendu très-familier par une continuelle meditation et une étude infatigable pour les concevoir, mediter, digerer, ruminer, et se les imprimer fortement... Il s'est si bien comporté pour le regard de ses moeurs, que nous pouvons attester qu'il a mené une vie tout à fait exempte de tâche. Il a esté un exemple à tous les autres, il les a édifiés son seulement par l'eloquence de ses discours, mais encore par l'integrité de sa vie...; il a exprimé dans sa vie ce qu'il a prêché et enseigné en chaire.

(Appended to Yvon, *Doctrine du Baptême*, 1683)

43. (p. 90)

Madame, il ne seroit pas iuste que cet ouvrage auquel Vôte Excellence a daigné donner une excellente intention, qui a été comme conçu et enfanté dans sa chambre, ne s'adressât à autre qu'à elle, et eût d'autre sein et d'autres mains à le recevoir que les vôtres.

(Labadie, *Les Saintes Decades*, 1658 edn., preface)

44. (p. 95)

C'est à l'épreuve de ces choses, que chaque Eglise est invitée, et c'est le but de ce travail, qui n'ayant esté pris que pour le bien des Eglises, leur fournit cet ample Recueil, pour les ayder en ce temps à se remettre en bon estat. Nous ne pouvons pas dissimuler qu'elles n'en ayent quelque besoin: l'insult de leurs ennemis, leurs attaques generales, et la violence de leur zele amer d'une part, nostre negligence, nostre tiedeur, nos relâchemens, nostre condescendance au siecle et au vice, et nostré mollesse de l'autre, ayant fait ou souffert beaucoup de

brèches dans nos lois, comme en nos murailles, et nous ayans reduits à perir. Mais, Dieu merci, nous ne sommes ni hors d'esperance, ni hors de temps, ni hors de moyen de les reparer.

(Labadie, preface to Pierre Catalon, *Discipline Ecclesiastique*)

45. (p. 95)

A l'ame eleüe,

Je vous envoye selon ma promesse le livre des maximes saintes<sup>1)</sup> propre à vous rendre ce qu'elles sont...

Dieu m'a fait remarquer en vous un bon naturel, dont il vous a avantaagée, un bon jugement, un esprit posé, et une âme bonne, et comme je croi innocente et simple, qualités propres et requises en ses voyes. Je vous voy d'inclination à la pieté et à la vertu, et ce me semble une table rase<sup>2)</sup> à recevoir de bons traits et de saintes impressions de divinité. ...

Le sentiment que Dieu me donna dés lors de la bonté de vôtre coeur, de l'innocence de vôtre ame, et de vos bonnes dispositions à la pieté chrestienne... [original incomplete]

Il est vray que comme vous n'estes pas tout à fait à vous, il n'y a pas toute la sainte liberté du monde, de vous les pouvoir apprendre par bouche; mais quand vous trouverés celle des écrits bonne et propre à suplérer à ce defaut, je ne les refuserai pas, afin qu'il ne tienne pas à moi que vous le sachiés et vous avanciés en pieté. ...

[requests from her a letter] qui ne sera veu que de mes yeux, comme j'entens que celui ci ne le soit que des vôtres.

(Reconstructed from *Départ apostatique* (1670), pp. 147-151. Notes: 1. *Recueil de quelques maximes*, bibl. pt. B, no. 38. 2. A wax writing-tablet in virgin condition.)

46. (p. 96)

Ma infine la corrotione del buono è pessima; L'Abadie, quel Apostata di cui già feci mentione in un'alt. relatione all'Em. V., ha tanto dibattuto ch'ha operato quello, che voleva, et appunto lui è stato l'autore, il Consigliero et il Notaro di questa Collegatione.

Vatican, Archivio Segreto, *Legazione*, Avignone 56, fol. 61v°)

47. (p. 97)

...ben que chi lo conosce, [... blotted] stimato pocó versato nelle cose della scrittura sacra, e nelle controversie della Religione, ma dotato solo di qualche facilità, et efficacia nel parlare.

(Ibid., fol. 90r°)

48. (p. 97)

J'ose vous adresser deux lettres assés importantes de notre Compagnie, m'assurant que votre zele vous en fera

prendre volontiers le soin. L'une est pour votre Compagnie, l'autre pour Mr. de Ruvigny notre Deputé general. Elles concernent toutes deux un cher sujet, auquel vous et nous avons de tres iustes interets; ... et comme ie say qu'on vous a desia importuné de savoir si le clergé ne remueroit pas contre moy en particulier, aussy bien qu'en general contre notre Gouverneur et notre Eglise, ie ne puis que ie ne suive de mes humbles prieres celles de mes bons amis; et... ne vous demande coniointement avec eux, de prendre la peine d'y veiller et m'en daigner donner advis... Attaquer l'Eglise d'Orange ou son Gouverneur est une chose asses scabreuse, et ceux que ayment la Relligion et l'Estat en France croyent qu'il n'aura que Rome et ses Emissaires qui en troublent le repos. La Gazette de Londres du mois d'Octobre en parle ainsi, et ie n'y suis pas mesme oublié, selon que vous aurez peult voir, Dieu voulant me donner au moins la compassion de nos freres, parmi la mal que tashent de me faire nos communs persecuteurs... (Geneva, BPU, Archives Tronchin 48, fol. 39)

49. (p. 98)

The lettres from Orange of the 15 of September last S.N. say, that the Count de Dhona, Governor of that place, had lately discovered there a noble Conspiracy against that City, which had been contrived in Avignon by the Pope's Emissaries, who took for a pretence of that their attempt the right and Interest which the Duke of Longueville doth pretend upon that principality, but indeed out of a design to take out of the hands of the Protestants or Reformed that Place of refuge, whether [sic] many Families and Persons that are oppressed do commonly retire themselves, for to avoid the persecution of the French Popish Clergy, as did lately, among others, a while since, Monsieur de Labadie, a Minister of an exemplary life, and of a singular learning, who having renounced the Popish Religion, a good while since, had retired himself into Montauban, where he so well succeeded by his preaching, that a great number of persons followed his example, which occasioned the late Assembly of the Clergy, held at Paris, to obtain, by their importunity of the King of France, that the said minister should forsake the Kingdom, thereby to hinder the further fruit of his Ministry in Montauban and other adjacent places, by the conversion of such as came to hear him there; who to avoid the said persecution retired himself into Orange, out of the Kingdom; in which place he no less succeeded, those of Avignon and other neighbouring places resorting thither

in great number to hear him; so that had not the Vice-Legate of Avignon forbidden those of the Comtat of Avignon to repair thither any more, there was an appearance of a great many conversions in those parts.

(*Mercurius Politicus*, no. 437, 7-14 October 1658, p. 906)

50. (p. 99)

Nous ne doutons pas que vous ne sachiez qu'il y plus années que M. D'Espagne se prevalant du desordre du temps et de la condition où estoit alors notre Egl[ise] destituée de tous pasteurs, forma une assemblée qui a été condamnée comme irreg[uliere] et schism[atique] par tous nos coll[oque]s et synodes, quoy qu'elle ait subsisté depuis. Maint. que M. D'Espagne est mort, bien que ce fut notre dessein de conserver dans cette Assemblée la predication de la Parole pour la Commodité de ceux qui demeurent en ce quartier, néantmoins nous souhaitons de réunir cette Ass[emblée] sous le gouv[ernemen]t d'un même consist[oire] ... nous sommes informés que quelques particuliers qui s'opposent à la réunion, sans la connoissance et sans le consentement des autres, ont fait écrire à M. l'Abadie, qui est à Oranges, de venir au plutôt en ce païs pour [illegible] dans cette Eglise [illegible]; nous faisons, Messieurs, la même prière que nous avons desia fait faire à Mr. Gaches,<sup>1</sup>) de faire sçavoir à Mr. l'Abadie l'estat des choses et [illegible] qu'il [illegible] pas [illegible] à une vocation si irregulière [illegible] esprit de schisme que le Sr. D'Espagne a fait [illegible].

(London, archive of French Protestant Church, Soho Square, ms. 45, fols. 39v<sup>o</sup>, 40. Note: 1. Raymond Gaches, pastor at Charenton.)

51. (p. 100)

Nous continuons de vous écrire sur le même suiet pour lequel nous vous écrivimes il y a deia quinze jours. Nous vous mandâmes alors que quelques particuliers, voyans par les lettres que Mr. Labadie écrivoit en ce païs le desir qu'il avoit d'y venir et d'y avoir quelque établissement, l'avoient invité de venir pour succeder à Mr. D'Espagne dans le service de cette assemblée qui est separée de notre Eglise, M. Labadie ayant accepté cette vocation avec ioie et n'ayant souhaité rien autre que pour sa satisfaction et pour son honneur il fut nommé par les chefs de famille de cette Assemblée, et appellé par leur lettre; ceux qui s'estoient engagés [illegible] à sa [illegible] ont si bien agi [illegible] fait choisir, ils luy ont fait écrire une lettre en la forme qu'il la demandoit. C'est dequoy, Messieurs, nous avons trouvé à propos de vous donner connoissance, pour vous [illegible] non pas d'entreprendre de retourner Mr. L'Abadie d'un voyage pour lequel il

témoigne une si ferme passion, mais de l'exorter simplement de ne pas s'attacher à une eglise laquelle a été condamnée comme irregulière par toutes nos assemblées ecclésiastiques, pour entretenir la division qui s'est formée, et puis qu'il est resolu de passer en ce país, de travailler quand il y sera à réunir cette Congregation qui l'appelle avec notre Eglise.

(Ibid., fols. 40v°, 41)

52. (p. 101)

[Labadie's ministry had been exercised] avec tant d'efficace et d'approbation pour sa singulière doctrine, pieté exemplaire, ses autres rares dons et excellentes qualitez, que du consentement unanime de nôtre Eglise, et de tous ceux de nôtre communion qui l'ont ouï prêcher, il a esté tenu et réputé pour un homme extraordinairement appelé de Dieu, ayant fait des fruits merveilleux parmy nous, tant en l'instruction des ames pour ces grandes lumières et pure doctrine, en la correction et repréhension des vices, en l'exemple de ses bonne vie et moeurs; qu'aussi en la visitation et consolation des malades, envers lesquels il a témoigné une charité indicible, en telle sorte que toute sa conduite a esté en tres grande édification.

(Appended to Pierre Yvon, *Doctrine du Baptême*, 1683)

53. (p. 105)

Le droit que nous avons audit Sr. de Labadie est fondé sur l'engagement qu'il a avec nous, lequel il ne peut nier, & dont, quand il le feroit, ses propres lettres font foi; si bien qu'étant nôtre, & s'étant si solennellement donné à nous, il ne peut en conscience ni en honneur s'en déporter, & aucune Eglise ne peut, à juste titre, le retenir, memes quand il voudroit y demeurer. Et quand bien nous n'aurions point un droit si manifeste sur sa personne, nous avons telle opinion de la charité & de l'affection de VV. SS. pour l'avancement du regne de Jesus Christ nôtre Seignr. que nous croions fermement que sachans le besoin extrême qu'a nôtre Eglise d'un bon Pasteur, tant s'en faut que VV. SS. voulussent nous ôter le nôtre, qu'au contraire vous seriez prêts, si nous le requerions, de nous en fournir plutôt des vôtres, puis que Geneve est la pépiniere des Minstres, & que nous sommes en un país étranger & éloigné, où il ne s'en trouve point de nôtre langue, & peu s'y veulent acheminer. Ajoûtez à cela le mécontentement que la nation Angloise en pourra recevoir, quantité de noblesse qui entend nôtre langue, & mêmes plusieurs membres du Parlement languissans après son arrivée, sur le récit qu'ils ont ouï de lui & de ses belles qualitez. Et non seulement les particuliers, mais l'Etat mêmes en pourroit être sensible, nous aiant n'aguères oc-

troié la confirmation d'une fort belle Eglise, en partie sur ce qu'il avait entendu de la venuë dudit Sr. de Labadie. ... A moins de vouloir donner les mains à la totale ruine & dissolution de notre Eglise, nous ne pouvons ni ne devons consentir à ce qu'il s'engage ailleurs, sous quelques prétextes que ce puisse être.

