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Laborie, L.P.F.; Laborie, LP.F.; Hessayon, A.

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Huguenot Prophecies in Eighteenth-Century France¹

Lionel Laborie

Leiden University

The French eighteenth century was prophetic. It was no different in this respect from previous centuries, even though its historiography remains heavily dominated by the Enlightenment. Early modern France saw numerous outbursts of religious enthusiasm, supernatural claims and prophecies, especially in areas that had been torn by denominational tensions. In the 1630s, the city of Loudun, home to a large Protestant population, became notorious after possessed Ursuline nuns accused the priest Urbain Grandier (1590-1634) of signing a pact with the devil, for which he was publicly burnt at the stake at Cardinal Richelieu's request.² A decade later, a mystical society worshipping medals appeared in Lorraine, while in Paris, Simon Morin's "Illuminés" prophesied into the 1650s and 1660s that the Reign of the Holy Spirit would begin at Louis XIV's death.³ Around the same time, the

¹ I am grateful to David van der Linden, Ariel Hessayon and William Mitchell for their comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this chapter.

² See Michel de Certeau, *La Possession de Loudun* (Paris: 1980). This notorious episode has also inspired works of popular fiction, for example Aldous Huxley's *The Devils of Loudun* (1952) and Ken Russell's *The Devils* (1971).

³ Sophie Houdard, "La Cabale des Médailistes. Une affaire de spiritualité 'extraordinaire' à Nancy (1644-1648)", *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà, Edizioni di storia e letteratura* (2018), 41-57; Bérengère Parmentier, "Radicalité et illégitimité", *Archives de*

Jesuit-turned-Jansenist-turned-Huguenot-turned-Pietist Jean de Labadie (1610-1674) roamed across France, believing himself to be divinely inspired and preaching millenarian doctrines along the way until he found refuge in the Dutch Republic.⁴

Contrary to the common perception of an age of rationalism and secularisation, these phenomena continued into the eighteenth century. Numerous prophets, mystics, and visionaries enlightened by the Holy Ghost emerged in France during the Age of Reason. The death of the deacon François de Pâris in 1727 famously inspired the Convulsionaries of Saint-Médard, a Jansenist movement with thousands of followers making claims to prophecy, the gift of tongues and miraculous cures.⁵ Although the original group was dissolved by the French authorities in 1732, satellite communities such as the Eliséens and the Pinelists survived in the provinces.⁶ Lyon became the centre of convulsionary Jansenism until the

sciences sociales des religions, 150 (April-June 2010), 57-76. See more generally on this period, Sophie Houdard, *Les Invasions mystiques. Spiritualités, hétérodoxies et censures au début de l'époque moderne* (Paris: 2008).

⁴ See Pierre Antoine Fabre, Nicolas Fornerod, Sophie Houdard, Maria-Cristina Pitassi (eds), *Lire Jean de Labadie (1610-1674) - Fondation et affranchissement* (Paris: 2016).

⁵ Catherine-Laurence Maire, *Les Convulsionnaires de Saint-Médard. Miracles, convulsions et prophéties à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: 1985).

⁶ The priest Pierre Vaillant proclaimed himself to be the reincarnation of the prophet Elias and led his own sect of “Vaillantistes” or “Eliséens”, while his contemporary the Oratorian Alexandre Darnaud pretended to be the prophet Enoch. The Pinelist movement was led by Michel Pinel (d.1775), who prophesied Elias’s return on earth and the imminent conversion of the Jews. *La Bastille dévoilée, ou recueil des pieces authentiques pour servir a son histoire* (Paris: 1789), 67-68, 89. Jean-Pierre Chantin, *Les Amis de l'œuvre de la vérité. Jansénisme, miracles et fin du monde au XIX^e siècle* (Lyon: 1998), 10-11.

French Revolution. Ecstatic nuns prophesied the near fall of the monarchy and the destruction of Paris, followed by massive bloodshed throughout the 1740s-1780s. One of these, sister Aile, predicted under inspiration in April 1787: “There shall be no escape from the Revolution... All I see is but ambushes and precipices, blood flowing all around me. I hear weapons clanking; the king’s palace is destroyed, his crown taken back. I find myself trapped in this abyss, in the midst of so great a revolution.”⁷ Such was the confidence among the Jansenist revival that dramatic events would soon unfold that some sought to atone for the woes of their time with spectacular bodily performances. Still in 1787, a prophetess was thus voluntarily crucified by the movement inside the church of Fareins near Lyon as a symbol of death and rebirth announcing greater things to come.⁸ The Convulsionaries became politically divided during the French Revolution, but remained active well into the nineteenth century.

Other parts of France saw similar phenomena in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In the 1770s and 1780s, the Swedenborg Rite and the Illuminati of Mount Tabor respectively founded a masonic lodge with the support of local aristocrats and Jacobite exiles in the Papal State of Avignon, based on the writings of the Swedish mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) and the German theosopher Jacob Boehme (1575-1624).⁹ Around the same time, an autochthonous Quaker community was emerging in the nearby Vaunage

⁷ Daniel Vidal, “Expériences de fin du monde: Un Jansénisme en convulsion, un calvinisme en prophétie”, *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 114 (2001), 26. All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

⁸ Vidal, “Expériences de fin du monde”, 27.

⁹ Ariel Hessayon, “Jacob Boehme, Emanuel Swedenborg and Their Readers”, *The arms of Morpheus-Essays on Swedenborg and Mysticism* (2007), 33.

valley in Languedoc, while Moravian missionaries were traveling across southern France and established a community of United Brethren in Bordeaux.¹⁰

Paris was not spared by eschatological predictions in the late eighteenth century. The Elysée palace, today's official residence of French presidents, stood at the centre of this fascination for the occult. Its owner, Louise Marie Thérèse Bathilde d'Orléans (1750-1822), Duchess of Bourbon and Louis XVI's cousin, was a freemason and supporter of the Revolution despite her title of royal princess. Her regular guests and occasional residents included the Illuminists Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin (1743-1803) --aka *le Philosophe inconnu*-- and Jacques Cazotte (1719-1792), the founding fathers of animal magnetism Franz-Anton Mesmer (1734-1815) and the Marquis de Puységur (1751-1825), and the constitutional bishops Claude Fauchet (1744-1793) and Pierre Pontard (1749-1832). The latter introduced the Duchess to the Périgord prophetess Suzette Labrousse (1747-1821), who had allegedly predicted the French Revolution. Labrousse became a guest resident of the Elysée palace, and Pontard founded *Le Journal prophétique* in 1791, financed by Bathilde d'Orléans herself, to publish his protégée's predictions of revolutionary millenarianism. Another prophetess soon joined the assemblies of the Elysée palace: Catherine Théot (1736-1801) ran her own temple on the rue de la Contrescarpe, and counted among her followers a certain Maximilien de Robespierre.¹¹

¹⁰ Lionel Laborie, "From English *Trembleurs* to French *Inspirés*: A Transnational Perspective on the Origins of French Quakerism (1654-1789)", in *Radicalism and Dissent in the World of Protestant Reform*, ed. Anorthe Kremers and Bridget Heal (Gottingen: 2017), 225-244; Dieter Gembicki and Heidi Gembicki-Achtnich (eds), *Le Réveil des coeurs. Journal de voyage du Frère Morave Fries (1761-1762)* (Saintes: 2013).

¹¹ Nicole Jacques-Levèvre, "1789: interprétations eschatologiques de la Révolution française", in *Révolutions du moderne, colloque interdisciplinaire, Université Paris X-*

It should come as no surprise in this context that hundreds of titles on prophets and prophecies and supernatural manifestations were published in eighteenth-century France. Many of these offered exegeses of biblical prophecies by theologians, but the predictions of famed early modern prophets and mystics like Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), Michel de Nostredame aka Nostradamus (1503-1566), Jacob Boehme, and Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) were also reprinted and translated in the last decades of the century. Many new ones also emerged around that time, inspired by a growing feeling of a universal regeneration. In many ways, the French Revolution marked a peak in the literary production of a prophetic century.

Chapter focus

The present chapter focusses on the oral prophetic culture of the Protestants of Languedoc and Dauphiné in the “long” eighteenth century. Louis XIV’s military campaigns in southern France --the *dragonnades*-- had coerced French Protestants to abjure their faith in the early 1680s. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685 ended nearly a century of tolerance, forcing most Huguenots to convert as “nouveaux catholiques”, while some 200,000 fled their homeland to seek refuge abroad. Those refusing to abjure thereafter survived underground to avoid persecution until the French Revolution, a period of clandestinity known as the “Désert”, in reference to the Jews fleeing Egypt.¹² In Languedoc and Dauphiné,

Nanterre, 6-9 décembre 2000, ed. Daniela Galligani, Claude Leroy, André Magnan et Baldine Saint Girons (Paris-Méditerranée: 2004), 271-281.

¹² Didier Boisson, “The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the Désert”, in *A Companion to the Huguenots*, ed. Raymond Mentzer and Bertrand van Ruymbeke (Leiden: 2016), 221-245.

where religious tensions had remained palpable throughout the seventeenth century, the Revocation sparked a new wave of revolts.

More importantly, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes gave birth to several generations of prophets animated by millenarian beliefs anticipating a future era of peace and justice. Charismatic lay preachers replaced exiled ministers and held clandestine assemblies in the remote mountains of Dauphiné and the Cévennes. Abandoned by their shepherds to lead them, the flocks were now left free to wander by themselves into new pasture. In a context of renewed persecution, the Protestants of the Cévennes and Dauphiné rapidly embraced an ethos of martyrdom as a divine trial of God's "true church".¹³ Their resistance climaxed in the Camisards' revolt or War of the Cévennes, from which I present sources below. Between 1702 and 1710, peasant prophets allegedly inspired by the Holy Spirit waged a violent rebellion against state persecution and fought what is today reappraised as the last French war of religion.¹⁴

The death of Louis XIV in 1715 opened a new chapter in the history of French Protestantism. Between 1715 and 1760, the Huguenot minister Antoine Court (1695-1760) rebuilt and re-institutionalised the Reformed Church in Languedoc and Dauphiné as it existed before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Under Court's leadership, clandestine assemblies resumed in forests and at night during the Regency (1715-1723) and under Louis XV (r.1724-1774). The reconstruction of the Church was a slow and risky process, as Huguenots continued to face waves of sporadic persecution, when ministers were executed, men sent to the galleys and women imprisoned. Court's restoration of Calvinist orthodoxy entailed the condemnation of violence, claims to prophecy and female preachers. It sought to

¹³ W. Gregory Monahan, *Let God Arise: The War and Rebellion of the Camisards* (Oxford: 2014), 21-35.

¹⁴ Monahan, *Let God Arise*.

quell the prophetic culture and violence of the post-Revocation period by advocating instead passive resistance as the sole response to ongoing persecution.¹⁵

Despite Court's efforts to restore Calvinist discipline and ministry, lay prophetic movements continued to emerge in Languedoc and Dauphiné, as the sources presented below illustrate. The cult of the Multipliers, founded in 1719 by a recanted Camisard, counted several hundred followers across the Vaunage valley by the time its leaders were caught in Montpellier in 1723. Their ecumenical movement practiced the gift of tongues, allowed women to prophesy and anticipated Christ's Second Coming later that year. More surprising still, and unlike the Camisards before them, the Multipliers appealed primarily to the literate, urban bourgeoisie of Lunel, Montpellier and Nîmes, and held clandestine assemblies away from the ongoing persecution of the Huguenots in the region.¹⁶

Official documents and correspondence attest to further regular prophetic outbreaks in the region in the following decades, for which no first-hand account appears to have survived. These often coincided with major geopolitical turmoil in Europe, which French authorities feared might fuel new rebellions like the Camisards' during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). In 1745, during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), for example, the prophet Maroger predicted under inspiration that his followers, the Couflaïres of Nages, would be carried by an angel to an English island, of which he would be

¹⁵ Hubert Bost, "De la Secte à l'Église. La Quête de légitimité dans le protestantisme meridional au XVIIIe siècle", *Rives méditerranéennes* 10 (2002), 53-68; Pierre Rolland, *Dictionnaire du Désert huguenot: La Reconquête protestante (1715-1765)* (Paris: 2017).

¹⁶ Daniel Vidal, "La Secte contre le prophétisme: les Multipliers de Montpellier (1719-1723)", *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 37/4 (1982), 801-825.

crowned king.¹⁷ And while some charismatic ministers continued to encourage a rebellion in the Cévennes during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), a few hundred Huguenots fled to England and South Carolina with Jean-Louis Gibert by the time the conflict ended.¹⁸

By the 1760s, with a changing international context marked by the rise of Protestant powers and the spread of Enlightenment ideas in Europe, religious violence began to decline progressively in Languedoc and Dauphiné. France came out weakened and heavily indebted from the Seven Years' War; Louis XV began to distance himself from Rome and tacitly tolerate the Huguenots as he increasingly depended upon the support of Swiss bankers.¹⁹ With the executions of François Rochette and Jean Calas, which Voltaire helped publicise together with the Sirven affair, the year 1762/63 marked the end of Huguenot persecution in France.²⁰ The last female prisoners detained in the so-called Tower of Constance in Aigues-Mortes were gradually released by the end of 1768.²¹ Despite the Edict of Versailles in

¹⁷ Montpellier, Archives départementales de l'Hérault (hereafter ADH), C 218 (liasse), fols 262-358, here fol. 264v.

¹⁸ Geoffrey Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787: The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration* (Waterloo, Ont.: 1991), 46, note 22; London, Lambeth Palace Library (hereafter LPL), Ms 1122/3, fols 170-216.

¹⁹ Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion*, 197-306.

²⁰ François Rochette was the last Huguenot minister to be executed for preaching illegally, in 1762. Jean-Paul Sirven, a Protestant craftsman in Mazamet, was wrongfully sentenced to be burned at the stake for murdering his daughter the same year, allegedly to prevent her from converting to Catholicism. Sirven and his family had fled to Switzerland before the trial. The family was rehabilitated thanks to Voltaire's help in 1771. Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion*, 143, 151, 224-226.

²¹ Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion*, 204-205.

1787,²² which did not restore tolerance, but only gave the Huguenots a legal identity, episodes of religious violence resurfaced sporadically thereafter, as the “Bagarre de Nîmes”, the massacres of Avignon, and the riots of Montauban and Uzès in 1790-91 demonstrate.²³

Selected sources

Prophetic discourse and millenarian beliefs remained the backbone of the French Protestant resistance for most of the eighteenth century. But studying an oral prophetic culture implies by definition that printed sources are scarce. These prophecies typically emanated from illiterate teenage shepherds with no access to a printing press and who would have faced royal censorship anyway. None of the sources presented here were published in France at the time and very few survive in manuscript form today as a result. They did, however, make their way to Protestant territories as far as New England, where they were promoted as evidence of God’s providential manifestation among his true believers. The support of prominent theologians like Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713), Cotton Mather (1663-1728) and

²² The Edict of Versailles is often wrongly presented as an edict of tolerance, even though the term “tolerance” does not appear in the text. Instead, the edict created a civil register of non-Catholics that allowed French Protestants to marry, baptise their children and inherit according to the law. Roman Catholicism was reasserted as France’s official religion and Protestants remained excluded from positions in the public service, education and the military. They were granted freedom of conscience by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in August 1789, but did not obtain freedom of worship until September 1791.

²³ Céline Borello, “Les Sources d’une altérité religieuse en révolution: Rabaut Saint-Étienne ou la radicalisation des représentations protestantes”, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 378 (2014), 32-33.

August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) convinced many that supernatural manifestations signalled the triumph of Protestantism, leading to the fall of Rome and its Catholic allies, chief among whom was France.

