

George Rapchou
HISTORY 1847.

OF THE

ANCIENT CHRISTIANS

INHABITING

THE VALLEYS OF THE ALPS.

- I. THE WALDENSES.
- II. THE ALBIGENSES.
- III. THE VAUDOIS.

WITH

AN ESSAY ON THEIR PRESENT CONDITION,

By REV. ROBERT BAIRD, D.D.

AND

A RECOMMENDATORY LETTER FROM

REV. SAMUEL MILLER, D.D.

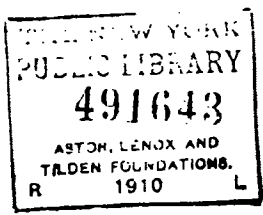
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HISTORY
OF THE
OLD WALDENSES

ANTERIOR TO THE REFORMATION.

By Jean Paul Perrin.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,

FROM MODERN

HISTORIANS AND THEOLOGIANS.

PHILADELPHIA:

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★ REV. G. T. EDDY
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RECOMMENDATORY LETTER,

ADDRESSED TO THE PUBLISHERS :

BY SAMUEL MILLER, D. D.,

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT PRINCETON.

GENTLEMEN,—

It has given me no small pleasure to learn that you are engaged in publishing an American edition of the REV. JEAN PAUL PERRIN'S "*History of the Old Waldenses, anterior to the Reformation.*" In the execution of this undertaking, you are undoubtedly rendering an important service to the cause of evangelical truth and order. It is indeed wonderful that a work so interesting, and so truly instructive and valuable, which has been more than two centuries before the public, and which was translated into the English language more than a hundred years ago, should never have been given from the press on this side of the Atlantic:—a work, too, so often inquired after, so frequently quoted, and deemed of such high authority in the department to which it belongs. I cannot help hoping and believing that your enterprize will be favorably received, and suitably rewarded. Such a work ought, undoubtedly, to be within the reach of all who are disposed to inquire what the Church of God has been in its best days since the Apostolic age.

The promise of the Saviour to his apostles was, that the gates of hell should never prevail against his church. This promise seems to secure to his people that there shall be, in all ages, and in the worst of times, a true and substantially pure Church; that is, that there shall always be a body of people, more or less numerous, who shall hold fast the doctrines and order of Christ's house, in some good degree, in conformity with the model of the primitive Church. Accordingly, it is not difficult to show that, ever since the rise of the "Man of Sin," there has been a succession of those whom the Scriptures style, "Witnesses for God"—"Witnesses for the truth;" who have kept alive "the faith once delivered to the saints;" and have, in some good degree of faithfulness, maintained the ordinances and discipline which the inspired apostles, in the Master's name, committed to the keeping of the Church.

Among these Witnesses, the first that we distinctly read of were the *Fauhcians*. They rose about A. D. 660. A very interesting account of these pious people is given in MILNER'S Ecclesiastical History of the seventh century; and a still more extended and distinct account, in the Rev. ADAM BLAIR'S *History of the Waldenses, Book I. chapter I.*

While the *Pauicians* were still maintaining their faithful testimony, the *Waldenses* arose; or, rather more probably, these two denominations had a *common origin*, and a *common faith*. The name *Waldenses*, the most common and popular one of those humble and devoted people, was evidently derived—not from *Peter Waldo*, but from the *place of their abode*. The following statement of the learned and ingenious *Robert Robinson*, a divine of Cambridge, in England, who died more than half a century ago, places the origin of this name in what I suppose to be the true light.

“From the Latin, *Vallis*, came the English, *valley*; the French and Spanish, *vallé*; the Italian, *valdesi*; the Low Dutch, *valleye*; the Provençal, *vauz, vaudais*; the ecclesiastical *Vallenses, Valdenses, Ualdenses, and Waldenses*. The words simply signify *vallies*,—the inhabitants of vallies, and no more. It happened that the inhabitants of the Pyrences did not profess the Catholic faith. It fell out also that the inhabitants of the vallies about the Alps did not embrace that faith. It happened, moreover, in the ninth century, that one *Valdo*, a friend and counsellor of *Berengarius*, and a man of eminence, who had many followers, did not approve of the Papal discipline and doctrine. And it came to pass, about an hundred and thirty years after, that a rich merchant of Lyons, who was called *Valdus*, because he received his religious opinions from the inhabitants of the vallies, openly disavowed the Roman religion, supported many to teach the doctrines believed in the vallies, and became the instrument of the conversion of great numbers. All these people were called *WALDENSES*.”*

The same people, that is, a people who substantially agreed in faith and practice, were called by different names derived from their places of residence; from the names of distinguished leaders; and from a variety of minor peculiarities:—as *Albigenses*, from their principal seat being in the neighborhood of *Alby*, in France; *Bohemian Brethren*, from their being found in large numbers, in *Bohemia*; *Cathari*, or *Puritans*, from their opposition to the corruptions of the Papacy; *Leonists*, or *Poor men of Lyons*, from their chief residence in the city of *Lyons*; *Petrobrussians, Arnoldists, and Henricians*, from the names of distinguished ministers and leaders; and a variety of other appellations, familiar to the students of ecclesiastical history. These names, however, will be found so fully enumerated and explained in the History itself, which I here recommend, that further remark upon them here is altogether unnecessary.

It would not be strictly accurate to say, that among the large body of churches bearing the general name of *Waldenses*, there were no diversities of opinion in regard to any points; still it may be said, with entire confidence and safety, that, on all leading points, there was a great uniformity of practice. Their own *Confessions of Faith*, drawn up and published at different times, nay the very accusations and calumnies of their enemies leave us at no loss in regard to this matter.

The following statement may be considered as a fair and impartial *Synopsis* of their religious principles and practices. These, indeed, may all be gathered from the pages of the ensuing history; but it is judged best to exhibit a summary of them in this place, for the purpose of exciting the attention, and directing the inquiries of those who shall undertake to examine for themselves the numerous and diversified documents which are embraced in this volume.

They zealously contended for the doctrine of the Trinity—the Divinity of

* *ROBINSON'S Ecclesiastical Researches*, chapter x. p. 302, 303.

Christ—the fall of our race in and by the first sin of Adam—the entire depravity of human nature—the vicarious nature of the atonement—the sovereign, unconditional election of all who are saved, before the foundation of the world—justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ—the necessity of regeneration and continued sanctification by the power of the Holy Spirit—the perseverance of the saints—and the endless punishment of the finally impenitent. In regard to all these points they adopted what we are accustomed, in later times, to denominate *Calvinism*, with scarcely a single deviation.

But that which attracted most attention in their day, and created most enmity against them in the dominant Church, was their adoption and publication of the following opinions and practices bearing on the system of Romanism.

They renounced the Church of Rome as mystical Babylon, abhorred the Pope as the “Man of Sin,” and rejected all the traditions of the Papacy as of no authority among Christians. They held that there were only *two* sacraments, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper; that the other *five*, so named by the Romanists, have no just title to be called sacraments; and that of the five, *three*, viz. confirmation, penance, and extreme unction, have no foundation whatever in the word of God. That all *God-fathers*, and *God-mothers*, in the baptism of infants, are to be rejected, excepting the *parents*, who alone ought to present their children, if they are living, and of a suitable character. But that if the parents are dead, or destitute of Christian character, then the children ought to be presented by any who are willing to become responsible for their Christian education. That fasts and festival days, and saints’ days, have no authority in Scripture, and ought not to be observed. That no day ought to be kept holy but the Lord’s day. That the true Church consists of all those who have knowledge of the Gospel, and walk according to its principles and rules. That purgatory, transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, and to saints, auricular confession, and all image worship, were all departures from primitive purity and simplicity, and ought all to be rejected with abhorrence. They pronounced the consecration of churches, churchyards, church bells, and all things of a similar nature, to be superstitious, and the invention of covetous priests to increase their gains, by extorting from the people, fees and oblations. They maintained the doctrine of Presbyterian parity among their clergy; rejecting all diversity of rank and order in the priesthood. They had also Ruling Elders in their churches, and conducted their ecclesiastical affairs by a Synod,—in which pastors and elders came together to deliberate and decide on all their affairs. In regard to *dress*, their ministers were content with a *simple black coat*, instead of the pompous vestments of the Romish clergy. Contrary to the assertions of some,* it is perfectly plain, from their Confession of Faith, that they practised infant baptism, and that they baptized by sprinkling or affusion. They taught that the clergy were allowed to marry, and that the doctrine of the celibacy of the clergy was a doctrine of devils, leading to enormous moral mischief. They were charged by their enemies with denying the lawfulness of defensive war, of capital punishments; of taking oaths, even in judicial process; and of exercising the office of the civil magistrate. All these charges, however, they solemnly

* WILLIAM JONES, an eminent Baptist, in his “History of the Waldenses,” has so mutilated and perverted the plainest documents of those pious Witnesses of the truth, in order to make them speak the language of anti-pedobaptists, as to place his character as an honest historian in a most undesirable position.

denied, and declared that they were mere slanders. They taught that the sacraments, though appointed by Christ, and though binding on all Christians, were yet not necessary to salvation; that is, that all sincere believers in Christ, who had no opportunity of attending on those ordinances, or who were prevented by any mistake from attending on them, would still certainly be saved.

Most of these statements are confirmed by the adversaries of the Waldenses, who, with no view to do them honor, represent them as holding the opinions just mentioned, as evidences of enormous and even damnable heresies. A few specimens of this testimony will appear to the impartial reader perfectly conclusive.

Lindanus, a Roman Catholic bishop of the see of Ghent, who wrote in defence of the tenets of the Church of Rome, about the year 1560, represents *John Calvin* as the inheritor of the doctrine of the Waldenses.*

Mexeray, the learned historiographer of France, in his Abridgment of Chronology, speaking of the Waldenses, says, "They held nearly the same opinions as those who are now called *Calvinists*."†

Gualter, a Jesuitical monk, in his chronological tables, drew up a catalogue, consisting of seven and twenty particulars, in which he shows that the principles of the Waldenses, and those of the *Calvinists*, coincided with each other.‡

Eckius reproached Luther, that he had only renewed the heresies of the Waldenses and Albigenses, of Wickliff and of John Huss, which had been long ago condemned.

Bellarmino asserts, that the identical belief which was publicly taught and professed in the vallies of Piedmont, in the year 820, and onwards, was the very same which is at this day professed and owned by the Reformed Churches.§

Genebrard, a Benedictine monk, born in 1537, in the third book of his *Chronicles*, calls the doctrine of *Claude* and his followers, in rejecting the traditions of Rome, *Calvinistic* doctrines; and denominates the Waldenses, *Calvinists*.

These simple hearted pious people little imagined, three hundred years ago, when they were execrated with so much bitterness, and persecuted with so much cruelty, that the time would ever come, when their opinions and practices would be regarded as a model; and an alliance with them claimed as a precious privilege! Yet so it has happened in the allwise providence of God. There is hardly a Protestant denomination of Christians which has not set them up as a kind of exemplar of primitive purity, and boasted of a conformity to their ecclesiastical character. Yet how often, to this hour, have their opinions been mistaken, and grievously misrepresented! The friends of Prelacy have often confidently claimed them as their spiritual ancestors; when nothing can be plainer, from their Confessions of Faith, and their whole history taken together, than that Presbyterian parity, and the government of the Church by Ruling Elders, and by ecclesiastical courts of review and control, were the uniform principle and practice of this remarkable community. Some short passages, which seem to speak a different language, may be easily explained in full consistency with the foregoing statement, by appealing to the most authentic historians.¶

* *JONES's History of the Waldenses*, Vol. II. p. 87.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Leger*, part I. p. 174.

¶ See *BLAIR's Waldenses*, I. 506. See also *SCOTT's* continuation of *Milner's Ecclesiastical History*, I. 139, and all the Creeds and Confessions of the Waldenses. An almost countless number of Episcopal writers confess the same thing.

Our anti-pedobaptist brethren also lay claim to the Waldenses as the advocates of their creed, both as to the subjects and the mode of Baptism. The most cursory perusal of the ensuing volume will convince every impartial reader that there is no foundation whatever for this claim.

But there is one notorious, unquestionable fact, which is sufficient, of itself, to refute the allegation, both of Prelatists and anti-pedobaptists, in regard to the Waldenses; and that is, that after the Reformation on the continent of Europe, and the organization of the Reformed Churches, on the Presbyterian plan, in France, Switzerland, Germany, &c., the Waldenses acknowledged them as true churches; held communion with them; received ministers from them, and in every variety of way, manifested that they recognized their regular Christian character, and the validity of their ministry. This, surely, could never have been done, if the Waldenses had maintained the divine right of Prelacy, or the obligation of the anti-pedobaptist system.

I could wish that another work, which has been highly interesting to me, were more familiar to the religious public than I suppose it to be. I mean the History of the Waldenses, and an exhibition of their Creeds and Confessions, by Sir SAMUEL MORLAND, an English gentleman, who was sent, by the English government, nearly two centuries ago, on an embassy to that people. The occasion of his embassy was a remarkable one, and attended with very remarkable circumstances. In 1655 the Waldenses of Piedmont, under the sanguinary policy of the Duke of Savoy, in whose territory they resided, were persecuted in the most cruel and ferocious manner. Impelled by the pitiless bigotry of the Romish clergy, the Duke ordered his emissaries to go round to the villages of these pious, devoted people, and to inform every family, that they must either conform to the Church of Rome, or depart in three days from his dominions, under the penalty of death, and the confiscation of all their property!

It is difficult to conceive of the distress occasioned by this proclamation. It was now in the middle of a very severe winter. Thousands of families were compelled immediately to abandon all their domestic abodes and comforts. The aged, the sick, the mother advanced in pregnancy, the mother recently confined, and not yet risen from the bed of maternal confinement, the delicate female, the helpless children and young people, were all compelled to surrender every comfort, to encounter frost and snow, and almost impassable roads, in the midst of an uncommonly severe season, and to go, they knew not where.

The poor persecuted sufferers begged and prayed—that if they *must* leave their homes, they might be favored with the respite of a few weeks, until the rigor of winter should be over. But all in vain. They were compelled to go at once. No sooner had they quitted their houses, than armed soldiers, with unfeeling violence, broke into them, plundering and bearing away whatever of value had been left behind. These ferocious wretches next proceeded to level their habitations to the ground; to cut down the trees and all the improvements which surrounded them; and to burn and destroy what they could not carry away. Not content even with this, they pursued the fugitives, and massacred them in the most inhuman manner. The order had been to quit the country unless they would consent to go to mass. But even this was cruelly prevented. They tortured the women and children by every device that cruelty could suggest;—*chopping off the heads of some; dashing out the brains of others against the rocks; nailing some to the trees, with their heads down, leaving*

them to perish by slow tortures. They violated the younger women with every circumstance of brutality; and with respect to the men whom they took prisoners, young and old, they mutilated and tortured them in a manner which beggars all description, and which, if it could be described, ought not on the score of decency, to be clothed in language.

The account given of this massacre by Sir *Samuel Morland*, and also by *Leger*, in his *General History of the Churches of Piedmont*, really almost transcends belief, and could hardly, indeed, be credited, were it not attested by so many unimpeachable witnesses. In fact, it would be scarcely too severe to say, that if all the demons of the pit had been let loose upon the vallies of Piedmont, we could scarcely have expected the perpetration of greater enormities than were now exhibited by the emissaries of Rome. The report of these enormities by indistinct rumor, spread amazement and horror, through all the Protestant states of Europe; and the principal actors in this awful tragedy, we are assured, soon found it convenient, for the sake of their own reputation, to deny their agency in this horrid work, and to shift off the blame, as far as possible, on others.

When the news of this awful massacre reached England, *Oliver Cromwell*, who was then at the head of the government in that country, immediately determined to interpose, and, as far as possible, to prevent the continuance, and, at any rate, to obviate the progress of such enormous iniquity. Whatever faults may be ascribed to that extraordinary man, we must certainly award to him the praise of great talents; wonderful energy; inflexible opposition to Popery; and indefatigable zeal in promoting what he considered as the real interests of religion.

Cromwell immediately determined to interfere, and, as far as he could, not only to arrest these diabolical proceedings, but, if possible, to turn against them the withering odium of the Protestant world, and to cover with shame the wretched actors in the scene. He, accordingly, forthwith, appointed a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, to humble the nation before God, in the view of such atrocious wickedness. He next set on foot a subscription for the relief of the impoverished sufferers on this occasion; subscribed himself a very large sum; and secured the transmission to them of very efficient pecuniary aid. Nor did he content himself with these measures. He sent an ambassador to visit the poor oppressed sufferers, and express to them his tender regard and sympathy. He transmitted also, by that ambassador, letters couched in very spirited and solemn language, to the Duke of Savoy, who was principally responsible for what had been done; to the king of France, some of whose troops had been implicated in the execution of these nefarious acts; and to several of the Protestant potentates of Europe. It is refreshing to the admirers of Christian heroism, at the present day, to read these letters, so full of correct opinions, of elevated sentiments, and of laudable, sublime decision.

The immortal poet, *MILTON*, at that time the Latin Secretary of Cromwell, was the penman of these letters, which are an imperishable monument to the honor of him who ordered, as well as of him who executed them. The fact, that the author of *Paradise Lost*, approved the opinions, and warmly sympathized with the character and sufferings of the Waldenses, carries with it the evidence of a voluntee in their favor, and against their cruel persecutors.

The ambassador sent to execute the benevolent purposes of Cromwell, was Sir

Samuel Morland, whose mission led to the production of one of the best histories of the Waldenses, and of their opinions and practices, that was ever published. Sir Samuel Morland's history has the advantage, in some respects, even of Perrin's work; but it is much larger, and is accompanied too, with plates and cuts, which would render an American reprint very expensive. By and by, when the public taste becomes improved, as I hope, before long it will be, I am confident Morland's history will be called for, and an American edition of it amply warranted.

In the meantime, let Perrin's volume be extensively circulated. Try to place a copy of it in every Christian family in the United States; and there will be an end of the delusion which has so long prevailed concerning the real tenets and character of the Waldenses, that remarkable people, whom almost all Protestants are fond of praising, and claiming an alliance with, but whose example few seem really to understand or to imitate.

Some advocates of the Papacy have been so audacious and reckless as to assert, that the Church of Rome was never a persecuting church; that all the bloody persecution which has been charged against her, has been the work, strictly speaking, of secular powers, and was never justly imputable to the Church as such. It appears to me that the most cursory perusal of Perrin's History is quite sufficient to refute this strange allegation. He who can doubt, after reading this, and some similar works, that the INQUISITION, that far-famed instrument of sanguinary cruelty, was primarily and essentially an *ecclesiastical* agent for crushing the alleged errors of the Waldenses; and that the secular power, instead of being dominant in these bloody proceedings, was every where the dupe and the slave of the Church, and simply the servile instrument for executing her bigoted and tyrannical orders, must be strangely blind to the most unquestionable testimony. It appears to me that the volume which you propose to republish, if it serve no other purpose, cannot fail to open the eyes of many who have listened with credulity to the misrepresentations of Papists on this subject. And, while it does this, it will exhibit, in their appropriate character, a body of Witnesses for the truth, who shone brightly in a dark age, and whose true glory was set in a stronger light by the blindness, the unfeeling bigotry, and immeasurable ferocity of a body, boasting itself as the exclusive Church, and given up to the belief, that, in robbing, imprisoning, and butchering without mercy, millions of the best people in the world, they were "doing God service!"