(Geneva, AE, pièces historiques 3364)

54. (p. 105)

Consultum visum est mihi (Viri Amplissimi) vobis significare Parlamentum Reipublicae Angliae, pro suâm in exteris Protestantis nominis Ecclesias Charitate consuetâ, donasse & confirmasse Ecclesiae, quae Westmonasterii, alterô ab urbe lapide congregatur, splendidum Sacellum in quô Deum publicè colerent. ... Equidem ipse plurimum gavisus sum postquam audivi vota illius Ecclesiae inclinasse in electionem longè excellentissimi Concionatoris Domini de Labadie, qui operam suam in Ministeriô Evangelicô illi Ecclesiae addiceret; atque, ad cumulum votorum, Virum praestantissimum eam provinciam ultrò in se recapisse, & voluntariâ & solemnè nuntium fides suam obstrinxisse illi. At longè acerbum nuntium fuit Fidelium illius Ecclesiae auribus postquam audiverunt vestrae Reipublicae Consules & Senatores apud se retinere praefatum Dominum de Labadie, non solum inconsultâ, sed & reluctante totâ Ecclesiâ, quae primum ejus operam requisivit, eumque non semel voluntatis suae, per fidos de suô corpore, totius gregis nomine, certiore fecit. Haec cum ita sint ... aequum esse duxi vos etiam atque etiam rogare ut diutius praedictus Dominus de Labadie apud vos non detineatur, sed potius statim atque fieri poterit dimittatur; praecipue accersiti Pastoris multum intersit ut datam fidem liberet, & Ecclesiae istius, quae eum avidè optat & expectat, & nunc indoneô Pastore caret, tum utilitati tum necessitati consulatur ... .

(Ibid., loc. cit.)

55. (p. 109)

Si rerum tuarum satageres, satageres Ecclesiarum; Regni Dei, Regni tui eadem fore incrementa, Regemque te non Regnaturum foelicius, *quam cum per te Christus regnaret.*

(Geneva, BPU, ms. fr. 432)

56. (p. 115)

Le doneur de la presante uous pourra dire, qu'il ne m'en laisse pas manquer surtout au combat presant auquel ie suis pour la Reformation des Etudians, qui ont besoin d'y [courage for moral reform] être saintement forcés. Come c'est le seminère du Pastorat, et la Pepiniere des Eglises et de leur Culture; il est iuste, que nous fassions

- nos efforts d'en purger le grain, et de garder le sel de s'affadir.  
(Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr. Ki-Ar. 24<sup>a</sup>, fol. 186<sup>v</sup>)
57. (p. 115) Spect. Jean de Labadie ... avoit declamé hautement de nouveau contre le Magistrat en un presche au temple de la Magdeleine et encor à St. Gervais, et dit entre autres qu'il n'y avoit plus de iustice pour les pauvres, que tout se faisoit à la recommandation des personnes puissantes, ... mais quand cela venoit à manquer on en venoit aux presents et faisoit on glisser le drageoir, ... et suggéré cela par des termes tout a fait seditieux, pour rendre odieux le Magistrat au peuple.  
(Geneva, AE, RC 162, fol. 180)
58. (p. 119) J'ay eu tres grande joye d'aprandre du presant Porteur ... que Dieu uous en avoit doné l'Esprit [of reformation] en grande abondance, et que parmi les grans dons, et les auantages saints, dont il a pleu á sa bonte de uous doüer, celuy d'un grand zele uous rongeoit, et uous donoit de grans desirs de uoir refleurir l'Eglise, et renouveler l'Esprit Chrétien, qui en tant de lieux s'est anuieillé. Dieu soit benit [sic], qui nous done les mêmes souhaits, et qui nous fait concevoir même fruit d'esprit! Luy plaise t'il par sa bonté de nous doner la grace de l'anfanter, et de le uoir croitre en ce siecle, auquel l'Esprit n'est pas seulement contristé et affligé, mais étoufé et preque [sic] éteint.  
(Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr. Ki-Ar. 24<sup>a</sup>, fol. 186)
59. (p. 119) Qui hasce dat, tibi referet, quo gemitu, quibus Laboribus, aerumnis, proeliis, aliisque id genus viam et aditum Evangelio, Evangelicaeque Reformationi aperire enitar. Per famam bonam, malamve, per insidias et machinationes aemulas, per multorum impetus et insultus acres et pervicaces [?] incedo, et progredi cogar. Favente Deo ... ista perrumpam, et saltem non verebor perrumpere, cum mihi adsit, qui omnia vincat, Spiritus, et cum in me nil possim, omnia possim in eo, qui me consortat, Jesu.  
(Ibid., Mscr. G.I. 64, fol. 192)
60. (p. 125) Je vous suis obligé, sur tout de vôtre vraie, longue et fort constante amitié que vous ne m'avez jamais ôtée;...  
[As for the work itself] il est un Traité de Pieté, que vous aimez. Une Instruction pour un peuple et un Troupeau que vous chérissiez, et qui vous chérit. Un antretien court et familier, que vous ne désagréiez pas, et de la forme à peu près de ceus, àuquels vous m'avez souvant exorté de travailler, pour les randre plus utiles, et moins annuyeux;



et sur le sujet d'un veritable Amandement, que vous desirez de voir en tout le monde.

(Labadie, *Le Iûne religieux*, preface)

61. (p. 127)

L'estremité et le desespoir ou me redeusset les continuelles ordonnances de Monsieur de Saint Luc<sup>1</sup>) depeux un an en un affere ou il i va de lescandalle de tout le royaume et qui blesset les lois divinnes et humeinnes me donne la hardiece dosser [d'oser] entreprendre descrire a vostre grandeur la renommee m'ayant apris que vous prenes a coeur dassister les afliges et les opreses il sagit d'un nommé Labadie qui est conneu de tous par ces mauuesse assions ayant este cattorse ans iesheuite [!] fait tous ces veux sans avoir réclaté iammes contre isseux sorti comme un libertin de la se fict inluminé peux ieansiniste [!!] et arnaudiste pourseuivi de la ieustice comme ie faix voir par bonnes pieces ce randit carme dechaux ou il vequut quelque tenspts [sic] ayant causé force desordes dans ce couvant que depeux est innabité ce fict ministre a Montauban. ... Ce que ie reclame a vostre misericordieusse grandeur et est questant hors le pouvoir daller me iester au pies du roy que par charité vous faisies pres de sa mageste que defances soict faicttes au dit seingneur de Connestre de laferé [l'affaire] d'anne pichotel<sup>2</sup>) qui est ma niece qui me norit et on luy ravict son bien par violance contre Anne de Lif de la Grille<sup>3</sup>) Monseingneur ayes pitie de nostre aflision et pardonnez toutes les faucttes que mon peu d'esperiance a escrire a des peuisances me fait connestre.

(Paris, BN, ms. Mélanges de Colbert 132, fol. 1. Notes: 1. *Intendant* of Guienne. 2. Labadie's niece; see Appendix 2. 3. Another niece, already frequently encountered; see Appendix 2.)

62. (p. 128)

Advisé de luy tesmoigner le desplaisir que la Compagnie auroit d'estre privé de sa personne et le grand desir où elle se trouve de le conserver et l'exhorter de demeurer au milieu de nous, puis qu'il y a esté et est encore en grande edification et ainsi qu'il est prié de s'arrester ici eet de continuer l'exercice de son ministère.

(Geneva, AE, RCP 12, fol. 43)

63. (p. 129)

Nous nous assûrons que nos tres-chers et tres-honorez Freres auxquels il s'adressera cy-aprés, l'auront en telle consideration, estime et amour que meritent ses grands dons et ses qualitez excellentes qui luy rendent un avantageux tesmoignage, et luy serviront de puissante recommandation en tous lieux.

(Appended to Pierre Yvon, *Doctrine du Baptême*, 1683)

64. (p. 133) S'inganna V.S.R. ò che cosi è stata ingannata, con quelle sue persuasive, che Geneva sia l'asilo di Scelerati, et la Fucina di tutti li vizi, perche al sicuro che non vi è Città dove meno regnano. Non nego che la natura humana non sia corrotta da per tutto, e che non vi è Legge, nè regola, nè disciplina, nè minacce, nè timor di Dio, che possa impedire la natura depravata degli Huomini, quando una volta si dà all'inclinattione, e pendenza verso il male; con tutto ciò è certo che la Riforma della Religione, hà stabilito gli ordini per la riforma anche di costumi. Particolarmente io hò la fortuna d'essere arrivato in questa Città, in un tempo che venne di Francia un tal Giovanni Delabatia, ch'era Gesuita, & uno de' più celebri Predicatori del suo Secolo tra Catolici, onde abbracciata poi la Reforma di Calvino, si vide fare progressi ben grandi tra Calvinisti, & in Montelbano, & in Orange, e maggiore ne fà hora quì in Geneve, dove è Pastore ordinario; ne credo che si sia mai trovato Predicatore, ò Vescovo piu di questo temuto, riverito, & applaudito, e si può dire, che hà riformato gli abusi di questo Paese, non solo ne' costumi, ma anche negli abiti, meglio, e molto più di quello che seguì ne' principi della Riforma di Calvino; onde desiderarei che fosse cosi ben riformato il Popolo della sua Diocese.  
(Gregorio Leti, *Lettere* I:38, 39)
65. (p. 139) Nous avons icy Monsr. de Labadie, qui nous preche tout hautement le Regne de Christ en terre, et qu'iceluy est bien proche, et partant qu'il est temps de s'éveiller. Je suis tres bien d'accord avecq luy, et m'esious au don que Dieu luy a departy.  
(Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. F. 65, B 11, fols. 349, 350)
66. (p. 146) O qu'il y a danger en ce temps, qu'en force lieux la Religion n'ait que grimace, & ne subsiste qu'en l'air! ... Qu'est-il aujourd'huy de plus & de mieux preché que nos Eglises, ... et toutefois ... où est le ble? N'avons nous pas juste sujet de nous plaindre avec l'Ecriture, qu'on rend vraiment sterilité a nos ames?  
(Labadie, *Le Veritable Exorcisme*, pp. 36, 37)
67. (p. 146) Si le Christianisme veut, il peut devenir ce qu'il a esté... Hommes pecheurs, femmes pecheresses, invités Jesus à un banquet, où vous luy serviés vos coeurs, froissés de douleur, mortifiés de repentance, apprestés par la foy et cuits au feu de la charité, comme des mets agréables.  
(Labadie, *Les Divins Herauts*, pp. 190, 207)
68. (p. 149) Certes si tous les Chrestiens mettoient leur temps à se

bien sanctifier, ils n'en mettroient gueres à se quereler; & s'ils estoient une fois d'accord en bonté et en pureté de vie, ils le seroient bientôt en foy et en principes de doctrine. Celle du Regne les ramenant tous à l'une, les reduiroit bientôt à l'autre.

(Labadie, *Le Héraut*, p. 70)

69. (p. 155) Il faut renoncer à soy, n'estre pas du monde, fuyr le mal, faire le bien, mortifier la chair par l'Esprit, & la crucifier avec ses apetits et convoitises, delaisser les choses qui sont en arriere & sur la terre, chercher et trouver celes d'en haut, estre sobres, estre patians, estre modestes; veiller, prier et porter la Croix; anfin produire les fruits d'une veritable penitance.

(Labadie, *Le Discernement*, p. 24)

70. (p. 156) J'antans qu'il ne leur est aucunement licite de comander à l'Eglise d'observer ce qu'ils auront eus-mesmes établi sans la Parole de Dieu.

(Labadie, *La Puissance Ecclesiastique*, p. 140)

71. (p. 158) Si par malheur une Eglise n'est pas tele, et qu'il se rencontre qu'en elle, ou le Pastorat et la Conduite n'y ait pas grand zele, et se contante d'un train commun, et d'un Estat tiède; ... et qui pis est, soit prévenuë contre une telle pratique, la soupçonnant de Nouveauté, ou de danger, d'introduction de Secte et de Schisme, ... On peut avec justice voir ce qui est faisable, par la voye de queque Pasteur, Ancien ...; Quand cela meme ne se rencontreroit pas, tout Chef de Famille ... peut la fair en en sa maison.