Ironically, our understanding of this oral prophetic culture is largely obstructed by the Huguenots themselves. Indeed, orthodox Huguenots downplayed the prophetic claims of their co-religionists of Dauphiné and the Cévennes, and emphasised instead the political benefits of supporting a Protestant rebellion in France. Yet the clandestine assemblies of charismatic lay preachers that spread across southern France from the 1680s onwards also deserve our attention in that they prefigured the open field preaching of the Great Evangelical Awakening. Preachers like Claude Brousson (1647-1698) achieved international fame during their lifetime and maintained personal links with British evangelicals and German Pietists.²⁴

Thus, the sources presented below aim to give back a voice to a silenced oral prophetic culture of resistance. They consist primarily of fragments of prophecies pronounced in Languedoc and Dauphiné between 1688 and 1755. Some, as shall be seen, were published abroad in the aftermath of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes as testimonies of Louis XIV's brutality against French Protestants. Others only survive in manuscript form and for that reason offer a rare insight into the oral prophetic culture of Southern France in the long eighteenth century.

1. Isabeau Vincent and the “petits prophètes” of Dauphiné

²⁴ Alan C. Clifford, “Reformed Pastoral Theology Under the Cross: John Quick and Claude Brousson”, *Western Reformed Seminary Journal*, vol. 5/1 (1998), 21-35. Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek (FB Gotha), Chart. A 306, fols 194-195. On Brousson's life, see Walter C. Utt and Brian Eugene Strayer, *The Bellicose Dove: Claude Brousson and Protestant Resistance to Louis XIV, 1647-1698* (Brighton: 2003).

The first four texts concern the famous case of Isabeau Vincent and the “petits prophètes” of Dauphiné. Shortly after the Revocation, voices of inspired children allegedly began to be heard at night in the southern mountains of Béarn, Vivarais and the Cévennes. The most charismatic of these was Isabeau Vincent, a fifteen-year old shepherdess from nearby Crest in Dauphiné, who from February 1688 prophesied the imminent fall of Rome and the deliverance of God’s true church. Most remarkably, Vincent prophesied in her sleep and in French instead of her native dialect. Her condition rapidly gained popularity across Dauphiné until she was imprisoned in Grenoble in June 1688 and disappeared in a convent shortly afterwards, after having inspired dozens of young prophets in the region.

The first account of her prophecies (1.1.) was published by Jacques Massard in Amsterdam in 1688 as *Abrégé de l’histoire de la bergère de Saou près de Crest en Dauphiné*. Massard, a physician from Grenoble who turned mystic after he emigrated to Amsterdam around 1685, had evidently retained local contacts in Dauphiné that enabled him to first report on Vincent’s case a few months before the famous Huguenot theologian Pierre Jurieu in Rotterdam.²⁵ The text is a transcription made by a lawyer named Gerlan, who witnessed Vincent’s prophecies on 20 May 1688. It was subsequently reproduced in Jurieu’s *Lettres pastorales*, a series of open letters addressed to the clandestine Protestant community of southern France.

The remaining three fragments (1.2.-1.4.) are reproduced from various English translations that circulated in 1689-90. Vincent’s prophecies rapidly took a particular resonance in England and the Dutch Republic as the Glorious Revolution seemed to fulfil her prediction for the autumn of 1688.²⁶ The *Abrégé* includes astrological predictions concerning

²⁵ On Massard, see Leslie Tuttle and Kristine Wirts’s chapter in this volume.

²⁶ *Lettre d’un gentilhomme de Dauphiné à un de ses amis à Geneve. Contenant ce qu’il a oïi dire d’Isabeau Vincent Bergere* (Amsterdam: 1688); *Pertinent verhaal van de propheet, die*

England for October, November and December 1688 (pp. 17-21). These are also attributed to Vincent, but were in reality a French translation of John Partridge's astrological predictions.²⁷ For this reason, they have not been included in our selection below.

2. Daniel Raoux

The next section consists of a fragment of a sermon allegedly pronounced by the prophet Daniel Raoux around 1701. Little is known about this charismatic ploughman who was executed in 1701. The text is important for two reasons: First because Raoux is generally regarded as having introduced prophetism from Dauphiné into the Cévennes on the eve of the Camisards' revolt (1702-1710). Second because French Quakers, who also appeared in Languedoc in the eighteenth century, hold him as one of their forefathers.²⁸ Raoux may therefore be considered as the link between three charismatic traditions, namely Vincent and the infant prophets of Dauphiné; the Camisards in the Cévennes; and French Quakers in the Vaunage valley. His sermon was copied towards the end of the eighteenth century by the Quakers of Congénies. It was sent to the Society of Friends in England and probably translated by the former officer and physician Jean Louis Lecointe de Marcillac (1755-1818).

in Vrankryk is opgestaan (Amsterdam: 1688); *Nader berricht, Aangaande een Herderin In't Dauphiné, daar God wonderlijke en bovennatuurlijke dingen tot een yders verwondering in uitwerkt* (s.n.: 1688).

²⁷ *Mene Tekel, Being an Astrological Judgment on the Great and Wonderful Year 1688. Deduced From the True and Genuine Principles of That Art: Shewing the Approaching Catastrophe of Popery in England, &c.* (London: 1688), 14-15.

²⁸ Laborie, "From English Trembleurs to French Inspirés", 229-230.

Both the original transcript and the English translation reproduced below survive in the Friends House Library, London.²⁹

3. The Camisards

Part three consists of two prophecies (3.1. and 3.2.) delivered by the Camisards Durand Fage and Jean Cavalier upon their arrival in London in the summer 1706. The Camisards were a radical minority within the Huguenot community who revolted against Catholic persecution from 1702 in the Cévennes mountains. After an initial truce in 1704, the region was pacified the following year, but sporadic outbreaks of violence continued until 1710.³⁰ Throughout the war, the Camisards were driven by their own bellicose prophetic culture, justifying their guerrilla warfare with divine inspirations. As a result, few written accounts of the Camisards' prophetic culture survive; most come from their Catholic opponents and are by definition heavily biased.

Although both were pronounced in England, the two prophecies presented below were delivered shortly after their departure from the Cévennes and therefore offer a rare, first-hand insight into the Camisards' oral prophetic culture. Fage and Cavalier spoke in the presence of Huguenot refugees in London, including prominent diplomats like the Marquis de Miremont³¹ and the Dutch ambassador Henri Saunière de l'Hermitage. Their prophecies were

²⁹ London, Library of the Society of Friends (hereafter LSF), Ms Vol. 314, nos 1-2; LSF, Ms Vol. 315, fols 13-15.

³⁰ Monahan, *Let God Arise*, 212-252.

³¹ Lionel Laborie, "Bourbon, Armand de, marquis de Miremont (1655-1732)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*) online (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/109568>, accessed 27 May 2016).

copied by scribes such as the Swiss mathematician Nicolas Fatio de Duillier,³² the travel writer François-Maximilien Misson³³ and the lawyer Jean Daudé. Unlike Daniel Raoux's sermon, their prophecies appear defiantly bellicose in content; they compared the Camisards' resistance to the plight of the Jews in the Bible and aimed by their apocalyptic tone to raise a regiment of Huguenot exiles led by Miremont to rekindle the rebellion in the Cévennes.

Fage and Cavalier were joined in London by the more prominent prophet Elie Marion in September 1706.³⁴ The three Camisards and their Huguenot scribes formed the core of a new millenarian movement soon to be known in England as the "French Prophets".³⁵ Marion's apocalyptic prophecies were published in both French and English in April 1707 and attracted a wider audience of British millenarians, including Philadelphians, Quakers and Scottish Quietists.³⁶ Their charismatic movement spread across Britain, Protestant Europe and North America, and influenced Pietist revivals and the Evangelical Awakening along the way. Fage and Cavalier's prophecies therefore take us back to the very origins of the French

³² Scott Mandelbrote, "Fatio, Nicolas, of Duillier (1664-1753)", *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9056>, accessed 30 July 2007).

³³ Craig Spence, "Misson, Francis Maximilian (c.1650-1722)", *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18821>, accessed 14 March 2013).

³⁴ Lionel Laborie, "Marion, Elie (1678-1713)", *ODNB* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/109569>, accessed 19 Feb 2019).

³⁵ Lionel Laborie "French Prophets", *ODNB* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.013.109707>, accessed 9 May 2018).

³⁶ Lionel Laborie, *Enlightening Enthusiasm: Prophecy and Religious Experience in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Manchester: 2015). On the Philadelphian Society and the Scottish Quietists, see respectively Ariel Hessayon and Michael Riordan's chapters in volume 3 of this collection.

Prophets in London, before Marion's arrival, with prophecies delivered as they were in the Cévennes. Both manuscripts are preserved today at Lambeth Palace Library in London and are published here for the first time.³⁷

4. Isaac Elzière and the New Zionists

Part four reproduces a fragment delivered under inspiration by the prophet Isaac Elzière of Sauve around 1742. Elzière was the charismatic leader of the "sect of the New Zion", a non-violent millenarian community that was first reported in Quissac near the Cévennes in 1736. A Huguenot by birth, Elzière may have been a former Multipliant survivor after they were crushed by French authorities in the previous decade. He is also known to have travelled to Switzerland, Germany, the Low Countries and England in the early 1730s before founding his own millenarian community in Languedoc.³⁸

In line with the revivalist movements of England and Germany, these New Zionists believed that because the reigns of the Father and of the Son were over, the prophetic age of the Holy Spirit had now come.³⁹ Accordingly, they burned the Old and New Testaments and read instead the French Prophets' works *Eclair de lumière descendant des Cieux* (1711), *Cri d'alarme en avertissement aux nations* (1712) and *Plan de la justice de Dieu sur la Terre* (1714).⁴⁰ All three titles were collections of prophecies pronounced by Elie Marion and Jean

³⁷ LPL, Ms 932/10 and Ms 934/52.

³⁸ Samuel Ribard, "Un Inspiré, Isaac Elzière, de Saint-Ambroix, d'après ses manuscrits."

Bulletin historique et littéraire 40/1 (1891), 365-372.

³⁹ ADH, C 509, no. 158.

⁴⁰ ADH, C 509, no. 174.

Allut during their missions across continental Europe.⁴¹ The fact that they inspired the New Zionists indicates a French reception of the Camisards' writings a quarter of a century after their publications abroad.

The text presented here is entitled "Le Flambeau de Justice" --*The Torch of Justice*-- and is the only known fragment surviving from the "sect of the New Zion". It circulated in the Cévennes in the nineteenth century and was published by Samuel Ribard in 1891, but the original now appears to have been lost. Its title and ecumenical tone suggest that Elzière may have been influenced by the French Prophets and other millenarian movements during his travels abroad. Because of his emphasis on non-violence, passive contemplation and charismatic preaching, Elzière is considered today as the first French Quaker theologian.⁴²

5. Paul Rabaut

The final source is a sermon delivered in 1755 by the Huguenot minister Paul Rabaut (1718-1794). Rabaut was a leading figure of the clandestine church of the Désert alongside Antoine Court. From 1741, he was in charge of the church of Nîmes and dedicated his life to the defence of the rights of French Protestants and the relief of the female prisoners of the Tower

⁴¹ Lionel Laborie, "Spreading the Seed: Toward a French Millenarian Network in Pietist Germany?", In *Kriminelle-Freidenker-alchemisten. Räume Des Untergrunds in Der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Martin Mulsow and Michael Multhammer (Köln/Weimar/Wien: 2014), 99-117, esp. 103-108.

⁴² Jean-Paul Chabrol, "Mémoire et identité religieuse: la 'légende' des Couflaïres de la Vaunage", in *La Vaunage au XVIIIe siècle* (Nîmes: 2003), 5-7.

of Constance.⁴³ His son, the minister Jean-Paul Rabaut Saint-Étienne (1743-1793), followed in his footsteps. The Marquis de Lafayette, encouraged by George Washington, visited the Rabauts in Nîmes during the summer of 1785. He reportedly heard them preach and exhorted Rabaut Saint-Etienne to meet secretary of state Malesherbes in Paris and help draft the Edict of Versailles of 1787, which granted civil rights to French Protestants. Rabaut Saint-Etienne became a deputy for the Third Estate during the French Revolution. He was executed during the Terror in December 1793, while Rabaut was imprisoned in Nîmes until Robespierre's fall in July 1794 and died shortly after his release.⁴⁴

Rabaut wrote numerous sermons throughout his long ministry in the Cévennes. None were printed during his lifetime and only a few have been published since the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ The one presented here remains in manuscript form. It is preserved at the Bibliothèque du Protestantisme français in Paris.⁴⁶ It was preached in the Désert on the eve of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), which saw the rise of Protestant powers in Europe. Rabaut not only drew upon biblical prophecies, but also saw in this changing political landscape the impending deliverance of the clandestine Huguenot community in France. This sermon is all the more interesting as Huguenot ministers under Antoine Court's leadership

⁴³ He is the author of *Très humble et très respectueuse requête des protestants de la province de Languedoc au roy* (1761). See <https://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/paul-rabaut-1718-1794-2/>, accessed 14 February 2019).

⁴⁴ Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion*, 268-277; André Dupont, *Rabaut Saint-Etienne 1743-1793. Un protestant défenseur de la liberté religieuse* (Genève: 1989).

⁴⁵ Paul Rabaut, *La Livrée de l'Église chrétienne, sermon... prêché au désert, le 23 avril 1750* (Paris: 1829); Albert Monod, *Les Sermons de Paul Rabaut, pasteur du Désert (1738-1785)* (Paris: 1911).

⁴⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque du protestantisme français (hereafter BPF), MS 716/3, no. 28.

had long condemned prophecies after the trauma of the Camisards' revolt. But Rabaut was not alone in anticipating the deliverance of his church based on Daniel's prophecy.⁴⁷ His sermon therefore illustrates the persisting importance of millenarian interpretations among the Huguenot community.

⁴⁷ "The Gibert Brothers", (<http://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-gibert-brothers/>, accessed 18 Jun 2014).

1. Isabeau Vincent's Prophecies

* * *

1.1. A LETTER From a Gentleman of DAUPHINE To one of his Friends at GENEVA, Containing what he heard said of ISABEL VINCENT THE SHEPERDESS. Printed first at Geneva, and Reprinted at Amsterdam, and now done into English from the French Copy.⁴⁸

[p. 55] *The Following Words were related to me by persons worthy of Credit, who heard them themselves.*

There will be a Year in which the Sacks will be dearer than the Corn: The Second Year, will be followed with a Famin: And the Third, with a Pestilence that shall begin one the side of Rome, the Friday before Easter day: Since you cannot Communicate at Easter,⁴⁹ you would

⁴⁸ Pierre Jurieu, *The Reflections of the Reverend and Learned Monsieur Jurieu, Upon the Strange and Miraculous Exstasies of Isabel Vincent, the Shepherdess of Saov in Dauphiné. To Which is Added a Letter of a Gentleman in Dauphiné* (London: 1689), 50-57. This passage is a contemporaneous English translation from *Abrégé de l'histoire de la bergère de Saou près de Crest en Dauphiné* (Amsterdam: 1688) and the spelling has been preserved here. The letter in the original French copy is dated 14 June 1688.

⁴⁹ All Protestant temples had been closed --and many demolished-- with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685. Protestants were no longer allowed to worship in public thereafter.

do well to fast: This was the Day on which *Jesus Christ* did Eat the *Paschal Lamb*: and if you cannot Communicate in publick, do it in private, and what you have done in secret, he shall repay you openly.

There is a little Root that shall encrease by little and little: Our deliverance also shall come by little and little, like this little Root.

If any come that are not of the Faithful, I shall catch them, for I will say nothing at all.

[p. 56] Have a care you come not hither out of Curiosity: God will not be well pleased if the Wicked come to make them sport: Better it were for them that hot Coals of Fire should pass through their Mouths, than that they should mock at the Word of God: They had better swallow a Serpent with all its Poyson: For a Serpent wounds but the Body: but *Satans* Poyson wounds both Body and Soul.

If all were observed that I shall say, it would contain as much as three Bibles of a Cubit Heighth.

It is not I that speak, but the Spirit that is within me:⁵⁰ In the later Days your young People shall prophesy, and your Old Men shall dream Dreams.⁵¹

If you pray, you shall obtain Mercy: for a Servant cannot receive his Salary if he hath not Faithfully served: Do not you like the Foolish Virgins: Keep your Lamps ready:⁵² Have a care lest the Measure being full, the Lot do not fall upon you, but that your Fervent Prayers may make it fall upon your Enemies. Our Lord hath given us Forty two Months of

⁵⁰ The prophets of Languedoc and Dauphiné always claimed to act as God's passive instruments. The Holy Spirit allegedly spoke through them while possessed, and they did not remember what had been said when they woke up from their inspirations.