Those who are instrumental in sending forth a good book into society, adapted to enlighten the public mind on such a subject as this, are surely benefactors of their generation.

May the great Head of the Church give prosperity to your enterprize, and crown it with a rich blessing!

I am, gentlemen, with much respect,

Your friend and obedient servant,

SAMUEL MILLER.

PRINCETON, Feb. 24, 1845.



TO
WILLIAM JAY,
BEDFORD, NEW YORK,
PRESIDENT OF THE WESTCHESTER BIBLE SOCIETY:
A WALDENSIAN HUGUENOT,
WHO ESTEEMS IT
BOTH A PRIVILEGE AND A DUTY
TO GIVE HIS NAME AND HIS EFFORTS
TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PROTESTANTISM.

DEAR SIR—

As “the goodly fellowship of the Prophets,” and “the glorious company of the Apostles,” both have passed away from the church militant to “the rest that remaineth to the people of God”—and as, according to our poet’s characteristic definition—

“A Christian is the highest style of man.”

I know not a more honourable privilege, than to be numbered, even in our comparatively pacific times and country, among the descendants of “the noble army of Martyrs,” in the anterior ages of the suffering persecuted Churches, during that direful period when “all the world wondered after the Beast,” to whom “the Dragon gave his power, and his seat, and great authority.” Of that exemplary and numerous “Household of Faith,” you are a member. You have your noble ancestry and their Christian kindred among the Huguenots, those Confessors and Martyrs who were expatriated by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—and those proscribed Christians, “of whom the world was not worthy,” require not any other terrestrial title to their enumeration in the catalogue of the “Two Witnesses.”

The volume which I now present to you does not record the diabolical transactions of that long protracted hail storm and pestilence, during the prevalence of which, the *élite* of France, hundreds of thousands of the Lord’s disciples, were tortured to death for his sake; and an equal multitude more either fled or were driven from their Gallic habitations into every other country where their gracious Master provided them a refuge;—but this History of the Waldenses, the Albigenses, and the Vaudois, comprises the narrative of the similar Papal atrocities by which those elder brethren of the Huguenots, the Christians of the Alpine valleys, were desolated and slaughtered.

In this connection, our national American annals, at the most interesting period of the early existence of our Federal Republic, furnish a remarkable and impressive commentary of the promise which was included in the mes-

sage of the man of God to Eli the high priest. "Now the Lord saith, them who honour me I will honour." In the history of South Carolina, Ramsay thus narrates:—"Three of the nine Presidents of the old Congress who conducted the United States through the revolutionary war, were descendants of French Protestant Refugees, who had migrated to America in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes—HENRY LAURENS, of South Carolina, —JOHN JAY, of New York—and ELIAS BOUDINOT of New Jersey." Thus is most emphatically verified the unerring testimony of the Psalmist—"Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, and that walketh in his ways. The children of thy servants, O my God, shall continue, and be established before thee—for the generation of the upright shall be blessed."

"The holy Church throughout all the world," and every *Waldensian* both in America and Europe who evangelically fraternizes with you in "the maintenance of Protestantism," exults in the certainty that the dawn of that long-anticipated and intensely desired morning will speedily appear; when "the angel shall come down from heaven, with great power, and the earth shall be lightened with his glory." Revelation^s xviii. 1—8. Then shall the angel cry "mightily with a strong voice, BABYLON THE GREAT IS FALLEN, IS FALLEN!"—and "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye"—

The cross-capp'd towers, the gorgeous Vatican,
The impious Mass-house, Babylon itself,
"Yea, *all which it inherits* shall dissolve;
And like that unsubstantial pageant faded,
The flitting mummery of Rome's fantastic shows,
"Leave not a wreck behind."

That you will be on earth to join "the voice of the great multitude," who, on beholding that most sublime and joyous catastrophe, will resound "Alleluia! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth"—does not accord with my prophetic chronology; but that in the general assembly and church of the first-born who came out of great tribulation, and who washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," we may hear of that glorious emancipation of "the whole world that lieth in wickedness," is the sincere prayer of

Your Fellow Soldier in the Faith;

and

Your servant for Jesus' sake,

THE EDITOR.

New York, October 12, 1843.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the proposition was originally made to republish the authentic standard volume concerning the Waldenses, and the Albigenses, by Jean Paul Perrin, and the Vaudois, by Dr. Bray; it was not contemplated to change or enlarge it. But upon the perusal of his pages, it was perceived that additions, the result of later researches, could be supplied, which would both illustrate the narrative, and render it better adapted to the present exigencies of the Christian churches. Hence, it was determined to issue the work by Dr. Bray entire; and to select and condense from modern authors, and insert those facts and arguments which might add force to the testimony and demonstration to the truth; and to embody those extracts in an appendix to each of the separate parts of the history. The chief design in this respect has been this—to combine within the limits prescribed for the work, the largest quantum possible of the correlate information which every valuable author, who could be searched, can contribute to the development of the Christian character of the ever-living “Witnesses,” who during nearly twelve hundred years have been prophesying, “clothed in sackcloth;” but “standing before the God of the earth,” with unshaken firmness, and with changeless brilliancy; and who “overcame the Accuser of the brethren by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, for they loved not their lives to the death.”

Our great concern has been by the most sedulous exploration to obtain all the elucidations which could be discovered, and especially from the Waldensians themselves and their church records and other documents, of the prominent facts in the eventful annals of those Christians who, from the early ages of the church of God, have resided among the European Alps, and which constitute the most interesting portions of ancient ecclesiastical history.

In reviewing their social organization, two characters impress us with great interest—the antiquity of their origin, and the uniformity of their faith. Without controversy their churches can be traced in an uninterrupted succession during a thousand years; and that they existed in their evangelical doctrines, spiritual worship, fraternal communion, and abhorrence of antichristian superstitions, for nearly two centuries previous, is a fact attested even by their most infuriated persecutors. One of the remarkable circumstances of modern times is this—that although those followers of Jesus were shut up among the small and most inaccessible valleys of the highest mountains, almost “alike unknowing and unknown,” and not only accounted but persecuted as monsters in human appearance, whom all

potentates, secular and ecclesiastical, combined to reproach and destroy, yet their virtues could not be concealed, and their churches could not be exterminated.

This point is lucidly exhibited in a note by Mr. ALLPORT, appended to Davenant's Exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, chap. i. 9. The text contained this remark—"While we live here, we are as children who are not yet arrived at maturity; whence the Holy Scriptures excite all to a constant advance in every gift of divine grace—to the increase of faith, of hope, of love, and of knowledge. Nazianzen says, 'A Christian either advances or falls back; he cannot remain in the same state.' Bernard says, 'He is by no means good who does not wish to be better; and where you begin to be unwilling to become better, there you leave off to be good.'" To which reference to Bernard, Mr. ALLPORT subjoins, "This renowned Romanist, Bernard, enraged against the uncorrupted Christians of Cologne, who had settled there from among the persecuted Albigenses to the great annoyance of the Papists, when he described those followers of Arnold of Brescia, said, 'If you ask me of their faith, nothing can be more Christian. If you observe their conversation, nothing can be more blameless. The sincerity of their language they prove by the consistency of their deeds. In testimony of his faith, you may see a man of this order frequent the church, honor its elders, offer his gifts, confess his sin, and partake of the communion, and what can be more expressive of the Christian? In life and manners also, he circumvents no man, defrauds no man, and does violence to no man. His fasts are frequent, his bread is not that of idleness, and his labour procures him his support.' Such is the testimony of an opponent to the Protestants of Piedmont. The foregoing passage, if no other could be procured, would of itself alone be sufficient to crush the foul slanders which even at this day, continue to be discharged by the ignorant and malevolent against a most exemplary and brutally persecuted Christian community; but *calumny naturally follows persecution.*"*

In our own times, those descendants of the primitive Dissenters from Rome have become the subject of a theological controversy which combines some most important principles connected with the churches of Christ. They differ not in any essential characteristic from the genuine disciples of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, for "in faith, in hope, in charity," the Waldenses wherever scattered and the sincere Protestants are one. Their grand distinction is this—*the Waldensian Churches never belonged to Rome.* They never submitted to the Papal jurisdiction, and they never assented to its Christian pretensions—having ever denied their usurpations, and denounced their profession of the Gospel as undisguised hypocrisy.

* We add Bernard's own Latin, extracted from his Sermo LXXV. super Cantic. :—
 "Si fidem interrogas, nihil Christianius; si conversationem, nihil irreprehensibilis; et quæ loquitur factis probat. Jam quod ad vitam et mores spectat, neminem concutit, neminem circumvenit, neminem supergreditur. Pallent insuper ore jejuniis; panem non comedit otiosus; operatur manibus, unde vitam sustentat. Ubi jam vulpes? Mulieres relictis viris, et item viri dimissis uxoribus, ad istos se conferunt. Clerici et sacerdotes, populis ecclesiisque relictis, intonsi et barbati, apud eos, inter textores et textrices, pleurumque inventi sunt." It is extraordinary that a canonized and worshipped Saint should have emitted such *edifying* contradictions.

DR. BRAY, in the general preface to his volume, thus introduces "The History of the Old Waldenses and Albigenses, those two glorious Witnesses to the truth of Christianity, in opposition to the Antichristianism of Rome:"—

"This celebrated history by Jean Paul Perrin, of Lyons, was written in French, and soon after was translated into our language; but on account of the obsolete improprieties of the phrases, is here rendered anew. Before I resolved upon publishing it, I consulted Dr. Allix, both because he was the best judge, and because in his own volume he had frequently quoted it as an excellent narrative of undoubted authority. Indeed I find it very often cited by the learned men who discuss the subject of those primitive Christians, with great attestations to its worth, as giving a complete account of the horrible devastations and wars which were raised and carried on by the Popes, under the solemnity of Croisades, besides the more private ways of murdering by the merciless Inquisitors, against those preservers of the primitive Christianity, and forerunners of the blessed Reformation, the old Waldenses and Albigenses, to the extermination, as far as divine Providence would permit, both of the princes and people, who then were the only maintainers of the true religion.

"In that part of the history concerning the Albigenses, we have that Latin Antichristian tyranny most remarkably exemplified, in the total ruin and extermination, both of several princes and of their people, merely for endeavouring to conserve primitive Christianity in its native purity, and for opposing the Papal despotism and innovations. Herein are also represented the wars, massacres, and persecutions carried on by the instigation of the Popes and the Romish priesthood, to the distress of every subject in the dominions of those princes who either formerly were, or still are vassals to the Romish hierarchy. In this history of the Albigenses are given various instances of the wicked principles which tended to maintain the Papal usurpations over secular princes; and of the manner in which they were enforced upon the Earls of Thoulouse, Beziers, Foix, and Comminges, and even on the King of Arragon. The barbarous manner in which those Papal encroachments and usurpations were put in practice, will amaze the reader at the insults and violence of those prime ministers of Satan, Pope Innocent III., and Pope Innocent IV., towards those worthy and honest sovereign rulers; at the perusal of which, all persons who are not of the persecuting party, would almost shed tears, while their hearts must needs bleed.

"This history, including both that of the Waldenses and Albigenses is very proper to precede the more extended accounts of the miserable havoc and bloody butcheries made in the succeeding centuries, in the several parts of Christendom, of the true members of Christ's church, wherever dispersed, or however distressed, over the face of the whole earth; and indeed the following history does admirably relate their story as so distressed and so dispersed.

"THEIR DISTRESSES.—As Antichristianism gradually prevailed in the western church, those eminent and glorious "Two Witnesses" retired by degrees more and more into the coverts of the wilderness, or the almost inaccessible places of the Alps, and the mountainous parts of France; and as was predicted of them, Revelation xii. 14, there for some time they remained hidden. But Antichrist having at last attained the height of his

power, and the European princes for fear of his wrath, having become so obsequious to him, that they yielded themselves up to the base office of being merely executioners of the Christians whom he condemned—"that Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition"—being no longer able to tolerate those burning and shining lights, poured forth his own rage, and let loose their fury upon "the called, and chosen, and faithful," as is amply detailed in the ensuing history.

THEIR DISPERSIONS.—As their distresses are there declared, so are their dispersions far and wide, throughout most parts of the kingdoms of Europe, when the persecutions of them were so fiery, that the sheep were scattered from the fold abroad into the world. It pleased the divine Providence, to deal with those confessors and martyrs who, emphatically and *κατα εφοχην*, were the Lord's witnesses to his truth, as with the primitive "church which was at Jerusalem, Acts viii. 1, who were all scattered abroad," and who being sorely persecuted in one city, fled into another; and, thus by their dispersion spread the light of the Gospel throughout the *Οικουμενη* or *Orbis Romanus*, as in the civil law the Roman empire was called, thereby arrogating the whole world as their dominion, as the modern pontifex maximus copying their arrogance, and adding to it his blasphemy, has done. In like manner the Christians inhabiting the valleys of the Alps, having been coerced to forsake their abodes, by the horrid desolations of themselves and their habitations, dispersed themselves, and carried with them the truths of the Gospel far and wide into Bohemia, England, France, Germany, Poland, Spain, and the adjoining countries to them on the western side of the Alps, and into Calabria and Italy, to the east. There the precious seed of the Word for some ages lay buried, and harrowed as it were under clods, till the happy dawn of the Reformation, since which time it has appeared above ground, and notwithstanding many rough winters, God be praised! it has borne a plentiful harvest of truth and righteousness. All this does our excellent historian, Perrin, unfold in his work, which relates the Papal oppression of the injured potentates, and the sore distresses of the martyred people—proving that the injuries of both proceeded from the same Antichristian power.

That much esteemed author has also preserved for us authentic memorials concerning the doctrines, worship, and discipline of the Waldenses and Albigenses, and the noble testimony given by them against the Roman Antichrist, with practical discourses which depict the purity of their manners.

In reference to their **DOCTRINE**, we have the ancient confessions of their faith, their Catechism for the instruction of their youth, and their genuine Exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, and the Apostle's Creed.

"As to their **DISCIPLINE**, besides the very ancient confession of their sins which was used among them, and their general mode of visiting the sick, there are many other articles that exhibit their singular care and watchfulness in the regulation of their life and manners.

"Concerning their **WORSHIP**, there is that noble testimony of those glorious confessors against the "Man of Sin," as exhibited in their treatise concerning Antichrist, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments.

"As to their practical discourses, their mortification to the world and their Christian simplicity of character really shine in their Treatise of Tribulation, and in their Noble Lesson.

“Upon the perusal of which antiquated documents, it imparts a singular pleasure to all whose eyes are not dazzled with the meretricious paint and attire of the Roman Harlot Mother, to see the “Woman in the Wilde-ness” so unspotted in her garb, even from the tenth to the sixteenth century, during all the most corrupt ages of the church; and then at the Reformation, to appear so Christian, as on her part to need little or no amendment and purification.

“The Roman Inquisitors were enraged at the Waldenses for their constancy and perseverance in such sanctity of faith and practice. Therefore, although the mere force of truth did sometimes extort from them the most honorable testimonies on their behalf, yet generally those Inquisitors published the most wicked lies which they could invent against them; and in their criminal processes they also villanously inserted, in their answers and confessions, crimes of which those guileless Christians never dreamed.

“Reinerius contra Waldenses, Cap. IV., however, thus avers:—‘All other sects render themselves horrible by reason of their blasphemies against God, but the Waldenses have a great appearance of piety, inasmuch as they live justly before men, and believe aright concerning God in all things, and hold all the articles of the Creed; but there is one thing against them—they *decry the Roman priesthood, and thereby they easily gain credit among the people.*’

“Hence, next to the grace of God, I know nothing of greater efficacy and use than the martyrology, the history of confessors and martyrs, to awaken and save us; and to prepare us to endure with Christian patience, and with a spirit of martyrdom, the worst that may come upon us.”

A brief delineation of the more remarkable traits of character which the Christians of the Alpine valleys, on the confines of France and Italy, ever have exhibited, will form an appropriate introductory notice to the ensuing histories. The graphical description of Mr. Sims, Minister of the Episcopal church, in England, has therefore been selected. He twice visited Piedmont expressly to become acquainted with those secluded disciples of Immanuel, and the eventful scenes through which they have passed. To his concise sketch of those valleys and of their inhabitants, he appended this impressive memorial: “The train of feelings induced by the recollections of the Waldenses, when treading those sequestered spots where they reside, were such as neither the treasures of art, nor the stupendous views of nature, unfolded in the Cantons of Switzerland, had possessed, in an equal degree, the magic to impart.”* The evidence and narrative of Mr. Sims illustrate and give additional value to the subsequent volume.

“There is a small and comparatively obscure district at the extremity of the plain of Piedmont, immediately under the Alps, which, though seldom visited, has been the seat of transactions which have often excited the attention and the sympathy of the principal European states. This district, which is distinguished for much of that grand scenery which characterizes

* This is precisely the sentiment also of the Roman Orator—“*Movemur, wrote Tully, nescio quo pacto, locis ipsis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur, adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare solitus sit; studiosæque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplant.*”—*Cicero de Legib., Lib. II. Cap. 2.*

Alpine regions, but which is chiefly interesting when viewed in connection with Christian antiquities, comprises the valleys of Luzerne, Perosa and San Martino, in the province of Pinerolo, in Sardinia.

“Those valleys are inhabited by a peaceable, industrious, and inoffensive race of men, whose adherence to the pure truths of the Christian religion has been, and still continues to be, very conspicuous and exemplary. The inhabitants called Waldenses, or Valdenses, in Italian Valdesi, and in French Vaudois, from the valleys which they inhabit, are the descendants of Christians whose heroic achievements have awakened the astonishment of all acquainted with their history, while their piety and constancy justly entitle the sufferers to a place in ‘the noble army of martyrs.’ The present population occupy fifteen villages or parishes, and amount to about twenty thousand persons.

“That a people whose history is so replete with the marvellous and the pathetic, and whose adherence to a primitive faith has been for a series of ages so firm and so uniform, should have excited a more than ordinary degree of attention and respect, cannot be deemed surprising; since, viewed in connection with religion, their soil must be regarded as almost sacred—their rocks and caves, their temples and their dwellings, are beheld with unusual emotions, and the children of such suffering ancestors are peculiarly entitled to our esteem. On such spots, however delightful the scenery, the principal charm consists in the association of all that presents itself to the eye with historical recollections, consecrated, as the territory has been, in an almost unparalleled degree, by the patience of the confessor, and the agony of the martyr.

“The modern Waldenses, who are lineal descendants of ancient worthies, inheriting both their names and their possessions, when compared with most other Christians, must be considered a very exemplary race of men. Those crimes which require the punishment of the magistrate, are of very rare occurrence. A stranger may pass through the country, by day or night, unmolested; and to this day, as above two centuries ago, when De Vignaux wrote his ‘Memoires,’ the Vaudois are preferred to others as domestics by the Romanists—an honorable, but a *dangerous preference!* From other virtues conspicuous among the Vaudois, their INDUSTRY, HUMANITY, and LOYALTY, more particularly may be specified.