(Labadie, *l'Exercice Profetique*, pp. 50, 51)

72. (p. 159) Hoe komt dat Labadie bewoont zoo menigh Stadt?  
't Geschied omdat hem elck terstont wort wars en zat;  
Wijl Haat en Gierigheyt, Bedrog en Hovaardy,  
Hem blijven over al als trouwe Zusters by.  
(lit. 'How is it that Labadie inhabits so many a town? It is because everyone immediately gets fed up with him; because hate and avarice, deceit and pride remain by him as faithful sisters')

Wie Labadie haat, dat ziet men heden blijken,  
Maar mensch spuuw nu vrij uit uw vuile lastergal.  
Doch weet, dat Christi Rijk op aart haast komen zal;  
Dan zult gy, lasterbek, gelyk een bok staan kyken.  
(lit. 'Those who hate Labadie may be clearly seen today;  
but come, o man, spew out your foul calumnies; yet  
know, that Christ's kingdom on earth is coming son, and  
then you will be laughing on the other side of your face')  
(Both from *Lange Rygh-Veter*, Amsterdam, 1668, one sheet)

73. (p. 161) Es ist in unsere Stadt kommen Petrus du Lignon, der viel heimliche Versammlungen gehalten mit Gliedmassen der Teutschen und Französischen Kirchen, auch wohl zu der Stunde, wenn der öffentliche Gottesdienst verrichtet. Unter andren schädlichen Maximen hat er zu einigen Leuten gesagt, da wenn 3. oder 4. Gläubige beysammen wären, möchten sie einen aus sich zum Prediger erwählen.
- (J.G. Bertram, *Das evangelische Lüneburg*, p. 241)
74. (p. 165) Nous nous pardons en ta vastité; nous nous enfonçons en ta profondeur; nous nous eblouysons à tes lumieres, voire nous aveuglons à ton infini éclat. Nous nous absorbons en ton ocean! ... O qu'il m'est doux (mon Dieu) de voir ma goutte d'Etre n'oyée [sic] en ton Ocean! O qu'il m'est doux de voir mon Atome perdu au milieu de ton grand Air! O que j'ay plaisir de me voir n'être rien au prix de toy, voire n'être point, Toy seul étant, & meritant d'être appelé Ce qui est, Celuy qui est & l'Etre meme.
- (Labadie, *Manuel de Pieté*, pp. 60, 61)
75. (p. 165) Je vous escriis d'autant plus volontiers à present, et que je suis plus libre, et que Dieu m'a mis en estat de vous parler plus franchement, n'estant plus lié aux hommes, et par les hommes, ni obligé d'entretenir avec eux une liaison Ecclesiastique exterieure et aparente.
- (Labadie, *Lettre au Sr. Arondel*, p. 1)
76. (p. 167) Je ne fais que desirer que Jerusalem soit purgée de l'Iniquité, et Babylone ruinée ... Je n'ay respiré et ne respire que de voir les derniers Fideles comme les premiers, n'estans qu'un coeur et qu'une Ame, faire ce qu'ils croyent, et vivre conformement à leur doctrine.
- (Labadie, *Protestation de bonne Foy*, pp. 7, 8)
77. (p. 170) d'Heer Raetsheer Kien heeft het collegie bekend gemaekt, hoe dat zyn Ed. in 'sGravenhage wesende ende aldaer met zyn hoogh. over diverse saeken sprekende, van zyn hoogh. wierde versoght, dat zyne hoogh. eenigermaeten moghte werden geïnformeert, op wat forme mons. de Labadie binnen dese stadt is geadmitteert.
- (Middelburg, Rijksarchief, Hss. De Gaay Fortman 13, copy of protocols of council of Veere, 29 June 1669)
78. (p. 180) La corruption du siècle, et le grand Regne de son Esprit, est cause que celuy du Ciel eclate peu, l'eau d'un deluge de pechè, etoufe l'étincelle de ce feu de grace, et pource que peu ont l'experiance de ses efets, peu les croyent.
- (Labadie, *L'Empire du Saint Esprit*, preface)
79. (p. 195) Man besorget, wo diesem Unwesen nicht bey Zeiten gesteuert wird, dörfte eine unauslöschliche Flamme daraus

entstehen...; nunmehr Labadie, ein alter Fuchs (nachdem er siehet, daß es in diesem *climate ratione dogmatum* einige *inquisition* geben dürffe) sich öffentlich erklaret, Er *statuire* Alleß waß in *Synodo Dordracena* und Heýdelbergischem *Catechismo* enthalten, *intendire* auch ein Mehres nicht, als eine *reformationem Christianissimi in vita et moribus*; weil Er derhalben in *Gallia et Belgio* keinen *Castum* gefunden, der so lebe, wie sichs gebührte, hette er sich nebst einem kleinen Heufflein frommer Leute *zusamemngethan*, und weren aus Sodom *ausgangen*, Ihrer *devotion* dieser Ends in stiller andacht abzuwarten.

(Hannover, Landesbibliothek, Ms. XXII, 1459, fol. 22v°)

80. (p. 197) ... une idée et un commencement d'une vie Evangelique, à l'exemple du premier Christianisme, tel qu'il nous est décrit dans les Actes et les lettres Apostoliques, quand la multitude des croyans n'estoit qu'un coeur et une ame; car c'est à ce but que nous aspirons sous la conduite et benediction de nôtre grand et bon Dieu, qui a donné à nos Pasteurs Mess. l'Abadie, Yvon et encore d'autres parmi nous de grandes lumières et connoissance des verités et des maximes de la vraie vie Chrestienne.

(London, BL, Kings Mss. 140, fol. 24v°)

81. (p. 197) Daß sampt hauß, darein sie abendß und Morgen ihre betstunden (welche sie *Exercitia* nennen) halten, ist alle-mahl feste verschloßen, die nach der Straße reichende Fenster sein unten mit Gardinen behanget, oben mit papiere Fenster (welche mit Öhl bestrichen) dupliret. In gemelten *Exercitiis* ... gehet es gar *devot* zu, daß Frauenzimmer sitzet mit niedergeschlagenem haupt und mit schleierbedeckten gesichter, so daß sie weder untereinander sich anschauen, noch von Manßleuten angeschauet werden können.

(Hannover, Landesbibl., ms. cit., fol. 25v°)

82. (p. 198) Sagte *causa separationis princeps et palmaria* wesen, daß die unsere Kirche sich vor die wahre reformirte außgebe, doch in derselbigen wegen unwiedergeborenen Prediger und Zuhörer größten Menge keine reformation zu finden... Gab ferner vor, es konte *vera Ecclesia* nicht anderß, als *ex merè aut maximam partem regentis* bestehen; Nun wehre es mit unser Kirchen also nicht gethan. (Detmold, Staatsarchiv, Ms. L. 65, nr. 16, fol. 4v°)

83. (p. 204) Sein Gesicht schien durch Leiden abgehärmt, und seine Miene verkündigte, daß seine Seele, ich weiß nicht mit was für göttlichen Dingen schwanger ginge; ... daß man leicht sehen konnte, er gehöre zu der Art von Sterblichen,

die ein besserer Geist angehaucht, der niederen Erde entrückt, und zum Umgange mit der Gottheit emporgehoben hat.

(A.M. van Schurman, *Eukleria*, Dessau/Leipzig, 1783, p. xii)

84. (p. 205) Il a tout à fait de l'esprit, les yeux vifs, le nés bien fait, la bouche assés agréable en dépit de ses dents, qui l'ont toutes abandonné. Sa taille est petite et bien prise; ses habits sont propres. Quant a sa langue, on peut la nommer le nouvement perpétuel; il prêche fort bien, et avec grande facilité; il est toujours gai et riant, quoi qu'il ait déjà 60 ans.  
(London, BL, Kings Mss. 140, fol. 219v°)
85. (p. 215) Wij belijden in alle oprechtheid, dat alle diegene, die na het suivere Woord Gods wandelen, die haar leven naar dese Richtsnoer oprechtelik aanstellen en door hare Vruchten betonen, dat sy in den Geest en niet in den vleesche leven, ware en rechte Christenen zijn, en wij omhelsen deselve als onse Broeders.  
[True Christians are those who live] stervende aan de Weerelt en haar selven; haer herte van alle schepselen aftrekkende en op God alleen settende; hem suiverlijk dienende in Geest, in getrouwigheid en liefde; dodende het vleesch en bestrijdende de sonde door de kracht des H. Geestes.  
(Labadie, *Verklaringe van de suiverheid...*, p. 37)
86. (p. 222) Jul: 1672. In diesem monat Julio kwam Mr. Labadie und juffrau Schurmans nebst noch einigen andern frauenzimmer ... nach Altona, woselbst sie in einem hauß beysammen waren, liessen sich aber von niemand sehen oder sprechen, sondern blieben in grosser andacht und einsamkeit, alß der welt abgestorben, predigten unterdeß selber, communicirten unter sich und hatten mit keinen andern menschen gemeinschaft, aber soviel mittel bey sich, daß sie zu essen und trincken gnug und um ihr brod nicht arbeiten dörrften wie andre leute.  
(Lübeck, Archiv des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins, Ms. VII.9, Nr. 17, 3)
87. (p. 224) Nullum esse foederis novi participem, qui non sit interne renovatus, spiritus Dei serviens, in corpore et anima immutatus, peccato mortuus, vitam Dei et Christi spirans et exprimens, Deum in omnibus quaerens, lumine mysteria eius cognoscens et vivide credens, caritatis sinceræ affectu eum prosequens, spiritu Christi repletus, possessus ac ductus, lubens et spontaneo motu ipsi obtemperans et Dei voluntate totus quoad omnia sua tum externa

tum interna, spiritualia corporeave, momentanea vel aeterna dependens; demum: nullum esse nove foederatum, qui non sit interne cum Deo conjunctus et reapse regenitus.

(Yvon, *Essentia religionis Christianae*, chap. XIII)

88. (p. 226)

Quamvis enim Deo... non placuerit, primam illam Hierosolymitanam proxime subsequentes, eandem abundantiam Spiritus S. assequerentur: & quamvis, ut locus daretur Mysterio iniquitatis, & Anti-Christianismo universali, gratia illa prima a Christianismo degenerante sensim recesserit; maxime tempore Constantini Magni, quo mundus in Ecclesiam irrepere, imo solenniori modo introduci coepit: tamen nullum tempus concipi debet, quo non aliqua ex parte adimpleatur haec propheta in vere fidelibus, si quidem Christianismum in terris indesinentur exstiturum concedamus: Quotquot enim filii Dei sunt, spiritu Dei ducuntur. Et sicubi duo aut tres in nomine Christi congregati sunt, Christus in medio ipsorum est. ... Attamen cum Sacris literis statuimus, postremis temporibus, post lapsam Babylonem & ligatum Satanam, & post introitum gentium in Regnum Christi, & denique post conversionem universalem Judaeorum, fore adimplerionem plenam instarum universalium atque illustrium prophetiarum tum ex V. tum ex N.T.

(Anna van Schurman, *Eukleria*, pp. 115, 116)

89. (p. 226)

... Jean de Labadie et Consorten dahin anzuweisen, daß sie sich Ihrer Secten und Zusammenkünfften, auch der eigen angelegten Druckerey enthalten und sich innerhalb Weinachten auß Altona packen sollen.

(Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Archive of German Chancellery, Inländ. Register, 1673, fol. 257b)

90. (p. 229)

Cette gloire de Jésus l'a ravi, et l'amour qu'il avoit de la voir depuis quelque temps le consumoit nuit et jour. Jamais il n'a esté plus enfoncé en Dieu que les derniers temps de sa vie. Il y a une année entiere qu'il ne faisoit que preparer ses enfans à ce tendre depart; il leur a incessamment inculqué Dieu, Jésus et leur amour à la place de toutes choses, et Dieu a béni ses travaux, les accompagnans de sa grace et l'efficace de son puissant esprit. Il s'est allé reposer en Dieu: il nous a laissé ici pour y agir encore autant que bien luy semblera...