⁵¹ Joel 2:28; Acts 2:17.

⁵² Matt. 25:1.

Persecution,⁵³ we have no longer time to suffer, and our deliverance shall be in the time of the Vintage.

The Day on which our Lord *Jesus Christ* was Crucified, which was upon *Fryday*, in the beginning of the said Month there shall be a great Persecution, but it will not last: He will yet have Mercy upon such as have turned, but not upon such as have taken Pensions.

[p. 57] Observe, that before she [Isabeau Vincent] went to her Bed, she desired that certain Children that were unknown to her might be put out of the Room: And it was believed, that it was that that gave the Spirit occasion to say, That such should go out, that were not capable to understand the Word.

* * *

⁵³ Reference to the three and a half years (1,260 days, or 42 months) ministry of the two witnesses of the Apocalypse (Rev. 11:3-14). At the end of this period, the two witnesses were killed by the beast; their bodies lay unburied for three and a half days before their resurrection and ascension to Heaven. The Huguenots of Dauphiné and the theologian Pierre Jurieu interpreted St John's vision as evidence that French Protestants would be liberated from persecution three and a half years after the Revocation, i.e. in 1689. See Leslie Tuttle and Kristine Wirts's chapter in this volume.

1.2. A sincere and true Relation of what was spoken by the Mouth of ISABEL VINCENT, as she Slept on the 20th of May at Night, in the Year 1688.⁵⁴

[p. 57] After she had Sung the 42d Psalm, *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf braire* (or, *As the Hart panteth, &c*)⁵⁵ unto the next pause, with a clear and Audible Voice, without missing one Musical Note, she then made a little stop, and then spoke of the necessity of hiding the Word of God: saying, that it ought not to be spoken to such as could not understand it: nay, that they ought to be bid go out of the Room. Then she presently fell upon the Persecutions, and Wrongs [p. 58] that had been done to the Faithful, and said, that it was Sin that was the cause of them, and that we ought to avoid the occasions of Sin: saying if you knew the ugliness of Sin, you would be much more afraid of committing it, than you are. And notwithstanding the Evils inflicted upon you, you ought always to say, I will praise the Lord: for God chasteneth whom he loveth, but God will tame all the Wild Beasts that persecute you. She said also That

⁵⁴ Jurieu, *The Reflections of the Reverend and Learned Monsieur Jurieu*, 57-64.

⁵⁵ In October 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, the people of Orthez in Béarn reportedly heard angelic voices singing psalm 42 and others at night. Similar manifestations were observed in the Cévennes and Dauphiné at the same time. *A Wonderful Account From Orthez, in Bearne, and the Cevennes, of Voices Heard in the Air, Singing the Praises of God, in the Words and Tunes of the Psalms; Used By Those of the Reformed Religion: At the Time of Their Cruel and Inhumane Persecution. By the French King: Credliby [Sic] Attested.* (London: 1706), 8. See also Hubert Bost, “L’Apocalypse et les Psaumes dans l’arsenal des Pastorales de Jurieu”, in *Ces Messieurs de la R.P.R.: Histoires et écritures de huguenots, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Hubert Bost (Paris: 2001), 175-213.

we ought to prepare our selves for the Table of the Lord: saying, Let us go and tast [*sic*] of his Paschal Lamb: Take, eat this Body that hath been Crucified for you: and do not believe that Jesus Christ is there in Body and Soul, for he is in Heaven: It is by Faith that we are to penetrate into this Mystery. He should have a good many Bodies to be given to so many People at once: And continuing upon the Subject of the Persecutions made upon the Faithful, she Exhorted them to hold fast, and to Repent: and when God shall come, he will say to the Faithful, *Come*, &c. And continuing to speak of the Assurance we have in his Promises: she said, *The Heavens and the Earth shall pass away, but the Word of God shall continue*. The Wicked shall be mowed down like the Grass that is mowed: wherefore Christians hold fast, and let your Faith be always founded in Jesus Christ, who hath shed his Blood for our Sins. For he that shall persevere to the end, shall receive Eternal Life. We must suffer for his Word, [p. 59] for he saith, He that will love me must bear my Cross. It is upon Jesus Christ that we must bestow our Love: It is he that hath said, *He that shall love another more than me, is not worthy of me*.⁵⁶ The Angels and the Saints groan when they see you in Persecutions. But Christians, have a good Courage, and repent you of your Sins: search his Word, and you will find it by Repentance: obey the Commandments of God and not those of Men: For he that will follow the Commandments of Men, shall dye the death. Be ye assured Christians, that if he loved not his People, he would not Chastize them The People of Israel was always persecuted: but he that shall persevere to the end, shall obtain Eternal life.

Here was a Silence of about half an Hour, and then she resuming her Discourse said:

⁵⁶ Matt. 10:37.

Be not ye surprized, my Brethren, if you have felt the Anger of God: for we have trampled upon his Word, and put it under our Feet: but Repent and Seek God, and he will be in the midst of you. The Wicked shall perish: They shall have Courage enough to harm you now: but they will have no power at the Hour of Death. Have pity upon us O God! We are poor scattered Sheep, thou hast gathered us, according to thy good pleasure, have pity upon us.

Here she stopped for the space of about two hours, and after that she sung about two or three Verses of the Commandments of God in [p. 60] Rhime;⁵⁷ and continuing the Threatnings against the Wicked, that persecute the Faithful, she said, their Efforts and Malice was like the Stones flung against Trees, and like Feathers cast against the Wind. The Wicked shall perish with their Wickednesses, and shall be mowed down like the Grass of the Fields, which is withered. And therefore, Christians, let us refer our selves to God, and then God will refer himself to us, for his Mercy is not yet exhausted. O Lord, marvellous are thy Works: the Wicked shall make a loud enough Cry, but God will no more hear them: he will exterminate them under his hand: But as for the Good, he will say to them, *Come ye Blessed of my Father, possess ye my Inheritance, the Kingdom that was prepared for you before the Foundation of the World*. Let us go then to search the Word of God, and we shall find it: and persevere ye unto the End, and ye shall obtain Eternal Life: For when we search his Word, we search God himself. It is Earthly Goods that have occasioned our Purgatory, and our Destruction: but let us not rely thereon any more, and cease not to bewail your Sins. Look you, there are but two ways in all, that of Hell and that of Paradice: The former of these is a large and spacious way, by which the Wicked go in great Numbers: but the Way of Paradice is strait, they that are laden with Sins cannot pass by it because it is uneven and crooked. They must pass by

⁵⁷ On the Huguenots' love of music and dancing, see Angela McShane, "A Resounding Silence? Huguenots and the Broadside Ballad in the Seventeenth Century", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 28:5 (Summer 2007), 604-25, here 605.

Persecutions to come thither: But to you, Faithful Ones, he will one day say, [p 61] *Come ye Blessed of my Father.* As to the Wicked, he will say to them: *Go to the Eternal Fire which is prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* The Wicked have persecuted you: but, O Faithful Soul! thou oughtest to be assured of this, That *thô* thou diest, thou shalt yet live. Repent you, and Sin no more: for a day will come when you must appear before God. We ought then to fear offending of him, and not to follow the course of the Ungodly: for they shall perish. Let us search his Word, and hide it in our Hearts, and God by his Grace will make his Glory shine upon us. And hereby the Wicked shall be disabled from hurting us, their Arrows shall be broken. Let the Word of God be your Fortress, and then God will bless you, and preserve you from all the Evils that they can do you. He is always the same God, his Arm is not shortned, he has always the same Power. You may assure your selves, that if the Wicked had the same power over God, that they have over you, they would do the very same to him: But God will pronounce the Sentence of Malediction upon them, and will say unto the Wicked, *Go thou into Eternal Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels:* for thou hast persecuted my Children and me. The Wicked cry to God continually, but God doth not hear them, because they have no Repentance: But thou, O Faithful Soul, bless the Eternal God, and say unto him: As long as I shall have a being, I will sing a Psalm unto thee. As for thee, O Wicked Man, thou [p. 62] hast persecuted God, thy Sins are the cause of thy Damnation: And as for you, Faithful Souls, your Sins are the cause of your Persecution: but be not at all amazed at it, we have not suffered so much as Jesus Christ, who is our Master, and could have saved himself: He sees you, he considers you: he is afflicted when he sees the Wicked persecute you.

Here she stopped for some moments, and putting her Nose under the Sheet, she gave three Laughs with a Female Voice, crying, Hé, Hé, Hé.

And presently she sung the *Pater Noster*, as at high Mass, from the beginning to the end, very agreeably: and afterwards said, Do you understand this? This is very like some Profane Songs, and therefore the Wicked have put it into another Language: But when our Lord taught it to his Disciples, he said to them, say thus, *Our Father* &c. and so she repeated it to the end:⁵⁸ Pray then to your Father. Have a care of Worshipping the Saints, and pollute not your selves: for we are the Temple of God, and these Hearts are his Temples. We beseech thee, O God! that thou wouldst pity these poor scattered Sheep. We hope, that of thy Goodness thou wilt gather again thy Flock by thy great Mercy: and if we are at present in Captivity, that thou wilt bring us out of it. After which she again repeated *Our Father* &c. *I believe*, &c. and some little of the *Commandments*, and then said, They observe not him that said, *Thou shalt not Covet*: and, *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*, [p. 63] because they keep many Concubines.⁵⁹ And as for their *Confession*, she said, *The Devil and Judas were the first that made Confession*. And as for the Sacrifice of the *Maß*, she said, It was an Abominable Sacrifice, and that God would say to them one day: You sell my Word, but I did not give it you to sell: But what do I say? It is none of my Word. Thou hast sold Execrable Words: for they sell a *Maß* for Five pence, two for Ten pence, four for Twenty pence and Eight for Forty pence.⁶⁰ Do not go to the Mass, for it is a great Sin, and a mortal Sin: for you abuse the Talents that God hath given you. Those Truckers for Souls, that sell them like Meat in the

⁵⁸ Reference to the Huguenots worshipping in the vernacular, as opposed to the Latin of the Catholic Mass.

⁵⁹ Another attack on Catholic mores, specifically against monks and priests violating their vow of celibacy.

⁶⁰ With the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Huguenots ceased to exist legally. They were referred to as “new converts” --*nouveaux convertis*-- and were forced to attend Mass on Sundays.

Shambles, shall be severely dealt with: because they do not sin through Ignorance. Let us pray to God, Good Christians, that he would pardon our Sins: and let us say to him, *Not unto us Lord, not unto us; but to thy Name be the Glory and Honour*. Have mercy therefore upon thy Children, O Lord! and let not the Wicked say, *Where is their God?* Remember that you ought to search, and observe his Word, that it may be said unto you one day, *Come ye Blessed of my Father*, &c. And after this she said, Let us Pray: and so she followed her Ordinary Form of Prayer that she had learned some time since, and then said, *Our Father*, and *I believe in God*: and so closed all with, *The Blessing of God be upon us*.

[p. 64] Her Father, who had changed his Religion before the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, for Lucre of a little Mony, and Misused her very often to make her go to Mass: which she did some few times, but not of late. Almost in all her Discourses she Talks of the Violence her Father offered her: and yet while she much Condemns him, she doth not omit to pray God to Pardon him.

She made an Exhortation to Patience in the Presence of *Monsieur Monjoux*,⁶¹ saying, *That the Wicked held but by one little Root, but that it shall be plucked up, and shall dry like*

⁶¹ Possibly Charles Rigot, Count of Montjoux, nearby Saou, where Vincent prophesied. Rigot was married to Ennemonde de Rochegude de Barjac, aunt of the famous Huguenot diplomat Jacques Barjac, Marquis de Rochegude (c.1654-1718), who had just fled to Switzerland in 1688. Emile Jaccard, “Le Marquis Jaques de Rochegude et les protestants sur les galères”, *Revue de théologie et de philosophie et compte-rendu des principales publications scientifiques* 31 (1878), 35-73, esp. 36-37.

*the Mowen Hay: and, That the Faithful shall be delivered, and shall flourish at the time she had pointed at.*⁶²

* * *

⁶² The original source in French, *Abrégé de l'histoire de la bergère de Saou près de Crest en Dauphiné* (Amsterdam: 1688), includes astrological predictions concerning England for October, November and December 1688 (pp. 17-21). These are also attributed to Vincent, but were in reality a French translation of John Partridge's predictions. For this reason, they have not been included here.

1.3. A Relation of several hundreds of children and others that prophesie and preach in their sleep, &c. First examined and admired by several ingenious men, Ministers and Professors at Geneva, and sent from thence in two letters to Rotterdam (London: 1689)⁶³

[p. 20] *These are Articles or several interrupted pieces of the Sermon, being only some sentences of it taken here and there.*⁶⁴

Rejoice, Brethren, that God has sent you a little Candle to light you, make use of it, repent ye, and take heed lest the Rod of sin turn against you. Pray to God with all your Hearts, and mend your Lives. God says in his Scriptures, I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh,⁶⁵ *and the rest of the Passage. Jacob's Ladder*⁶⁶ was neither of Wood nor of Stone, but of Prayer and Supplication; God has taken away his Candlestick from you, *Seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you.*⁶⁷

Some of our Doctors found something extraordinary and very strong in this Article. I pass over some to be short, and mention only those that are precisely to the purpose, though all the rest is equally good, whether it be when he speaks of the cause of the destruction of our

⁶³ *A Relation of several hundreds of children and others that prophesie and preach in their sleep, &c. First examined and admired by several ingenious men, Ministers and Professors at Geneva, and sent from thence in two letters to Rotterdam (London: 1689), 20-22.*

⁶⁴ Collected by an anonymous observer, who visited the prophets of Dauphiné. The fragments were presumably addressed to Jurieu in Rotterdam.

⁶⁵ Joel 2:28; Acts 2:17.

⁶⁶ Gen. 28:10-19.

⁶⁷ Matt. 7:7; Luke 11:9.

Churches, or whether it be when he promises us the re-establishment of them in case we repent.

Brethren, is it not a strange thing that you, who have promised to follow Jesus Christ, should have renounced him for the sake of a little spot of Ground? (He speaks no more to Country Folks) He who shed the last drop of his Blood for you? Don't trouble your selves in heaping up earthly riches but lay up Treasures where the Moth and Rust do not corrupt.

The Scripture tells you, Be not surprised when you see your selves under Persecution for my name's sake: Pray God heartily, the Devil is about to be shut up in the midst of Hell.

I must speak freely to you, I have not the Wit to say all these things, but 'tis God that speaks by me: since your riches have ruined, it must be by your Prayers that you must redeem your selves: and what are ye afraid of for a little wealth? Be afraid of nothing though you were to die: *Happy are they that die in the Lord, for they rest from their Labours.*⁶⁸ Hardn'd, Stubborn, Blind Men that we are! We harken not to the Voice of God, and we put no confidence in his promise: Read the 68. Psalm, *Let God arise, &c.*⁶⁹

[p. 21] The way of Paradise is a streight way, it is no larger than a Hair, and as fine: the faithful only can walk therein, there is no entering into it for those that are loaden with sins: But the way to Hell is large and spacious, there is a high Road thither.

⁶⁸ Rev. 14:13.

⁶⁹ The Huguenots of the south were known to be powerful psalm singers and the Camisards generally sang the sixty-eighth psalm before battle. Monahan, *Let God Arise*, 10.

One of our Doctors, because one of the company wonder'd at that comparison, satisfied him with that of the Camel passing through the eye of a Needle,⁷⁰ and brought on the same or the like occasion.

It has been told us, That in the last times many shall fall away from the Faith, and we see it now but too much, and above all when we see those base souls, who after having been gone and partaken of the Blood of the Lamb, afterwards come back and plunge themselves into the Abyss of Corruption and Filthiness.

't is a long time since you, who are here present, have been at Mass, but I am afraid the first persecution will make you return thither again: but be sure not to do it, suffer your selves rather to be cut in pieces, suffer your selves rather to be brought to the Block, then return thither again: Lord have pity on these poor sinners, O Eternal strengthen them by thy Grace.