“Their poverty and privations are extreme. The hardships which they endure in procuring the necessary food for their families are such as we rarely witness. Compelled to raise walls even to prevent the scanty portions of soil on the sides of the mountains from being washed down by heavy rains—obliged to break up that soil by manual labour, for cattle cannot be used to plough it—forced, women as well as men, on account of the steepness of the ground, to carry hay, grain, and their other products, on their backs to great distances, and thus to undertake the drudgery assigned to cattle in this country, and after such excessive labour obtaining, in general, only rye, buckwheat, chestnuts, and potatoes, for their subsistence—it is obvious that their patient industry is almost unequalled.

“The HUMANITY which they have displayed is remarkable. So circumstanced as to be always in need of the sympathy of others, they have learned that beneficial lesson which is usually acquired in the school of affliction—

compassion for others when in misery. If any one is ill, there is even a sort of competition among the neighbours who shall pay the first and greatest attentions; and to relieve sudden accidents and distress of the poor, a sermon is preached and a collection made. One illustrious instance of their humanity should not pass unnoticed. When the Austrians and Russians under Suwarrow compelled the French army to retreat, three hundred French wounded soldiers received all the assistance, medical and otherwise, that could be given; and at the request of their minister Rostaing, the inhabitants of Bobi carried those miserable wounded sufferers on their shoulders over the mountains into the French territory. Their most painful task was the act of pure Christian humanity, and not the result of political feelings; yet but for the interposition of Prince Bagrathion, it would have exposed them and their property to considerable danger. The Austrians could not withhold their admiration, and the French General, Suchet, published an order for the very purpose of acknowledging such a singular instance of benevolence.

"Still more recently they have exemplified the same humane feelings on an occasion which Count Waldbourg Truchsess, the Prussian Ambassador at Turin, thus describes in a letter, dated Turin, August 15, 1825:—"The Vaudois spontaneously made a collection among themselves in favour of the Hollanders who suffered by the recent inundations. The collection amounts to more than three thousand francs, which have been sent to Holland, where their donation has excited the most lively gratitude. It is exceedingly affecting to inspect the subscription-list of the various districts. Not one individual was excluded. Each contributed according to his ability. Even the children contributed their saved sou. Benevolence always is one of the noblest qualities. The rich cannot make a better use of their wealth; but it is sublime when it is exercised by him who divides his last morsel of bread, to support his wretched brethren.*"

"The LOYALTY of the Waldenses likewise presents a model worthy of general imitation, to all other people; and the more so, as their religious principles widely differ from those of the state.

"In 1691, Victor Amadeus granted an edict in favour of the Vaudois, which was highly honourable to them. He said to their deputies—"You have but one God and but one prince to obey. Serve God and your prince conscientiously. Others were the cause of your misery. But if you perform your duty, I will do mine, and as long as I have a bit of bread you shall partake of it.†"

* Les Vaudois ont fait de leur propre mouvement, une collecte entre eux en faveur des Hollandais, qui ont souffert par les dernières inondations. Cette collecte a rapporté plus de 3000 F., et a été envoyée en Hollande, où elle a excité la plus vive reconnaissance. Il est effectivement touchant de voir la liste de souscription des diverses communes. Aucun individu ne s'en est exclu, chacun a donné selon ses facultés; même les enfans y ont contribué leurs sous d'épargne. La bienfaisance est toujours une des plus belles qualités et dignes d'éloge. L'homme riche ne sauroit faire un meilleur usage de son bien; mais elle est sublime, quand elle est exercée par celui, qui partage son dernier morceau de pain, pour soulager ses frères malheureux."

† "Vous n'avez qu'un Dieu et qu'un prince à servir. Servez Dieu et votre prince en toute conscience. D'autres ont été la cause de vos malheurs; mais si vous faites votre

"When the army of Louis XIV. invaded Sardinia, Victor Amadeus was advised to rely upon the loyalty of the Waldenses, and take refuge in Rora. He remained concealed in security for two weeks in the house of a Vaudois peasant named Durand, until Prince Eugene recaptured Turin.

"The late king of Sardinia gave this testimony of the modern Vaudois, in 1821, to Count Crotti, Governor of Pignerol:—"I know that I am beloved by the Vaudois. I carried on war in their valleys. I lived among them for some time with delight. Their attachment to me I know. Now I am gratified to learn from you, that in these recent circumstances, they have not falsified their character.*"

"Thus the Vaudois have maintained willing submission to their temporal sovereign in secular affairs, while they disavowed the arbitrary impositions of the Roman Pontiff in matters of religion. Even in the earlier ages, they asserted in that wise distinction, those standard principles which are now acknowledged to be of pre-eminent value and authority in all enlightened countries—the exercise of supremacy on the part of rulers, with religious toleration; and of subordination on the part of citizens, without a surrender of the rights of conscience."

Hence the ensuing valuable history will be very acceptable to all American citizens, and especially to every Christian, because, from its authentic documents, it is manifest, that during the protracted continuance of the feudal tyranny and the ecclesiastical despotism throughout the ten kingdoms of the Roman empire, the Christians who resided in the valleys of Piedmont and their immediate vicinity, were the only people who either understood or enjoyed the privileges of civil and religious freedom. In truth, the Waldenses, when divine Providence did not mysteriously permit their ruthless persecutors to ravage their country, exemplified, as the cardinal principles of their social organization in civic affairs, the self-evident truths upon which the primitive Puritans of New England established their commonwealth, and which, in the Declaration of the Fourth day of July, 1776, became the chief corner-stone of the American Federal Republic.

devoir je ferais le mien, et aussi long tems que j'aurai un morceau de pain, vous en aurez votre part."

* Je sais que je suis aimé des Vaudois. J'ai fait la guerre dans ces vallées. J'ai demeuré quelque tems au milieu d'eux avec plaisir. Leur attachement m'étoit connu. Maintenant je suis charmé d'apprendre par vous, que dans ces dernières circonstances, ils n'ayent point démenti leur caractère." Nevertheless, against those most exemplary and inoffensive Christians, the present king of Sardinia, at the instigation of the Jesuits, has lately commenced another deadly persecution, which already has again been counteracted by the interposition of their brethren of the various Reformed Churches in Europe.

TO THE
DUKE FRANCIS DE BONNE,

MARESCHAL AND CONSTABLE OF FRANCE.

MY LORD:

This History of right belongs to you; because the most populous Churches of the Waldenses are within the limits of your government, and because they never had respite to breathe with liberty, until about forty years ago, you defended them against the outrages of their enemies. God out of his goodness comforted them, and they found safe-guard in your protection, and both within and without the realm, your name was to them a strong bulwark.

Moreover the records of the sufferings which in ages past their forefathers experienced, were the holy bounty which you obtained at the capture of Ambrun; when you reduced that city to obedience. The Archbishops of that city, during four hundred years, carefully kept secret the inquisitorial processes and proceedings against the Churches of the Waldenses, the discovery of which has brought upon their persecutors perpetual shame and disgrace. On the contrary, the piety and discretion of your followers is eternized; who obtained and preserved the bag which contained the narrative of those processes; notwithstanding the fire which the enemies of the truth had kindled by the Archbishop's command, on purpose to destroy those records, and to hinder your faithful servant from entering the tower in which they were kept.

Mr. Vulcon, counsellor in the parliament at Grenoble, recovered those documents and delivered them into our hands; having been satisfied for his portion of the spoil

with that bag alone, the contents of which indict the Devil himself with all his adherents, and which were providentially preserved for the good and edification of the Church of God.

Having therefore resolved to publish this history under the credit and sanction of your name, I have only restored it to its first and rightful owner; and now return it to its preserver, dedicating the entire structure to him, who has furnished all its most solid materials; and who himself has both known and seen more of the Waldenses, than I have described concerning them. Herein especially doth the hand of God appear, when persons of the same name and in the same province have differed so much in their designs—for Arroas de Bonne, above three hundred years ago, persecuted in Dauphiny, the ancestors of those Christians whom you have restored. Thus doth the eternal God know how and when, as he pleases, to produce from one and the same stem the light of his mercy, whence nothing but darkness before sprung. Many happy years may you continue in the same purpose and intention of loving and preserving the Churches for which Christ died; and may you also devote the residue of your days to his glory, and the edification of the flocks for which he hath shed his precious blood! On this depends all your glory; and thence that your comfort may proceed, I heartily pray with the same affection, which binds me ever to be,

Your very humble Servant,

JOHN PAUL PERRIN.

Nyons in Dauphiny,
January 1, 1618.

P R E F A C E .

THE Church of God is of more value, even as it subsists in this world, than the world itself. It is the purchase of our Lord *Jesus Christ*. He was crucified for it; and there is no good thing without it worthy of our esteem. But as our Redeemer invites us to enter and dwell therein for our salvation, so Satan endeavours to make men wander out of it to their damnation. He blindfolds them, that they may take that for the Church, which only bears the name of it; and keeping them in error, and seducing them by worldly splendor, makes them to despise the true Church, principally, because it is subject to persecution in the world, wherein those who do not honour the master cannot love the servants. Insomuch, that acknowledging no other Church besides that which hath for many ages triumphed in the blood of the martyrs whom it hath slain, they importunately demand, in what then was the Catholic Church if that be not it, which hath so long and so peaceably enjoyed the title thereof? Where was it concealed, say they, during the ages past? and so they press us at least to show them some one in the whole course of so many years, who believed that which in our time hath been extolled under the name of the Reformation.

This History of the Christians, called *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*, will give satisfaction in this matter to those who read it without prejudice; for therein it appears, that for several hundred years past, there have been, especially in *Europe*, a great number of persons, in divers

kingdoms and countries, who have professed a religion altogether conformable to the word of God, and the doctrine which hath been received in the reformed Churches; having mourned under the darkness of *Antichrist*, where they shined like precious stones in a dunghill, and were fragrant, like the rose among thorns. In the world, they were accounted as vagabonds; but God did there look upon them as his children. He gave them eyes to see, ears to hear, and a heart to understand his truth. And as he hath made way for his judgments, in giving up to a spirit of delusion those who had rejected his word; so also hath he made way for his mercy, in withdrawing the residue from the temples polluted with idolatry, causing the sacred and internal ministry of his Holy Spirit to operate in them, by making them temples to himself, and preserving them from the infection of the external ministry polluted with a multitude of human inventions.

The writings of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, which have been almost miraculously preserved even unto this present time, and which are contained in this history, show the purity of their religion, and justify them against the imputations of their enemies. By them it will appear, that their faith was founded upon the Apostles' creed, retaining that also of *Athanasius*. For the rule of their obedience they had the law of the Lord, and for the substance of their devotions, the Lord's prayer. They kept the Sacraments instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same purity wherein he at first did institute them. Moreover, they lived under a good and holy discipline, ordering their manners according to the same word which was the rule of their faith. Yet we shall make it appear, that notwithstanding all those things, without which no one can be a true Christian, they have been cruelly condemned to death, banished, pillaged, burned, anathematized, and persecuted with force of arms.

Without reason then is it demanded, *where the Church*

was in the ages past? For it appears that they, whom the popes in almost countless numbers have put to death for righteousness' sake, were the Church; although they were contrary to the Church of Rome, and to the popes, in that alone wherein they were contrary to the Church of God.

Now seeing the first point of the truth which those faithful martyrs have maintained, is concerning God, who is without beginning and without end, and without whose command there is nothing true, nor available; it follows, that human inventions must of necessity give place when God speaketh, truth being more ancient than lies. It must also be acknowledged, that in the former ages, those who believed in one God, through Jesus Christ, have been the true members of the Church, making the Catholic Church, in whatsoever part of the earth they were placed; and it appears from the doctrine and confession of the faithful, whereof much is spoken in this History, that they put their Trust in the living God alone; and expected life and salvation from no other than the Son of God.

If then for those things they have been slaughtered, what injury is done to those, who render themselves guilty of the same sins, by the bloody desires which they have to banish such out of the world, whose mouths they cannot stop with reason—if seeming to seek the Church in ages past, they are sent to the faithful, whom such as themselves have put to death? Ought they not rather to thank God with us, that the endeavours of Satan have been in vain, since the Church of God, in the person of his servants, remains victorious by Faith, and triumphant by Martyrdom? The notion of which we have not formed in this History according to the cruelty of the punishments, but according to the righteousness and goodness of the cause.

It will contribute much to the glory of God, to follow this blood by the track, collecting together the certain

proofs of the faith and constancy of thousands of witnesses, who have sealed the truth with the loss of their lives; for there is no kingdom, state, principality, nor almost city, town, or village in *Europe*, wherein this innocent blood of Christians hath not been shed.

In this holy occupation we need not doubt the venom of wicked tongues, the scoffs of Atheists, nor the ridicule of profane persons. A stomach ill-affected, loveth nothing but what is contrary to it; neither can the wicked esteem anything, but what is agreeable to their vicious palate. If the malicious torrents of the impious could have put a stop to the service which we owe to God and his Churches, we should have given over this history before we had written three lines of it, for it hath been cavilled at by many upon the first notice of it. What then will they not now do, when they shall see that which they thought we could never truly maintain? Doubtless, passion will extort from malicious souls the suggestions of the malignant; in counterchange for which I will pray to the Lord for those that revile us, that he would make them to know his truth; and that he would grant unto us whom he hath lodged in his house, after the conflicts of this life, the portion which he hath reserved for us in Heaven, through his well-beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be praise, honour, glory and power, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

JOHN PAUL PERRIN.

CATALOGUE
OF THE
AUTHORS CITED IN THIS HISTORY.

ADVERSARIES OF THE WALDENSES.

Albert de Capitaneis, Archdeacon of Cremona, in his History of the Waldenses.—Alphonsus de Castro.—Baronius, in his Annals.—Bellarmin.—Bernard.—Bernard de Girard, of Haillan.—Bodin.—Carpentras, in his Boniour.—Claudius Rubis, History of Lyons.—Claudius Seissel.—Council of Lateran.—Council of Lyons.—Council of Montpelier.—Council of Thoulouse.—Council of Vaur.—Council of Vienna.—Constitutions of Frederick Barbarossa Emperor.—Constitutions of King Roger.—Constitutions of Pope Alexander III.—Constitutions of Pope Alexander IV.—Constitutions of Pope Clement IV.—Constitutions of Pope Gregory IX.—Constitutions of Pope Honorius.—Constitutions of Pope Innocent III.—Dubravius.—Eccius.—Gaspard Bruschius.—Godofredus Monachus.—Gualters, a Jesuit Monk.—Guicciardin.—Guido de Perpignan.—History of Languedoc.—Hosius.—Jaques de Riberia.—John Bale.—John le Maire.—Krantzius.—Letters of Pope John XXII.—Lindanus.—Louis XII. of France.—Martyrology.—Matthew Paris.—Memorials of Rostain, Archbishop of Ambrun.—Noguieres.—Paul Languis.—Paulus Æmylius.—Peres Library.—Peter, Monk of Sernay.—Platina.—Reinerius.—Sea of Histories.—Sigonius.—Simon DeVoion.—Statutes of Louis IX. of France.—Statutes of Remond, last Earl of Thoulouse.—Thuanus, or Du Thou.—Treasury of the Histories of France.—Uvier, John.—Vesembecius.—Walden, Thomas.

PROFESSORS OF THE REFORMATION.

Aldegonde.—Beza.—Bullinger.—Camerarius, Joachim.—Camerarius, Louis.—Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth.—Chassagnon.—Constans upon the Revelation.—History of the Churches of France.—History of the Martyrs of our Times.—History of the State of the Church.—Holagary, in his history of Foix.—Inventory of Serres.—Lavater.—Luther.—Memorial of George Morel.—Memorial of Hannibal Olivier.—Memorial of Vignaux.—Papoliniere.—Review of the Council of Trent.—Rudiger Esrom.—Vignier, in his Historical Library.—Viret.

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BOOK III.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

HISTORY
OF THE
WALDENSES.

BOOK I.

ORIGIN OF THE WALDENSES, AND THE TESTIMONY GIVEN OF THEIR FAITH
AND PROBITY.

CHAPTER I.

God at all times hath raised up labourers for the Assemblies of his Saints. The Period when Waldo began to teach, and his success. Who Waldo was; and those Christians who were called Waldenses.

God hath never left himself without witness; but from time to time he raises up instruments to publish his grace, enriching them with gifts necessary for the edification of his Church, giving them his Spirit for their guide, and his truth for their rule; whereby they may distinguish the Church begun in Abel, from that which commenced in Cain. He also teaches them to define the Church by faith, and faith by the Holy Scripture. In the midst of the most grievous persecution, he strengthens them, making them to know that the Cross is profitable, even when the faithful by means thereof exchange earth for heaven; for the children of God are not left, when massacred or burned by an unrighteous judgment, since "in the blood of the Martyrs we find the seed of the Church."

That which may be observed in all ages hath been more particularly remarkable among the Christians called Waldenses, who were raised up at a time when Satan kept men in ignorance; for he had involved the greatest part of those who called themselves Christians in the grand sin of the earth, IDOLATRY; for kings and princes employed their authority for its establishment, Revelations xvii: 12, 13, 17; and put to death all those who would not become Idolaters.

About the year of our Lord 1160, it was made a capital crime for any

person not to acknowledge, after the words of consecration were pronounced by the priest, that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was actually present in the "Host," or Mass-wafer, under the accident of bread, with its roundness and whiteness—even *that very same body*, as large as it was when it hung upon the cross; the bread vanishing, and being *transubstantiated* into the actual flesh of Christ. Moreover, the worship of the "Host" was enjoined; and in honour to it, they adorned the streets through which it was carried in procession with flowers and hangings of tapestry; and they fell on their knees before it, adoring and calling it their God. The superstitious devotees smote their breast at the sight of it, and kept it in a *Pix* in order to worship it, as is the uniform and universal practice among the Papists even at this day.¹

That doctrine was unknown to the Apostles, who never made mention of such a mystery; and was also unheard of by the primitive Churches, who never taught that an expiatory sacrifice was now to be made for the living and the dead. Hence, many Christians abhorred it, and chose rather to suffer temporal death, by resisting such idolatry, than by complying therewith, to live and die in danger of hell.

Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, appeared most courageous in opposition to that unholy invention. He also attacked several other corruptions which had been adopted by the Roman priesthood, for he asserted that—

The papists had forsaken the faith of Jesus Christ—

The Church of Rome is the Babylonish harlot, and like the barren fig-tree which the Lord formerly cursed—

The Pope is not to be obeyed, forasmuch as he is not head of the Church—

Monkery is an abominable thing—

Vows are the character and mark of the great beast—

Purgatory, masses, dedications of temples, worship of Saints, and commemoration of the dead, are only the inventions of devils, and engines of avarice.²

Waldo was heard with more attention, because he was greatly esteemed for his learning and piety, and great bounty towards the poor; not only nourishing their bodies with his material food, but their souls with the spiritual bread: and exhorting them principally to seek Jesus Christ, the true bread of their souls.³

Historians record, that Waldo took up the resolution to lead a blameless life resembling as near as possible that of the Apostles, in consequence of a sudden and dreadful accident. Being one day in company with some of his friends after supper, while they were in conversation, one of the party instantaneously fell down dead, which frightened all who were present. Waldo was most sensibly affected; and by that example of divine justice he was excited to an extraordinary amendment. Spending his time in reading the holy Scriptures, therein seeking his salvation; and at the same time he continually instructed the poor who flocked to him to partake of his Alms.⁴

¹ The word "*Host*" is derived from the Latin "*Hostia*," a sacrifice for a military or naval victory. The term "*Pix*" is used for a box in which also is kept the idol crucifix!