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. Hist. c. 487, fol. 1378)

91. (p. 229)

Wir haben auff allerunth. Ansuchen allergdst. bewilliget, dass des jüngst verstorbenen de Labadie todten Körper auff den Reformirten Kirchhoff in Unserer Stadt Altona

- möge eingesetzt und beerdiget werden. Befehlen Dir demnach hiemit allerdst., dass du zu Behuf desselben einen Platz auf gedachten Kirchhoff anweistest.  
(Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, ms. coll. cit., 1674, fol. 28)
92. (p. 230) Ein Mann eines wohlgebildeten und freundlichen Gesichtes, sittsamer Augen, einer kurzen *Statur*, und wegen Alterthum von schneeweissen Haaren. Er redete freundlich, gerne, und mit großer Beredsamkeit.  
(*Diarium Europaeum*, XVIII, pt. 2, 1674, pp. 533-536)
93. (p. 231) De groote Thuinen van No. 193, en de Thuinen van mÿne huisen no. 194 enc., waaren de Kerkehoof van deese secte. Labadie is die eenigste die hierop begraven is. Als Thiessen no. 193 kogte, en de Thuin bewerkt wierd, hebben zÿ eenige menschen beender gvonden [sic].  
(Leeuwarden, PB, Hs, 1559)
94. (p. 232) Jésus nous conserve la liberté entiere qu'il nous a acquise par son sang, et dans laquelle il nous a mis par son Esprit; nous servons par luy à son Pere en Esprit et verité, nostre conduite est simple, nostre foy est forte, nostre amour est celuy de Dieu, et Jésus est l'esperance de nostre gloire. ... Nous ne desirons que sa gloire, nostre mestier est son service, et nous luy disons tous les iours: nous voici, nous sommes prests, envoye nous où tu voudras, fut ce à la mort, et à la croix, nous t'y suivrons par ton amour; ... nous vivons contants d'estre à Dieu, et de iouÿr entre nous de tous les biens de la communion des saints: ils sont grands, ils sont purs, ils nous unissent incessamment à Dieu, et ils nous font sentir qu'il est bon et doux et que ses ioyes sont ineffables. ... Nous voyons que Jésus a esté admirablement simple, innocent, et plus petit en esprit que tous les petits enfans, et nous tachons d'estre ses imitateurs.  
(Oxford. Bodleian Library. Ms. Eng. hist. c. 487, fols. 1376,1377)
95. (p. 233) 1674 Nov. 30 ist ein Königl. Befehl de dato Copenhagen den 14 November übergeben u. glesen, dahin I.K.M. allernädigst bewilliget, d. wen einige auß d. gesellschaft Anna Maria de Schürmann, Petri Yvon, du Lignon, u. Gaspar Robyn Zeit ihrer anwesenheit mit Tode abgehen solte, dieselbe alhie begraben werden mögen, ... Senaty denenselben einen gewissen Orth dazu anweisen, dieselben sollen auch bey ihren handwercken gelassen werden, die Trückerey aber allerdings auffgehoben seyn, so daß keine bücher, unter welchem Namen es auch geschehen könnte, hinführo darin gedrückt werden sollen.



- (Altona, Stadtarchiv, Stadtgerichtsprotokolle 7, fol. 209, cited by J. Gierlinger in *Amtsblatt der Stadt Altona*, vol. 8, no. 26 (1928), p. 2)
96. (p. 237) Per eandem [Dei gratiam], me totatam ipsius voluntate ac gloriae, ejusque filiorum ac filiarum servitio, quasi de novo, consecravi; atque imprimis in debellandis veteris hominis reliquiis, tam in me ipsa, quam in aliis, fidelis inveniri desidero.  
(Basel, UB, Ms. G. II. 33, fols. 4-8)
97. (p. 247) Il y a des freres et des soeurs qui ont la direction de donner, a chacun, ce de quoy ils ont besoin, en le demandant au nom du Seigneur et par charité; de cette façon personne ne manque de rien, nôtre maison est bien fourni de tout, nous sommes fort bien logez, belle maison et belles issues, bien couchez presque tous a la française, bien nouris, bien vêtus et bien chauffez; de sorte que personne ne manque de ce qui est necessaire.  
(London, BL, Egerton Mss. 1717, fol. 6v°)
98. (p. 248) On toube unanimément d'accord entre les Orthodoxes, que dés qu'il paroîtra que Dieu leur a communiqué sa crainte & son amour, on peut en bonne conscience le leur administrer. Seulement il s'agit de péser s'il n'est pas meilleur d'attendre que quelques-unes de ses marques paroissent avant que de leur donner ce sacré sçeau.  
(Yvon, *Doctrine du Baptême*, 1683, p. 64)
99. (p. 249) Aux tables, personne ne parle que le conducteur, et on a banni de nôtre Eglise cette inclination du monde [de] parler toujours et en confusion; on nous exorte par tout à la paix, à l'union et à la soumission et au respect, et à garder regulièrement les ordonnances de nos conducteurs que regardent par tout sur tout aux tables, à fin de marquer à n[otre] b[on] f[rère], l'état d'un chacun.  
(London, BL, Egerton Mss. 1717, fol. 37v°)
100. (p. 250) Nous nous passons de presque tous les hommes du monde parce que nous avons presque tout ce'ans. Nous avons plus de 40 bonnes vaches, un beau troupeau de brebis, et des chevaux et de quoy nourrir le tout fort grassement; tout cela sert beaucoup aux Enfans du Seigneur. Nous avons quelques terres labourables et de bons jardins, le tout bien cultivé par de nos frères qui si entendent et qui en font sortir beaucoup de commoditez pour la Maison. Nous avons du bois autour de nôtre Maison, sufisamment pour nôtre chauffage, en achetant de la tourbe. Nous avons de la volaille, il y a de nos freres qui pêchent, un qui fait nôtre bière; nous en avons des meuniers et un moulin; nous en avons de boullangers et gene-

- rallement de tous métiers. Nous avons une médecine ou apotiquairerie dans toutes ces parties et bien fournie de gens pour l'exercer, et de tout ce qu'il faut pour remedes du corps, et c'est une merveille de nous voir tous agir... (Ibid., fol. cit.)
101. (p. 251) Il y a prédication en flamand une fois le dimanche, outre la predication de nôtre frere, et le mardi, mercredi, jeudi et vendredi, dans lesquelles on exorte entr'autres choses a haïr le monde, a aimer autant qu'il se peut l'oeuvre du Seigneur, a travailler chacun de son mieux a la conserver et a l'augmenter, et pour nous faire haïr tout le monde en général et en particulier, ... on nous en détaille tous les désréglements, et on nous fait un tableau si inflame qu'il est impossible de ne la haïr pas au dernier dernier, et par forme de conclusion on sôtient que tous ceux qui se mêlent de prêcher l'Evangile, hors de l'oeuvre du Seigneur, sont des Antichrists... (Ibid., fol. 36v')
102. (p. 258) Ik kan niet anders dan God loven en prijsen voor sijne groote en sonderlinge barmhertigheyt t'mywarts, en my verwonderen over syne uytstekende goetheyt, my sulcken geringen, onweerdigen, elendigen mensch te brengen tot dese plaetse, in syn Huys, en onder dit gesegent geselschap sijner Kinderen. (Yvon, *W. Brakels Onbillicke...Handelinge*, 309-310)
103. (p. 259) Deus dolores atque cruciatus ipsius terminavit atque coronavit. Jesus in crucem ipsam attraxerat, ut inde in coelos iliam sublevaret, & gloriâ suâ cingeret. Agnum patientem in illa expresserat; nunc Regem gloriae & Sponsum amabilissimum sese ipsi fruendum exhibet. Postquam virtutem suam in ipsius infirmitate splendide explicaverat, ipsam gloriosa immortalitate donavit, onmi infirmitatis labe in victoria absorbta. (Anna van Schurman, *Euklera* II, 184)
104. (p. 260) Cet amour criminel de soy, soit grossier soit subtil, de corps ou d'ame, n'est qu'une convoitise, une flame d'enfer, un venin mortel qui corrompant le coeur & le fonds de l'homme, corrompt aussi tout ce qui en procede. Cet amour criminel & propre dont Dieu n'est point l'Auteur, mais le diable, & qui fait meme comme l'essence du peché, n'est rien moins qu'une haine de Dieu. C'est luy qui a fait le schisme de la creature rebelle a l'égard de son Createur, & qui fait encore qu'elle fait servir a son etre tout autre etre, & celluy meme de son Createur autant qu'il luy est possible. (Dulignon, *La Corruption du Souci*, 86, 87)

105. (p. 261) Een wederzijts seer re-ële, hoewel geestelijke toebehooringe en besittinge, waer door den Christen waerlik Christi en Christus waerlik des Christens is. Dat Christus waerlik in hem woont, leeft en heerscht, en insgelijks het leven van den Christen in Hem verborgen is, soo dat hy boven-natuurlijker wijze niet en leeft, nochte werkt als door Jesum Christum, waerlik ondervindende dat hy buyten Hem niets doen kan.  
(Dulignon, *Catechismus*, 1682, p. 381)
106. (p. 267) Nôtre cher pasteur Monsr. Yvon & sa Compagnie sont de retour passé quince jours, assé tous en bonne santé & y continuent grace au Seigneur. Il ont [sic] été environ 10 a 11 semaines en voyage tant a la Haye, Rotterdam & Amsterdam. A la Haye il y a veu plusieurs bonnes ames qui ont tiré beaucoup de contentement de luÿ, entre autres Monsr. d'Ossenbergh, conseiller au Conseil de brabant, qui leurs a rendu beaucoup de services, et hier soir il en ont reçu nouvelle que Dieu adisposé de luy & l'a retiré par la mort a luy; Monsr. Yvon en dit des grandes louanges & une personne qui a craint et a servi Dieu dans son vivant avec assé d'exactitude selon sa connoissance, un jeune homme dans la fleur de son age, il laisse a sa vefve trois enfants.  
(Utrecht, Rijksarchief, fam. arch. Des Tombes, inv.nr. 1137)
107. (p. 268) Les tristes desastres arrivée [sic] a nos armés par mer & par terre, & la ruÿne des particuliers, & la desolation des Eglises tant par les pasteurs que par les membres, nous doit porter à nous humilier devant Dieu et nous garder des loups qui tachent de seduire les Elus... Helas, que l'on at [sic] besoin de crainte de dieu et de veritable detachment de l'amour propre pour cultiver ces jeunes plantes, & les offrir a dieu par un entier detachment de l'amour du monde... Vous avez choisi la bonne part qu'il [sic] ne vous sera point ôtée.  
(Ibid., letter cit.)
108. (p. 269) Il semble que le Seigneur ne soit point au bout de sa recolte dans cest maison [sic], car comme je vous aje écrit qu'il avoit pris la vefve de jean barents a luÿ, vous diray q'hier nous avons enterré encor un frere, et même il y en at encor quantité de malades.  
(Ibid., letter of 24 August 1691)
109. (p. 270) Le Seigneur visite sa maison de maladie, ÿ ajant encor bien presentement 36 ou 40 de maladie, & [cette] nuit il en est mort encor un, Dieu recueille [ic]ÿ tantot l'un tan-

- tot l'autre, ce qui nous advertit [?]aussi d'estre sur nos garde.  
(Ibid., letter of 12 September 1691)
110. (p. 270) Je ne m'étonneroit [sic] point si le Seigneur en faisoit une fin, & peut être qu'il ne tardera gueres, mais il est un dieu qui a tous dans sa main, qui peut encore disposer de sa créature selon son bon plaisir. Toûjours vous puis dire que je l'ay remis derechef sur l'autel qui est Jesus Christ pour que celle fin il en dispose selon sa bonne volonté. Elle m'at été toûjours fort tendre, & ma aussi donne beaucoup de consolation & de renfort en mes foiblesses, dont l'en remercie aussi bien que vous, ma chere Mere, qui me l'aves donné selon ce que Dieu en avoit predestiné dans son adorable conseil de toute eternité. Je ne vous scaurois écrire presentement la joye qu'elle at d'aller au rencontre de son adorable époux & sauveur de nos ames.  
(Ibid., letter of 17 July 1691)
111. (p. 271) [Dieu] la prennant à soy pour jamais et nous la ravissant quant à sa presence sensible, a mesure que nous nous sentons plus que jamais unis avec elle par le lien de l'esprit, de la foy, et de l'amour qui nous avoit fait ensamble un coeur et une ame en Jesus-Christ nôtre Seigneur. Lors qu'elle voyoit la tendresse de nos coeurs qui auroient bien voulu pour nôtre consolation et edification si ç'avoit esté le bon plaisir de Dieu qu'elle restat encore icy bas, elle se vouloit bien rendre à y rester si le Seigneur le vouloit, bien qu'elle témoignat plusieurs fois, combien elle sentoit qu'il luy seroit encore meilleur de déloger pour estre toujours avec le Seigneur. ... Son coeur estoit si paisible, si ouvert, si content, et si reconnoissant de la bonté de Dieu envers elle qui l'avoit amenée en sa Maison au milieu de ces Siens Enfans et qui la venoit prendre à soy du milieu d'eux...  
(Ibid., letter of 20 July 1691)
112. (p. 317) Zu Amsterdam lebe ein *Medicus*, des er noch mit ihnen halte, nahmens Henric van Deventer; er wohne in der Wagestraet und sey doctor, denn er habe den *gradum* annehmen müssen, weil man ihn sonst nicht haben wollen *practiciren* lassen.  
(Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Ms. IV. 0.49, fols. 269, 270)
113. (p. 319) Der guthe Kerl war blöde, und hatte mit der Kleidung und dem Orte auch die *Mores* geändert, also daß, ob er wohl nicht grob war, dennoch ihn jeder eher vor einen bauer als *studiosum* angesehen hätte.  
(Ibid., fol. 267)

114. (p. 319)

Der Orth war eine Stube auf der Erde im Schloße, wo Yvon wohnt. Als wir hinein kamen, waren die meisten schon zugegen, und unter denen auch des Yvon Gemahlin, so uns gar ein geschickt *compliment* machte. Sie war ihres Standes und Reichthums unerachtet schlicht gekleidet und sahe zieml. alt aus, ob sie wohl über etl. 40 Jahr nicht sein sol. Ihre noch unverheiratete Schwester ist viel älter.