Jesus Christ has poured out all his blood for us, and we can't endure the prick of a pin: fear not men, who can only kill the body, but fear God and that can destroy both soul and body (and concerning that, says the Relation,) He cited the 1. and 2. Verses of the 146. Psalm,⁷¹ and continued to the beginning of the 3. Verse: Brethren, Princes have no power over your Souls, &c. and he spoke a great deal thereon.

Speaking of those that had sold that Children for Mony, he saith, They have sold their Children and made an Offering unto Idols, as the 106. Psalm mentions.⁷² But God shall redeem the Children, and their Fathers shall perish.

⁷⁰ Matt. 19:24.

⁷¹ "Praise ye the Lord. Praise thou the Lord, O my soul. / I will praise the Lord during my life: as long as I have any being, I will sing unto my God."

⁷² Psalm 106:36-37.

I believe, Sir, here is enough to shew what effect of these Shepherds have produced not only amongst the common People, but amongst all sorts of Men, even the most understanding, there being no one that has ever written or spoken any thing contrary to what I have here mentioned: which I desire our small Assembly to take notice of. Whereupon some of those that hadn't had what Mr. ... had said, reported that 'twas really impossible to see a Man more touched or perswaded of the [p.22] thing than he was, being to that degree, that speaking to our chiefest Doctors here, he told them: You may say, Gentlemen, what you please, but if you heard those Children, you would be just as those that have heard them, there is no possibility of resisting. I know what you say concerning the belief we had of the Miracle before hand, concerning our sad condition in *France*, concerning the novelty of the matter of Fact: all this might cause an admiration and astonishment, but there is more than that: For, to tell you the truth, you must know that for an hour and a half, we wept every one of us like so many Children.

[...]

[p. 35] The Prophecies which are that which the Reader will, without doubt, look most after, or perhaps that which he ought to mind least: because we are not certain that the Collections have been well made. The Word, nay the Letter, oftentimes changes the whole Sense of a Discourse. What is not to be questioned in that great number of matters of Fact, is that People fall, that they are in an Ecstasie, that they discourse in their sleep, and others awake, and speak things that have not been suggested to them, and that they themselves knew not.⁷³ No other Prophecies are to be looked upon as well reported, but only those that have had their

⁷³ On the nature of the prophets' inspirations, see Daniel Vidal, *Le Malheur et son prophète: inspires et sectaires en Languedoc calviniste (1685-1725)* (Paris: 1983).

Accomplishment. 1. The Deliverance that was to begin in the Month of *September*, as it did really begin by the business of *England*, and by the Declaration of War.⁷⁴ 2. The new Prophets which the Shepherdess had Prophesied of. 3. The King of *England* driven out by the Prince of *Orange*.⁷⁵ 4. The Assemblies that were to be made in several Places. 5. And the cruel Persecution which is now in the Provinces greater than ever, since there has been a Massacre of 400. persons, without reckoning those that have been Executed, according as 'tis reported. These matters of Fact, and several others, so precisely happening, as they had been foretold, shews that if anything does not happen, 'tis because the Prediction was not well taken nor understood: For one and the same spirit cannot be False and True.

* * *

⁷⁴ Isabeau Vincent had predicted the deliverance of the Huguenots for September 1688, which coincided with the Glorious Revolution in England, when the Dutch Stadtholder, Prince William of Orange, overthrew the Catholic King James II, as well as with the subsequent outbreak of the Nine Years' War (1688-97).

⁷⁵ Another reference to the Glorious Revolution (see previous footnote).

1.4. A Postscript. Endeavouring the Satisfaction of them that are *Inquisitive* after the late Stupendous Extasies and Prophetesies in France.⁷⁶

[p. 57] The *Words* of God are *True*, in the Notice which they have given us, *That the Works of God are Great*: and certainly no Age did ever afford Instances of *Greater* than those which are *Now* the matters of Discourse and Wonder throughout the World.

Among the *Marvellous Things* which at this Day strike the minds of Men with a just Astonishment, there are not many more considerable, than those of *the late Extasies in France*. Concerning which we have undoubted Information:

That about the beginning of the Year 1688: a young Sheperdess in the Province of *Dauphine*,⁷⁷ fell into unaccountable *Trances*, wherein tho' the standers by, pull'd her, struck her, cut her and burnt her, yet it was impossible to awaken her. In this condition, her custome was to utter many Divine things: [p. 58] and though she could neither write nor read, nor could speak any *Language* but that of her Countrey, which has nothing of pure *French* in it, yet she now *Pray'd* and *Preach'd* at a most prodigious rate, and Sang Psalms after the manner of the *French* Protestant Congregations: and when Auditors that could thereby be edified, were present, she expressed herself, not only in *French* of a Dialect most Exact and Correct, but also having occasion to speak *Latin*, in the Refutation of the *Romish Superstitions*, she did it with a distinctness that fill'd all the Hearers with Admiration- And

⁷⁶ Cotton Mather, *The Wonderful Works of God Commemorated Praises Bespoke for the God of Heaven in a Thanksgiving Sermon Delivered on Decemb. 19, 1689: Containing Reflections Upon the Excellent Things Done By the Great God.: To Which is Added a Sermon Preached Unto a Convention of the Massachuset-Colony in New-England* (Boston: 1690), 57-62.

⁷⁷ Isabeau Vincent.

though when she came out of her sleep, she remembered not what had befallen her;⁷⁸ yet she had her wits thereby made more Sparkling and Refined.

Those new *French* Apostles, the *Dragoons*,⁷⁹ quickly did their utmost, for the suppression of this *Rare Thing*: but behold the event! It was not long before other persons fell into the like *Trances*, with *Symptoms* not unlike to those which had attended her: and the Number encreased unto several Hundreds of these *Prophets*,⁸⁰ if I may call them so? whereof even the Kings own Guards afforded *One*. And at length some that were *Awake* were carried forth unto Rapturous Exercises with an *Eloquence* and *Energy* equal to that of those that were *Asleep*.

[p. 59] They are People of all Ages and Sexes; but the greatest part of them are *Boyes* and *Girles*, from six or seven to five and twenty years of age; and persons very old;⁸¹ all of them the meaner sort of People: but of Families Exemplary for their good living; the whole affair being indeed so prodigious, that the most obstinate *Sadducees* in the Kingdom confess it, *A natural Distemper directed by Providence to procure the Repentance of a sinful World*.

The Ministry of these *Extraordinary People*, does chiefly consist of two things.

⁷⁸ See the introduction on Vincent's alleged gift of tongues.

⁷⁹ In the 1680s, Louis XIV quartered soldiers on Huguenot families and allowed them to use violence to convert them to Catholicism. These military campaigns leading to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 were known as "dragonnades".

⁸⁰ A contemporary source estimated their number at about 200-300 by the end of 1688. The best known of these young prophets were Bonpar, Mazet and Pascaline, three shepherds respectively aged 8, 26 and 15. *Lettre de Geneve contenant une relation exacte au sujet des petits prophetes de Dauphiné, le 13. Fevrier 1689* (Rotterdam: 1689), 1-2.

⁸¹ Joel 2:28.

One part of it is, the *Admonition* of those unhappy persons that have provoked God by many notorious Miscarriages, but especially by *Apostasie* under the late Persecution. They deride the Follies of the *Mass*, with a surprizing ingenuity: and in a vast Assembly of perhaps two thousand People come together to hear these *Preachers*, if there be any that have abjured the *Protestant Religion*, they will call them before them, and address them in such powerful Terms, as usually make not not [*sic*] only the whole Congregation shed floods of Tears, but the *Apostates* themselves to become *Penitents*: and there comes not one away, who does not positively declare, *That he had rather be torn to pieces with wild Horses than ever go to Mass again*. No [p. 60] man is able to resist their Words! And they make the *Penitents* now and then confess other particular sins, which they convince them of, though the Transgressors had imagined these Faults impossible to be discovered. A whole Council assembled could not manage any matter with more Authority than *They* do the Conviction of those, who have gone to *Mass*, that they may shun the Severities of the *French Dragoons*.

It may not be unprofitable to recite a few of the Sentences, which fell from the mouths of these *Extaticks*.

Have a care (said one of them) *that you come not hither out of Curiosity. Better it were for the Wicked that hot Coals of Fire should pass through their mouths, than that they should mock at the Word of God: they had better swallow a Serpent with all its Poison.*⁸²

If the Wicked (said one of them) *had the same power over God, that they have over you, they would do the same to Him that they do to you: but God will pronounce the Sentence of Malediction on them, and will say, Go into Eternal Fire.*⁸³

⁸² These are the words of Isabeau Vincent. See *A LETTER From a Gentleman of DAUPHINE To one of his Friends at GENEVA*, reproduced above (1.1.) at p. 56.

⁸³ Also attributed to Vincent in the same source. See 1.1. above at p. 61.

Brethren, (said another of them) Pray hard; and then though we should meet an Army of Enemies at the Door, God will place a million of Angels for your Guard.

Brethren, (said another of them) We [p. 61] have alwayes apprehended more the Threats of Men than those of God, else what happened to us, would not have happened.

One of them said, *Your Riches have ruined you, and your Prayers must Relieve you.*⁸⁴

One of them said, *I am afraid the first Persecution will make you return to Mass again: but O suffer your selves rather to be first cut in pieces. Alas! Jesus Christ has poured out all his Blood for us, and we can't endure the prick of a pin for Him.*⁸⁵

To the *Apostates*, they generally so conclude their Warnings: *You have sinned against the Father, you have sinned against the Son, take heed of sinning against the Holy Ghost, for God will then pardon you no more.*

And when the Children are told, *They shall be Hang'd*, they are not at all afraid, but answer, *That is but a little harm for a greater, good.*

But the other part of their Ministry is, The *Prediction* of Things quickly to come to pass. They do indeed foretell many Things of a more private concern; they foretell a thousand Things that must happen to themselves and their Friends: and the issue confirms the

⁸⁴ See *A Relation of Several Hundreds of Children and Others that Prophetise and Preach in Their Sleep*, reproduced above (1.3.) at p. 20. Cotton Mather's compilation provides evidence that several accounts of the *petits prophètes* of Dauphiné were circulating in New England as early as 1689.

⁸⁵ *Idem*, at p. 21.

Prophesie. One of them being thrown into a Dungeon, said, *The man who sent her thither should within eight Dayes fetch her out*, and it strangely was accomplished.⁸⁶

[p. 60]⁸⁷ But the Things of a more publick Concern, are chiefly those which they foretel. The Gentlemen, who give us the History, tell us, that they judge it not yet convenient to publish a large part of the Authentick and sufficient Collections which they have made of these Prophecies. However, they have given us a Taste. In general, The Subjects of this *Enthusiasm*⁸⁸ all agree in foretelling, *A Speedy Deliverance to the Church of God*: and they declare, *The Late Revolutions in England, to be the Beginning of that Deliverance*.⁸⁹

Tho' all *France* was fill'd with a Rumour, That the Late K. *James*⁹⁰ had Defeated the (then) Prince of *Orange*,⁹¹ both by Land and Sea, *these* then said, *The Authors of these Reports commit a great sin, for the Prince of Orange has Chas'd, and shall Chase the King out of England: and that is the Beginning of the Deliverance of the Church*.

They foretold a fresh Assault of Persecution in *France*, and it had a very dreadful fulfilment: for after it Ensued a Terrible Storm of Outrage upon the Relicks of Protestantism in the Desolate Kingdom: in one Article of which, there was a Massacre, of about four

⁸⁶ Presumably Isabeau Vincent again, who was incarcerated in Grenoble in July 1688. *Lettre de Geneve*, 1.

⁸⁷ Erroneous pagination: this should read p. 62.

⁸⁸ Enthusiasm is understood in the early modern sense of the term here, i.e. a charismatic form of religious fanaticism. See Lionel Laborie, "Enthusiasm", *Encyclopedia of Early Modern Philosophy and the Sciences* (forthcoming).

⁸⁹ I.e., the Glorious Revolution (1688-1689).

⁹⁰ King James II (r.1685-1688).

⁹¹ William, Prince of Orange and future King of England (r.1689-1702).

hundred people: but they foretold within how many Days the Persecution should be over: and they give hopes of a *Protestant* [p 61] *King*, very quickly to be seen in *France*. They proclaim, *The Diavel is going to be shut up in the midst of Hell!* They say, *The Accomplishment of the Prophetical Months and Dayes is at Hand.*⁹² but it must be accompanied with very Terrible Wars and Plagues.

The whole is a Thing very unaccountable: and when I consider the Fate of the famous *German Prophets*,⁹³ which made such a Noise in the World: or, when I consider, that while the *Jews* were under their Infatuations about their false Messiah, *Sabatai Saevi*,⁹⁴ some Hundreds of people fell into *Extasies* (as 'tis Reported) wherein they Prophetised, the speedy Deliverance of the *Jews* by that Impostor, and *Little Children* that could not stammer a word, yet repeated and pronounced the *Name* of this Deceiver, with Happy Omens of Him; but consider on the other side, That *not to Regard the Works of the Lord, is a Destroying evil*: I dare not make any Reflections on it. I dare not say, what *Authority*, or what *Original* is to be assigned unto these *Inspirations*: but this I know, the *Comfort* and *Counsil* of the Church is without such things *now* sufficiently provided for: and our Lord Jesus having foretold the State of the Church until He come again, hath so concluded His Predictions, *If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add Plagues unto* [p. 62] *Him.*⁹⁵ Nevertheless, This also I shall, take for granted, That the Great God intends hereby to *Awaken* us unto a Consideration of what is before us: That is a proper use of *Miracles*: and when we are once Awakened,

⁹² On the prophets' eschatological timeline, see notes 53 and 74 above.

⁹³ Presumably Jan van Leyden and the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster.

⁹⁴ Sabbatai Zevi (1626-1676). See Cengiz Sisman, *The Burden of Silence: Sabbatai Sevi and the Evolution of the Ottoman-Turkish Donmes* (Oxford: 2015).

⁹⁵ Rev. 22:18.

there is provided for our Entertainment *A more Sure Word of Prophecy*: which O that our
God may help us to *Give Heed* unto. *Amen*.

* * *

2. Fragments of a Sermon preached by Daniel Raoul [Raoux], c.1701⁹⁶

[fol. 13] as the Dove is a cleanly [cleanly] & pure bird, so must our Church be pure, true & free from all filthiness: but this cannot be said of the Church of Rome, nor of that of Calvin:⁹⁷ which are incessantly contaminated with all kinds of vice impurity & murder. They have honey in their mouths & gall in their hearts & their savage hands are always ready to shed innocent blood.

As the Dove is mild & peaceable bird so must the Church of Christ also be, which is being enlivened by the spirit of God is endowed with mildness & gentleness. My Friends, let us follow the example of her divine Spouse who said “learn of me for I am meek and low in heart”⁹⁸ & “blessed are the peacemakers”.⁹⁹ But it is not thus with the Church of Rome. She is obdurate & unmerciful, composed of cruel persons who oppress their brethren & tyrannise over them with every species of persecution & torment, who plunder the true & faithful disciples of Jesus Christ of their temporal possessions, drive them from their habitations, & drag them into dungeons in order to convey them afterwards to the galleys, to the gallows, or the scaffold. Let us lament their cruel tyranny, my dear Friends, the Lord will ship the veil

⁹⁶ LSF, Ms Vol. 315, fols 13-15. The original in French is found at LSF, Ms Vol. 314, no. 1.

⁹⁷ As stated in the introduction, Daniel Raoux is generally regarded as the first French Quaker prophet. He was active around the time of the outbreak of the Camisards rebellion in 1702; he and his followers did not identify as Calvinists and therefore claimed to be separate from the Huguenot community. They condemned the use of violence, both by Catholic oppressors and by the Camisards, and advocated passive resistance and martyrdom instead. Laborie, “From English *Trembleurs* to French *Inspirés*”, 225-244.

⁹⁸ Matt. 11:29.

⁹⁹ Matt. 5:9.

from their souls & will bring their works to nought and whilst they are tormented with remorse even to death, our souls having become meek & peaceable will enjoy for ever a tranquil felicity.