² Guido de Perpignan, Flower of Chronicles.

³ Sea of Histories, 203. Claudius Rubis, History of the city of Lyons, p. 269.

⁴ Louis Camerarius; History of the Orthodox Brethren of Bohemia p. 7. Guido de Perpignan, Flower of Chronicles.

The Archbishop of Lyons, John de Belse Mayons, having been informed that Waldo made profession of teaching the people, and that he boldly condemned the vices, luxury, and arrogance, of the popes and their clergy, inhibited him from teaching any more. The prelate declared, that Waldo was only a layman, and exceeded the bounds of his condition; and therefore that he should restrict himself within his prohibition, under pain of excommunication and of being proceeded against as a heretic.⁵

Waldo replied, that he could not be silent in a matter of so great importance as was the salvation of men; and that he would rather obey God who enjoined to speak, than man who commanded him to be silent.

Upon that reply, the Archbishop endeavoured to have him apprehended; but Waldo lived concealed at Lyons, under the protection of his friends, for the space of three years.

Pope Alexander III. having heard that in Lyons several persons openly called in question his sovereign authority over the whole Church, and fearing lest that beginning of rebellion should farther strike at his supreme dignity, anathematized Waldo and all his adherents, and commanded the Archbishop to proceed against them by ecclesiastical censure, even to utter extirpation.

Claudius Rubis saith that Waldo and his disciples were entirely driven from Lyons; and Albert de Capitaneis asserts, that they could not be extirpated. We learn nothing more of this first persecution, except only that those who escaped from Lyons followed him, and afterwards dispersed themselves in divers companies and places.⁶

CHAPTER II.

The dispersion of Waldo and his disciples was the means which God made use of to spread the doctrine of Waldo almost throughout all Europe.

ALBERT DE CAPITANEIS saith, that Waldo retired into Dauphiny, after his departure from Lyons, and Claudius Rubis asserts that he dwelt in the mountains of that province; where he could meet with illiterate persons capable of receiving the impressions of his faith. It is certain, that the churches of the Waldenses, which have stood longest, and of which there is still a greater number than in any other part of Europe, are those in Dauphiny, and the neighbouring churches of Piedmont and Provence, which are descended from them.¹

⁵ Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth, page 535.—Simon de Voion.—Names of Doctors of the Church.

⁶ Claudius Rubis, History, page 269.—Albert de Capitaneis, Original of the Vaudois.

¹ From the inadvertency of divers Protestant writers, and even of Perrin, as well as from the malice of the Romanists and their Inquisitors, the churches of Milan and the subalpine Waldenses are derived from Peter Waldo, as if it were he that first founded them. The contrary of late has most clearly been demonstrated by Allix, in his History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, and also in his History of the Albigenes. Allix proves, that the Waldenses separated themselves from the Papacy long before Waldo of Lyons; and that the name of Waldenses or Vaudois was given them from the place of their abode, which the inhabitants called "Les valles de Lucerne et Angrogne," the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne; whence came the Latin name Vallenses, which afterwards was changed to Valdenses, when the fallacious design was laid to make the world believe that Waldo was their first founder. Excepting this mistake, John Paul Perrin of

Vignier saith that Waldo retired into Picardy, where in a little time he made such progress, that many persons adhered to his doctrine, for which speedily after they suffered great persecutions. Dubravius says, "Philip Augustus, King of France, pushed on by the Romish ecclesiastics, took up arms against the Waldenses of Piedmont, razed three hundred houses of the gentlemen who followed their party, and destroyed some walled towns. He also pursued them into Flanders whither they had fled, and caused a great number of them to be burned."²

That persecution was followed by several in Germany, where quickly after they were grievously afflicted, especially in Alsace, and along the Rhine, by the prelates of Mayence and Strasburg. They caused thirty five citizens of Mayence to be burned at one fire in the city of Bergen and at Mayence eighteen, who suffered their torturing death with constancy; and at Strasburg, eighty were burned at the instigation of the Bishop of that place. Those persecutions so increased the number of the Waldensian disciples, by the edification which they received who saw them die praising God, with the most confident assurance of his mercy that notwithstanding the continued persecutions, there were found in the country of Passau, and in Bohemia, in the year 1315, eighty thousand persons who made profession of the scriptural faith.²

Those Waldenses had five churches of believers in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary, superintended by Bartholomew of Carcassone. The Albigenses, who were professors of the same faith, also filled several countries, until at last they were almost utterly exterminated.⁴

CHAPTER III.

The names which their adversaries applied to the Waldenses, and the crimes with which their enemies maliciously accused them.

THE monkish Inquisitors, those deadly enemies of the Waldenses, no contented with delivering them up daily to the secular powers, moreover loaded them with reproaches, as the authors of all the heresies in the

Lyons, has given a true and most excellent history of the Waldensian Churches. A the title of Vallenses, the ancient name of the Vaudois, was taken from the place of their habitation, and not from the name of Waldo; so his disciples and descendants were dispersed into other places, and not among the valleys of the Alps. Allix confesses indeed that some of Waldo's disciples probably joined themselves with the churches in the valley of Piedmont, being constrained to it by the persecutions which dispersed them far and near. But Waldo was not the founder of the Churches of the Valleys, which were in existence long before him. In truth, it does not appear that he ever had any communication with them. The authors who speak of him narrate, that he retired from Lyons into Picardy and Flanders. He died before the year 1179, as appears from the account of Gulielmus Mappus. The majority of his disciples spread themselves among the Albigenses, who were in being long before Waldo; as may be seen in the sixty-fourth sermon of Bernard upon the Canticles. Those Waldenses who removed into Italy did not give their name to the Churches in that country, who prior to that time had been called Waldenses from the place of their abode. It was only the malice of their enemies, and the desire to blot out the memorial of their antiquity, which made their adversaries impute their origin to so late a period, and to Peter Waldo.—BRAY.

² Vignier, *Historiale Bibliothèque*, Part III., page 130. Dubravius, *History of Bohemia*, book 14.

³ *Sea of Histories*.

⁴ Matthew Paris, *History of King Henry III. of England*, in the year 1223.

world; and often imputed all the prodigious absurdities which they had forged to the Waldenses, as if their churches were nothing else than the receptacle of every error.

They called them from Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, Waldenses—from the country of Albi, Albigenses—and because those who adhered to the doctrine of Waldo departed from Lyons, after having been despoiled of all human possessions, the most part having been obliged to leave their goods behind them, in derision they named them “the Beggars of Lyons.”

In Dauphiny, they were called in mockery, Chaignards or Dogs; and because some of them passed the Alps, they were called Tramontanes.

From one of the disciples of Waldo, named Joseph, who preached in Dauphiny, in the diocese of Dye, they were styled Josephists.

In England they were denominated Lollards.

From two priests who taught the doctrine of Waldo in Languedoc, and who were called Henry and Esperon, they were known as Henriicians and Esperonists.

One of their pastors, Arnold Hot, preached among the Albigenses, and from him they were entitled Arnoldists.

In Provence, they were called “Siccars,” from a word in the common pedlars’ French, which signifies cut-purses.

In Italy, because they lived like brethren in true concord, they were styled “Fratricelli,” persons of the same brotherhood.

The Waldenses rejected the Romish festivals, and observed no other day of rest than Sunday; whence they were named “Insabbathas,” regards not of the Sabbaths.

As they were exposed to continual sufferings, from the Latin word, *pati*, to suffer, they were termed “Patarins.”

Seeing that they fled from place to place like poor pilgrims, they were named “Passagenes.”

In Germany, they were calumniated by the epithet “Gazares,” which signifies execrable, and flagitiously wicked.

In Flanders, they were denominated “Turlupins,” or inhabitants with wolves; because, through persecution, they were often constrained to dwell in woods and deserts.

Sometimes they were distinguished after the names of the countries and regions where they dwelt; as from Albi, Albigenses; from Thoulouse, Thoulousians; from Lombardy, Lombards; from Picardy, Picards; from Lyons, Lyonists; from Bulgaria, Bulgarians, which was transformed into “Bougres;” and from Bohemia, Bohemians.

To render them more odious, they were reviled as accomplices with the ancient heretics—because they made profession of purity in their faith and life, they were ridiculed by the titles of “Cathari” and “Puritans.” Inasmuch as they denied that the “Host” which the priests elevate at the mass is God, they were denounced as “Arians,” who disbelieved the divinity of Jesus Christ, the eternal “Son of God.” When they maintained that the authority of emperors and kings doth not depend upon that of the pope, they were vilified as “Manichees,” who acknowledged two supreme opposing principles. To which may be added the other epithets which were applied to the Waldenses, “Gnostics, Adamites, Cataphrigians, and Apostolicals.”

Sometimes they were most violently abused. Matthew Paris characterized them as ribalds and dissolute. The compiler of the Treasury of Histories gave them the appellative of Sodomites. Claudius Rubis

records, that when they spoke of a sorcerer, they generally called him a Waldensian.

1. Their adversaries and persecutors applied to the Waldenses that ancient calumny, with which the Heathens blackened the primitive Christians; that they met in the night in secret places, and that the "Barb," their pastor, ordered the candles to be extinguished, saying, "Qui potest capere capiat; catch whom you can catch." In consequence of which every man seized upon the woman who first came to his hands, without any respect of parentage or relationship—and that during the extinction of the light, they committed the most abominable incest—to which their enemies added, that the children of that ungodliness were very proper persons to make Barbs or pastors for the Waldensians.¹

2. They laid as a charge against the Waldenses, that those Christians maintained, that a man might abandon his wife at his pleasure, and also a woman might forsake her husband, to follow their church.

3. The Waldenses were reproached as having among them a community of all things and even of wives.

4. That they rejected the Baptism of Infants.

5. That they worshipped their pastors with prostration.

6. That they maintained the unlawfulness of swearing on any account.

7. That they affirmed that the pope sinned mortally when he declared war against the Saracens; and that all persons sin mortally, who obey the pope when he proclaims a croisade or a war against the Christians, whom he curses as heretics.

8. That the Waldenses showed no reverence to sacred places; and that the sin is not more heinous to burn a church-edifice, than to break open any other house.

9. That they maintained, the magistrate ought not to condemn any one to death, and they who do so, sin mortally; and that the Waldenses forged and propagated that error, that they might escape the hands of the judges, and remain unpunished.

10. That a layman being in a state of grace, hath more authority than the prince who lives in mortal sin.

11. That with the Manichees, the Waldenses believed in two principles, one the Good God, the Creator of Good; and one Evil, which is the Devil, the Creator of Evil.

12. That whatsoever is done with a good intention is good, and that every one shall be saved through what he doth with the said good intention.

13. That it is a meritorious work, to destroy and persecute Romish priests, prelates, and their subjects; and that they may without sin en-damage them in their persons and goods, and retain the tithes without scruple of conscience.

14. The last calumny is taken out of the book of Rubis; that Waldo and his pastors retired into Dauphiny, in the valley of Pute and Angrogne, where they found persons more like savage beasts than men, fit to be imposed upon by them; and there became sorcerers. He adds, to reproach the cities and states, wherein the Gospel hath been received in our time; "there are two things which commonly

¹ This imposture is found in Albertus de Capitaneis, on the original of the Vaudois.—Reinerius de formâ Hereticandi Hereticos, Folio 36.—Accusation of the priests of Bohemia to King Ladislaus against the Vaudois.

accompany each other, *Heresy* and *Sorcery*, as hath been verified in our cities and provinces, which have admitted *Heresy* amongst them."²

CHAPTER IV.

The Waldenses are cleared from obloquy by their own writings.

WHETHER the Waldenses of Bohemia were the relics of the people who followed Waldo there, as some affirm that he ended his life in Bohemia, after he had departed out of Germany, and escaped the hands of the Bishops of Mayence and Strasburg, or whether they were persons who afterwards were of the same faith with the Waldenses; they were grievously persecuted by Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia. We have extant an apology of the said Waldenses in their own tongue, which they sent to the King Lanceslaus, to justify themselves from several crimes with which their adversaries charged them. We have also their book with this inscription, "*Aiço es la causa del nostre despartiment de la Gleisa Romana;*" This is the cause of our separation from the Romish Church. As they answer the calumny, that they met in obscure places, where the candles being put out, they committed abominable incests, we have transcribed the said apology in their own terms, for the greater certainty and edification.

APOLOGY OF THE WALDENSES.—"Among other things, they publish, like angry and barking curs, that it is a law, and common amongst us to say: *Prostitute thyself*; whereby men obey the vilest part of their body more than God, who hath forbidden it. The foolish woman doth not only destroy the happiness of her husband, but her own too. He who addicts himself to this vice, doth not keep faith with any one. Whence it came to pass, that David caused his faithful servant to be slain, that he might enjoy his wife. Amnon defiled his sister Tamar. This vice consumes the estates of many, as it is said of the prodigal son, who wasted his substance in riotous living. Balaam made choice of this vice to provoke the children of Israel to sin, which was the occasion of the death of twenty-four thousand persons. This sin was the occasion of Sampson losing his sight. It perverted Solomon, and many have perished through the beauty of a woman. The remedies for this sin are *fasting, prayer*, and keeping at a distance from it. For other vices may be subdued by fighting; but in this we conquer by flight, and by not coming near it; of which we have an example in Joseph. We must then pray to the Lord daily, that he would remove far from us the sin of lasciviousness, and grant us the gifts of understanding and chastity."

In answer to the second scandal, that they maintained, that a man might leave his wife when he pleased, they said, "Matrimony is a bond which nothing but death can untie, unless it be for the cause of fornication, as our Lord Jesus Christ saith. And Paul in the first epistle to the Corin-

²Reinerius de formâ Hereticandi Hereticos, Folio 21, 22, Article 32; 36; 37—Reinerius in Summa, Folio 12—Claudius Rubis, History of Lyons, Book III, p. 269—Bernard on the Canticles, Homily 66.—Albert de Capitaneis, Original of the Vaudois, Folio 2, 4.

thians, chapter vii., saith, '*Let not the wife depart from the husband, nor the husband put away his wife.*'"

To the third calumny, touching the community of goods and wives: "They replied concerning marriage, that it was ordained by God of old in Paradise; that it is a good means against adultery, and that it was the saying of Paul, speaking thereof; *Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband. Also the husband ought to love his wife as Christ loves his Church; and those who are married ought to live holily together, with their children, in the fear of God.*"¹

As for goods, every one hath possessed his own at all times, and in all places. In Dauphiny, when the Archbishops of Ambrun, John and Roc-tain, pillaged them of their substance; when the Lord of Argentiere and Montainar, as also Arroas de Bonne, dispossessed the Waldenses dwelling in the valley of Fraissiniere and Argentiere of their goods: the restitution of each estate was prosecuted by their particular proprietors, from whom they had been taken away. The Waldenses of Provence now demand of the pope a restoration of the lands and estates annexed to his domain by confiscation; and every particular person makes oath of their parcels of goods and lands, which descended upon them time out of mind, from their forefathers, the Waldenses. They never had any such community amongst them, which might any way derogate from that lawful propriety which every one hath by right to his own estate.²

The fourth calumny was concerning baptism, which it is said they denied to infants. From this imputation they quit themselves as follows: "Neither is the time or place appointed for those who must be baptized; but charity, and the edification of the Church and Congregation, ought to be the rule in this matter;—yet notwithstanding, we bring our children to be baptized; which they ought to do to whom they are nearest related; as are their parents, or those whom God hath inspired with such a charity."³

True it is, that being for some hundreds of years constrained to suffer their children to be baptized by the Romish Priests, they deferred the doing of it as long as possible, because they detested the human inventions annexed to the institution of that holy sacrament, which they looked upon as pollutions of it. Their pastors, whom they called Barbs, being often in travels abroad for the service of their churches, they could not have baptism administered to their children by their own ministry. They therefore sometimes kept them long without baptism, upon which delay the priests charged them with that reproach. To which not only their adversaries have given credit, but many of those also who have approved of their lives and faith in all other points.

The fifth scandal was this, that they worshipped their Barbs or pastors, prostrating themselves before them. To clear the Waldenses from that imputation, the reader need only to peruse what they have said concerning the adoration of one Deity alone, in the exposition they made of their doctrine on the first commandment of the Law of God.

But they rendered honour to their pastors, as to those who brought to them the word of reconciliation, treating them kindly, thinking them-

¹ Remedy against the Sin of Luxury, chap. 21.—Waldensian book on the Virtues; Chapter on Marriage.

² Louis XII. condemned the usurpers of the goods of the Waldenses, to a restitution.—Treatise of Monecbe.

³ Spiritual Almanac: Folio 45.

selves in conscience and duty thereto obliged. But that they ever intended to give that worship to the creature, which is due to the Creator, cannot be said but by way of calumny, although Albert de Capitanais, their principal enemy in the diocess of Turin, violently tortured them to extort a confession, that they worshipped their pastors, which he could never force out of their mouths.⁴

The sixth calumny was this, that they maintained it was never lawful to swear.

"They said, that there were some oaths lawful, tending to the honour of God, and the edification of their neighbour, alleging that place in Hebrews, vi: 16. That *men swear by a greater than themselves, and an oath made for confirmation is an end of all strife.* They allege also that it was enjoined the people of Israel, to swear by the name of the Lord, in Deuteronomy vi.; and the oath made betwixt Abimelech and Isaac, Genesis xxvi., and that of Jacob, Genesis xxxi."⁵

The seventh scandal was this, to render them odious to the people, as if they had preferred the peace with the Turk to the enlargement of the Church and Kingdom of Christ; affirming, that they maintained the pope was guilty of mortal sin, when he sent Croisades against the Saracens.

"For their justification it is to be observed, they never complained of the enterprise of the war against the Turks, but that under pretence thereof, the popes robbed the Church of its goods and divine graces, deceiving the ignorant with their bulls and benedictions, who too easily received their lies and innovations, and bought them very dear. Moreover they looked upon it as a hard thing, that the pope had raised against them his *croisades* of pilgrims, to persecute them as heretics, without hearing or convicting them of being such."⁶

But they are not the only persons who have blamed the avarice or vindictive spirits of popes in point of croisades. Languis, a German historian, charged Pope Leo X. with having levied vast sums of money under pretence of the war against the Turk, with which he afterwards gratified thirty Cardinals whom he had newly created.⁷

Guicciardin observes in his history, that "this same pope caused great exactions to be made, of which he gave the fruits into the hands of his sister Magdalen; that all that levy of money was only to satisfy the covetousness of one woman; and that the Bishop of Arembaldo was by him judged a commissary worthy of such an action, to execute it with all manner of extortion."