Der diesmahl die Übung hielt, war Frere Thomas (der ein brauer gewesen, u. itzo im Rade spinnet), ein Mann, der Witz und *ingenium* hat eine andächtige Mine zu machen, und ohne stocken eine lange zeit zu reden. Er machte den Anfang mit einem langen Gebethe aus seinem Kopfe, wobey so wohl er als die gantze Versammlung aufstund, die Mannspersonen die Hüthe abzogen, u. alle zusammen sich nicht eher setzten, biß es verrichtet war. Hernach ward der 24. Psalm gesungen (als welcher der gedachte Frère Thomas *expressè* singen verordnete) und zwar von jedem in seiner Sprache, jedoch nach einer Melodey, ungeachtet nun die meisten Niederländisch, viele französich und einer von uns aus dem communicirten [gap] deutsch sunge, so merkte man doch, weil alles gar *douce* zunging, keine *confusion*.

Nach absolvirtem Liede las bruder Thomas ein paar Verse aus dem Evangelisten Johanne, und discuirte darüber fast über eine Stunde, welches die zuhörer alle sitzende mit grosser *attention* anhörten. Er beging zwar, so viel ich abnehmen konnte (denn er *perorirte* holländisch) viel tortologien; sagte oft, was er schon gesagt hatte; u. blieb nicht stets in gehöriger Ordnung oder so gar genau beym texte; aber er brachte doch viel ausbündige Gedanken u. dergleichen dinge vor, die man von einem gemeinen u. ungelehrten Manne sich nicht leicht einbilden wird. Er redete etwas linde, *perorirte* aber fertig. Die gantze Rede bestund meist aus betrachtungen.

Als dieser aufgehört, folgte ihm ein andrer nach, der es ebenfalls nicht schlimm machte. Hernach ward die Übung von dem Frère Thomas mit einem langen und andächtigen gebethe beschlossen.

(Ibid., fol. 274-277)

115. (p. 321)

Wat is het christelyk Geloove, soo als het in den waren Geloovigen syn zit-plaats heeft? Het is de bovennatuurlyke bequaamheit, die aan den waren Geloovigen in syne nieuwe geboorte en scheppinge door de Genade medege-deelt word, waar door hy bequaam gemaakt is, om in syn geest en herte te bereiken en t'ontfangen de bovennatuur-

rlyke (dog geopenbaarde) Waarheit, soodanig als die in God en in Jesus is, en soo als deselve aan de Heiligen inwendig en uitwendig geopenbaart is geweest door den Geest en't woord Gods selve, welkers getuigenis het eigene, waaragtige en genoegsame fundament van't Ge-loove der Uitverkorene en der ware Christenen is.  
(Yvon, *Van de Reden...*, 1707, p. 3)

116. (p. 392)

De Goederen ofte Landen van de Vrouw van Sommelsdijk zyn aengegeven voor twintig duysent gulden tegens 5 ten hondert gerekent, vermits, de lasten en schulden afgetrocken zynde, deselve niet meer kunnen uytmaken volgens d'inkomsten diese opbrengen.

Nadien nochtans de Heeren niet geconcenteert zyn met't gene aengegeven is, soo kunnen tegens 4 ten hondert rekende de aengevinge vergrooten met 10000 guldens; sulks dat alsdan de Vrouwe van Sommelsdyks Landen worden aengegeven voor dertig duysent gulden.

Wat aengaet de Societeyt van Wieuwert deselve verclaert, l.lik dat'er maer 10 personen onder haer zyn die van de inkomsten harer goederen kunnen bestaan; en dat noch, zynde meer gerekent ten regarde van't gene sy hadden doe sy daer quamen, als van't gene sy tegenwoordig hebben. Doch het goet van die personen is in Hollant, Zeelant, Uytrecht &c. alwaer men weet de lasten die der op zyn. En wat aengaet 't gene sy in deze provincie hebben, namentlick haer Bestiael en Bouwery, dat hebben sy alreede aengegeven, te weten drie duysent vyf hondert gulden. Ten 2. Dat de andere personen voor de meestendeel op verrena niet kunnen bestaan van den arbeyt die sy daer doen; en alsoo moeten ontfangen van de andere 't gene daeraen ontbreekt, tot haer onderhoudt. Ten 3. Dat indien niet te min de Heeren goet vinden dat het dubbeltje ter week gestelt word op alle de familien die der zyn, sy verclaert dat'er in alles maer 22 zyn, [a postscript alters this to 21], voor dewelcke men het dubbeltje sal betalen indien sulks recht en billick sal geoordeelt worden.

(Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibl., Hs. 5937)

117. (p. 323)

Myn Soon Willem Mauris Graf van Nassau van Auverquerque het Huis met alle het Landt in Vrieslant dat van myn Suster Geerft hebbe, en nu gedurende het leven van vier Persone die genamt syn van myn Suster en [by] my geconfermeert is in haer gebruyck blyft. Doch myn Soon de Eygendom van heeft; mede is de begeerte van myn Suster geweest des landen niet verkoft soude worden. Myn begeere is myn soon alle diens will doone aen dit

- geselschap, t'welck my so seer van myn Suster is gerecommandeert en ick veel Achtygh voor hebbe.  
(Hertford, County Record Office, bundle D/E Na. E.3)
118. (p. 323) Celle cy servira commant je renonse aux Meubles et ce qui est Nomé par un Inventaire pour moy et les miens dans la Maison que Ma Soeur de Sommelsdyck m'a laissé, ainsi que je ne pretans pas que mes Eritiers apres puissent faire aucune pretention. Signé par ma propre main laissant le tout aux 5 personnes nommés [sic] par ma Soeur.  
(Ibid., bundle cit.)
119. (p. 325) C'est a l'occasion d'un bruit qui se divulgue icy, que vous auriez trouvez a propos de vous defaire des biens, que vous possédez dans cette Province; je ne scai sur quoi ce bruit est fondé, mais peutetre l'achat d'une maison que Monsieur Robin vient de faire a Leuwarde, a ce qu'on dit, pourra y avoir donne lieu.  
(Ibid., D/E Na. F.51)
120. (p. 325) Peu après la Reception de Vôte susdite Lettre, j'appris que Monsieur d'Aylva avoit reçu une Procuracy de Vôte part, pour qu'il jouit des Voix de ces Terres icy; de quoy nous sommes tres aises; sur tout étans presentement entre les Mains d'une Personne si Considerable, et qui témoigne avoir beaucoup de bonté et d'affection pour nous, étant venu l'Eté passé icy, pour me montrer sa susdite Procuracy, en me protestant de me vouloir rendre tout le service qu'il pourra, dont nous luy sommes fort redevables.  
(Ibid., D/E Na. E. 3)
121. (p. 325) Pour ce qui regarde, Monsieur, de Vous dire combien nous penserions que ces Terres icy devoient valoir, conjointe-avec leurs Voix; nous n'y avons guere de Connoissance. Mais des Connoisseurs nous ont dit qu'Elles vaudroient bien 80,000 francs. Vous saurez apparemment, Monsieur, que Mesdemoiselles de Sommelsdyck ont *overgenomen* ces Terres icy de Madame la Douariere de Sommelsdyck pour 90,000 francs. Mais selon l'occurrence des choses et du tems, Elles se pourroient vendre plus ou moins.  
(Ibid., D/E Na. F. 50)
122. (p. 326) Nous aviöns beaucoup désiré et Esperé, l'Eté passé, d'avoir l'honneur et le bien de voir et de parler à Vôte Excellence bouche à bouche icy en Frise: Mais vos importantes affaires y ayant mis de l'Empechement, nous sommes obligez, le mieux que nous pouvons, de le faire par Lettre, n'étant pas en Etat, à cause de nôtre grand

aage et foiblesses, de nous transporter en Hollande. Ainsi depuis nôtre derniere Lettre, que nous nous sommes donnez l'honneur d'Ecrire à Vôtre Excellence, touchant nôtre Evaquâtion de ce Lieu icy, et de nous placer ailleurs, il nous est venu, pour cet Effet, en pensée, de Vous proposer et prier, (si Vous y aviez de l'union), de vouloir avoir la bonté, de nous accorder et laisser, l'entiere et pleine jouissance du revenu de quatre des plus grandes Places et Terres qui y sont maintenant joints (Ces quatre places et Terres sont astheure [à cette heure] Occupées par Cornelis Peters 109 Pondematen, par Pieter Hessels Fopma 105 pondematen, par Anne Douwes Goslinga 122 pondem. Et par Pieter Cornelis 95 pondematen), pour que nous en puissions tirer tous les revenus, jusqu'à ce que la dernière personne vivante de nous cinq, (qui soussignerons Celle cy) seroit Decedée, et après cela, les susdites Places et Terres, devroient retourner au Profit de Vôtre Excellence, comme en étant le Proprietaire.

...

Les Raisons principales pour lesquelles nous desirerions fort de nous placer ou retirer en la Ville, sont 1.<sup>1</sup> Que nous devenons de plus en plus aagez et infirmes, et que Demeurans icy si Eloignez des villes nous ne pouvons pas avoir à tems, les choses qu'on a besoin, pour le soulagement des foibles et le soutien des infirmes, sur tout en hyver, où l'on ne peut vivant point aller ni par Eau, ni par Terre; 2.<sup>1</sup> Que nous devenons par le vieillesse et foiblesse fort incapables d'avoir le soin, comme il faut d'un si grand lieu qu'est celuy où nous sommes, et de devoir agir avec tant de Paisans et Metayers; ayant bien besoin, dans nôtre aage decrepit d'un peu de Repos et de tranquillité. 3.<sup>1</sup> Que nous souhaitterions fort (avant que nous décheöns davantage), de pouvoir mettre les personnes qui sont icy avec nous, quelque part où Elles puissent sobrement ou frugalement subsister.

(Ibid., D/E Na. E. 3. The fields in question were Aasgama-zate at Wieuwerd, 109 pondematen; Falstra-zate at Britsward, 105; Abbinga-zate at Britswerd, 95; and a combination of three separate pastures, Sjaukema-zate and Jildersma-zate at Britswerd (50+30 pondematen) and Ekkinga-zate at Wieuwerd, 42)

123. (p. 326)

Je sousiné Daniel Maure Certiffie et au nom et par ordre de Monsieur le Comte Maurice de Nassau d'Auverquerc... qu'il permet et consent que Messieurs Robijn, Thomas Vermaet, C. Bosman en J. Dupied sortent et quittent lors qu'ils souhaiteront la maison de Walta slot



a Weivert ou ils font leurs Residences de memes que Mademoiselle Martha Yvon femme dudit Sieur Robijn, pour saller [sic] Establi a leuwarde ou la ou bon leur semblera, et quils jouissent des memes proprietéz que si devant, et au Cas que Monsieur le Comte Maurice de Nassau trouvat a propos de prendre ladite maison quils la lui Cederont mojenant le Revenu de quatre Censes qui est de quatorse Cent vingt huit florins neuf sols huit penins d'argent courant par an, et qu'en Cas quil se trouvat quelques personnes dans la dependance de ladite Maison qui ne leur soit pas Convenable quils les pourront metre dehors, de plus sil arrivoit que ledit Seigneur Comte Maurice de Nassau voulut prendre ou vendre ladite Maison de Walta slot ou en disposer autrement Mojenant la somme de Cinq mille Rixdals qui sont 12500 florins quon leur pajera en argent contant et non en obligations, lesdits sieurs Robijn et autres sobligent de quitter et desister de toutes leurs pretentions quils ont sur ladite Maison de Walta slot et de toute sa dependance sans en Exépter aucunes. Cest pour quoi ils ont signé la presante declaration a la maison de Walta slot a Weivert le 23e aoust 1723.