[fol. 14] Thus in our grievous calamity we ought to lift up our eyes towards heaven & to put our trust in God & not in men. Let us bravely arm ourselves with the sword of the word, the helmet of Truth and the shield of Faith: remembering the Glory & happiness in store for them who suffer for the Gospel: but let us never take those cruel arms which destroy the works of the Creator and drench the house with human blood...

The voice to which Jesus will hearken is that of our grief when we repent for our sins, the cry of our sense of our misery, our sighs, our prayers, & our continual tears & in short, our thanksgivings for all the benefits which our heavenly Father bestows on us day by day...

Are those that Dove of Jesus Christ who within these two years have defiled themselves with abominable idolatry, with innumerable murders & horrible persecutions contrary to the exhortation & command of Christ "Love your enemies" & "do good to them who despitefully use you".¹⁰⁰ Have not these forsaken the holy communion of Jesus in persisting in their rebellion & apostasy? Let us then imitate the piety of the apostles who chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the fruits of sin...

Yes my dear Friends, let us imitate our divine Saviour who foretold that we should suffer much affliction for his name's sake: who commanded us to forgive our enemies, to love them, to pray for them, to do all manner of good to those who persecute us, & [fol. 15] to manifest to them, by our resignation, our patients and our good Works, that we, and not these murderous persecutors are the true children of Jesus Christ. Let us bless the hand that

¹⁰⁰ Matt. 5:44.

strikes us, & let us beseech the God of Mercy to open the eyes of their understandings by purifying their souls from such complicated murders & iniquity.¹⁰¹

* * *

¹⁰¹ French Quakers condemned the use of violence, both by Catholic oppressors and by the Camisards, in the aftermath of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They advocated passive resistance and martyrdom instead, which is why this sermon is regarded as the earliest evidence of a Quaker community in France. See note 97 above.

3. Camisard Prophecies

3.1. A Precis of the discourse of Mr Durand Fage of Aubaye,¹⁰² pronounced under the operation of the Spirit, in London on 30 August 1706, at 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning. O.S.¹⁰³

Prayer

Lord, do not let me... &c.

I tell you, in truth, my Child,¹⁰⁴ great Events are soon to come. I assure you, my Child, that you will see amazing things. I want to send my Graces in abundance. Rejoice yourself, for I am soon to come; and sooner than the World expects. Many will want to see it, but they will not. They have rejected by their Incredulity &c. Confess my Word openly. I am going to

¹⁰² Durand Fage (1681-c.1750), a silk weaver by trade, used to carry weapons for Louis XIV's dragoons until he deserted to join the Camisards. Little is known about his activities during the rebellion. He left the Cévennes in 1705 and was the first of three Camisards to arrive in London in June 1706. Together they inspired the millenarian movement of the "French Prophets". See Laborie, "French Prophets", *ODNB*.

¹⁰³ LPL, Ms 932/10. These prophecies were transcribed jointly by the lawyer Jean Daudé (1651-c.1730), the merchant and secretary Charles Portalès (1676-1763) and the Swiss mathematician Nicolas Fatio de Duillier (1664-1753). Laborie, *Enlightening Enthusiasm*, 31-32; Mandelbrote, "Fatio, Nicolas, of Duillier (1664-1753)", *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁴ In a typical Camisard fashion, Fage begins vocalising the Holy Spirit while under inspiration and expresses himself in the first person. Therefore "I" refers to God here, and "my Child" to the prophet himself.

show that this is not what they think: but it is my powerful arm that comes over my followers. Do not be surprised. You shall soon see these things. Lord, thy will be done. I tell you openly, I assure you, that the Beast will soon be defeated. Do not mutter against the effects of my Graces. Be assured that I do not deceive you. I shall soon revisit you, and I shall announce to you the things that shall come to pass; but at least, beware, and make sure to announce my truth.

A Precis of the discourse of Mr Jean Cavalier of Sauve,¹⁰⁵ pronounced under the Operation of the Spirit, shortly after the preceding one

Prayer

O God, I commit myself into your arms, my Father of Graces; and I come at this moment, o God, to give you thanks for so many Blessings, that I receive, despite being a Sinner. May it please you, O my Father, [fol. 2] to numb the Spirit of the Flesh in me; and reawaken your Holy Spirit in me. And take possession of my Limbs. And may my Tongue remain stuck to my Palate, until your Spirit moves it. Do not let me speak out of Zeal to please men; nor out of Zeal to announce your wonders: and do not let me force your Spirit, but I commit myself into your hands.

I come, my Child,¹⁰⁶ to revisit you at this moment, and to declare you the Truth. Be assured of my Promise. I come now to reveal great things to you. Muster your Courage. Here

¹⁰⁵ Jean Cavalier of Sauve (1686-c.1740), was educated by the Jesuits during his childhood and allegedly began prophesying around 1701. He was imprisoned in Perpignan during most of the War of the Cévennes and was the second Camisard to arrive in London, in August 1706.

I come to demonstrate the strength of my Arm on Earth: for every Nation shall recognise me as their God and their Father. Here are the Events [that have been predicted]: The Time has passed. The term has expired. You shall see wonderful things, in a few Days. I come to strike twisted and perverse Nations. I come to disperse whatever is not in Union with my Church. I come to destroy men's Buildings from the Earth. I come to save my followers from the Blindness and Errors, in which they have fallen. Nations ****¹⁰⁷ shall recognise me in part. I shall make my Voice heard to all Nations *** I come to enlighten part of the Nations that are not in the Light. *** I shall show great things. Floods, Earthquakes, Plagues and Famines shall be seen. You have never seen anything like this *** Be assured of my Promises. My Judgements are just. My Promises shall be fulfilled in a little time. I shall gather you in a corner of the Earth, that I have saved. I shall gather my Children in a few Days. Write down these Words, and the day; and their Accomplishment shall soon be. Here come [fol. 3] the Accomplishment of the Revelation of St John *** The Destruction of the wicked is near. I come, for my followers, armed with peace; yet with an iron Sceptre for my Enemies. Soon there shall only be one Law, and one Faith.¹⁰⁸ I shall destroy the Beast. Rejoice, and you shall fight again. The Lamb shall yet give a terrifying Fight. He shall be victorious. I have crushed the Head of the old Serpent, who is Satan. You shall see these things, despite Satan and his Companions. I come to repeat what I have already told you [several times]: the six shall be raised to the seven; and the seven to the eight, and the eight to the nine; Peace, general Peace.

¹⁰⁶ Cavalier's inspiration begins here. "I" now refers to God and "my Child" to the prophet himself.

¹⁰⁷ Asterisks are included in the manuscript by the scribe(s) writing down these prophecies, presumably to indicate missing word(s).

¹⁰⁸ The original ("qu'une Loi, et qu'une Foi") rhymes in French and echoes the French absolutist motto "un Roi, une Loi, une Foi": "One King, one Law, one Faith".

Zion shall no longer be tormented. Take Courage; I am coming, my coming is near. You shall not see me with your Eyes. You shall recognise my Coming, by the Blessings that you shall receive; but the wicked shall recognise it even more, by &c. I shall defeat Satan; he shall not rise again. The Beast shall be destroyed. There shall be no other God than me. No Nation shall worship false Gods any longer. They shall have no Cities. It will come soon. Be prayerful and vigilant, for fear of being surprised in your Sins. I shall reveal Signs and Miracles, great things on Earth. Woe to he who will doubt and be frightened. I shall strike him, and let him fall in Satan's Trap. Reassure yourselves by your Prayers. I am the Almighty; I shall not retract. The Oath I have made shall be fulfilled. Those of the earthly Kings &c. I shall demonstrate my Power. I am the [fol. 4] God of Truth; I shall be recognised as such. Take Courage, these Events shall come. A cruel partition shall take place on Earth, but determine yourselves to serve me. There is no more Prolongation, no more Delay nor Capitulation for the wicked. This Judgement, more just than dreadful, is near. They shall be judged fairly. I come to call you, to invite you, to dwell with you. Be ready to receive me. I come to reject the defilement that is in you, to clothe you with a Dress of glory and magnificence. I have abridged the Time of your Deliverance. Your Wishes shall be accomplished. Your Prayers, albeit weak, are fulfilled. I shall deliver you from the second Pharaoh,¹⁰⁹ who shall be destroyed. You shall see these things, and those who hear them. You shall declare its Truthfulness, and be its Witnesses. If I have chastised you, it is because I love you. I come to give you a Legacy, and to write to you, in my Book of Life, in a Golden Letter. Your Name shall be inscribed in it, and shall not be erased, if you are faithful to me.

¹⁰⁹ Presumably Louis XIV, who continued to persecute French Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It is worth emphasising that, although a temporary truce to the War of the Cévennes was agreed in May 1704, the conflict resumed shortly afterwards and continued until 1710.

You shall see the Events of all these things that you are hearing. You shall see greater and (more) amazing ones. The Olive tree and its greenery is unlike the greenery (that) my Church (will have). They shall be smitten to death. Peace to my followers, and to my Church, in a little time. Some shall cry, Lord, but I shall not listen to them. Coward Servants; You shall take no part in &c. If you have been cowardly, resume my Work. What is written in the Revelation of St John, She¹¹⁰ [shall be?] Queen ** She shall be Queen, but only in the Abyss. You shall lead her; and chase her away, by the singing of my [fol. 5] followers. You shall no longer drink from leaking Cisterns, from those corrupt Fountains; but ****. Extend your hand and I will extend mine to you. To those afflicted comes Consolation. Zion's Joy shall be greater &c. Such things were bound to occur ***. You have yet to a small Storm, a harsh Tempest. It shall be harsher than it has been so far, but it shall be dispersed in a little time, like Smoke by the Wind, and shall only pass by. Fight with your Prayers, and not with your earthly Weapons. You shall fight, and I shall conquer. Do not fear men. I come to strike by the power of my Arm the Nations who &c. The laurel has never been so green &c.

Peace to my followers. I hold these seven Vials,¹¹¹ to pour them on sinful Nations. They shall see the power of my Arm. I shall receive them in part. I shall reject them in part. Take Courage. Rejoice.

I tell thee that You are like a soiled Flag. I shall purify you from your stains. I come to assure you of everything that I have marked in my Writings. These Events are near. Pray. Heed. Strike violently. Don't be a double-edged Sword, a Body cut in half. For you cannot serve two Masters.¹¹² Choose the path of Life; Your Works are bad. Pray. Again and again.

¹¹⁰ The beast. Rev. 11:7.

¹¹¹ Rev. 15-16.

¹¹² Presumably a reference to the Huguenots' desire to worship God according to their faith and their loyalty to Louis XIV. Although the Camisards always insisted they remained loyal

Leave Evil; do Good. You shall still receive greater News of Victory over the Pharaoh. Your Joy be through Prayer. I shall act, and work. I make use of men. I shall tear down the Walls of Babylon. The time [fol. 6] is near. I come, by grace, to liberate you. In a little time the general Assembly shall rise. Many shall enter, only to be chased away, like those who enter the Feast with the Robe of Defilement. Several shall see the Deliverance and its open Pastures, who shall not taste them. He who loves the World, my Love is not in him. The World and its Greed shall pass in a little time. My Sheep shall no longer be encamped with Rams.

The six shall be raised to the seven; and the seven to the eight, and the eight to the nine (and all shall be completed ^{perfected}).¹¹³

I leave you now. I shall return soon.

You will be called in a little time before the Greats of this City.¹¹⁴ They are worldly, so I shall talk to them about this World, the Armies &c. Leave the Goods of this World, for it shall pass. Leave the Darkness, and come toward the Light. Leave Evil. Pray again and again.

Lord, I commit myself into your Will. I await your Advent.

The Original is signed by Messieurs.¹¹⁵

to the Sun King and that they only took up arms to end their persecution, this passage argues otherwise. See Monahan, *Let God Arise*, 15.

¹¹³ Written in superscript in the original manuscript.

¹¹⁴ The Camisards rapidly established diplomatic contacts in London and expected to build on their support to plead their cause in England.

¹¹⁵ Besides the three aforementioned scribes --Fatio, Daudé and Portalès (see note 103)-- the Presbyterian minister Thomas Cotton (1653-1730), the Irish Baronet Sir Richard Bulkeley (1660-1710) and the Marquis de Miremont (1656-1732) are known to have attended and hosted early Camisard assemblies in the summer 1706. Warren Johnston, "Bulkeley, Sir

*** NB

who all witnessed and were present during these Discourses.

* * *

Richard, second baronet (1660-1710)", *ODNB*

(<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3898>, accessed 30 July 2007); Laborie, "Bourbon, Armand de, marquis de Miremont (1655-1732)", *ODNB*.

3.2. A Precis of the Discourse of Mr Durand Fage of Aubaye, pronounced under the Operation of the Spirit, in London on 3rd Sept. 1706, at 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning. O.S.¹¹⁶

Prayer

Lord my God, my Father, I commit myself into your good Will. Thy Will be done. However, if thou want Me to speak the Truth, I commit myself into your Power and Authority. Numb the Spirit of the Flesh so that I can speak no Word but by your Spirit &c. My Tongue be stuck to my Palate rather than speaking one Word which comes not from your Will.

My Child, you may speak openly. You have to openly voice my Wonders. Do not worry about the things that &c. I shall support you, in every thing. I tell you, you shall soon see things that one cannot fathom. I do not explain it to you now. Have Courage. Let nothing sadden you. Soon your *** great Events *** Soon I shall demonstrate to you the effects of Graces. Courage. Here comes the time. Here is the progress of the things that shall happen. Muster up your Courage. Pray me in faith. I shall soon set Zion at Liberty. All those who make Efforts, on Earth, shall be confused, in a little time *** Some shall suffer Martyrdom in my Name. Here comes soon the Unfolding of things that shall be accomplished. I shall inform you of what takes place *** soon in the Cévennes.¹¹⁷ Farewell, my Child. Have faith in my Promise; it is certain and true. I shall in no way defend *** the Plans ** I shall disperse them like the Wind disperses the Smoke. To those who shall be faithful to me, I [fol. 2] promise eternal Felicity; and the Pasture of Life, that had been stolen from them. I shall

¹¹⁶ LPL, Ms 934/52.

¹¹⁷ Further evidence that the Camisards maintained ties with the Cévennes and planned to revive the rebellion from London.

inform you of what you will need to do. Some, among you, are doubting, and others have received my Graces.

A Precis of the Discourse of Mr Jean Cavalier of Sauve,
pronounced under the Operation of the Spirit,
shortly after the previous Speech.

Prayer.

O God, I commit myself, in this moment, into your arms, as you come, Lord, to revisit me. O God, I am ready to receive any thing from you, even though I am a Sinner; if it is your Will to make me feel the effects of your Graces, I await the power of your Spirit. Thy Will ^{truth} be pronounced by him. May the Spirit of the World, and of my Members, the Carnal Spirit be dissipated from my body. May I not speak to be seen by men, (nor) for the World to glorify you. If thou have Trials and Chastisements to send me, I am unworthy of receiving your Graces. I ought instead to receive a Rod to hit me. Let me not force thy Spirit; but let me await the Advent of thy Spirit in me.