Alexander IV. changed his vow of Jerusalem into one of *La Pouille*, a vow of revenge; for he gave power to his legate to absolve Henry III. King of England, dispensing him of his vow of entering upon the croisade for Jerusalem; provided that he would march into *La Pouille* to wage war with Manfred, son of Frederick the Emperor. Matthew Paris takes notice of the complaint that was made thereupon; that the tenths formerly set apart for the succour of the Holy Land, were then taken away, and converted to the assistance of *La Pouille* against Christians.⁸

⁴ This appeareth by the process formed by the said Albert against the Waldenses of the Alps.

⁵ Spiritual Almanac: Exposition of the third Commandment.

⁶ Causes of separation from the Church of Rome, p. 233.

⁷ Chronicle of France, 1513.—Examination of the Council of Trent, Lib. i, chap. 5.

⁸ *La Pouille* is part of Naples, whose inhabitants are held to be very dangerous. Matthew Paris, History of England.—Examination of the Council of Trent, Book i, chap. 5.

The eighth calumny was, that they showed no reverence to sacred places ; and that he doth not sin more grievously who burns a church, than he who breaks open another house.

They said, " that neither the place nor the pulpit maketh a man holy ; and they maintained, that they are greatly mistaken who think the better of themselves because of the dignity of the place. For what was greater than Paradise, and what more pure than Heaven ? and nevertheless man was driven out of Paradise because he sinned there. And the angels were expelled from Heaven, that they might be an example to those who should come after, to teach them, that it is not the place, nor the grandeur and dignity thereof, but innocency of life which makes a man holy."⁹

In answer to the ninth accusation, that they maintained, that the magistrate ought not to sentence any one to death, they said, " it is written that a malefactor shall not be suffered to live, and that without correction and discipline, doctrine serves to no purpose ; neither would judgment be known, or sins be punished ; and that therefore just anger is the mother of discipline, and patience without reason the seed of vices, which suffers the wicked to proceed in their excesses."¹⁰

They complained that the magistrates should deliver them up to death without any other knowledge of their cause than what they had from the bare report of the priests and monks, who were both judges and parties. For those monks pretending to discover errors in them, and then exclaiming against them as abuses which they had introduced into the Church, condemned them as heretics, and delivered them up to the secular power, as they called the magistrates. Now they looked upon this to be cruel simplicity in the magistrates, to give credit to men so biased with passion, as were the priests ; and that they should put to death so many innocent persons, without having heard or examined them."¹¹

The tenth calumny tended to render them odious to kings and princes : that the layman in a state of grace hath more authority than a prince living in mortal sin.

In reply to that imputation, they said, that every one ought to be subject to those who are put in authority, to obey them, to love them, to be at peace with them, to honour them with subjection, allegiance, and promptitude, and paying what is due to them.¹²

The eleventh charge was grounded upon this ; that the Waldenses affirmed that the pope had no authority over the kings and princes of the earth, who depended immediately upon God alone. Thence they took occasion to call them *Manichees*, as constituting two Supreme powers.

To which they replied, " We believe that the Holy Trinity created all things both visible and invisible, and that he is Lord of all things in heaven, earth, and hell : as it is said by John, *All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made.*"¹³

The original of that calumny proceeded from the Extravagant of Pope Boniface VIII., who, making the authority of emperors subordinate to his, saith concerning it ; *Quicumque huic potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, nisi duo, sicut Manichæus, fingat esse principia. De majori-*

⁹ Causes of separation from the Church of Rome, p. 125.

¹⁰ Light of the Treasure of Faith.

¹¹ Complaint made to Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

¹² Causes of separation from the Church of Rome, p. 41.

¹³ Treasure of Faith; Article 2.

tate et obedientia. Can. Unam Sanctam. L. 1, T. 8. "Whosoever resists this power, resists the ordinance of God, unless, like the Manichees, he pretends that these are two distinct principles."

The twelfth was, that they held, that all which is done with a good intention, is good, and that every one shall be saved by what he does with the said good intention. Which needs no other answer, than this: the Monk Reinerius, the asperser of them, says, that they held, that no one was saved but by his faith, which he styles a sect. An accuser ought to have had a better memory, than to affirm things contradictory.¹⁴

It is sufficient to show that they believed no such position; for they said against Antichrist, that he hath introduced his errors into the church, under colour of a good intention, and a show of faith.

In their thirteenth calumny they affirmed, that the priests might lawfully be slain or damaged in their tithes, which one might retain without scruple of conscience.

It is certain, that if the Waldenses could have appropriated their tithes to some other use, besides the maintenance of those whom they cried down as "dumb dogs," "drowsy watchmen," "slow bellies, deceivers, and being deceived," they would have done it; but seeing they had not power to detain them, none made any disturbance about that matter.

It appears indeed, that in that which depended on their free will, they offered nothing to such persons, cared not for their masses and trentals after their decease; of which the priests complained, who thence took occasion to accuse them as heretics.¹⁵

As to revenge, they say—"The Lord knowing that we should be delivered up, said, *beware of men*; but he never teaches nor counsels his elect to slay any one, but to love their enemies. When the disciples said unto him, *shall we call for fire from Heaven and consume them?* Christ answering, said unto them, *you know not what spirit you are of.* Also the Lord said to Peter, *put up thy sword into its place.* Moreover, temporal adversities ought to be contemned and endured with patience, for there happeneth nothing in them that is new. While we are here, we are the threshold of the Lord, to be beaten like corn when it is separated from the chaff."¹⁶

The last calumny of the enemies of the Waldenses, is that wherewith Claude de Rubis blackens them, in his history of the city of Lyons; That having retired into the Alps, after their departure from Lyons, "they became like the rest of the people of the country, besom-riders." Indeed there are two things which commonly accompany each other, that is, *Heresy* and *Sorcery*; "as has been verified," says he, "in the cities and provinces which have admitted *Heresy* amongst them."

We will justify the Waldenses, and then make answer to Rubis in behalf of the cities and provinces which he hath involved in his calumny.

They act against the first commandment, say the Waldenses in the exposition on the first commandment of the law, who believe the planets can force the free will of man. Such, as much as in them lies, esteem the planets to be Gods; for they attribute to the creature that which belongs to the Creator. Against whom the prophet Jeremiah saith, "*learn not to follow the ways of the nations, and be not*

¹⁴ Reinerius, Liber de formâ Hæretic., Article 38.

¹⁵ Process against the Waldenses of Dauphiné, by Albert de Capitanis, and other Monks Inquisitors.

¹⁶ Tribulations, p. 274.

afraid of those things at which the people are astonished." And Paul, Galatians iv., "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years: I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain."

They act against this commandment who believe in sorcerers and diviners, for such believe the demons to be Gods. The reason is, because they ask that of the demons, which God alone can grant; to discover things secret, and to declare the truth of things to come; which is forbidden by God, Leviticus xix.—"Thou shalt not regard them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards. Moreover thou shalt not divine, nor give any heed to dreams. Thou shalt not be an enchanter, neither take counsel with familiar spirits, or wizards, nor inquire after the truth among the dead; for all these things are an abomination unto the Lord. And because of this sin he will destroy you all at your entrance."

As to the punishment and vengeance which God inflicts upon such transgressors, we read in the second book of Kings, chapter i., that Elijah demanded of Ahaziah saying: Is there no God in Israel that ye go to inquire of Beelzebub the god of Ekron? Now, therefore, thus saith the Lord; thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. Saul died because he prevaricated with the commandment which God had commanded him. He kept it not, neither put his trust in the Lord; but asked counsel of a witch, wherefore the Lord slew him, and translated his kingdom to David, the son of Jesse. In the book of Leviticus it is said, "Whosoever shall turn aside to enchanters and wizards, I will lay my hands upon him, and cut him off from the midst of his people."

"Every one ought to know that all enchantments, or conjurations, or charms, or spells, carried for a remedy to persons or beasts, are nothing worth; but are a snare and ambush of the old adversary the Devil, by which he endeavours to deceive mankind." Thus the Waldenses pronounced concerning sorcerers by the word of God.

It remains to make answer to the slander of Claudius Rubis, who says, "It has been verified in our time that heresy and sorcery accompany each other in the cities and provinces which have given place to heretics among them. But in the places where the Reformation hath been introduced, the people have no communication or dealings with sorcerers."

"Nevertheless there are some places where heresy and sorcery still accompany each other; where they who profess themselves to be priests and teachers of the people are often found to be 'deceivers and being deceived'—of which many persons have complained, who have written with regret what they knew to be too much practised among the Popish priests and monks; and even by certain popes themselves."¹⁷

Bodin observes that there are countless indictments extant in which it appeared that oftentimes the Roman priests are not only sorcerers them-

¹⁷ Sorcery, which includes pretended "charms and spells," both for benefit and injury, is still practised in every country where Popery is known. It is not now displayed so openly in the countries where the light of the Reformation has penetrated—but the "Blessed Water," the "Consecrated Crucifix," the "Blessed Image," the "Consecrated Coffin-earth," the "Holy Beads," the "Blessed Rock," and the piece of the "Holy Cross," with numerous other devices, all are part of those "enchantments, conjurations, charms, and spells," which the Waldenses denounced several hundred years ago as the "snare of the old adversary the Devil." But those pretended "remedies to persons or beasts" are common even now among the Papists in every Protestant country, as well as in the ten kingdoms of the ancient Roman empire.

selves, but that they sing masses for other sorcerers; accommodating them with sacrifices, the Agnus Dei, consecrating their parchments and other paper charms, putting rings, and medals, and plates with characters on them, and other similar things, upon or under their altars when they say mass, to give them the virtue necessary for the object designed.¹⁸

John Uvier, who was physician to the Duke of Cleves, although a Romanist, thus wrote:—"If the pastors of churches would stop up the windows of false doctrines and other impieties, they would certainly have a salutary preservative for all those under their care against the delusions, impostures and practices of the devil; by which means, the less prudent would not be so often entangled as we frequently see they are, to the great loss and detriment of souls, which happens not only through the negligence of the priests, but also by their own practice, perverse doctrine and deceitful works, whereby they entice the simple populace to have recourse to unlawful remedies whenever they are afflicted with sudden and long diseases, and known or unknown maladies. But perhaps those 'magicians,' who profess themselves to be ecclesiastical persons, and who are commonly priests or monks, may think that that art belongs to them as a prerogative, and that they have a right thereto by hereditary succession, because the priests of Egypt were 'necromancers.'" Now, adds Uvier, "I did not think that those who would justify those priests and the use of enchantments, would be so bold as to object to me several popes of Rome who were so skilful in the 'black art,' that they practised it to their great satisfaction and profit. We are informed by Nauclerus and Platina, that Pope Sylvester II. procured the popedom by his pretended or real sorceries. Pope Benedict IX., they affirm, attained the station of pope by similar means. Prior to his elevation he had been called *Theophilact*; but after he became pope, for his atrocious wickedness, he was denominated '*Maledictus*.' Cardinal Bruno testifies that Pope John XX. and Pope John XXI. also participated in those 'curious arts.' All the popes, from Sylvester II. to Gregory VII., who was one of their greatest and most eminent 'magicians,' addicted themselves to use abominable rites, even in the forests and on the tops of the mountains. Of Hildebrand himself, John le Maire attests, that he attained his command over the people in his earlier course by his simulated sorceries; for as evidence of miraculous powers, and as a token of his sanctity, he would shake the sleeves of his gown, and sparks of fire would apparently fly out of them; so that the eyes of the simple and unwary distant beholders were altogether deceived. The 'magicians,' therefore, of our own times must not think to cover themselves with that cloak, and under such a pretence. This, nevertheless, ought to be deplored, that we shall scarcely find any persons more wicked, and yet less punished on earth than those priests who never admonish the ignorant, that the sorrows which happen to them are sent with the permission of God."

Uvier also complained that such conjuring priests presumed to make use of an endless variety of blasphemies, embellished with crosses, which they delineated with their own unhappy and sacrilegious hands. They also contrived holy water, salt for exorcisms, consecrated wax-tapers, incense, pictures, candles and tapers against the devil at Candlemas, fumigations of holy boughs on Palm Sunday, herbs hung before the door for John the Baptist, and flowers sprinkled with holy water on the

¹⁸ Bodin, *Demon*, Book 4, chapter vi., p. 211.

carnival of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Moreover, those priests abuse the Eucharist itself, as a means to commit their wickedness. Theology and even Medical Science have been polluted by painted exorcisms, by mumbling of barbarous jargon in unknown tongues, by the abuse which is made of the holy Scripture, by bands, necklaces, and bosom-charms, all of which conspire and procure the utter perdition and damnation of men.

The Roman priests also have counterfeited apparitions of Satan, who pretended to be the soul of some deceased person, then suffering in the fire of purgatory; thereby in the name of the departed spirit to induce the living to make their donations and offerings, and to bequeath their endowments, that the avarice of the priests might be satiated.¹⁹

Lavater also relates at large the history of the pretended spirit of Orleans, and the proceedings of the Jacobins at Berne, which was one of the most famous impostures of the monkish sorcerers.²⁰

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to except those priests whom God hath not so far abandoned, as to suffer them to adhere to the sorceries of Satan.

Thus the Waldenses are justified and cleared from the greatest calumnies which have been laid upon them, by the testimony of their own writings; but additional evidence of their innocency, which is free from all suspicion can be adduced, while it has been necessary to retort upon the wicked priests who have belied and reviled the Waldenses, the reproaches which they have cast upon those who sincerely received the gospel.

CHAPTER V.

Testimony given to the piety, probity, and learning of the Waldenses, by their adversaries.

JACOBUS DE RIBERIA, who helped to persecute the Waldenses, said, that they for a long time have obtained the greatest esteem in Gallia Narbonensis, in the diocese of Albi, Rodes, Cahors, and Agen; and that they who would be styled priests and bishops were then but little accounted of. As almost all the said priests were either unworthy or ignorant, it was an easy matter for the Waldenses to obtain the preference amongst the people, for the excellency of their doctrine.¹

Reincrius, a Jacobin monk, and cruel persecutor of the Waldenses, endeavouring to blacken them, because they frequently read the holy scriptures, said, that when the Waldenses would make known their doctrine, they alleged many things concerning chastity, humility, and other virtues, showing, that we must avoid vice, citing the words of Christ and his Apostles; so that they who heard them were ravished to that degree, that they thought they heard rather angels than men.

¹⁹ John Uvier, Book of Devils. Book iv., chapter 3, Folio 303.—Platina, Life of Sylvester II., Folio 218.—John le Maire, History of the Schisms of the Church, who also wrote this declaration—"All the Popes here spoken of were magicians, necromancers, and sorcerers."

²⁰ Lavater, Book of the Apparition of Devils, chapter xiii., section 7. This history of the monkish imposture at Berne is a curious piece, which deserves to be reprinted. It will be found in the Appendix, as detailed by Burnet, in his "Letter from Zurich."

¹ Jacob Riberia, Collections of the city of Thoulouse.—Chassagnon, History of the Albigenes, p. 27.

Moreover, they taught what manner of men the disciples of Christ ought to be, by the words of the Gospel and Apostles, saying, that they only are the successors of the Apostles who follow their life; concluding thereby that the pope, the bishops and clerks, who enjoy the riches of this world, and do not imitate the sanctity of the Apostles, are not the governors of the church of Christ, Christ not being willing to commit his church to such persons, lest they should have prostituted it by evil examples, and wicked actions, rather than exhibit to him from thence a virgin-like chastity, in the same purity as they received it from him; and therefore that they must not be obeyed. He adds that they led very religious lives in all things, that their manners were seasoned with grace, and their words prudent and well polished, speaking voluntarily of God, of his saints, of attaining virtues, and of avoiding vices, and of doing several other good things, that they might be esteemed the better men.²

Claude de Seissel, Archbishop of Turin, renders this testimony touching the Waldenses: "As to their life and manners they are perfect, and irreprehensible, without reproach among men, addicting themselves with all their might to observe the commandments of God."³

Cardinal Baronius styles the Waldenses of Thoulouse good men, and peaceable persons, although elsewhere he falsely lays very many crimes to their charge.⁴

As to their learning, Reinerius said, that they taught their children and their families the epistles and gospels.⁵

Jacobus de Riberia saith, that they were so well instructed in the holy scriptures, that he had seen peasants who could recite the book of Job, *verbatim*; and several others who could perfectly repeat all the New Testament.⁶

The Bishop of Cavillon, Vesembecius, at the time of the great persecution of the Waldenses of Merindol and Provence, made a certain preaching monk enter into conference with them, to convince them of their errors, before he proceeded to violence. But the priest withdrew in confusion, saying, he had never in the whole course of his life made such progress in the holy scriptures, as he had done in those few days that he had conferred with the Waldenses, in examining the articles of their confession by the passages of holy scripture by them quoted. But that Bishop, not contented, sent to them a whole troop of young doctors, lately come from the Sorbonne, to confound them by the subtilty of their questions. But one of them upon his retreat openly acknowledged, he had learned more of the doctrine necessary to salvation by hearing the answers of the little children of the Waldenses in their catechism, than by all the theological disputes which he had ever heard in Paris.⁷

Bernard de Girard, lord of Haillan, saith, that the Waldenses have been charged with more wicked opinions than they are really guilty of; because they have stirred up the hatred of the popes and great men of the world against them, by the freedom which they take to reprove the vices and dissolute practices of princes and ecclesiastics.⁸

² Reinerius, de formâ Heretic., Folio 98.

³ Claudius Seissel, Treatise against the Waldenses.

⁴ Baronius, Eccles. Annal., Tom. xii, anno 1170. Page 835.

⁵ Reinerius, de formâ Heretic., Folio 97.

⁶ Jacob Riberia, Collections of the city of Thoulouse.

⁷ Vesembecius, Oration concerning the Waldenses.

⁸ Bernard de Girard, History of France, book xx.

King Louis XII. of France, having received information from the enemies of the Waldenses dwelling in Provence, of several heinous crimes which they fathered upon them, sent to the place Adam Fumée, master of requests, and a Sorbonist doctor, called Parui, who was his confessor, to make inquiry into the matter. They visited all their parishes and temples, and neither found there any images, or sign of the ornaments belonging to the mass, or ceremonies of the Romish Church; much less could they discover any of those crimes with which they were charged. But rather that they kept the Sabbath duly, caused their children to be baptized according to the primitive Church, taught them the articles of the Christian faith, and the commandments of God. The king having heard the report of the said commissioners said, with an oath, that they were better men than himself or his people.⁹

That same king, understanding that in Dauphiny, in the valley of Fraissiniere, in the diocess of Ambrun, there were certain people who lived like beasts without religion, having an ill opinion of the Romish worship, he sent thither one of his confessors, and the official of Orleans, to bring him a true information thereof. That confessor, with his colleague, repaired to the place, where he examined the Waldenses dwelling in the said valley touching their faith and conversation. The Archbishop of Ambrun, who made account, that the goods of the said Waldenses would be annexed to the domains of his archbishopric, as being liable to confiscation for the cause of heresy, very much pressed the said commissioners to condemn them immediately as heretics. But the said commissioners would not fulfil his desire. They rather justified them as much as in them lay, insomuch that, before their departure, the said king's confessor, being at his lodgings at the tavern in Ambrun, said, in the presence of several of his assistants, that he wished he were as good a Christian as the worst of the said valley of Fraissiniere.¹⁰

⁹ Vœsembecius, Oration respecting the Waldenses.