(Ibid., bundle cit.)

124. (p. 327)

Nademaal by acte van den 12 April 1709... by de Hoogh Ed: gebooren Vrouwe Mevrouw Francoise van Aarsen van Somelsdÿk... vergunt, beloofd, en opgedragen is, aan Jaspas Robÿn, Tomas Vermaat, Coenraad Bosman, en Jean du Pied... gedurende hun leven lang, al het inkommen en het Vruchtgebruik van de Adelyke State, Huisen en Plantagie van dien, ...Walta State genaamt, ...ende dat van de voors. Vruchtgebruikers niemand meer in't leven is, dan alleen Coenraad Bosman, die wel geneigen was, om van een groot gedeelte van dit Vruchtgebruik af te zien, en af te treden, ten einde hÿ wat meerder rust en stilheit in zÿn Ouderdom soude mogen erlangen, en ook eeniger maten zÿn verpligte dankbaarheÿt soude betoonen, voor alle de Gunsten en Liefdadigheit, hem en de vorige verdere vruchtgebruÿkers soo edelmoedig beweesen, soo is't dat de selve Coenraad Bosman als laaste Vruchtgebruiker van opgamelte Goederen, verklaart by deesen over een gekoomen te zÿn met zÿn Excellentie de...Heer en Graaff Maurice de Nassau d' Auërquerque etc. etc. als eenigste Grand Eÿgenaar van meergemelte State en goederen, in deeser voegen: Dat Coenraad Bosman ten profÿte van Hooggedagte zÿn Excellentie zal af treden, en renuntieeren het meergemelte vruchtgebruÿk,

breeder hier bovengedagt, Gelyk deselve by deesen af-treed en renuntieert, aan te vangen met den 12en Maÿ 1726 aanstaande, exempt alleen, dat hy geduurende zyn leven lang sal behouden het vrugtgebruik en de inwoon-inge van het Huis en van de hovinge, agter het zelve huÿs gelegen, tot Wieuwert op het Hornleger van Walta State voors. staande, soo en als hy het zelve Huÿs en Hoff cum annexis voor tegenwoordig gebruykt en bewoont, met de vryheit van Voet en Gangpaden naar de Dorpen van Wieuwert en Britswert, mitsgaders reed en vaart, gelyk hy tegenwoordig geniet, en altoos heeft genooten; 2° dat de selve Coenraad Bosman geduurende zyn leven lang, sÿn volle sterfjaar daar onder gereekent, zal behouden en genieten uit het inkoomen der voors. goederen, s'Jaarlyks de summa van ses hondert caroliguldens, welke by hem vry en sonder lasten... als eygen inkomen zal worden ont-vangen...

(Ibid., bundle cit.)

125. (p. 328)

... een groot Adelyke Heerlykheit, met alle onderhorige Huisingen, poorten, Hovingen, Cingels, Bomen en plan-tagien, cum annexis, staande ende gelegen te Wieuwert, Waltahuis alias Taingaburgh genaamd, word by de Heere Coenradus Bosman cum sociis bewoond en gebruikt...

(Leeuwarden, Rijksarchief, Nedergerecht, Baa. U. 16, fol. 1)

126. (p. 335)

Le vray peuple de Jesus, son commencement, ses progrès, sa vie, son esprit, sa conduite, son innocence, sa sainteté, sa pureté, son zèle tout divin, enfin sa vie celeste & toute élevée au dessus de la chair, du monde, & de la terre, féconde de toute vertu, & ennemie de tous vices; est une des preuves les plus belles de la vérité de la Religion Chrétienne, & de la certitude de l'envoy divin de son grand Maître.

(Yvon, *Emmanuel*, 54)

## Appendix 2. Labadie's Genealogy

Labadie's father is thought to have originated from Lasserre, *commune* of Monget, canton Hagetmau, between Chalosse and Béarn, but no records have yet been traced. His maternal descent is better known.

- I. *Jean Coybo* (or *Coibo*) Calvinist; sentenced to death 1569 but reprieved; died 1612, Bourg. Married *Marie* (surname unknown) and was father of:
  1. *Jean II* Honoured by maréchal de Biron; died 1605.
  2. *Marie* (follows under II)
  3. *Jeanne* Married *Gervais Eyquem*, mayor of Bourg-sur-Gironde.
- II. *Marie Coybo* Born 1577, Bourg; 20 February 1599 married *Jean-Charles de Labadie*, sr. de Lasserre en Chalosse, lieutenant to governor of citadel at Bourg; Jean-Charles died 1625, Bourg; Marie died 1661, Bourg; ten known children:
  1. *Marie* Born 2 March 1600, Bourg; married *Maximilien de Lif*, sr. de la Grille; one daughter, *Anne*.
  2. *Jean* Born 4 December 1603, Bourg; died young.
  3. *Jacques* Born 11 October 1605, Bourg; it is probably he who died at siege of Belfort, February 1654.
  4. *Louis* Born 11 October 1605, Bourg, twin of above; died in infancy.
  5. *Gabrielle* Date of birth unknown; married sr. de Pichotel (full name unknown); one daughter, *Anne*; dead by 1656.
  6. *Louis* Born 27 January 1608, Bourg; known as sr. de Coybo; died 1653, Puymirol; wife was *Françoise de Bernardy*, who bore him five children: *Louis Izaac*, *Izaac Charles*, *Georges* (mayor of Bourg, 1686-1688), *Margué-*

- rite* and *Marie*, the last two still minors in 1656.
7. *Jean* Born Bourg at a disputed date, 10/13/21 February 1610; 1671 married *Lucia van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck*; died 13 February 1674, Altona.
8. *Isabeau* Born 4 August 1611, Bourg; unknown.
9. *Izaak* Born 27 January 1613, Bourg; known as sr. de Lasserre after father's death; honoured by duc d'Epéron; sources vary on his death, some say died 1665, Bourg, the Bordeaux notary claiming death of plague 1653/54, Montauban.
10. *Roger* Born 14 February 1616, Bourg; unknown.

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## PART B

### WORKS BY JEAN DE LABADIE AND THE LABADISTS

#### *Jean de Labadie*

1. *Traité de la grace et la vocation efficace*. (Written as a novice at Bordeaux, c.1630. Not traced.)
2. Several poems written at Périgueux, c.1633. Some titles listed in *Declaration* (1650): i) *De duplici Christi Jesu nativitate*. ii) *Divin possesseur de mon ame*. iii) *Logé par dessus la nature*.
3. *Tractatus de Deo trino, de angelis, de actibus humanis*. (Subtitle: 'Turroni traditus..., anno 1633, mense Augusti'. Copy at Mende, bibl. mun., ms.9.)
- 4-12. Various *traités*, all manuscript and now lost, written at Bordeaux, 1636-1638. Titles listed in *Declaration* (1650):
4. *Du néant human*.
5. *La connoissance de Iesus Christ et de ses mysteres*.
6. *L'oraison et la vie chrestienne*.
7. *Le crayon evangelique*.
8. *Les douze clefs de l'Escriture*.
9. *La Parole de Dieu*.
10. *La doctrine de la grace, de son essence et de ses effets, ...et de ses principales controverses*.
11. *De l'esprit interieur et de ses voyes*.
12. *De interiori et sublimi spiritu qui hoc tempore electis animabus apparuit*.
13. *Introduction à la Pieté dans les Mysteres, Paroles, et ceremonies de la Messe*. Amiens, C. de Gouy, 1642. (Copy at Amiens, bibl. mun.)
14. *Odes sacrées sur le Très-adorable et auguste Mystere du S. Sacrement de l'Autel*. Amiens, C. de Gouy, 1642. (Copy at Paris, BN.)
15. *Epitres spirituelles de M. de Labadie aux religieuses de ...* (Copy at Carpentras, bibl. Inguimbertaine, ms.438.)
16. *Responses a un Recueil d'articles faussement imputés à Mr. de Labadie*. (January 1645. Manuscript, now lost, but quoted in part by Hermant, *Défense de la Pieté*, 1651.)



17. *Esclaircissemens et contredits, par forme d'apostilles, aux articles calomnieusement imposés au sieur de Labadie, ...et semés par forme de déposition et de charge contre luy.* (February 1645. Manuscript, cited by A-L. Bertrand, *Labadie et le Carmel*, 1886.)
18. *Traité de la Solitude chrestienne, ou la vie retirée du siècle.* Paris, S. Piquet, 1645. (211 pp., 8°. *Approbation* dated 10 February. Copy at Paris, BN.)
19. *Traité* (title not given) on prayer, written February 1645 for Ursulines of Bazas, and referred to in ms. *Histoire veritable.*)
20. *Traité* (title not given) on the difference between a self-made pastor and a true one. Written at Toulouse in 1646 and referred to in ms. *Histoire veritable.*)
21. *De l'esprit extraordinaire et de ses marques.* (Manuscript, now lost. Written at Toulouse in 1646 and referred to in ms. *Histoire veritable.*)
22. *Traité* (title not given) on the need for the minister of the gospel to be free from human constraint. Written at Le Touch, Toulouse, 1648/49. Capentras, bibl. Inguimbertaine, ms.438.)
23. *Declaration de Iean de Labadie, cy-devant prestre, predicateur et chanoine d'Amiens, contenant les raisons qui l'ont obligé à quitter la communion de l'Eglise Romaine pour se ranger à celle d'Eglise Reformée...* Montauban, P. Braconier, 1650) (277pp., 8°. Preface actually dated 1 January 1651. Reprinted Geneva, 1666; Middelburg, 1666; Amsterdam, 1670. 1st edn. at London, BL; Geneva 1666 edn. at Oxford, Christ Church College.)
24. *Lettre de Iean de Labadie, A ses Amis de la Communion Romaine, touchant sa Declaration.* Montauban, P. Braconier, 1651. (197pp., 8°. Dated 1 February. Copy at London, BL.)
25. *Les Elevations d'esprit à Dieu, ou Contemplations fort instruisantes sur les plus grands Mysteres de la Foy...* Montauban, (? P. Bertié), 1651. (Preface of 1 April. Copy not traced. Dutch edn., *Verheffingen des Geestes tot Godt*, Amsterdam, 1667, (107pp., 8°), copy at Halle, Haupt-bibl. Franckesche Stiftung. Reprint of Dutch edn., Amsterdam, 1678.)
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31. *Practique des Oraisons, mentale et vocale, ...contenue en trois lettres...* Montauban, P. Bertié, 1656. (558pp, 8°. Copy at private bibl. de Félice. Dutch edn., *Pratijk des tweederleye gebeds*, Utrecht, 1666; copy not traced).
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67. *Traitté de saison eclesiastique et téologique [sic], tout ensamble, des Censures réeles eclesiastiques, suspansions...ou excommunications...* Amsterdam, J. van Velsen, (1668). (205pp, 8°. April 1668. Copy at Paris, BN.)
68. *Manuel de Pieté, Contenant quelques Devoirs & Actes Religieux & Chretiens vers Dieu...* Middelburg, H. Smidth, 1668. (144pp, 8°. Copy at Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Dutch edn., *Handboekje der godsaligheid*, Amsterdam, 1668, reprinted 1683, 1687, 1727; first edn. at Halle, Hauptbibl. Franckesche Stiftung. German edn. (tr. G. Tersteegen), *Handbüchlein der Gottseligkeit*, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1727; not traced.)
69. 'Interpres interpretis'. (Manuscript refutation of L. Wolzogen, *De Scripturarum Interprete* (see bibl. pt. C), written Summer 1668. Yvon expanded it as 'Extrait de quelques propositions erronées', sent to Walloon synod. Also summarised by L. Wolzogen, *Orthodoxa Fides* (see bibl. pt. C.))
70. *Traité Eclesiastique Propre de ce tams, selon les Sentimens de Jean de Labadie, Pasteur. L'Exercice Profetique selon St. Pol...* Amsterdam, P. Boeteman, 1668. (116pp, 8°. August 1668. Copy at Edinburgh, Univ. Libr.)
71. *Fidele récit de ce qui s'est passé au Synode de Naerden, ...sur les affaires de l'Eglise Walone de Middelbourg.* No place or date. (September 1668. Bears emblem of J. van Velsen of Amsterdam. Copy at W. Berlin, Staatsbibl.)
72. *Suite du Fidele Récit de ce s'est [sic] passé au Synode de Naerden...* The Hague, L. van Dyck, 1669. (Printed at Amsterdam. Copy at W. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek.)
73. *Quatorze Remarques importantes sur le Jugement Prononcé par le Synode Walon tenu à Naerden... contre le Sr. de Labadie...* No place or date. (October 1668. Wolzogen replied with *Apologie pour le Synode de Naerden* (see bibl. pt. C). Copy at Paris, BN.)
74. *Lettre du Sr. Jean de Labadie au Sieur Arondel à Bourdeaux, touchant la manière qu'il faut commencer la Reformation dans l'Eglise.* Dordrecht, J. & J. Goris, 1669. (6pp, 4°. Dated 1 January and addressed to Thomas Arundel, merchant. Copy at The Hague, KB, with parallel Dutch translation.)
75. *Justification ample et sincere de Mr. de Labadie, Pasteur,... ou Examen*