My Child, I tell you in Truth that I am coming, at this time, to reveal to you the Effects of my Graces. I come to enlighten you with the pure Truth. Be assured of the Strength of my Arm. I come to give you strength and courage. For I declare it, in Truth, that I am going to show the Strength of my Arm. Lean on the Strength of my protecting Arm. I am going to completely crush and shake up the yoke of the Antichrist. Behold the Sentence of the Wicked; I shall vomit them out of my mouth. I shall reject them; and chase them out of me. [fol. 3] I swore in my Wrath, that they shall never enter my Rest. I shall put aside my Sheep. I shall brand them. You shall carry my Sign. I come in a little time. I hold this iron

Sceptre. I come to strike the Nations of the Earth, those marked with the sign of the Beast. It will be in a few Days. Here comes the Destruction of the Beast. Rejoice. Prepare thyself to receive, in a little time, to receive the Heritage from the Heavens. I shall make all my faithful part of it. You are too impatient *** You would like to see, in an Instant, &c like the break of Day &c but beware that it does not come too early for you. *** Day of Peace, of Cries, and of Separation. Cruel Partition. *** The wicked shall not mix any longer. I shall destroy them and smite them with the Strength of my Arm. *** I could well destroy them without giving them Torment: But I wanted them to suffer Torment ** But their greatest Torment shall be in the Abyss *** V *** Death at your feet shall surprise you ** But here is the Healing at your feet. The sick shall be healed. The weak shall receive strength; and the afflicted Consolation. You have fallen into your Sins, but here comes the Healing at your feet. This is Consolation for my Followers. [¶]Work diligently by your Prayers. Renounce the Goods of this World, that have caused the ruin of my Followers.^{¶118} How many lost Souls, to work for these Goods *** Time is short, it is approaching. Think of the Master you have to serve. For you cannot serve me and the World ^{Devil}. Choose one side or the other. The Time is near, I assure you. I come to make you feel it today. Be assured that you will soon see its effects and that you will bear Witness to it. Now the weak shall be strong, the small great, the poor rich; [fol. 4] and the dead shall receive Life. Although you have called upon the Doctors of this World,¹¹⁹ You are in a Hospital of Stench and Corruption. You entered it. You defiled yourselves again. You entered it. Pray. You shall receive my Healing in little time, by your Prayers. Work for eternal Life. Prepare thyself. Behold a scaffold raised in a little time, and I as its Judge. Never

¹¹⁸ This sentence was added in the margin preceded by the symbol [¶].

¹¹⁹ Huguenot theologians understood the persecution of their coreligionists in France as a divine trial and were almost unanimously opposed to an armed rebellion against a lawful monarch like Louis XIV as a result.

was a scaffold to Man's eyes alike. I shall send Flames of Fire on Earth to repress the wicked. The Fall of your Enemies is near. And you, o Rome, your Fall is near. You shall no longer wallow in your Decadence. You shall no longer invite my followers into thy Decadence. Take courage *** It is I who shall accomplish my Work, I who hold this double-edged Sword; Armed with Peace and Wrath, I come to destroy *** Cruel Separation; cruel Partition! Terrible Pain! Torment! Never was prison nor Captivity comparable to that of the wicked. Heaven is closed to the wicked, and open to the virtuous. Prepare yourselves. You shall soon embark on a journey. You shall all be gathered in a little time. Peace, general peace. Peace, I say, in a little time.**** For although I have told you many times, ** that the six shall be raised to the seven, and the seven to the eight, and the eight to the nine, and that all shall be perfected, You shall receive signs of it sooner. In a little time ** Relief before the nine. Once raised to the nine, there shall be no more Corruption. I shall overthrow the walls of Babylon; and I shall destroy this twisted and perverse Race that cheers the Beast. Woe upon those who shall have defiled themselves [fol. 5] with the Beast. My Children were ravished from me by their Cowardice. They who did it out of Cowardice shall receive more Torments. O cowardly Servants! Useless servants! You shall be rewarded with fire, not with eternal felicity. You shall be clothed in a Burning Robe, instead of a Robe of Magnificence; a Robe of iniquity ** Instead of entering with your head up, with Song of Glory and Triumph, you shall go to the sentences that are awaiting you. ** This Partition shall come ** Make your peace *** Enter my Council, and my Parliament. Behold, I am sending you Ambassadors. Hear the Revelations, and the Warnings that I send you: and you shall receive Relief. Decide for yourselves. Send me an answer to the Letter ** I tell you, in truth, that I am going to demonstrate the Effects of my Graces; wonderful things; miraculous things. It will be in little time, in a few days. Do not bore yourselves. You are no sooner ill than you would like to be healed. But do not bore yourselves. A short time to me is a long one to you.

A moment to me is very long to you. You shall receive it soon. The time is short. Your Prayers have not shortened it, but my Graces, and the Charity and Compassion I have for you: Take courage. Take Courage my Child.

¹²⁰ Yes I say to you, I come again to shew you truthfully, and as the very Truth myself, that the six shall be raised to the seven, and the seven to the eight, and the eight to the nine, all shall be perfected. No more strength shall the wicked have, despite the Devil, his Rage and his Companions. He shall be chained. He shall do no more Ravages. Remember that if he has entered, and has ravished some of you, it is because I wanted to put you to the Trial. Have I not warned you, that I would try you like gold. I will recognize you as my faithful. I said persevere to the end. By these Words You were to understand that you would have Crosses and Tribulations. That is, whatever Whirlpools and Storms that blow, hold on to me. You are on dry land, not on ice, nor on man's Arms. It is my Arm that supports you. [fol. 6] The Trial is won. You have made your peace with me. Purify yourselves. Do not fall into Sin again, into the things of the World. If you are my faithful, act as if You were already in Heaven. Rejoice, Zion, and declare their Joy to your Children. Your pains shall pass. Since we are two opposites; I shall break the Head of the Old Serpent. He who loves me cannot love the world. Decide for yourselves. The time is near. Pray ceaselessly. Forsake evil; do good. Answer the many Couriers, Expresses (Messengers) Ambassadors, whom I send you. It is a Treaty of Eternal Peace. I do not mean fleeting peaces *** The Devil and the Beast will be destroyed. The Lamb is the Victor. Victory is yours. Be assured in my Promises. They are certain. My Judgements are righteous ** You have been captives and you are still. But, he who led in Captivity will be led into Captivity, into a Place where there are Barriers of Fire, and Barriers of Iron, and Satan for Sentinel. Nations of Sinners! Nations that were not in my knowledge! You who have

¹²⁰ This space left in the original manuscript presumably indicates that the scribe may have missed a sentence when writing down Cavalier's words.

persevered in the train of men, of Satan and of his Companions! I have sworn in my Ire that they shall not enter into my rest. You who have stood firm, who have kept the Shield of Faith &c this Crown of Glory * this Robe of Glory and Magnificence will be given to you. You are inscribed in my Book with a Golden Letter. *. You will be reunited, O You, driven out of Israel, in a corner of the earth, in a place that I have prepared. I will sprinkle you with Dew (a) gentle Rain; not a Rain like that which is for the Trees of the Earth. ** Your Prayers must join the Prayers of those in Captivity. I talk to you as much as to your Brothers. You are one Body. I shall give you the same Rewards. All my children will receive the same Salary. You will be equal, poor and rich. You hear my Voice. If You see me with your Eyes. ***. My Word is not like my Face, which would knock you to the ground. You would not be able to see the Crowns, that I have prepared for you. My Face *** What Storms and Persecutions that [fol. 7] come, do not stumble into Satan's Slavery. It will not be when this Assembly will be formed, it will not be a Partition, like that of the Goods of this World. In that time there will be neither Doctor, nor Lawyer, nor Prosecutor, who will take your Cause in his hands. I am your lawyer. It will be I, who will judge You, according to Your merits. Come treat this Peace, this Covenant, which you have broken. By which means should you attach yourself to me? By your Prayers. Be cautious like the Snake, and simple like the Dove. Like the Serpent sheds its Skin, you will be stripped of impure clothes and Filth. But a Robe of Glory and of Magnificence shall be given to you. ** the ** Clothes of Heaven, this Glory, which belongs to you, Take heed that it be not taken from you. My Coming is near. You will not see me. ~~It will be in a little time and soon my Child, I repeat to you that his pain~~ It is not the Coming that the Jews expect. You will recognize it ~~by~~ ¹²¹ and strength **. You will see relief. The Man of the Earth will no longer afflict you. In a little time, in a few days, extraordinary and amazing things will be seen. For I assure you, my Child, that the Flames of Fire are red:

¹²¹ Space left for a missing word in the original manuscript.

Commented [LL1]: This space is part of the original manuscript and should be left as it is.

and Pharaoh will be consumed by them. It will be the second Red Sea. It will be in a little time and soon, my Child, I repeat to you that his Pain will be great, and so will his Torment. The Afflictions of your Enemies the Scare and Fear will seize from all sides. He is about to make his greatest Effort, all at once. But all this will be nothing. Who can resist me, slay me, or defeat me! His words his Efforts, his Undertakings are but in vain. Courage. You will see great things. He will not die. Once he has cast his venom, he will want to shake the Beast's Yoke. Many will cry out to me, Lord, Lord; but I will give no answer. Rejoice. And know [fol. 8] that I will use a handful of my Faithful to fight still: but I will be victorious for them. Prepare yourself.

I want you to know in truth that my work will be completed soon. My Servants do not have much longer to fight.¹²² The Fruit is near. What you have asked and wished for, your desires, will be given to you. Rejoice. Do not be surprised. Courage. Be prayerful and vigilant. My Coming is near. Satan again will enter Prison soon, ** will take, will dissipate some ^{several}. But do not be surprised. No more Delay, Prolongation &c Peace, General Peace. A Blessed Day for my Faithful; but some will curse it: some will receive it in Tribulation. How many times have I told that you were but Passengers. You have trampled upon my Words, like the Mule tramples upon the Grain. This Judgment more righteous than terrible *** You will be judged justly: But to you, who have been warned, your Judgment will not be terrible; since you deserved it. The Beast will be Queen in the Abyss.¹²³ She will reign an Eternity; as the Revelation of St. John says, I am Queen, and will see no mourning. You will be Queen, Empress, in Hell. Your burial is coming. You must help accompany her to her Burial. You will accompany her to her Tomb, to the Gates of the Abyss. They will speak to you, and ask for your grace. They will want to apologize to you. But it is neither to you nor to

¹²² The Camisards were still fighting in the Cévennes at the time this prophecy was delivered.

¹²³ Rev. 11:7.

me, because there is no time left. Their Condemnation has come. Its Walls shall become Dust. His Revelation &c soon. Prepare yourselves to receive these Goods from Heaven, this Heritage; and to attend my Throne. I am Alpha and Omega,¹²⁴ be assured. [fol. 9] Real promises! Just judgment! Never has the Tree of the Earth been in a higher flower than my Church will be *** Candelabra *** There shall be no more Darkness. The Earth will bear Seed and Fruit: but no one will reap. Several will sow, and will not reap. Several will plant a vine, and will not eat its Fruit. I am going to part with you now. I warn you not to be afraid. Do not fear men. Fear me. I part with you as for the Word. ***** You will speak to the Greats of this City:¹²⁵ but you will tell them that you are doing my Will.

Lord I thank you for the so many blessings, that you have given me in this *** I will take the Cup of Deliverance. I will invoke your Holy Name†. I commit myself into your hands. I await your Advent.

The original is signed by Mess^{rs}

*** ***

who were all present during these Discourses.

NB As Mr Cavalier began, one of the men, who were present, fainted.

¹²⁴ Rev. 1:8, 21:6; 22:13.

¹²⁵ London.

Before starting, Mr Cavalier had raised his right arm up high for some time, and stiffened it very hard. His Face then resembled that of a man dying of a pestilent and terrible death. And his eye, having opened, looked excessively severe, all [...] and a little inflamed, and of a yellow Colour very different from its Natural one.

† Thy Will be done. Thy Will be done, and not mine; as we pray in the Everyday Prayer.

[fol. 10] The raised Arm was a Sign of the Wrath of Heaven, threatening of some Judgments: at least judging by what one had previously heard from the mouths of Messrs Portalés¹²⁶ and Fage. The Fist was closed; and the Arm turned in a manner which, when Mr Cavalier brought it down, little by little, on the Table, looked like he was imitating the movement of a man who, having grabbed a phial, by the neck, was going to pour it in front of him on the ground.

At the place marked ~~~~~ the Movements of Mr. Cavalier's head were violent, beyond what could be conceived. Which usually happens to him when he touches upon such Subjects.

* * *

¹²⁶ Charles Portalès (1676-1763). See note 103.

4. Isaac Elzière and the New Zionists (1742)¹²⁷

[p. 366] This book¹²⁸ shall be called *the torch of justice*,¹²⁹ the book of clear interpretations, the awakening of spirits fallen asleep by their sins, the cream of the Holy Scriptures, the sword of the spirit, the weapons of the faithful believers, the joy and consolation of Zion of afflicted souls, the treasure of the spiritual lights that the Holy Spirit comes to develop by the enlightenment it gives us of its Holy Scriptures in these last days. For the Holy Spirit is the architect of the heavens; that has deployed the treasures of its lights and of its spiritual knowledge in order to build this work, this edifice by the hand of Isaac Elzière, native of in Saint-Amboix, in Languedoc. [...]

[p. 367] I saw in a vision through the eyes of the spirit a flock of doves, of white pigeons who came to rest on my head, so much so that my head was all covered and surrounded. And then I saw three characters in front of me. These three characters appeared to me as the divinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. And one of them was carrying

¹²⁷ Ribard, “Un Inspiré, Isaac Elzière”, 365-372.

¹²⁸ Isaac Elzière had allegedly written a book of prophecies. To the best of our knowledge, it was never published and the manuscript appears to be lost.

¹²⁹ Jean-Paul Chabrol has suggested that this title strongly echoed several of the French Prophets’ works a few decades earlier. Jean-Paul Chabrol, “Mémoire et identité religieuse: la « légende » des Couflaïres de la Vaunage”, in *La Vaunage au xviii^e siècle* 2 (Nîmes: 2003), 5-6. Local archives provide evidence that the New Zionists read *Éclair de Lumière descendant des Cieux* (1711), *Cri d’alarme en avertissement aux Nations, qu’ils sortent de Babylone, des Ténèbres, pour entrer dans le repos du Christ* (1712), and *Plan de la justice de Dieu sur la Terre dans ces derniers jours, et du Relèvement de la chute de l’homme par son péché* (1714). ADH, C 509, no. 174.

a paper roll in his right hand, which was written half way with passages from the Holy Scriptures that are in that book. He told me to take a quill in my hand and to prepare myself to write clear interpretations of these passages. But one of these three characters was standing before me and was preventing me from seeing and knowing this spiritual light that I would have wished to see and know in order to be enlightened by it. And so the other two told him: “Make room for this man and move aside from my eyes, so that he can see”, and he came next to me. But before he moved aside, I saw a ray of light penetrating my body, and this light was so penetrating that it clothed me all over. So this character gave me this paper roll that he was holding in his right hand, and he told me to take the quill and write. So I began writing this book that I name *the torch of justice* because I saw a torch lit to enlighten me before as I was writing it before dawn.¹³⁰ And at first I was negligent and was not paying attention to this work, so my fleshy eyes closed all at once, and I saw from the spirit’s eyes a character coming to snuff this torch that was enlightening me and talking to me. I was very sad and afflicted to see that this light had withdrawn from my presence as a result of my negligence, and so I gave up my work until it returned. But having returned to enlighten me, I took my quill this time with more diligence, lest the Lord might take his wrath at me even more. And when I had neglected to write a passage that was to be put in writing in this book, I could hear a voice telling me to read in such a chapter of the Holy Scriptures, and when I found the said passage, I wrote it down where it was to be placed. And one day, as I was writing at three o’clock after noon, my fleshy eyes closed all of a sudden, but the spirit’s eyes opened to me instead, and I saw in a vision of the spirit’s eyes, that I was following a path drenched in a glorious sunlight, but that outside of that path all I could see was darkness and

¹³⁰ Similar to Elzière’s vision, the Camisard prophet Elie Marion was once depicted in an engraving having a vision of an angel holding a paper roll that read “I come to light you”. S. Conneand, *New Prophets: Their Historical and True Picture* (London: 1708).

obscurity. Yet soon afterwards, I saw that this [p. 368] sun(light) was spreading farther over the wilds of the earth, and I heard a voice that said that this sun was the sun of justice, the divine light of the Holy Spirit that is to spread over all flesh in these last days to enlighten its elected people¹³¹ with its light and knowledge.

But, as I walked along that pleasant path, I saw a Lord who was walking to my right, but I could not see his face. And he said to me, twice: “The book you are writing shall be contradicted by the enemies of your Lord, by the unbelievers, for some time, but thereafter, I assure you that it will have a great impact on several.”

Then I saw again in two visions of the spirit’s eyes that I was lying on the waters of a sea, and over this sea was a great sun shining, and I was not sinking at all, and the water of that sea was very calm and marvellously clear, and I rested there with my hands joined on my stomach, and my face, my eyes raised towards the sky looking at this wonderful sun shining over this sea and over my body. And the brightness of that sun was so penetrating that I could see the bottom of this sea in several places. But I saw an infinite number of human philosophers, who had dived into this sea with their different stubborn minds, but they drowned because of their misery, and that sea was called: the Holy Scripture. [...]