¹⁰ Memorials of Rostain, archbishop of Ambrun. The above testimony, by the official of Orleans, to the faith and manners of the poor Christians of Fraissiniere, is very important. Thuanus also describes both their poverty and piety, on the account of the former of which indeed, they might well enough be said to live a life little differing from that of beasts; which is a most glorious testimony of their religion by one of the contrary faith. Therefore, as well to gratify those who can relish the fineness of description, as to contribute to the just esteem which all Protestants ought to have of those most miserably oppressed, but otherwise most happy people, I subjoin the account of the Waldenses by Thuanus, in his own words:—

“Harum omnium maxime horrida, et agrestis FRAXINEA, quippe cujus sterile et incultum solum, ob idque egentissimi sunt incolæ. Iis vestitus ex pellibus ovium, quas desiccatas et salitas cum lana succida viri pariter ac feminae induunt, et anterioribus pedibus fibulae vicem ad collum, posterioribus infra ventrem subnectunt, exertis brachiis, eo tantum diverso feminarum a viris amictu, quod hi vili subligari inferiora, feminae stola quæ paulo infra genua, neque ultra protenditur, tegunt. Præterea pro caliendo involucrium linteum habent; alioqui nullus lintei neque in vestitu, neque in lectis apud eos usus. Nam vestiti fere somnium capiunt, stramine subjecto et pellibus ovillis tecti. Septem vicis omnino habitant, et domos e silicibus constructas habent tecto plano, et luto congesto, quod imbribus corruptum, aut solum cylindro rursus æquatum concinnant. In his pronusæ et jumenta stabulantur; sæpe tamen interjecta, speluncis præterea duabus ad fortuita sepositis, in quarum altera greges ac jumenta abscondunt, cum periculum ab incursionibus imminet, in alteram ipsi se recipiunt. In iis fornices fontibus manantes stillicidio congelato innumeras animalium, et aliarum rerum figuras incredibili ludentis naturæ artificio expriment, et lumine ab antri ostio accepto lacubus binis inibi e specu scaturientibus, et in se absorptis representatæ jucunditatem simul et stuporem spectantibus afferunt. Lacte et ferina vivunt, pecuariam exercentes; scolopetarij optimi, et certis lectibus dorcadæ ibices et ursos figere peritissimi, quorum carnibus fere impuris vocantur,

King Francis I., successor to Louis XII., understanding that the Parliament of Provence laid heavy impositions upon the Waldenses at Merindol, Cabriers, and other neighbouring places, had a desire to inform himself about the faith, life, and manners of the said Waldenses. For that purpose he commanded William de Bellay, Lord of Langeai, his lieutenant in Piedmont, to make diligent inquiry into that affair. Whereupon the said Lord sent into Provence two honest persons to inquire into the life and religion of the said Waldenses, and the proceedings of the Parliament against them. Those two deputies brought word back to the Lord of Langeai, that the greatest part of the inhabitants of Provence affirmed, that the said Waldenses were a laborious people, and that about two hundred years ago they came from Piedmont to dwell in Provence; and that betaking themselves to husbandry and feeding of cattle, they made many villages, destroyed by the wars, and other desert and uncultivated places, very fertile by their industry; and that by the informations given them in the said country of Provence, they had learned that the said inhabitants of Merindol, were a very peaceable people, loved by their neighbours, and men of good behaviour and of a godly conversation, careful in keeping their promises, punctual in paying their debts, without suffering themselves to be sued; a charitable people, not permitting any amongst them to fall into want; and that they were liberal to strangers and poor passengers, according to their ability. That the inhabitants of Provence affirmed that those of Merindol were distinguished from those

ex carum usu et squalore tanta graveolentia contracta, ut e longinquo nares feriant, vixque ab advenis ferri possint.

"His opibus beati aequali omnium paupertate nullos mendicos habent, et seipsis contenti raras amicitias nullas cum aliis adfinitates colunt. In tanta tenuitate in eo est pedore degentibus, quod et horrida ac deformi specie præ se ferunt, est quod mireris, quod non incultis omnino moribus sunt; nam nemo apud eos nescit literas, et scribere comode sciunt. Lingua: n Gallicam callent, quatenus BIBLIA INTELLIGERE, et PSALMOS CANERE POSSINT. Nec quemquam temere inter eos puerum reperias, qui interrogatus fidei, quam profitentur, non expedite memoriter rationem reddat, quod illis cum CÆTERIS CONVALLENSIBUS commune est. Tributum religiose pendunt, idque secundum Dei cultum in ipsorum fidei confessione præcipuum est. Quod si bellis civilibus prohibeantur, illud nihilominus coactum seponunt, et cum per pacem licet, coactoribus regis studiose exsolvi curant."—*Thuani Hist., Lib. 27, p. 16.*

The translation of the essential part of Du Thou's testimony follows. It perfectly sustains the declaration of Louis XII., that the Waldenses, "me et cætero populo meo catholico meliores viri sunt; are better men than myself and the rest of my people."

"Of all those valleys the most rugged and wild is that of Fraissiniere, and on account of its sterile and untilled soil, its inhabitants are most needy. Their covering is of sheepskins salted and dried, with the wool not scoured, and with them both men and women are clothed. * * * The women have a linen covering for the head; otherwise they use not linen, either for clothing or for beds; for, almost clad, they take their sleep on straw, and covered with the skins of sheep. They dwell in seven villages, and their houses are constructed of flint stones; * * * In those places they and their cattle are housed; but often, when there is danger from their persecutors, they conceal themselves and their flocks in caves. * * * Employed in raising cattle, they live on milk and venison, and are excellent marksmen in killing goats and bears. * * *

"Blessed with this wealth, the equal poverty of all, they have no beggars; and contented with themselves, they cultivate little friendship and no affinity with others. But notwithstanding they live in such poverty and filth, which they exhibit in its most disgusting shape, it is marvellous that they are not uncultivated in their manners; for no one among them is ignorant of letters, and they all can write fairly. They are well taught in the French language; so that they can UNDERSTAND THE BIBLE, AND SING THE PSALMS. Nor can any boy be found at random among them, who being asked of the faith which they profess, will not promptly give you an intelligible account, which is common to all the OTHER VALLENSSES. They religiously pay their tribute, which, after their service to God, is a chief article in their confession of faith."

of the country, in that they could not endure to blaspheme, or name the devil, or swear at all, unless in the making some solemn contracts, or in judgment. They were also known by this, that when they came into any company where they talked lasciviously or blasphemously, to the dishonour of God, they straightway withdrew from such company.

Thus many enemies of the Waldenses have spoken honourably of them, enforced thereunto by the power of the truth.¹¹

CHAPTER VI.

Testimony concerning the Waldenses by distinguished professors of the Reformed Churches.

THEODORE BEZA called the Waldenses, the offspring of the purest part of the Ancient Christian Church, because they have been miraculously preserved from the errors and ignorance which Satan hath hatched in these latter times.¹

Constans upon the Apocalypse, shows that the reformation of the western Church began in France by the means of Waldo, and that from this source it spread itself through the rest of Europe.²

Bullinger speaks thus of the Waldenses: For four hundred years and more, in France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and other countries throughout the world, the Waldenses have made profession of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and have in several writings, and continual preachings, accused the pope as the true Antichrist, of whom the Apostle John foretold, and that therefore we ought to flee from him. These people, having undergone divers and cruel torments, have constantly and openly given testimony to their faith by glorious martyrdoms, and still do the same to this day. They could never be extirpated, although it had been often attempted by the most potent kings and princes, instigated by the pope. God frustrated those endeavours.³

Luther confessed, that he hated the Waldenses, as persons consigned over to perdition, until having understood the piety of their faith by their confessions and writings, he perceived that those good men had been greatly wronged whom the pope had condemned as heretics, being rather worthy of the praise due to holy martyrs. Among the said Waldenses, he had found one thing worthy of admiration, and to be taken notice of as miraculous and unheard of in the popish Church; that the said Waldenses, having forsaken all human doctrines, did meditate with all their power in the law of the Lord day and night; that they were very expert in the Scriptures, and well versed in them. On the contrary, those who are called our masters in the papacy, did so despise the holy writings, in the title of which notwithstanding they gloried, that there were amongst them they who had not so much as seen the Bible.

Moreover, having read the confession of the Waldenses, he said that

¹¹ Joachim Camerarius, *History*, page 352.

¹ Beza, *History of Worthy Men*.

² Constans, *Comment upon the Revelations*, Chapter XI.

³ Bullinger, *Preface to sermons upon the Apocalypse*.

he gave thanks to God for the great light which he had bestowed upon them, rejoicing with them, that all cause of suspicion being removed from among them, and the reformed, which made them be suspected by each other of heresy, they were however so nearly united as to have been brought together into one sheepfold under the only pastor and bishop of our souls, who is blessed for ever.⁴

Œcolampadius wrote to the Waldenses of Provence the following letter, in the year 1530.

"We have learnt with great satisfaction, by your faithful pastor George Morel, the nature of your faith and religion, and in what terms you declare it. Therefore we thank our most merciful Father, who hath called you to so great a light in this age, even amidst the obscure clouds of ignorance which have spread themselves throughout the world, and notwithstanding the extravagant power of Antichrist. And therefore we acknowledge that Christ is in you; for which cause we love you like brethren, and would to God we were able to make you sensible in effect, of that which we shall be ready to do for you, although it were to be done with the utmost difficulty. Finally, we desire that what we write may not be looked upon as if through pride we assumed any superiority to ourselves, but out of that brotherly love and charity we bear towards you. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath imparted to you an excellent knowledge of his truth, more than to many other people, and hath blessed you with a spiritual benediction. So that if you persist in his grace, he hath much greater treasures with which he will enrich you, and make you perfect, according to your advancement in the measure of the inheritance of Christ."

This letter is thus subscribed; "Œcolampadius prays to the Holy Ghost, for the grace of God the Father, through his Son Jesus Christ, to the well-beloved brethren in Christ, called Waldenses."⁵

Martin Bucer wrote to them, at the same time, the following epistle.

"Blessed be the Lord God the Father, who hath preserved you to this present time in so great a knowledge of his truth; and hath now excited you to search after it, and made you capable thereof. Now the nature of true faith is this: That as soon as it discovers in part, some glimpse of the divine light, it diligently keeps that which God hath already given. We have Paul for an example, who, throughout all his epistles, manifests his care to promote the glory of God. And surely if we pray heartily that the name of God may be glorified, and that his kingdom may come, we shall never endeavour anything with so much diligence, as the establishment of the truth where it is not, and the advancement thereof where it is already planted. This one thing chiefly troubles us, that we cannot answer you so fully as we could have desired."⁶

Monsieur de Vignaux, who was pastor of the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont, hath written a treatise of their life, manners, and religion, to whom he gives this testimony: That they were men of a holy life and conversation, excellent conduct, and great enemies to vice; but especially their barbs, for so they called their pastors. Speaking of those of his time, he saith, "We live in peace and concord with one another in those valleys of Piedmont, have commerce and contract among ourselves, having never mixed ourselves with those of the Church of Rome, by marrying

⁴ Vesembocius, Oration concerning the Waldenses.

⁵ George Morel, conference with Œcolampadius.

⁶ Book on the Persecutions of the Waldenses.

our sons to their daughters, nor our daughters to their sons. Yet they are so pleased with our manners and customs, that the papist lords and others had rather take men and maid servants from amongst us, than from among those of their own religion; and come from afar to seek nurses amongst us for their little children, finding, as they say, more fidelity in ours than in their own."

As to the doctrine for which the Waldenses have been persecuted, they affirmed, that we must believe the Holy Scriptures only in that which concerns our salvation, without any dependance upon men. The Scriptures contain all things necessary to our salvation; and nothing else ought to be received, except that which God hath commanded us.

There is but one only Mediator, and that, therefore, we must not invoke the saints.

That there is no purgatory, but that all who are justified by Christ go to life eternal.

They receive and approve of two sacraments, baptism, and the communion of the Holy Supper.

They affirm that all masses are damnable, especially those that are said for the dead; and that, therefore, they ought to be abolished.

That all human traditions ought to be rejected, and not held necessary to salvation.

The singing and recital of the office, and fasts confined to certain days, superfluous holy days, the difference of meats, degrees and orders of priests, monks, and nuns, benedictions, and consecrations of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, and the whole confused and vast heap of ceremonies formerly invented, ought to be abolished.

They deny the supremacy of the pope, especially the power which he hath usurped over the civil government; and admit of no other degrees, besides bishops, priests, and deacons.

The see of Rome is the true Babylon, and the pope is the original of all the evils in these days.

The marriage of priests is good and necessary.

Those who hear the word of God, and have a right knowledge of it, are the true Church, to whom Jesus Christ hath committed the keys to let in his sheep, and drive out the wolves.

This, says Vignaux, is the doctrine of the Waldenses, which the enemies of truth have impugned, and for which they have in those days persecuted them, as the said enemies themselves testify.⁷

Viret speaks of the Waldenses as follows:—The papists have very unjustly fathered great crimes on the ancient faithful, called the Waldenses, or poor people of Lyons; whereby they began to make known that the pope was Antichrist, and that his doctrine was only the traditions of men, contrary to the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Upon which they proceeded against them, as did the heathen of old against the ancient Christians, accusing them of killing their own children in their assemblies.⁸

The author of the history of the Reformed Churches in France speaks of them thus:—The Waldenses, says he, time out of mind have opposed the abuses of the Roman Church, and have been persecuted after such a manner, not by the sword of the word of God, but by all kind of cruelty,

⁷ Vignaux, Memorials of the Waldenses, Folio 4.—Vignaux, History of the State of the Church, p. 337.

⁸ Viret, True and False Religion, liber iv., chapter xiii., p. 249.

together with a million of calumnies and false accusations, that they have been forced to disperse themselves wherever they could, wandering through the deserts like poor wild beasts: the Lord, nevertheless, having so preserved the residue of them, that notwithstanding the rage of all the world, they still inhabit in three countries at a great distance one from another; in Calabria, Bohemia, Piedmont, and the neighbouring countries, where they dispersed themselves from the quarters of Provence, about two hundred and seventy years ago. And as to their religion, they never adhered to papal superstitions; for which reason they have been continually harassed by the bishops and inquisitors, abusing the arm of secular justice; so that it is an evident miracle that they have been able to continue.⁹

John Chassagnon writes as follows:—It hath been written of the Waldenses, saith he, that they have rejected all the traditions and ordinances of the Roman Church, as unprofitable and superstitious; and that they did not much esteem the whole body of the clergy and prelates. For which reasons having been excommunicated and expelled the country, they dispersed themselves in divers places; as into Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, Piedmont, Calabria, Bohemia; England, and elsewhere. Some have writ, that a part of the Waldenses retired into Lombardy, where they multiplied, so that their doctrine spread itself through Italy, and came even into Sicily. Nevertheless in that great dispersion, they always maintained among them some union and fraternity, for the space of four hundred years, living in great simplicity, and the fear of God.¹⁰

The author of the History of the State of the Church, page 336, writes thus concerning them:—After Waldo and his followers were banished from Lyons, a part of them retired into Lombardy, where they so increased, that their doctrine began to be displayed throughout Italy, and even entered Sicily: as appears by the patents of Frederic II. granted against them in his reign.¹¹

Vesembecius says, that when the popes and their satellites saw that the Roman hierarchy was much damaged by means of the Waldenses, in that several princes had already undertaken their defence, among which were the King of Arragon, and the Count de Thoulouse, formerly powerful princes among the Gauls, they began to oppress them through very unjust occasions, and endeavoured to expose them to the hatred of the people, and especially of kings, that they might by that means entirely exterminate them.¹²

Vignier says, that the Waldenses have suffered long and grievous persecutions, and notwithstanding, nothing could hinder them from retaining always the doctrine which they had received from the Waldenses, handing it down to their posterity.¹³

Holagaray affirms that the opinion of the Waldenses and Albigenses was contrary to all the maxims of the Bishop of Rome, which had been publicly preached, and commanded by his authority. He means those which were invented by him, and were contrary to the word of God. And testifies, that they had amongst them very understanding and learned men to support their faith against the monks.¹⁴

⁹ Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches of France, tom. 1, liber i., p. 35.

¹⁰ Chassagnon, History of the Albigeois, p. 25.

¹¹ Vignaux, History of the State of the Church, p. 336.

¹² Vesembecius, Oration concerning the Waldenses.

¹³ Vignier, Historica Bibliotheca, p. 130.

¹⁴ Holagaray, History of Foix, pp. 120, 121.

Matthias Illyricus saith, that he found by the writings of Waldo, which he left behind him in certain old parchments, and which he had in his custody, that he was a learned man, and that he did not only cause the books of the Bible to be translated into the vulgar tongue, but took pains himself therein.¹⁵

It is most certain that the enemies of Waldo and the Waldenses will have no regard to the above-mentioned testimonies, because they will make the like account both of the witnesses, and of those to whom they bear witness, and will reckon all of them as heretics. This history is not calculated for the enemies of the truth; but that the lovers thereof might see that many great persons, whose memory we honour, have spoken of the Waldenses as of true servants of God, who have maintained the truth at the expense of their lives, and have earnestly desired to see in their days the Reformation which we enjoy in ours.

Aldegonde saith, the cause wherefore they condemned them as heretics, was only because they maintained that the mass is a wicked corruption of the Holy Supper of the Lord:¹⁶

The Host is an idol forged by men:

The Church of Rome is wholly degenerated, and full of infidelity and idolatry:

The traditions of the Church are only superstitions and human inventions:

The pope is not the head of the Church: and for other like points.

Aldegonde also observes, it is the work of God; since whatever diligence the popes and their clergy have used, employing the assistances of princes and secular magistrates, they have not been able to exterminate them, nor by proscriptions, banishments, excommunications, publications of croisades, and pardons to all those who would wage war upon them; nor by all sorts of torments, fires, flames, gibbets, and cruel blood-shedding, have been able to hinder their doctrine from spreading itself almost through all the ends of the earth.

CHAPTER VII.

Peter Waldo and the Waldenses left books behind them, which manifest their faith and character.

FORASMUCH as it may be called in question, whether there be this day in the world any proofs of their faith, we must produce an inventory of books which the Waldenses have left us, that when their doctrine shall be in dispute, every one may understand which are the writings whence we have extracted that which they have taught.

The author of the History of the State of the Church gives the subsequent testimony. Waldo, saith he, at that same time made a collection in the vulgar tongue of the passages of the Ancient Fathers, that he might fortify his disciples, not only by the authority of the Holy Scripture, but also by the testimony of the doctors, against the adversaries.¹

¹⁵ Matthias Illyricus, Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth, p. 134.

¹⁶ Aldegonde, Table of Differences. Part iii, p. 150.

¹ Vignaux, History of the State of the Church, p. 307.