- de la lettre qu'il a écrite au Sr. Arondel...et celle que les sieurs Rondelet et Goyon, ministres, ont écrite...* Amsterdam, B. & J. Appelaar, 1669. (78pp, 8°. Written under pseudonym Theodore Colon. Copy at London, BL.)
76. *Protestation de bonne Foy, de pure et saine doctrine Reformée et de generale Orthodoxye de Jean de Labadie...* The Hague, L. van Dyck, 1669. (8pp, 8°. Dated 1 February. Copy at Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl. Dutch edn., *Protestatie Nopende het oprechte Geloof*, Amsterdam, 1669; copy at The Hague, KB.)
77. *Relation faite au veritable corps du Consistoire et au Corps de l'Eglise wallonne de Middelbourg...* Amsterdam, 1669. (8 April 1669. Copy at Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl.)
78. *Lettres du Synode Wallon à MM d'Utrecht, touchant l'approbation du livre de L. Wolzogen, avec des notes de J. de Labadie.* Amsterdam, 1669. (Ref. Haag, bibl. pt. D. Not traced.)
79. *Declaration Chrestienne et sincère de plusieurs Membres de l'Eglise de Dieu et de Jésus-Christ, touchant les Justes Raisons et les Motifs qui les obligent à n'avoir point de Communion avec le synode dit Vualon.* No place or date. (March 1669, printed at The Hague. Reproduced entirely by Des Marets, *Histoire Curieuse* – see bibl. pt. C.)
80. *Apologie pour les Eglises Wallonnes de Middelbourg et Rotterdam [sic], opposé à l'apologie de Louys de Wolzogen.* No place, 1669. (Not traced, but perhaps linked with Dutch pamphlet, *Kort Verhael, van eenige saken, en voornamelijck van het gepasserde op het Walsche Synode tot Dordrecht Rakende de Walsche Kerck van Middelbourg...* Middelburg, H. Smidt, 1669. (52pp, 4°. Copy at The Hague, KB.)
81. *Nouvelle Conviction manifeste des Calomnies semées tant de vive vois, que par écrit par les Enemis...du Sr. Jean de Labadie...et...de sa Maison.* (Amsterdam), 1670. (56pp, 4°. Copy at Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl. Was preceded by Dutch edn., *Klare en krachtige Wederlegginge* (32pp, 4°), Amsterdam, 1669; copy at The Hague, KB.)
82. *Vingt et cinq raisons ou considerations importantes, pour lesqueles le Sr. Jean de Labadie, ...et ceux qui luy sont unis..., peuvent jouyr...de Liberté spirituelle...en la ville d'Amsterdam.* (Amsterdam), 1670. (April 1670. Edited extenso by F.H. Danner, 'Een zeldzaam pamflet van Jean de Labadie', *Uit bibliotheektuin en informatieveld*, Festschrift for H.F. Hofman, Utrecht, 1978, pp.245-255.)
83. *Points Fondamentaux de la Vie vraiment Chreتيene: Necessaires Premierement à mediter, & en suite à pratiquer...* Amsterdam, J. van Velsen, 1670. (344pp, 8°. Copy at W. Berlin, Staatsbibl.)
84. *Abrégé du Veritable Christianisme et Téoretique et pratique, ou Recueil de Maximes Chretiennes...* Amsterdam, L. Autein, 1670. (569pp, 8°. New edn. of no.38; copy at Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl. Dutch edn. (492pp, 8°), *Kort-Begryp van't rechte en ware Christendom*, Amsterdam, 1685; copy at Marburg, UB. German edn., *Ein Kurtzer Begriff des wahren Christenthums*, Frankfurt a.M., 1696; reprinted Gie-

- Ben, 1702, 1721; 1st & 2nd edns. at Halle, Hauptbibl. Franckesche Stiftung; 3rd edn. at Erlangen, UB.)
85. *Le Chant Royal du Grand Roy Jesus, Ou les Hymnes & Cantiques de l'Aigneau...* Amsterdam, L. Autein, 1670. (176pp, 8°. Copy at Edinburgh, UL.)
  86. *Receüil de diverses Chansons Spiritüeles.* Amsterdam, L. Autein, 1670. (174pp, 8°. Contains another *Roole des livres de M. de Labadie*. Copy at Edinburgh, Univ. Libr.)
  87. *L'Impudent Manteur, ou l'Imposteur de Marque, Antoine Lamarque, en son Libelle difamatoire fait contre Mr. Jean de Labadie...et...toute sa Maison.* Amsterdam (L. Autein), 1670. (71pp, 4°. Reply to Lamarque's *Motifs* (see pt. C). Copy at London, BL.)
  88. *Les Pseaumes Evangeliques, ou Les Cantiques Chrétiens sur les principaux Points de la Religion Chrétienne...* Amsterdam, L. Autein, (1670). (665pp, 8°. Copy at Edinburgh, Univ. Libr.)
  89. *L'Empire du S. Esprit sur les Ames, ou la Justification entiere de sa Conduite dans les Fideles...* Amsterdam, L. Autein, 1671. (634pp, 8°. Copy at London, BL.)
  90. *Eclaircissement, ou Declaration de la Foy et de la pureté des sentiments en la doctrine des Srs. Jean de Labadie, Pierre Yvon, Pierre Dulignon...* 2nd edn., Herford, L. Autein, 1671. (1st edn. was no.76. Copy at Halle, Hauptbibl. Franckesche Stiftung. German edn., *Declarations-Schrift*, (148pp, 8°), Herford, 1671, with added names of Heinrich and Peter Schlüter; copy at Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibl. Dutch edn., *Verklaringe van de suyverheit*, Amsterdam, 1671, reprinted in two parts, Herford 1672; 1st edn. at The Hague, KB; 2nd edn. at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl.)
  91. 'Exultatio Christiana'. (Manuscript, not traced, of May/June 1671. Dutch printed edn., *Rechtvaardiging van het Christelyk gejych en opspringen*, Herford, L. Autein, 1672. Not traced, but reproduced by J. Koelman, *Der Labadisten Dwalingen*, pp.162-173 – see bibl. pt. C.)
  92. *Epistolae Duae quarum prima A. Pauli SS. Theologiae Professoris Hammonae, ad Johannem de Labadie...scripta. Altera Johannis de Labadie responsoria.* Herford, L. Autein, 1672. (Pauli had written on 6 August 1671. Dutch edn., *Twee brieven* (48pp, 8°), Herford, 1672. Copies of both edns. at Nürnberg, Fenitzer-Dilherrsche Bibl. Pauli replied with *Anti-Labadie*, see pt. C.)
  93. *Veritas sui vindex, seu solemnis fidei declaratio..., confirmata...ab objectionibus D. Hundii, D. Adr. Paulii, et sex Scotorum Concionatorum in Hollandia exulum plene sufficienterq. vindicata.* Herford, L. Autein, 1672. (264pp, 8°. Reply to *Anti-Labadie* and *Getuigenis en verklaringe*, see pt. C. Contains Latin edn. of nos.76 and 90, a reworking of no.44, and a *Tractatus...de discrimine...quod inter nos et vulgo dictos Quakeros intercedit*. Copy at Oxford, Bodleian Libr. Dutch edn., *Openinge, ofte Bekentmakinge*, 2 parts, Herford, 1672; copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl.)
  94. *Traité du Soi, et des diverses sortes de soi, et de renoncement à Soi meme...* Herford, C. van der Meulen, 1672. (Copy, wanting title page, at

- W. Berlin, Staatsbibl. German edn., (216pp, 8°), by Hermann Strauch, *Tractetlein von der Selbst-Verläugnung*, Herford, 1672; copy at Erlangen, UB.)
95. *Sanctum ac necessarium Schisma, seu justum Judicium de justa bonorum a malis...secessione...* Neapoli (Altona, C. van der Meulen) 1673. (Written under anagrammatic pseudonym Daniele Jona Beda. (165pp, 8°). Reprinted as *Justum Judicium* (165pp, 8°), Amsterdam, 1675. 1st edn. at Nürnberg, Fenitzer-Dilherrsche Bibl.; 2nd edn. at Schloß Laubach, Hessen, Gräfl. Solms-Laubachsche Bibl. German edn., *Rechtfertiges Urtheil von rechtmässiger Absonderung*, Altona, 1673; copy at Schloß Laubach, Hessen, Gräfl. Solms-Laubachsche Bibl.)
96. *Jesus revelé de nouveau, ou d'une nouvelle maniere par la vive connoissance I. de son estre II. de ses perfections III. de ses vertus IV. de ses offices.* Proche de Hambourg (Altona), L. Autein, 1673. (430pp, 8°. Copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl.)
97. *Fragmens de quelques poesies et sentimens d'esprit...* Amsterdam, J. Bruyning, 1678. (126pp, 8°. Reprinted Amsterdam, 1682. Copy at Dublin, Queen Elisabeth College library.)
98. *Poésies sacrées de l'amour divin.* Amsterdam, veuve de J. Bruyning, 1680. (73pp, 8°. Copy at Paris, BN.)
99. *Recueil de Cantiques spirituels, première partie.* (Amsterdam), (J. van de Velde), 1680. (Not traced. 2nd edn., *Cantiques sacrez et spirituels, revue et augmentée*, Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1682; copy at Basel, UB. Dutch edn., *Heylige en geestelijke Gesangen*; part I listed at the end of Dulignon's *Catechismus* but not traced; 2nd edn., *Heylige Gesangen, uit het Frans vertaalt*, Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1683; copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl.)
100. *Le Chretien regeneré ou nul.* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1685. (Dutch edn., *Wedergeboren of geen Christen*, Amsterdam, 1685, 187pp, 8°. Copy of edns. at Halle, Univ. - u. Landesbibl.)

### *Heinrich Schlüter*

101. *Ken-Teecken en van de Weder-Geboorte. Vermeert met eenighe Brieven van Kerckelijcke Consideratien.* Amsterdam, J. van den Bergh, 1670. (306pp, 8°. Copy at Amsterdam, UB. A supposed German edn., *Kennzeichen der Wiedergeburt*, Amsterdam, 1670, never traced.)

### *Anna Maria van Schurman*

102. *Pensées d'A.M. de Schurman, sur la Réformation nécessaire à présent à l'Eglise de Christ.* Amsterdam, J. van Velsen, 1669. (8pp, 8°. Dated 12 March. Copy at Leiden, Bibl. Thysiana.)
103. *Serieux advertissement et vive exhortation à toute sorte de fideles Réformés.* Amsterdam, J. van Someren, 1669. (Published under pseudo-



nym Jean Samuel, and attributed to Anna. Dutch edn., by S. Schorer, *Ernstige Waerschouwinge* (20pp, 4°), Amsterdam, 1669. French edn. not traced; Dutch edn. at The Hague, KB.)

104. *Eukleria, seu melioris partis electio; tractatus brevem vitae eius Deliniationem exhibens*. Altona, C. van der Meulen, 1673. (207pp, 8°. Copy at Oxford, Bodleian Library. Dutch edn., by P. Dittelbach, *Eucleria, of uitkiezing van het beste deel*, Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1684; copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl. German edn., by P. Hachenberg, Desau/Leipzig, 1783; copy not traced. Dutch edn. reprinted in facsimile, ed. S. van der Linde, Leeuwarden, 1978.)
105. *Eukleria, seu Melioris Partis Electio pars secunda, Historiam vitae ejus usque ad mortem persequens*. Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1684. (206pp, 8°. Copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl. A portion of the text, as *Continuatie van de Eukleria*, appended to no.145.)
106. *Mysterium Magnum, oder Großes Geheimnus. Das ist ein...Bedencken uber die Zukunft des Reichs Christi...* Wesel/Duisburg/Frankfurt, A. Lippius, 1699. (Supposedly based on a manuscript of 1660. Copy not traced.)
107. *Bedenckingen over de Toekomste van Christi Koninkrijk*. (8pp, 8°. Appended to Dutch edn. of no.99.)
108. *Uitbreiding over de drie eerste capittels van Genesis. Beneffens een ver-toog van het geestelijk huwelyk van Christus met de gelovigen...* Groningen, J. Sipkes, 1732. (Copy at The Hague, KB.)