My name is Isaac Elzière, and I confess before God and before men that I am neither of the Papist law, nor of the Lutheran law, nor the Calvinist law,¹³² nor of any other of those different sects, which are [p. 369] invented and fabricated by the philosophy of men of this kind. But I am of the religion of Jesus-Christ and of his prophets and apostles, and of all those

¹³¹ Although Elzière was almost certainly influenced by the French Prophets, it is worth noting that they rejected the Calvinist doctrine of predestination and prophesied universal salvation instead. Laborie, *Enlightening Enthusiasm*, 89-90.

¹³² Like Daniel Raoux (see section 2 above), Elzière clearly did not identify as a Huguenot.

who have been invested with the Holy Spirit, by faith or by prophecy, as were the prophets and apostles and the faithful believers of the past. [...]

At the time when I was blind of the spirit's eyes, I had as false guides of my mind in my childhood the ecclesiastics of the pope's sect, being forced to it by their persecution;¹³³ and later, as I travelled from one land to another, in abundance of ecclesiastics of Calvin's sect and also of the Anglican sect.¹³⁴ [...]

The Holy Spirit is the divine light that guides me, the pastor who instructs me, who grazes me, who enlightens me, who teaches me. [...] although I believe in the true prophets of the present time, I do not venerate them, because I believe that they are not infallible, no more than the ancient prophets, because we have not yet reached the era of perfection, to be perfected, but I have faith in the prophetic Holy Spirit that speaks from time to time through their mouth, because I do not worship the tree that brings the fruit, nor do I prostrate myself before it, but I love he who make it produce. [...]

[p. 370] It is true that the false guides of Calvin's sect tell all their followers and listeners that the pope is the only antichrist; but St John teaches us in the IInd chapter of his first epistle that there are several antichrists,¹³⁵ before there was a pope: all these guides who, like the pope and his disciples, oppose the light and the reign of Christ, are antichrists who have grafted all sorts of different doctrines and sects of perdition on the teaching of J.-C.: the lie of human traditions, the fantasies of their hearts, their own thoughts, their imaginations,

¹³³ After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Protestants were forced to attend Mass. They were referred to as "nouveaux catholiques".

¹³⁴ This suggests that Elzière travelled to England via Switzerland and the Dutch Republic in his youth.

¹³⁵ 1 John 2:18.

that they put down in writing in their different books and sermons to feed souls... the waste, the wood and the stubble. [...]

They¹³⁶ make him [God] known through their doctrine that they teach differently from one another because they have not received the gift of the Holy-Spirit, nor any commandment from God that appointed them with this responsibility. For, if God had sent them, they would not need to train as apprentices to study mass or sermons, artificially composed by human wisdom to gain a good pension and vain glory from the people who listen to them. But they would remain subjects at the service of their master, and they would not pronounce anything else in their ministry than what the Holy Spirit would place in their mouth, like the apostles [p. 371] of ancient times did. But it seems rather that they have succeeded the scribes and the Pharisees.

¹³⁶ Ministers and theologians.

5. Paul Rabaut¹³⁷

Sermon on Daniel's prayer¹³⁸

[fol. 2r] My beloved brethren in our Lord Jesus Christ,

Among so many reproaches that the Lord makes to the Jewish people through his prophet Isaiah, those that we read in the 22nd chapter of his revelations¹³⁹ deserve all the more serious attention because, as we find ourselves in more or less the same circumstances, we commit the same faults, except even more criminal, and therefore more punishable in our case than in theirs. Surrounded by an army of Assyrians threatening to invade Judea; about to face the brutality of the soldier, all the horrors of war, and an awful captivity in idolatrous countries; what are they doing to prevent such great evils? In truth, they do not neglect the means that human prudence may suggest on such occasions. They race to arms; they count the inhabitants able to defend the capital; they demolish their houses to fortify their ramparts; they stock large supplies of water: But in taking all these precautions they neglect the most

¹³⁷ BPF, MS 716/3, no. 28. A marginal note, possibly by Rabaut Saint-Etienne, reads: "This sermon is one of the most beautiful ones on the resemblances between the plight of the Jews under Darius and the plight of the [French] Reformed. The whole introduction is of the highest eloquence. A few longueurs towards the end. I recommend it for publication." ("Ce sermon est un des plus beaux sur le rapport entre les malheurs des Juifs sous Darius et les malheurs des Réformés. Tout l'exorde est de la plus haute éloquence. Quelques longueurs vers la fin. Je le propose pour l'impression.").

¹³⁸ Dan. 9:1-19.

¹³⁹ Isa. 22:8-14.

important one, which is to turn to the Lord, to trust in His promises, to implore His help and protection, to beseech His clemency by their repentance. What imprudence! What recklessness! They want to defend Jerusalem, and yet they do not look to He who created and shaped it from a long time, and without whose help all their efforts are entirely useless.

That is not all yet. Instead of humbling themselves before the Lord, of being alarmed in a salutary manner at the sight of this flood of evils threatening them, and of giving external and public marks of a contrite and repentant heart, as if they did not care to perish and wanted to brave divine justice, in this time of affliction and alarm, they surrender themselves to the most indecent and least moderate joy. Hear what the prophet and the Almighty Lord of hosts said to them, when he called you in those days to weeping and mourning, to pulling out your hair and wearing sackcloth;¹⁴⁰ and [...] there is joy and gladness: oxen are killed, sheep are slaughtered, flesh is eaten and wine is drunk; and they say: let us eat and drink for we shall die tomorrow. Yet, added Isaiah, the Lord of hosts said unto me, if this iniquity be ever forgiven to you, you shall not die from it, said the Almighty Lord of hosts.¹⁴¹

This, my dear brethren, is a picture in which we can easily recognise the situation we are in and our conduct. Exposed as we are to a more cruel and desolate [fol. 2v] persecution than the deadliest war; oppressed in every way, not by strangers, but by our own fellow citizens who attack not only our property, our freedom, our reputation, our lives, but also our souls and those of our children; in this terrible state therefore, what have we done to end our plight? We shall say nothing about human means; there are few that we can put to use. But can we not be blamed, like the Jews, for lacking confidence in God? For many people, who even want to pass for the most intelligent and wise, it seems that our deliverance is impossible, that

¹⁴⁰ Isa. 22:12.

¹⁴¹ Isa. 22:13-14.

God would face too many obstacles to overcome, as if his arm were shortened and his strength diminished. Consequently to these ideas one is content to lament of one's condition, instead of turning to God, and to try to beseech Him with fervent prayers, and full confidence in his paternal care. But what is even more shocking, and which only makes it worse, is that instead of feeling penetrated by the desolations of the church, of afflicting our souls before the Lord, of humiliating ourselves under his powerful hand, of wearing sackcloth and ashes, we behave just as if we had no subject of affliction. Although the ways of Zion are mourning, that our virgins and our sinful people are held in captivity, that prisons and galleys are full of confessors, that our pastors are being beaten,¹⁴² and the sheep are scattered from the flock, that souls are dying of starvation from not hearing the words of the Almighty; despite all of this there is almost no sign of affliction to be seen. Everywhere, on the contrary, joy and gladness burst. There are only parties of pleasure, games, dances and sumptuous meals in which the rules of sobriety are often hardly observed. O LORD, you have struck them, and they have not felt any pain, you have consumed them, and they have refused to receive instruction. They have hardened their faces like a rock, they have refused to be converted.

We assume, my dear brethren, that in coming here today to humiliate yourselves before God so extraordinarily, you have taken on very different feelings from those we have just depicted and that you intend to hold an entirely opposite conduct. That is why we are going to propose the example of the prophet Daniel as your model, well worthy of our imitation. Blessed and so animated by the beautiful feelings that he expresses in the prayer

¹⁴² Huguenot ministers faced execution if they were caught preaching in France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The period 1715-1760 was marked by ongoing persecution, during which dozens of ministers were executed and celebrated as martyrs by their coreligionists. "Pasteurs et prédicants martyrs",

(<http://www.museedudesert.com/article5918.html>, accessed 8 August 2016).

that we have just read, we fast as this day requires, so that our voice may be heard from the Heavens. Follow us, my dear brethren, in the reflections we are about to make. It is to the heart that we want to speak rather than to the spirit; obey the voice of God; let the passions be silent, let the conscience speak; but speak to us, Lord, directly through your holy spirit. Let Him break our hearts, let Him change them so that we may truly become your people and may you show yourself to be our God. Amen.

[fol. 3r] Let us first pay attention, my dear brethren, to the circumstances in which the prophet Daniel found himself; and which are in so much conformity with those in which we find ourselves. A member of the Jewish Church and a prophet of the Almighty, his love for God, his zeal for religion, and his strong attachment to his brethren, did not allow him to look with indifference at the desolations of this people who were infinitely dear to him. What a sad spectacle indeed for a soul like his, than the devastating catastrophes of which he had been the witness and the victim: Jerusalem, the center of religion, reduced to a pile of ruins; this august temple where God gave the most perceptible marks of his presence, and which contained so many precious monuments, consumed by the flames; the sacrificing priests and the prophets of the living God, some put to death, others taken into captivity; a great part of the people consumed by the sword or by famine, and almost all the rest transplanted into a foreign land. These were some of the gloomy objects which the prophet had before his eyes, and which pierced his heart with the most bitter pain. He saw in these tragic events the execution of the threats that God had made through his servant Moses and which can be read in the chapter 28th of Deuteronomy. He therefore saw that the Jewish people had brought corruption to its height, exhausted the treasures of God's mercy and patience, who resolves to punish only as a last resort. All of this afflicted him at the highest level, and in order to relieve his pain, to give impetus to his zeal, and to contribute with all his power to the recovery of the Jewish church, he humbles himself extraordinarily before God by fasting,

wearing sackcloth and ashes, he pours his worries into the bosom of this merciful God who in his anger remembers his compassion; he confesses his sins to him, as well as those of the people, and begs him as fervently as he can to exercise his mercy towards this desolate nation and to restore it to his homeland.¹⁴³

But here is a new reason that increases the prophet's hope, that greatly excites his zeal and animates his devotion; it is that he had read in the book of the prophet Jeremiah that the captivity of the Jews in Babylon was to last for seventy years, and that he saw that this term was about to end. Here is indeed how Jeremiah expresses himself in the 29th ch. of his revelations: Thus, saith the LORD, when the seventy years are fulfilled in Babylon, I shall visit you, and execute my promise upon you to return you to this place. For I know that the thoughts [fol. 3v] I have upon you, saith the LORD, are thoughts of peace, not of adversity, to give you the outcome you expect, then shall you call upon me in order to depart; and you shall pray to me and I shall answer you; you shall seek me and you shall find me, after seeking me with all your heart.¹⁴⁴ It is that promise that filled Daniel with the sweet hope that his humiliation would be effective, and that his prayers would rise before God's throne like a sweet fragrance. The Eternal is no man to lie, nor a son of man to repent; he hath spoken, and why would he not do it? What joy for this prophet to see the seventy years about to end! What encouragement for him to beg God for mercy on his people!

As we have already suggested, my dear brethren, the circumstances in which we find ourselves are the same as those in which Daniel found himself. The state which our churches have long been in is no less sad than that of the Jewish church then. Is it necessary to redraw here a picture of our long and overwhelming miseries, but what brush could represent all of these atrocities? The Jews only lost one temple, we lost nearly a thousand. These holy houses

¹⁴³ Dan. 9:3-6.

¹⁴⁴ Jer. 21:10-13.

where truth was proclaimed in all its purity and where God was worshipped as he requires of his true followers, were razed to the ground. Not only were the ambassadors of Jesus Christ silenced so that they would no longer announce good news to come, but they were also chased away from their homeland, to make it easier for the wolves to devour the sheep in the absence of their shepherds. And if some of these messengers of the Almighty had the courage to risk their lives for their sheep, to feed them with spiritual pasture through the perils that threatened them, hardly a few died peacefully; so that we witnessed in them what is said in the psalm 79. The dead bodies of your servants were given for meat to the birds of heaven, and the flesh of your beloved to the beasts of the earth; their blood was shed like water around Jerusalem.

What gloomy objects stand before my eyes! Here I see a multitude of believers tormented into renouncing their Saviour, into betraying the lights of their conscience, but who remain faithful to their duty; and who become confessors for some and martyrs for the others. There I see a much greater number of them becoming apostates, and who, in order to protect themselves from the persecutions of men, expose themselves to the devouring remorse of their conscience, and to the dreadful vengeance of the Almighty. Here I see troops of fugitives who, unable to find rest in their homeland, seek asylums in foreign climates;¹⁴⁵ there I see others reduced to hide in the caves and caverns of the earth, and who find more compassion in ferocious beasts than in men. Here I see [fol. 4r] husbands who are separated from their wives, wives who are taken from their husbands; there, children who are torn from the arms of those who gave them birth, to make them suckle the venom of error and idolatry.

¹⁴⁵ Reference to the Huguenot diaspora towards Protestant countries. See Susanne Lachenicht, "Diasporic Networks and Immigration Policies", in *A Companion to the Huguenots*, ed. Raymond Mentzer and Bertrand van Ruymbeke (Leiden: 2016), 249-272.

Have we only seen these objects from a distance, my dear brothers? Alas they are still before our eyes! We do not need to go far back to see the sad marks of the Lord's wrath. So many of our brothers and sisters groaning under the weight of an oar, the others in the darkness of a prison. Our Pastors persecuted and put to death, our religious assemblies proscribed, the Lord's table overthrown, our virgins confined in convents; the famine that the Lord sent upon our land, not the famine of bread, nor the thirst for water, but the famine of hearing the words of the Lord: how much more is needed to convince us that our situation is no less miserable than that of the Jews in Babylon? How could we not see such a lamentable state where the wrath of the Almighty is marked in such large print!

Even though we will have armed the vengeful arm of this righteous judge, we will have violated his most respectable laws; we shall see his now-raised arm strike us; we will have dismissed his most precious blessings, attracted his most dreadful scourges and we will not be in anguish. Out of here these ungodly who in these unfortunate times dare to indulge in the joy and amusements of the century. It is clear that they have no fear of God, no apprehension of his judgments, no zeal for his glory, no sensitivity to the misfortunes of the Church. Let us abhor such feelings, my dear brethren, and let us clothe ourselves in a state of suffering and humiliation in which we are struck by the long captivity under which the Church groans, afflicted to be ourselves its cause by the sins into which we have had the misfortune to fall. Following Daniel's example, let us strive to supplicate the Lord with fasting, sackcloth and ashes.

We have seen that what excited Daniel's zeal, what animated his devotion, was that he knew that the 70 years that the captivity was to last for was about to expire. If we do not have the same certitude as Daniel, as we must concede, we nevertheless have strong reasons

to hope that after 70 years of captivity¹⁴⁶ God in his great compassions will allow the restoration of our dear churches, provided that we turn to him with all our heart. We know that God does not delight in seeing his people in a state of suffering, and that he does not resort to making his judgments fall upon them until all the other means of conversion that he has employed have proven useless. He chastises only to correct, hence it is not doubtful that when one has renounced the disorders which had made him take the rod, he withdraws it and stops striking. That is what he proclaims in many places of his word. Turn to me [fol. 4v] and I will turn to you, said the Lord of hosts. Come closer to God and he will come closer to you. There is an infinite number of other similar statements. The natural consequence of this is that if we renounce our vices God will put an end to our calamities. What could possibly stop him, is there any obstacle he cannot easily overcome? The hand of the Lord is not shortened that he could not deliver; his ear is not become heavy that he could not hear; but your iniquities have separated you from your God, and your sins have caused him to hide his face from you, so that he should not hear you. When God takes pleasure in man's voices, he appeases his enemies towards himself.