About the year 1580, Sieur de Vignaux, pastor of the churches of the Waldenses in Piedmont, wrote as follows, in Memoirs concerning the Original, Antiquity, Doctrine, Religion, Manners, Discipline, Persecutions, Confessions, and Progress of the people styled Waldenses. I who am the author, saith he, can testify, that having been sent among those people to preach to them the gospel of Christ our Lord, which I did for near forty years; I had no occasion to labour to divert them from the ceremonies and customs of the Church of Rome, nor to wean them from the pope, the mass, and purgatory, and such things, in which they were already teachers before me, although the greatest part of them knew not their alphabet.

To that good servant of God we are much indebted for the collection of the ancient books of the Waldenses. For he collected, and carefully preserved as many as he could find of them; and he did this with the greater advantage, by reason that he lived among them. Towards the conclusion of his life, he delivered to certain particular persons his memoirs, which he wrote concerning the Waldenses, and all the old books which he had procured in their valleys; of which he expresses himself as follows:—We have, saith he, extant among us some old writings of the Waldenses, containing catechisms and sermons, which are manuscripts written in the vulgar tongue, wherein there is nothing which makes for the pope and papacy. And it is a wonderful thing, saith he, that they have seen so clearly in a time of darkness more gross than that of Egypt.²

Le Sieur de St. Ferriol, minister of the church of Orange, inspired with a holy curiosity, made a collection of several of the said books, which he showed to Aldegonde, who makes mention of it in his first table; in which place, he says, that there are some other books extant of a very ancient letter in the library of Joseph de la Scale.³

Now the above-mentioned books, having been remitted to me, to furnish materials for this history, I will set down a catalogue of them.

In the first place we have amongst us a New Testament in parchment in the Vaudois tongue, very well written, though of a very ancient letter.

A book entitled Antichrist, which begins after this manner; *Qual cosa sia l'Antechrist en datte de l'an mille cent et vingt*; in which volume are contained several sermons of the barbs of the Waldenses.

A treatise concerning Sins, and their remedies.

A treatise, entitled, a Book of Virtues.

A treatise inscribed *De l'enseignement de li filli*: the instruction of children.

A treatise *Del Matrimoni*; of matrimony.

Another entitled, *La Parlar de li Philosophes et Doctors*: that is, the sentences of the philosophers and doctors.

A commentary or paraphrase upon the Apostles' creed.

A treatise of Sacraments.

A paraphrase or commentary upon the Commandments of the law of God.

A paraphrase upon the Lord's Prayer.

² Vignaux, History of the State of the Church, p. 3.

³ Aldegonde, first table; p. 153.

A treatise of Fasting.

One of Tribulations.

A little catechism, entitled Interrogations of Minors.

- A treatise against Dancing and Taverns.

Another of the four last things: Death to all: Life eternal to the good: Hell to the wicked: and the Last Judgment.

A book entitled *Del Purgatori soima*, fictitious purgatory; or the dream of purgatory.

A treatise against the Invocation of Saints.

We have moreover a very ancient book entitled, *A Eiço es la causa del nostre Despartiment de la Gleisa Romana*: The cause of our separation from Rome.

In that volume, there is an epistle or apology of the Waldenses inscribed; *La Epistola al serenissimo Rey Lancelau, a li Ducs, Barons, et a li plus veil del Regne. Lo petit tropel de li Christians appella per fals nom fulsament.* P. O. V. The poor, or Waldenses.

Also a book, wherein there are several Sermons of the Barbes, and an epistle to friends, containing several excellent doctrines, to instruct all sorts of persons how to behave themselves in this life, and in all ages.

To which volume is annexed, a treatise entitled *Sacerdotium*; in which the charge of good pastors is described, and the punishment of wicked ones.

We have likewise extant among us a Book of Poetry, in the Vaudois tongue, in which are the following treatises: A prayer inscribed *New Comfort*. A poem concerning the four kinds of seed mentioned in the Gospel. Another, entitled the *Bark*. A fourth, called the *Noble Lesson*. Which book is mentioned by Aldegonde.⁴

We have also an excellent treatise, entitled, *Vergier of Consolation*; containing several excellent instructions confirmed by Holy Scripture, and by the authority of several of the ancients.

Likewise an old one in parchment, entitled, the *Church*. Also another called the *Treasure and Light of Faith*.

Also a book inscribed, the *Spiritual Almanac*.

Another in parchinent, concerning the method of separating precious from vile and contemptible things; virtues from vices.

A tract of George Morel, wherein are contained all the inquiries of himself, and Peter Mascon, from *Æcolampadius* and *Bucer*, concerning religion, and their answers.

All which books are written in the Vaudois tongue, which is partly Provençal, partly Piedmontane. All of them sufficient thoroughly to instruct their people in a good life and faith, and whose doctrine is consonant with that at present taught and believed in the Reformed Churches.

Thence we conclude, that the doctrine maintained in our days against the inventions of men, is novel to those alone who have smothered it; or that their ancestors abhorred it, for want of the knowledge of its goodness since we find a considerable number of writings which manifest that the doctrine for these several hundred years past constantly maintained, down to the Reformation, is the same with that which for several ages hath been stifled by ignorance and ingratitude. Which the adversaries themselves have in some measure confessed, when they said, that that doctrine which is called novel, is nothing else but the essence of the errors of the ancient Waldenses.

⁴ Aldegonde, first table; p. 153.

CHAPTER VIII.

The enemies of the ancient Waldenses acknowledge that their doctrine was agreeable to the religious creed and principles of the Reformation.

LINDANUS calls Galvin the inheritor of the doctrine of the Waldenses.¹

Cardinal Hosius saith, that the leprosy of the Waldenses spread its infection throughout all Bohemia, when following the doctrine of Waldo, the greatest part of the kingdom of Bohemia separated from the Church of Rome.²

Gualtier, a Jesuitical monk, in his chronographical table, or to express it accurately, in his FORMULARY OF LIES, makes the faith of the Waldenses, and those whom he calls the injured poor, and the ministers of Calvin, the same in twenty-seven articles.³

Claudius Rubis saith, that the heresies which have been current in our time, were founded upon those of the Waldenses, and calls them the relics of Waldo.⁴

Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., and John Dubravius, Bishop of Olmutz, make the doctrine taught by Calvin akin to that of the Waldenses.⁵

Thomas Walden, who wrote against Wickliff, saith, that the doctrine of Waldo was conveyed from France into England. To which agrees Sieur de la Popeliniere, who adds, that the doctrine of the modern Protestants is but little different from that of the Waldenses, which having, saith he, been received into the quarters of Albi, and communicated by the Albigenes to the English their neighbours, when the English held Guienne in their possession, was infused into the understandings of some persons, who carried it into England, and was, as it were, handed down to Wickliff, a very eminent divine in the University of Oxford, and curate of Lutterworth, in the diocess of Lincoln, who by his eloquence and extraordinary doctrine, so won upon the hearts and understandings of several Englishmen, even of the greatest quality, that a scholar brought to Prague a book of Wickliff, entitled, the Universals, which being diligently read by John Huss, increased and explained the doctrine sowed a long time before in Bohemia by the Waldenses, who fled thither ever since Waldo's time: So that several of the people, scholars, nobility, and ecclesiastics, did embrace it.⁶

Cardinal Bellarmin saith, that Wickliff could add nothing to the heresy of the Waldenses.⁷

Eccius reproaches Luther, that he did but renew the heresies of the Waldenses and Albigenes, of Wickliff and John Huss, formerly condemned.⁸

¹ Lindanus, Analytic Tables.

² Hosius, Heresies of our Time; Book I.

³ Gualtier, Chronological Table, xii. Chapter xv., p. 494.

⁴ Claudius Rubis, History of the city of Lyons; Liber iii; p. 269.

⁵ Sylvius, History of Bohemia.—Dubravius, History of Bohemia.

⁶ Walden, Things Sacramental, vol. vi., title 12.—Popoliniere, History of France.

⁷ Bellarmin, Tom. ii., Liber i., Chapter xxvi.,—Column 86.

⁸ Eccius, Common Places.—Chapter xxviii.

Alphonsus de Castro saith, that Wickliff did only bring to light again the errors of the Waldenses.⁹

Arnald Sorbin, Priest of Monteig, casts this reproach upon the cities of Antonin, Montauban, Millan, Castres, Puylorens, Gaillac, and others of the Albigeois, that they only renewed the erroneous doctrines of the Albigenes.¹⁰

John de Cardonne, in his rhymes in the title-page of the history of the Monk of the Valleys of Sernay, speaks after this manner:

“ What the sect of Geneva doth admit,
The heretics Albigeois do commit.”¹¹

Anthony d’Ardene, of Thoulouse, saith, that the Albigenes held the same heresies

“ With which the Huguenots, our brethren, were
Seasoned; the same design, the self-same care.”¹²

We are not then to dispute the antiquity of the doctrine, but the purity thereof. Since, not only according to the words even of the enemies of the Waldenses, and of those of the last reformation, there hath been for the space of whole ages a series of persons, who, crying out against the abuses which had crept into the Church, were oppressed by persecutions.

CHAPTER IX.

Enumeration of the pastors of the churches who instructed the Waldenses during several hundred years, as far as they have come to our knowledge.

FORASMUCH as it is denied that there hath been a succession of those instruments, who from time to time have opposed the corruptions and errors which have been in vogue; we will produce a list of those whom the adversaries have mentioned and put to death, as of the pastors of the Waldenses, for these four hundred and fifty years past.

Waldo began to teach the people in the year of our Lord 1160.

Le Sieur de St. Aldegonde observes, that at the same time that Waldo was inspired at Lyons, God raised up others in Provence and Languedoc, of whom the chief were Arnold, Esperon, and Joseph; from whom they were called Arnoldists, Josephists, and Esperonists. As their doctrine was first received in Alby, in the country of the Albigenes, they were commonly styled Albigenes; so that the Waldenses on one hand and the Albigenes on the other, were like the two olive trees, or the two lamps of which John speaks, the fatness and light of which were diffused throughout all the ends of the earth.

Next followed Peter Bruis, from whom many gave them the name of Petrobrusians.

Whose successors in the doctrine were two evangelists, named HENRI,

⁹ Alphonsus de Castro, *Heresies*, Liber vi., page 99.

¹⁰ Arnald Sorbin, *History of Friar Peter of the Valleys of Sernay*; folio 172.

¹¹ John de Cardonne, *History of the Monk of the Valleys of Sernay*.

¹² Anthony d’Ardene’s *history of the Monk of the Valleys of Sernay*.

one of whom had been a priest, and the other a monk, who taught in the bishoprics of Arles, Ambrun, Die, and Gap, whence being expelled, they were received at Thoulouse.¹

There was, also, a certain man called Bartholomew, born at Carcassone, who founded and governed the Churches in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, Hungary, and ordained ministers, as Mathew Paris relates it, styling him their pope and bishop; and alleged to that purpose the letter of the bishop of Porto, legate of the pope in those parts, who wrote to the Archbishop of Rouen, and his suffragans, to desire assistance against them, until at length they were constrained to flee into the deserts, according to the prophecy of the Revelation; which says, That the woman who brought forth the male-child, and is the true Church of God, should be persecuted by the Dragon, who would cast water out of his mouth after her like a flood, to swallow her up; so that she should be compelled to flee into the wilderness, according to the prophecy in the Revelations, saying, that the woman girded with scarlet, who brought forth the male-child, and is the true Church of God, "should be persecuted by the Dragon, who would cast water like a flood after her to swallow her up, so that she should be constrained to flee into the wilderness, where she should be fed for the space of a thousand two hundred and threescore days."—Rev. xii. 12—17.

Reinerius tells us of two eminent bishops of the Waldenses, Belazimanza, of Verona, and John de Luggio, who taught amongst them after the above-mentioned persons, about the year 1250.

Arnold Hot was a pastor among the Waldenses, who held the famous dispute at Mont Real.

Lollard, also, was in great esteem amongst them, not only on account of the commentary that he wrote upon the Revelations, but, also, because he conveyed and made known their doctrine in England, from whom the British Waldenses were called Lollards.

The Waldenses of the valleys of Angrogne, Dauphiny, Provence, and Calabria, had *Barbs*, whose memory they have preserved for more than three hundred years past.²

1. **PIEDMONT.**—Paul Gignons de Bobi.—Peter the Less.—Anthony of Suza.

2. **ST. MARTIN.**—John Martin.—Matthew de Bobi.—Philip of Lucerne.—George of Piedmont.—Stephen Laurence.—John of Lucerne.—John Girard de Meane.—Bartholomew Tertian de Meane, surnamed De la Grosse Main.

3. **ANGROGNE.**—Thomasin Bastie, who died in the service of the churches of la Pouille.—Sebastian Bastie, who died in Calabria.—John Bellonat, of the same valley, the first of the barbs who entered upon the conjugal state.

4. **PEROUSE.**—James Germain.—Benedict Gorran.—Paul Gignons de Bobi.—John Romagnol of Sesene.

5. **DAUPHINY.**—Francis of Fraissiniere.—Michael Porte of Loyse in Brianconnois.—Peter Flot of Pragela.

6. **PROVENCE.**—Angelin de la Coste.—Daniel de Valentia, and John de Molines; which two were sent into Bohemia for the service of the Churches of the Waldenses set up in that kingdom; but they betrayed the Churches, and did them a great deal of mischief, for they discovered all that they knew of their flocks to the enemies of the said Waldenses, which was the

¹ Aldegonde, First Table of Differences, pp. 150, 151.

² Vignaux, Memoirs, folio 14.

occasion of a great persecution. That made the Bohemian Churches write to those of the Waldenses in the Alps, to nominate none to such vocations, but those whose faith, probity and zeal, had been known by long experience.

7.—The last barbs that they had, were George Morel and Peter Mascon, who, in the year 1530, were sent into Germany to confer concerning their religion, with Ecolampadius, Bucer, and others. Peter Mascon was taken prisoner at Dijon.

Stephen Negrin and Lewis Paschal were sent into Calabria in the year 1560, to the churches of the Waldenses at Montald, St. Xist, and other neighbouring places. Stephen Negrin was taken prisoner, and carried to Conscience, where he was starved in prison.

Lewis Paschal was sent to Rome, where he was burnt alive, in the presence of Pope Pius IV. and his cardinals, whom he summoned to appear before the throne of the Lamb, to give an account of their cruelties.

There were very many others, as appears by the processes commenced against the Waldenses of Dauphiny, which have come to our hands, wherein mention is made of several barbs or pastors, who were imprisoned and put to death by the monks of the Inquisition, who caused them to be watched, even upon the high Alps, when they were going from one flock to the other.³ But this small number is sufficient to show that, notwithstanding their enemies did all they could utterly to destroy and root them out, yet the Lord hath not ceased to provide labourers for his harvest, when there was need of them, and to preserve even to this day, in Dauphiny and Provence, thousands of persons, who glory in being descended from the ancient Waldenses; and who were rather inheritors of their zeal and piety, than of their earthly substance, which the persecutors possessed, as the pope doth to this day, who hath added to his *pretended* Apostolic Chamber, all the inheritance of the Waldenses, who had any substance in his country of Vinicin. Under the colour of heresy, if he could, he would take away their very lives, so far is he from thinking to restore that which he hath in vain been importuned to do, and which his officers have promised to restore with more vanity and falsehood than true meaning.

CHAPTER X.

The Pastors of the Waldenses; their vocation, and the zeal and fidelity with which they fulfilled their charge.

THAT the character of the Waldensian Barbs or Pastors may accurately be known, we insert the following testimony concerning them:—

The monk Reinerius reported many things concerning the vocation of the pastors of the Waldenses, which are mere fictions; as that they had a greater bishop and two followers, whom he called the *Elder Son* and the

³ This appears by the bag of processes which was found in the cabinet of D'Avencon, Archbishop of Ambrun, at the capture of Ambrun, in the last croisade against the Waldenses of Fraissiniere and L'Argentiere.

younger, and a deacon; that he laid his hands upon others with a sovereign authority, and sent them where he thought good, like a pope.¹

Against these impostures, here follows what is found in their writings, concerning the vocation of their pastors.²

All those, say they, who are to be received as pastors among us, while they are yet with their parents, entreat us to receive them into the ministry; and that we would be pleased to pray to God, that they may be rendered capable of so great a charge. Which the said supplicants do only to show their humility.

They are to learn by heart, all the chapters of Matthew and John, and all the epistles called canonical, a good part of the writings of Solomon, David and the Prophets.

Afterwards, having good testimonies of their learning and conversation, they are received with the imposition of hands into the function of preaching.

The last that are received, must do nothing without the license of their seniors; as also those that are first are to undertake nothing without the approbation of their companions, that everything may be done among us with order.

The pastors meet together once every year, to determine of our affairs in a general council.

Our food and apparel are willingly administered unto us, and as it were by way of alms, sufficient enough, by those whom we teach.

The money which is given us by the people, is carried to the aforesaid general council, and is delivered in the presence of all. It is there received by the ancients, and part thereof is given to travellers or way-faring men, according to their necessities, and part unto the poor.

When any of the pastors fall into sin, he is cast out of our community, and forbidden the function of preaching.

Thus you see how the Barbs or Pastors of the Waldenses were chosen and maintained in their functions.

CHAPTER XI.

Epistle of Pastor Bartholomew Tertian, to the Waldensian Churches of Pragela.

THAT the holy zeal and affection may be known, with which the Barbs or Pastors of the Waldenses endeavoured to call the people to repentance, and to instruct them in the faith, we insert a pastoral letter of one of their ministers.

Jesus be with you. To all our faithful and well-beloved Brethren, health and salvation be with you all. Amen.

“These are to advertise your brotherhood, and hereby acquit myself of the duty which I owe to you on God’s part, principally touching the care of the salvation of your souls, according to that light of truth which the

¹ Reinerius, de formâ Heretic., Folio 8.

² Book of the Pastors, George Morel and Peter Mascon, p. 8.

Most High hath bestowed upon you, that it would please every one of you, to maintain, increase, and cherish, to the utmost of your power, without diminution, those good beginnings and customs left unto us by our ancestors, of which we were not worthy. For it would be of little profit to us to be renewed by the fatherly kindness, and the light which God hath given us, if we addict ourselves to mundane, diabolical, and carnal conversation, abandoning the principal which is God, and the salvation of our souls, for this short temporal life. The Lord saith in the Gospel, *What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his own soul? For it would have been better never to have known the way of righteousness, than having known it, to act contrary thereto.* We shall be inexcusable, and our condemnation the greater; for there are greater torments prepared for those who have had the greatest knowledge. Wherefore let me beseech you, by the love of God, not to diminish, but to increase the love, fear and obedience due to God, and to yourselves among yourselves; and to keep all the good customs which you have heard and understood from God by our means; and that you would remove from among you all defects and wants troubling your peace, love and concord; and everything which deprives you of the service of God, your salvation, and the administration of the truth; if you desire God to be propitious to you in your temporal and spiritual good things. For you can do nothing without him; and if you desire to be heirs of his glory, do that which he commandeth you. *If you will enter into life, keep my commandments.* Likewise be careful that there be not nourished among you any sports, gluttony, whoredom, dancing, or other debaucheries, nor questions, nor deceits, nor usury, nor discords. Neither support nor entertain among you any persons of a wicked life, nor those who give a scandal or ill example amongst you; but let charity and fidelity reign amongst you, and every good example; doing to one another as every one would have done to himself. For otherwise it is not possible for any one to be saved, or have the favour either of God or men in this world, nor glory in the other. And it is necessary that the guides chiefly have a hand in this, and such who rule and govern: for when the head is sick, all the members are disordered thereby. Therefore if you hope and desire to enjoy eternal life, to live in esteem and good repute, and to prosper in this world in your temporal and spiritual good things, cleanse yourselves from all disorderly ways, that God may be always with you, who never forsakes those that put their trust in him. But know this for certain, that he doth neither hear nor dwell with sinners, nor in the soul that is addicted to wickedness, nor with the man who is subject to sin. Therefore let every one purify the ways of his heart, and fly from danger, if he will not perish therein. Put in practice these things; and the God of peace be with you. Accompany us in our true, devout and humble prayers, that he would be pleased to save all those his faithful, who put their trust in Christ Jesus. Amen.