### *Pierre Dulignon*

109. *Catechismus of Christelicke Onderwijsinge. Voorstellende de voornaemste Waerheden des Geloofs...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1682. (515pp, 8°. Has appendix (8pp), *Catalogus der Boeken...van de Gereformeerde en van de Werelt afgesonderde Gemeynte...tot Wiewert...* Copy at Amsterdam, UB.)
110. *Sentimens particuliers sur l'état & les dispositions du veritable & fidelle Pénitent*. (60pp, 8°. Forms second traité of no.129. Copy at Leiden, UB.)
111. *L'Humble de Coeur, ou de l'humilité chrétienne*. Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1686. (91pp, 8°. Copy at Leiden, Bibl. Thysiana.)
112. *La Corruption du Souci et la Delivrance Que la Grace en fait... Avec la Conduite Paternelle de Dieu sur ses Enfans...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1687. (115+104pp, 8°. *Conduite Paternelle* is a distinct essay. Copy at Leiden, Bibl. Thysiana.)

### *Pierre Yvon*

113. *Les deus ennemis, amis. Ou preuves de l'Acord des Sentiments du Sr. Wolzoque Avec la plus part des Erreurs... qu'il a feint de refuter*. Amsterdam, G. à Roy, 1669. (116pp, 8°. Copy at Edinburgh, Univ. Libr.)

114. *Examen der XXI Artikulen, Rakende de Staat der ordinare Gereformeerde kerken, dewelke men heeft toegeschreven aan Jean de Labadie en Pierre Yvon.* Herford, L. Autein, 1672. (85pp, 8°. Cf. work by J. de Klerk, bibl. pt. C. Copy at Nürnberg, Fenitzer-Dilherrsche Bibl.)
115. *Den Tabernakel Gods ontdekt, of de ware en rechte leere van de Kerke...* Herford, L. Autein, 1672. (254pp, 8°. Refutation of *Getuigenis en verklaringe*, bibl. pt. C. Copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl.)
116. *Essentia Religionis christianae patefacta, seu doctrina plena et genuina foederum Dei...* Prope Hamburgum (Altona), C. van der Meulen, 1673. (352pp, 8°. Reprinted Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1685. 1st edn. at Oxford, Bodleian Libr.)
117. *Kurzer Begriff Unterschiedlicher gottloser und irriger Reden und Sätze so sich befinden In [sic] Anthoinette Bourignons Zweyen Büchern intituliert Licht der Welt und Grab der falschen Theologie...* Altona, C. van der Meulen, 1673. (99pp, 8°. Probably tr. Hermann Strauch. Copy at Copenhagen, KB.)
118. *Die Wahre und Reine Lehre von der Göttlichen Praedestination Oder Zuvor-Verordnung und den ewigen Rahtschlüssen Gottes...* Altona, C. van der Meulen, 1673. (67pp, 8°. Also against Antoinette Bourignon. Copy at Erlangen, UB.)
119. *Korte Onderrichtinge Rakende den Staat en de maniere van leven der Persoonen, die God t'samen vergadert, en tot sijnen Dienst vereenigt heeft...* Amsterdam, J. van Someren, 1675. (20pp, 4°. Appended is a letter in reply to T. Couperus' *Kort Verhael*, see pt. C. Copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl. German edn., *Kurzer Bericht vom Zustand und Ordnungen...*, in *Diarium Europaeum* 30, II (1675), 353-368.)
120. *Van de Rechtaerdigmakinge door't geloove.* Amsterdam, 1675. (80pp, 8°. Copy at Amsterdam, Bibl. Wallonne.)
121. *Epistola de Praedestinatione et Gratia Dei ad S.R. [Samuel Rachel] Augustanae confess. theologum...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1681. (79+324pp, 8°. Copy at Oxford, Bodleian Library. Appended are verses that might be the poem *De la Prédestination et de la grace* cited by some authorities but never traced.)
122. *Fidelle narré des états et des dernières paroles et dispositions de diverses personnes que Dieu a prises à soy...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1681. (Copy at London, BL. Dutch edn., *Getrouw verhael van den Staet en de laetste woorden...*, Amsterdam, 1681, (290pp, 8°)); repr. 1683; copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl. English edn., *A Faithfull Relation of the State and the Last Words...*, Amsterdam, 1685 (270pp, 8°); copy at London, BL. Some sources speak of German and Italian editions, untraced.)
123. *L'Impiété Convaincue en deux Traitez, dont le premier établit clairement l'existence de Dieu,.... Et le second contient la défense de l'Ecriture...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1681. (423pp, 8°. Directed at Spinoza's *Traité Théologique-Politique*. Copy at Oxford, Bodleian Libr.)
124. *Traité de la Prière, ou divers Points considérables de la Foy & de la Pieté Chrétienne sont proposez & éclaircis.* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde,

1681. (Copy at Erlangen, UB. Reissued as no.125.)
125. *La Voye av Ciel ou Traité de la Prière...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1683. (285pp, 8°. Copy at Leiden, Bibl. Thysiana. Dutch edn., *Weg ten Hemel*, Amsterdam, 1683, 477pp, 8°, not traced.)
126. *Doctrine du Bapteme et sa pure Administration... Avec des remarques sur le...Livre que Mr. Koelman a écrit ..., & sur les deux Lettres de Mr. Brakel qu'on y a ajoûtées.* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1683. (378pp, 8°. Reply to Koelman's *Historisch Verhael*, bibl. pt. C. Copy at Oxford, All Souls Coll., Codrington Libr. Contains an appendix, *Temoignages donnez à M. Delabadie...* Dutch edn., *Leere van den H. doop*, Amsterdam, 1683; copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl.)
127. *Explication de la Parabole de l'Yvraye.* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1683. (134pp, 8°. Copy at Oxford, All Souls Coll., Codrington Libr.)
128. *L'Homme Pecheur proposé selon tous ses caracteres Et sur tout selon son amour propre criminel.* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1683. (492pp, 8°. Copy at Leiden, Bibl. Thysiana.)
129. *L'Homme Penitent. En trois traitez.* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1683. (289pp, 8°. Copy at Leiden, UB. Dutch edn., *Den boetveerdigen mensch*, 229pp, 8°, Amsterdam, 1684; copy at Amsterdam, Bibl. Wallonne.)
130. *Emmanuel ou la Connoissance de Jesus Christ Notre Seigneur...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1683. (441pp, 8°. Copy at Leiden, Bibl. Thysiana.)
131. *Idée de la Vraye Religion.* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1684. (214pp, 8°. Copy at Oxford, All Souls Coll., Codrington Libr. Dutch edn., *Ontdecking van de ware religie...*, Amsterdam, 1685; not traced.)
132. *Preservatyf tegen de Verleyding... Nevens de Bevesting der Waerheden..., door't Onderzoek van't gene D. Brakel daer tegen ingebracht heeft...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1684. (760pp, 8°. In six tracts, incl. a reworking of nos.120 and 127, plus *Van de boven-natuurlicke Preparatien...tot de...ware Wedergeboorte; Uytlegging van het sevende Capittel van den Brief tot de Romeynen; De Twederley Liefde...; Van de Aenneming der personen tot de Kerkelyke Gemeynschap...* The whole in reply to Brakel's *Trouwvertige Waerschouwinge...* (see pt. C). Copy at Leiden, UB. Molleerus, *Cimbria Litt.*, II, 1021, lists a French edn., *Preservatif contre la séduction*, not traced.)
133. *Les Ornemens mondains; ou le luxe du siècle condamné par l'Ecriture sainte...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1684. (Copy at Geneva, BPU. Dutch edn., *Van de wereltsche vercierselen*, Amsterdam, 1685; copy at Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl.)
134. *Le Mariage Chrétien. Sa sainteté et ses devoirs...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1685. (410pp, 8°. Copy at Amsterdam, Bibl. Wallonne. Dutch edn., *Het christelyk Huwelick*, Amsterdam, 1686; copy at Leeuwarden, Prov. Bibl.)
135. *W. Brakels Onbillicke en Verkeerde Handelingge geopenbaert...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1685. (316pp, 8°. Reply to Brakel's *Leere en ley-*

- dinge der Labadisten*, see pt. C. Copy at Leiden, Bibl. Thysiana.)
136. *La Porte du Christianisme, ou la justification par la foy et le renoncement à soy-meme.* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1685. (Copy at Amsterdam, UB.)
137. *Beslyt van de schriften sedert eenige tijdt aen't licht gegeven...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1686. (A further reply to Brakel, esp. of his *Yvon van vele dwalingen overtuigt*, see pt. C. Copy at Marburg, UB.)
138. *Abolition du Sabat Juif ou Demonstration...qui jamais Jesus Christ & les Apôtres ne parlent du Sabat pour en recommander l'observation...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1687. (Copy at Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibl.)
139. *La Chose sainte aux Saints; ou de la légitime participation... de la sainte Cène...* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1687. (849pp, 8°. Copy at Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Dutch edn., *Het Heylige voor de Heyligen*, Amsterdam, 1687 (733pp, 8°). Copy at Leiden, UB.)
140. *Van de ware en saligmakende kennisse Gods en Jesu Christi onses Heeren.* Amsterdam, J. van de Velde, 1689. (Copy at Utrecht, UB. Supposedly translated from French, but no copy traced. Mollerus, *Cimbria litt.* II, 1022, lists a German edn., *Wahre und seligmachende Erkänntniß Gottes...*, Amsterdam, 1689; not traced.)
141. *Caractere de la vieille et de la nouvelle Alliance...* Rotterdam, 1702. (Ref. Mollerus, *Cimbria Litt.* II, 1021; not traced. Dutch edn., *De regten aard van't oude en nieuwe verbond... Mitsgaders een korte verhandelinge van den weg des vredes, en den ingang in de ware ruste.* Rotterdam, 1704; copy at Amsterdam, Bibl. Wallonne.)
142. *Idée generale, ordre et denouïement de l'Apocalypse...* Rotterdam, 1706. (Copy at Amsterdam, Bibl. Wallonne. Dutch edn., *Generaal vertoog, order en ontvouwinge van de Openbaringe Joannis*, Rotterdam, 1707; copy at Utrecht, UB.)
143. *Van de Reden en van't Geloof, Hare Eigenschappen, en haar waar en wezentlyk Onderscheid.* Rotterdam, B. Bos, 1707. (44pp, 8°. Copy at Amsterdam, UB. Supposedly translated from French, but no such edn. traced.)
144. *Van't Ware Woord Gods.* Rotterdam, B. Bos, 1707. (24pp, 8°. Appended to no.143. Copy at Amsterdam, UB.)
145. *Abrégé sincere de la vie et de la conduite et des vrais sentimens de feu Mr. Delabadie.* (In Gottfried Arnold, *Forsetzungen und Erläuterungen, Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, Frankfurt a.M., 1715, pp.1234-1270. Dutch edn. (234pp, 8°), *Oprecht verhael van het leven...*, Amsterdam, 1754; copy at Amsterdam, UB. German edn., *Kürtzliche und aufrichtige Vorstellung...*, in 1741 Schaffhausen reprint of Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, 984-1029.)

*Jasper Danckaerts*

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*Anonymous*

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## Abbreviations

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| AE .....           | Archives d'Etat   |
| AN .....           | Archives Nationales   |
| AR .....           | Algemeen Rijksarchief   |
| BL .....           | British Library   |
| BN .....           | Bibliothèque Nationale  |
| BPU .....          | Bibliothèque Publique et<br>Universitaire                             |
| <i>BSHPF</i> ..... | <i>Bulletin, Société de l'histoire du<br/>protestantisme Français</i> |
| KB .....           | Koninklijke Bibliotheek;<br>Kongelige Bibliotek                       |
| <i>RGP</i> .....   | <i>Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën</i>                              |
| UB .....           | Universitätsbibliothek;<br>Universiteitsbibliotheek                   |

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