But beyond this general reason, there are particular ones that give us hope that God will soon visit us in his love. Saint Paul tells us that what happened to the Jews happened to them in images. The captivity of the Jewish Church in Babylon thus served to represent the captivity of some Christian Church, but which Churches have better fulfilled this image than ours? Not a single one will be found whose desolations conform so closely to the captivity of the Jewish people, whether in relation to the greatness of their afflictions or in relation to their duration. Besides we find in the first chapter of the revelations of the prophet Zechariah

¹⁴⁶ Rabaut preached this sermon in March 1755, i.e. 69 years and five months after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which marked the beginning of the Huguenots' clandestinity.

an oracle which seems to have us in sight rather than the Jews. The Lord promises that after 70 years there will be compassion in Jerusalem and the cities of Judea.¹⁴⁷ Yet in those days the Jews had been re-established in their homeland for many years, from where it follows that this oracle does not refer to the literal Jerusalem and Judea; it must therefore be applied to the mystical Jerusalem and Judea. And to whom, I pray you, could this application be better made than to the Reformed churches of this kingdom? We therefore have reason to hope that God will restore our flocks, for the year we now live in is precisely the 70th year of our captivity. Add to that that we cannot be far from the end of the reign of the Antichrist. He was given 1260 years to make war against the saints and to defeat them.¹⁴⁸ But while we do not want to set the precise beginning of this period, it is certain that the end of the 1260 years cannot be far away. The imperial dignity which hindered the manifestation of the sinful man according to St Paul's prediction was abolished in the West in the fifth century, and consequently if the 1260 years have not expired since then, they cannot be long to do so.¹⁴⁹ Now the reign of the Antichrist, once abolished, no more persecutions. Finally, we see clearly that the spirits are becoming enlightened. The rights of conscience are better known than ever, and persecution is now deemed unjust and harmful.¹⁵⁰ Based on all these reasons, we believe we are [fol. 5r] justified in believing that the end of our misfortunes is near and that God will soon put our beloved Zion in a flourishing and renowned state on earth. What a powerful motive, what encouragement this must be for us, my dear brethren, to turn to the lord, the sovereign master of events, to humble ourselves before him, seeking like Daniel to

¹⁴⁷ Zech. 1:12-17.

¹⁴⁸ Dan. 7:25; Rev. 11:3.

¹⁴⁹ On early modern eschatological calculations, see Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, 53-58.

¹⁵⁰ On the French Enlightenment and changing attitudes towards religious toleration, see Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion*, 42-43 and part 2.

make request and supplication with fasting, sackcloth and ashes. Do you think that a criminal sentenced to death, who would have strong reasons to hope that he would be pardoned, would not hasten to beg for it? Ah, he wouldn't need strong reasons. The slightest glimmer of hope would suffice to make him throw himself at the feet of his judge, and surely he would try to bend him by his prayers, by his tears, by his protestations of amendment. My brethren, we can tell you along with a prophet, that the Eternal is waiting to give you grace. Everything indicates that if we look for him properly, we will find him. Perhaps he is only waiting for the celebration of this fast to break our chains and set us free. But not all sorts of fasts are effective, there are some that he hates and that irritate him sorely from appeasing him; such are the hypocritical fasts where one merely shows appearances of penance, without truly feeling it. The true fast that unerringly disarms the Lord's arm is one where one tears one's heart rather than one's clothes. It is a matter for fasting well to seek our ways, to probe them and to return to the eternal our God. This is how Daniel fasted. Let us examine what feelings he expresses and try to imitate them.

Our prophet does not satisfy himself with being a spectator of the evils of the Church, and groaning inwardly about it. He goes straight to the source of deliverance; he asks God with all the ardour he is capable of to deign to appease his people. That is how God's children use it when they desire deliverance either from their own evils or from those of the Church. They know very well that this supreme judge of events directs them as he pleases, and thus that one cannot count on the success of the means that they use and that as much as his blessing accompanies them. They even know that God can operate without means, and that nothing is difficult for him, that it is he who elevates and lowers, who impoverishes and enriches, who creates light and darkness, who makes peace and truth. For this reason prayer is their refuge, especially in the days of calamity. God is, they say, our retreat and strength and help in times of distress; very easy to find. Yes, God stands near the desolate hearts, he

stands by those who ask for him in sincerity and truth. Let us therefore pray, my dear brethren, especially in these times of affliction. It is the key that opens the heavens; it is a ladder that reaches to the throne of God. It is a weapon that this great God cannot resist, the sure way to overcome. How and to whom Jacob overcame God, weeping and asking him for his mercy; he would not let him go until he had blessed him. Hence this exhortation of an apostle; is anyone in the affliction that they pray.

[fol. 5v] Daniel adds fasting to prayer, and it is indeed a very suitable accompaniment, especially in extraordinary devotions. Everything must indicate the deep pain in the heart, the strong feeling that he has of his unworthiness and his misery, the ardent desire that drives him to retain the graces that he is going to ask of the master of the world. In great afflictions one does not hasten to consume food, one is disgusted by it, one finds it insipid; the soul is occupied only with its pain. Would it not be easy to abstain from it when, concentrated in pious meditations, one feels how abhorrent sin is to the divinity, harmful to individuals and to the public, and how terrible it is to fall into the hands of the living god when he is irritated. When it comes to bending the Almighty one cannot humiliate oneself enough in His presence. By abstaining from the food that is necessary for the maintenance of our lives, we testify that we recognise ourselves unworthy of living, and that we have deserved death. Lastly, fasting helps devotion considerably. The body being not laden with food, the soul rises with more freedom and facility towards its God. It has more activity, more attention, more fervour. Among the Jews it was customary on fasting days to cover oneself with a sackcloth and to lie on ashes, in order to express in a more sensitive way the confusion and pain with which one was penetrated.

But this is not essential to fasting, the most important thing is to examine one's conduct, to confess one's sins to God with the most profound compunction and humility; to implore his mercy with ardour; to stop doing wrong, and to learn to do well.

So today we must confess our sins to God, which we cannot do unless we know them. Let us therefore silence our self-esteem. We are before the lord who probes hearts and kidneys, what good would it do us to try to hide from him what is wrong with our feelings and our behaviour? It would only add hypocrisy to godlessness. Let us therefore bear in mind that everything is naked and entirely discovered in the eyes of him to whom we are accountable. Let us not disguise anything in his presence. He who omits his transgressions shall not prosper, but he who confesses and forsakes them shall obtain mercy. Let us say with Daniel: Alas! Lord, the mighty god, the great the fearsome, who keeps the covenant and gratuity to those who love you and who keep your commandments.

This preface is well suited to humiliate sinners, to slay them in the dust, but at the same time it offers them reasons for hope and amendment. The god before whom we are here assembled is infinitely powerful. One act of his will sufficed to create the world, one act of that same will would suffice to annihilate it. Who would not fear this sovereign might? This great god is an infinite [fol. 6r] majesty in front of whom we are but powder and ash that would only be wiped out in his presence. He is a dreadful god whose justice demands that crime be punished, and before whom the wicked cannot subsist [...] fear and alarm. But at the same time he is a merciful and pitiful God; by virtue of his covenant of grace, he shows mercy to those who love him sincerely and strive to do his will. This must raise our hopes, encourage us to approach with confidence the throne of grace to obtain mercy, and to be relieved in times of need; but we must also aspire to reform our lives, for he only forgives to be feared.

Let us therefore say to God with the prophet Daniel: we have sinned. But let us not say it with our mouths alone, may our hearts feel it and be bitterly afflicted by it. We have sinned, yes we have sinned in every possible way against God, against our fellows, against ourselves. We have sinned by our thoughts, by our words and by our actions. So many sins

against God! Instead of this sovereign love that we owe him and because of his kind perfections, and consequently of the equally numerous and excellent blessings that we derive from his pure liberality, especially the invaluable gift that he bestowed onto us with his dear son, what coldness, what indifference do we not have to blame ourselves for! How lukewarm our acts of devotion, our reading of the word of God, our participation in the sacraments, our prayers, whether public or particular. What respect have we for the Lord? Is it respect to pronounce his name all the time, without consideration, without necessity; unfortunate custom that has become only too general. Ah if we considered carefully what the name of God signifies, if we were well penetrated by the greatness of this immense majesty before which the seraphim themselves cover their wings, we would undoubtedly be more reserved to pronounce this unspeakable name. And what shall we say about those infamous mouths that blaspheme him? Why was the commendable custom of piercing their tongues with a burning iron, still too sweet a torture for such an enormous crime, abolished? What fear do we have of the Lord? If we truly feared him, would we so easily indulge in sin? Would we not fear to suffer the effect of the threats he makes to the offenders of his laws, and would not the terror of his threats balance out the fatal delights of crime? If we feared God, would we fear men so much, and would we not rather expose ourselves to all their fury than displease this great Being who can cast the body and soul into the Gehenna of fire?¹⁵¹ God is infinitely [fol. 6v] more loving than terrible and he has spared no effort to convince men of his tender love for them in order to encourage them to confide in him, to rely on the paternal care of his good and wise providence. But in spite of all this we are full of worry and disquiet whenever events do not unfold according to our desires. We are agitated, we are tormented, we fear lacking everything, as if God did not intervene in human affairs. With regard to the obedience that is due to this great God, we have so many reproaches to blame ourselves for. We believe

¹⁵¹ Jer. 19:2-6.

we have done our duty well when we have performed some external works, but what good is it if the heart is not submitted to the Lord, if these movements are not subordinated to His will? We are willing to obey in things that do not hinder greed, but when it comes to taming the passions, to sacrificing the inclinations of the heart, we shake the yoke, and we follow our own will rather than that of God. We have therefore too many reasons to write with Daniel: we have sinned.

It is not only with regard to our duties towards God that we have to blame ourselves, we have hardly been more attentive to our duties towards our fellows. One would have to love them sincerely and take an interest in their happiness from the bottom of one's heart, but one only loves oneself and is all ice for others. Hence the ease with which we tend to judge their intentions and approaches so recklessly here. Hence the little sensitivity one has for their reputation, which is torn to pieces. Hence the tardiness with which one goes to the help of the needy. And how could one fulfil the duties of charity when we fail even those of justice, when we do not trouble ourselves with causing harm, with withholding the property of others and dying without returning it. With regard to our fellows, therefore, we again have reason to say with Daniel, we have sinned.

We have no less reason to say this in relation to our duties toward ourselves. Are we always happy with our condition, and do we never [...] against the Lord? Do we care more about our souls than our bodies? Do we never fall into the excesses of greed and drunkenness? Have we not too much fondness for earthly goods, too much eagerness to acquire them? Let us not form too many great ideas of ourselves, and let us not think ourselves beyond what is needed [fol. 7r] each one of us should question his heart; let us not delude ourselves and we shall have no trouble to say: we have sinned. We have committed iniquity, we have been rebellious, and we have turned away from your commandments and your ordinances.

The ideas of iniquity, rebellion and the like contained in Daniel's prayer must remind us of the aggravating circumstances that have accompanied our sins. Who knows not that those sins that are committed knowingly are far more atrocious, more abhorrent to the Lord, and therefore more punishable than those in which one falls out of ignorance? And how many sins of this sort have we not committed, knowingly and willingly, despite the warnings and pangs of our conscience? Who does not know that when one sins deliberately one is much more criminal than when one sins by surprise, and how many times have we not offended God after carefully pondering it, after having had considerable time to consider the consequences of our actions? And what can I say about the sins of habit that are absolutely incompatible with regeneration and the state of grace. Far from being considered from this point of view, many people allege this in order to make their apology, which makes them completely inexcusable. Whenever we want to rebuke those who have taken the unfortunate custom of taking God's name in vain or uttering other evil words, they hope to absolve themselves by telling us it is a habit we have taken. That is to say that you have fallen back so often into the same error that it is now difficult for you to correct yourselves, but that is what makes you more guilty and therefore more worthy of punishment.

Let us pay attention to another circumstance that Daniel did not forget, it is the disobedience to the exhortations of the prophets. Many places in the Old Testament show indeed that the Jews took little heed of the salutary warnings given to them by the Lord's messengers, which was one of the main causes of the terrible punishments he inflicted upon them. The ministers of the Gospel are the prophets of the New Testament; and how many times, my dear brethren, have they not made the voice of their Divine Master resound in our ears? How many times have they not warned us of our duties and urged us to fulfil them? How many times have they not censured our disorders by exhorting us with the strongest reasons to turn back toward the Lord's testimonies? How many times have they not foretold

us that God would deprive us of the ministry of the word that we so disregarded. However, what fruit did their speech produce? What sinners have changed their ways? What reformation has there been among us? It can be said without exaggerating that depravity has been increasing in recent years. What licentiousness do we not see in the discourses, what disruption in the actions, which marks a great corruption of the hearts. [fol. 7v] Our predictions are therefore only too verified. The word of God has become rare in Israel, because we have despised it.

The prophet Daniel confesses to the Lord that all the orders of the Church and the State had become corrupt. We only have too many reasons to even confess. From the sole of the foot to the top of the head, there is nothing whole in us. Those who were to lead others, did not always know how to lead themselves. [We?] ministers of the Lord, have not always fulfilled exactly the duties imposed upon us by the glorious but arduous work with which we are entrusted. What negligence and lukewarmness in the exercise of our functions; we have so many reproaches to blame ourselves for! Yes Lord, to you is justice, and to us is the shame and confusion of the face. The flocks have also essentially failed in what they owed their Pastors, what attention has been given to their conservation; here I cannot say all I can, whoever has ears to hear it hears! I would be too long if I wanted to go into the other orders of persons of which society is composed in detail. What a sad picture would not present to you the various shortcomings of the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the merchants and the craftsmen, the husbands and the wives, the fathers and the children, the masters and the servants.

What shall we say after all these things, my dear brethren? Will we not agree that the Lord is just in his punishments, will we complain that he treats us too severely? Our situation is sad, that is true, but it would be so much sadder still, if God had not tempered by his mercy the terrible blows of his justice. We must therefore understand that this mercy is our only

refuge; we must be aware of our need for it; and we must hate our disorders; we must be frightened in a salutary manner at the sight of such a dark ingratitude and such a voluntary, universal and inexcusable rebellion. May our hearts melt with anguish, but at the same time, let us, contrite and humiliated, resort to the throne of grace. We have sinned, but we have a [...] towards the Father namely J.C. the righteous who propitiated for our sins. He is the mediator in us from whom Daniel prays to God and hopes to be heard, praying the love of the Lord, says he, makes your face shine on your desolate sanctuary.

But, my brothers, what good would it do us to confess our sins if we wanted to persevere in them? You have heard already what the Scripture says. He who conceals his transgressions shall not prosper, but he who confesses and forsakes them shall obtain mercy. You see, therefore, that it is not enough to confess them and that they must necessarily be abandoned, or else there is no grace to await. What use would our prayers to the Lord be if they were not accompanied by making amends? Solomon tells us: the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Eternal, but the prayer of the righteous pleases him.¹⁵² [fol. 8r] How effective would our fast be if, while we are happy to mortify our body for a few hours, we did not want to mortify our passions, to sacrifice them to the Lord. The fast that God has chosen is not one of afflicting one's soul for [...] day, of putting on sackcloth and ashes, it consists mainly in renouncing sin and practicing virtue.

Let us fast in this way, my dear brethren, and we shall soon experience the effectiveness of our humiliation. God will yield to our prayers and tears. He will cast away our sins as far as the East is removed from the West. He will cause our august monarch¹⁵³ to allow our exiles and captives to return to their homeland like another Cyrus, and together we shall rebuild the house of the Lord. Then our flocks shall graze under the guidance of their

¹⁵² Prov. 15:8.

¹⁵³ King Louis XV (r.1715-1774).

legitimate shepherds, who shall lead them into grassy pastures and along clear and calm waters. Then no more desolation in our homeland nor damage in our lands. You have seen, my dear brethren, the strong reasons we have to believe that this happy time is not far away. Let us hasten it by our vows and especially by the reformation of our lives [...] and man iniquitous his thoughts that he returns to the Eternal and he shall have mercy upon him and upon our God for he forgives again and again: Lord convert us and we shall be truly converted and renew our days as they were formerly. Lord hear, Lord forgive, Lord be attentive and be diligent, do not delay because of yourself [...] God, for your name has been called upon your city and your people. Amen.

This 7th of March 1755.