BARTHOLOMEW TERTIAN,

Ready to serve you in all things possible, according to the will of God."

This epistle of the pastor Tertian gives us a proof of the holy zeal that they had to lead the people to God.

CHAPTER XII.

Confessions of the Faith of the Waldenses.

THE confessions of faith of the Waldenses show clearly how pure their doctrines have been, and how far they have kept themselves from the errors and heresies which were imputed to them ; and therefore, that they were unjustly persecuted.¹

1. We believe and do firmly hold all that which is contained in the twelve articles of the Symbol, called the Apostles' Creed ; and account for heresies all that which is disagreeable to the said twelve articles.

2. We believe that there is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

3. We acknowledge for Holy Canonical Scripture, the books of the Bible—

Genesis.—Exodus.—Leviticus.—Numbers.—Deuteronomy.—Joshua—Judges.—Ruth.—I. Samuel.—II. Samuel.—I. of Kings.—II. of Kings.—I. of Chronicles.—II. of Chronicles.—Ezra.—Nehemiah.—Esther.—Job.—Book of Psalms.—Proverbs of Solomon.—Ecclesiastes.—Song of Solomon.—Prophecy of Isaiah.—Jeremiah.—Lamentations of Jeremiah.—Ezekiel.—Daniel.—Hosea.—Joel.—Amos.—Obadiah.—Jonas.—Micah.—Nahum.—Zephaniah.—Habakkuk.—Haggai.—Zechariah.—Malachi.

After which follow the Apocryphal books, which are not received by the Hebrews ; but we read them as Jerom saith in his prologue to the Proverbs, for the instruction of the people, not to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines—

Third Book of Esdras.—Fourth of Esdras.—Tobit.—Judith.—Wisdom.—Ecclesiasticus.—Baruch, with the epistle of Jeremiah.—Esther, from chapter X. to the end.—Song of the three children.—History of Susanna.—History of the Dragon.—First of Machabees.—Second of Machabees.—Third of Machabees.

After these follow the books of the New Testament—

The Gospels of Matthew,—Mark,—Luke,—and John.—Acts of the Apostles.—Epistle of Paul to the Romans.—First epistle to the Corinthians.—Second epistle to the Corinthians.—Epistle to the Galatians.—Epistle to the Ephesians.—Epistle to the Philippians.—Epistle to the Colossians.—First epistle to the Thessalonians.—Second epistle to the Thessalonians.—First epistle to Timothy.—Second epistle to Timothy.—Epistle to Titus.—Epistle to Philemon.—Epistle to the Hebrews.—Epistle of James.—First epistle of Peter.—Second epistle of Peter.—First epistle of John.—Second epistle of John.—Third epistle of John.—Epistle of Jude.—Revelation of John.

4. The books above-mentioned teach us—That there is one God Almighty, wise and good, who in his goodness made all things. For he created Adam after his own image and likeness. But through the malice of the devil, and the disobedience of Adam, sin entered into the world, and we became sinners in Adam, and by Adam.

¹ This confession is extracted from the work entitled, "*The Spiritual Almanac*," and also from the "*Memorials*" of George Morel.—It is found also in both the original Waldensian and in the French languages, in the "*Histoire des Vaudois*," by Bazz ; volume ii., p. 281.

5. That Christ was promised to the fathers, who received the law, to the end, that knowing their sin by the law, and their unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ, that he might make satisfaction for their sins, and accomplish the law by himself.

6. That Christ was born at the time appointed by God his Father; at the time when all iniquity did abound, and not for the sake of our good works. For all were sinners: But that he might show us grace and mercy, as he was true.

7. That Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and righteousness: our shepherd and advocate; our sacrifice and priest, who died for the salvation of all those who should believe, and rose again for our justification.

8. In like manner we firmly believe, that there is no other mediator and advocate with God the Father, besides Jesus Christ; as to the Virgin Mary, she was holy, humble, and full of grace. Thus do we believe concerning all the other saints; that they wait in heaven, for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment.

9. We do likewise believe, that after this life, there are but two places, the one for those that are saved, the other for the damned, which we call paradise and hell; altogether denying that imaginary purgatory of antichrist, invented against the truth.

10. Moreover we have always looked upon all human inventions, as an unspeakable abomination before God: as the feasts and vigils of saints; and the water called holy water; and the abstaining upon certain days from flesh, and such like things, and chiefly the masses.

11. We have in abomination all human inventions, as proceeding from antichrist; which stir up trouble, and are prejudicial to the liberty of the spirit.

12. We believe that the sacraments are signs of a holy thing, or visible forms of an invisible grace; holding it good and necessary, that the faithful do sometimes make use of the said signs or visible forms, when it can be done. Notwithstanding, we do believe and hold that the said faithful may be saved, though they do not receive the aforesaid signs, when they have neither place nor opportunity of so doing.

13. We do acknowledge no other sacraments, besides Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

14. We honour the secular powers, with subjection, obedience, promptitude, and payment.

II. WALDENSIAN CONFESSION OF FAITH.²

1. We believe that there is but one God, who is a spirit, creator of all things, Father of all, who is above all, by all, and in us all, whom we must worship in spirit and truth; upon whom alone we wait, and to whom we give the glory of our life, food, raiment, health,

² This confession of faith is extracted from "Mondes Francois," by Charles du Moulin; p. 65.

sickness, prosperity and adversity ; we love him as the author of all goodness, we fear him as the knower and searcher of hearts.

2. We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son and Image of the Father ; that in him doth all fulness of the Godhead dwell, by whom we know the Father ; who is our mediator and advocate, and there is no other name under heaven given unto men, whereby they may be saved : in whose name alone we invoke the Father, and use no other prayers than those contained in the holy scripture, or agreeable thereto in substance.

3. We believe that the Holy Ghost is our comforter, proceeding from the Father, and from the Son : by whose inspiration we make prayers, being renewed by him, who formeth all good works within us, and by him we have knowledge of all truth.

4. We believe that there is one Holy Church, which is the congregation of all the elect and faithful, which were from the beginning of the world, and shall be to the end thereof—of which our Lord Jesus Christ is the head, which is governed by his word, and guided by the Holy Ghost. In which all good Christians ought to remain, for it prays for all incessantly, and the word thereof is agreeable to God, without which no one can be saved.

5. We hold that the ministers of the church ought to be unblameable, as well in life as doctrine. Else that they ought to be deposed from their function, and others substituted in their room ; and that no person ought to presume to take that honour, but he who is called of God, as Aaron ; feeding the flock of God, not for filthy lucre's sake, or as having superiority over the clergy ; but as being an example to the flock, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and in chastity.

6. We confess that kings, princes, and governors, are ordained and established ministers of God, whom we must obey. For they bear the sword for the defence of the innocent, and the punishment of evil-doers ; for that reason we are bound to honour and pay them tribute. From which power and authority no man can exempt himself, as may appear from the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, who refused not to pay tribute, not taking upon him any jurisdiction of temporal power.

7. We believe that in the sacrament of baptism, the water is the visible and external sign, which represents to us that which, by virtue of the invisible God so working, is within us : that is to say, the renovation of the spirit, and the mortification of our members in Jesus Christ ; by which also we are received into the holy congregation of God's people, protesting and declaring before it our faith and change of life.

8. We hold that the sacrament of the table, or supper of the Lord Jesus Christ, is a holy commemoration and thanksgiving, for the benefits which we have received by his death and passion, which is to be received in faith and charity ; examining ourselves, that so we may eat of that bread, and drink of that cup, as it is written in the holy scripture.

9. We confess that marriage is good and honourable, holy, and instituted of God, which ought to be forbidden to none, if there be no impediment by the word of God.

10. We acknowledge that those who fear God, seek to please him, and to do the good works which he hath prepared, that we may walk therein ; which are charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, mildness, sobriety, and other works contained in the holy scripture.

11. We confess we must beware of false teachers, whose end is to

divert the people from the true worship of God, that they may rely upon creatures, putting their confidence in them; and also that they may desist from the good works which are contained in the holy scripture, to do those that are invented by men.

12. We hold the Old and New Testament for the rule of our life; and we agree to the general confession of faith, with the articles contained in the symbol of the Apostles.

CHAPTER XIII.

Athanasian Creed in the Ancient Vernacular Waldensian Language.

FORASMUCH as the pastors of the Waldenses taught their people the Athanasian creed in the Waldensian language, we give it from their books verbatim.

“Qualquequal vol esser fait salf devant totas cosas es de necessita tenir la fe Catholica, laqual sialcun non tenre entierament sensa dubi periré eternalment. Ma aquesta es la fe Catholica, que nos honran un Dio en Trinita et la Trinita en Unita, non confondent personnas, ni departent la substantia. Car outra es la persona del paire, et del filli, et del sanct esperit. Lo Paire non crea, lo filli non crea, lo sanct esperit non crea. Lo paire non mesuriuol, lo filli non mesuriuol, lo sanct esperit non mesuriuol. Lo paire eternal, lo filli eternal, et lo sanct esperit eternal. Emperço non tres eternal, ma un Eternal; enaimi non tres mesuriols, et non crea. Semeillament lo paire tot poissant, lo filli tot poissant, et lo sanct esperit tot poissant, emperço non tres tot poissants, ma un tot poissant. Enaimi lo paire es Dio, lo filli Dio, lo sanct esperit Dio; emperço non tres Dios, ma un Dio. Enaimi lo paire es seignor, lo filli es seignor, lo sanct esperit seignor; emperço non tres Seignors, ma un Seigneur. Ca enaimi nos sen costreit confessar par Christiana verita, una chascuna persona Dio o Seigneur, enaimi par Catholica Religion, nos sen defendu dire esser tres Dios ni tres Signors. Lo filli es sol del paire, non faict, ni cosa, ma engenera; lo sanct esprit es del paire, et del filli, non faict, ni crea, ni engenera, ma procedent. Donc lo es un paire, non tres paires, un filli, non tres filli, un sanct esperit, non tres sanct esperits. En aquesta Trinita alcuna cosa non es premiera ni derniera, alcuna cosa major o menor, ma totas tres personas entre lor son enseme eternal, et eygals. Enaimi que per totas cosas coma esdict le sobre, lasia d'honorar la Trinita en Unita, et l'Unita en Trinita. Donc aquel que vol esser fait salf senta enaima de la Trinita. Ma a la salut eternal es necessari creyre fidelment l'encarnation del nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ. Donc la fe dreita es que nos crean, et confessan que lo nostra Seigneur Jesus Christ filli de Dio, es Dio et home. Et es Dio engendra avant li segle, de la substantia del paire, et es home na al segle de la substantia de la maire, essent perfect Dio et perfect home; d'anima rational, et d' humana carn, aigal del paire, second la divinita, et menor second l'humanita. Loqual iaciaço quel sia Dio et home, emperço lo es un Christ, et non dui, ma un, non per conversion de la divinita en carn ma propiament de la humanita en Dio, un totalment, non per confusion de la divinita en carn, ma propiament de la humanita en Dio: un totalment, non per confusion de substantia, ma per unita de personnas. Car enaima l'anima rational, et la carn, es un homme, enaima Dio et home es un Christ, loqual est passionna per la nostra salut, descende en li enfern, lo ters iorn, risuscite de li mort, et monti en li cel, et se sec a

la dextra de Dio lo paire omnipotent. Dequi es avenir jugear li vio, et li mort. A l'advenement delqual tuit an a resuscitar, cum li lor corps, et son a rendre raçon de li lor propi faict. Et aquilli que aurant faict ben, anaren en vita cterna, et aquilli que aurant faict mal anaran al fuoc eternal."

The faith of the Waldenses is sufficiently known by that which is contained in the pure and holy doctrines of their confessions above-mentioned: nevertheless, it is for the same, that they have been persecuted for the space of four hundred and fifty years; and still would be if they lived near those places where human inventions are preferred before the Word of God. For though Satan be confounded, and his kingdom dissipated by the brightness of the gospel, yet he ceaseth not to hold under the yoke of idolatry, those whose understandings he has darkened, and to keep them by violence under the tyranny of his laws; hiding that ignorance and error that men do naturally love, in those darknesses wherein they do take pleasure. But as it has not pleased the eternal God, that the faith of his servants and martyrs should be buried, so likewise it pleases him, that their constancy should be made manifest for our edification and example. And this is the reason why having showed in the first book, that the Waldenses believed what was necessary to salvation; I have thought good to publish in the second book, that which is come to my knowledge of their sufferings for righteousness' sake.

BOOK II.

HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES ; CONTAINING THE GRIEVOUS PERSECUTIONS
WHICH THEY SUFFERED FOR THEIR FAITH.

CHAPTER I.

By whom—wherefore—by what means—and at what time, the Waldenses were persecuted.

THE Waldenses have had no worse enemies than the Popes, because, saith monk Reinerius, “ I. Of all those that have risen up against the church of Rome, the Waldenses have been the most prejudicial and pernicious, forasmuch as they have opposed it for a long time. II. Because that sect is universal, for there is scarce any country where it hath not taken footing. III. Because all others beget in people a dread and horror of them by their blasphemies against God. But this on the contrary hath a great appearance of godliness, because they live righteously before men, and believe rightly of God in all things, and hold all the articles contained in the Creed, hating and reviling the church of Rome ; and in this they are easily believed of the people.”¹

“ The first lesson which the Waldenses taught those whom they drew to their sect is, that they inform them what manner of persons the disciples of Christ ought to be, by the words of the gospel and the apostles ; saying, that those only are the successors of the apostles who imitate their life. Inferring thence, that the pope, the bishops, and clergy, who enjoy the riches of this world, and seek after them, do not follow the lives of the apostles, and therefore are not the true guides of the church ; it having never been the design of our Lord Jesus Christ to commit his chaste and well-beloved spouse to those who would rather prostitute it by their wicked examples and works, than preserve it in the same purity in which they received it at the beginning, a virgin chaste and without spot.”²

Out of hatred, therefore, of the Waldenses, for the many things written by them against the luxury, avarice, pride, and errors introduced by the popes, they have persecuted them to death.

The means which they used to exterminate them, were their thunder-

¹ Reinerius of the Waldenses.

² Reinerius, *Cap. de studio pervertendi alios, et modo docendi*, fol. 96.

bolts and their anathemas, their canons, constitutions, and decrees, and whatsoever might render them odious to the kings, princes, and the people of the earth ; giving them over, as much as in them lay, to Satan ; interdicting them all communion and society with those who obeyed their laws ; judging them unworthy and incapable of any office, honour, profits, and to inherit or make wills, or to be buried in the common church-yards. They confiscated their goods, disinherited their children, and where they could be apprehended, they condemned them to be delivered up to the secular power, their houses to be razed, and their goods and moveables to be confiscated, or given to the first conqueror. Of all such sentences we have at this day the schedule given by the popes, also the instruments that they employed in such executions, and the commands that they laid upon kings, princes, magistrates, consuls, and people, to make an exact inquisition, to shut the gates of the cities, to call for the best help and assistance of the people, to sound the toll-bell, to arm themselves, and, if they could not otherwise apprehend them, to slay them, and use all manner of violence which they should see needful in such a case. Giving to the accusers a third part, or some other portion of that which should be confiscated, all counsellors and favourers of them being condemned to the same punishment.³

Forasmuch as no prince or magistrate, or any other person, had the power to frame a PROCESS against any one in the matter of pretended heresy, commandment was given to the bishops, every one in his jurisdiction, to make an inquiry into their flocks, and take notice how every particular person was affected by the ordinances of the popes and the church of Rome. So when Waldo began to cry out against the corruptions of the said church of Rome, Alexander III., then pope, enjoined the Archbishop of Lyons to proceed against him ; and because the said prelate did not exterminate him accordingly, and as soon as he desired, he immediately assembled a council, wherein he excommunicated Waldo, and all those who followed his doctrine, though under other names.⁴

But yet, this means was judged to be too easy for so pressing an occasion, as was that of the Waldenses, who, notwithstanding those thunderbolts, did not cease to preach that the pope was Antichrist, the mass an abomination, the host an idol, and purgatory a fable : points which being received were sufficient to overthrow all the authority of the popes, and to dry up all the rivers of gain, and the fat of the clergy. Therefore, Pope Innocent III., who succeeded Pope Celestin III., about the year 1198, took another method than that of the ordinary bishops, to frame the process against the Waldenses and others, whom he called heretics. He authorized certain monks who had the full power of the Inquisition in their hands to frame the process, and deliver over to the secular power by a far shorter way, but much more cruel ; for they delivered up the people by thousands into the hands of the magistrates, and the magistrates to the executioners ; whereby in a few years all Christendom was moved by those pitiful and lamentable spectacles, grieving to see all those persons hanged or burnt who trusted only in our Lord Jesus Christ for

³ These sentences are to be seen in the Manual of the Inquisitors, with the letters of Pope Alexander III., and of divers other popes who succeeded him.

⁴ This council was held at Lateran, 1180. Chapter xxvii.

salvation, and renounced all the vain hopes invented by men, and for their profit ; which was all the fruit of the Papal Inquisition.

CHAPTER II.

The Inquisition—by whom first put in practice—and by what subtleties and cruelties the Waldenses thereby have been vexed.

IN the beginning of the prosecutions of the popes to exterminate the Waldenses, they were contented with the above-mentioned methods ; but either because the business went forward but slowly, or because, notwithstanding those means, the number of those who exclaimed against the errors of the papacy did so increase, that those means were found too weak : it was resolved by Pope Innocent III. to try if by the way of preaching he could obtain that which he never could do by violence.

He sent, therefore, his bishops and monks, who preached in those places suspected to entertain the religion of the Waldenses. But as the author of the *Treasure of Histories* saith, the said preachers converted not any but a few poor people ; but the greatest part still persisted in the profession of their faith.¹ In Gallia Narbonensis were two monks employed, Peter de Chateauneuf and Dominic, born at Calahorre in Spain ; to whom was joined a certain abbot of Cisteaux.² Several other priests and monks came as it were in a body, and among others a Bishop of Cestre. The monk Peter of Chateauneuf was slain,³ and canonized for a saint ; but Dominic continued his persecutions against the said Waldenses both in word and fact. That monk seeing himself in authority, instituted an order of begging monks, who from him were called Dominicans, and the said monk was canonized, and his order confirmed by Pope Honorius.⁴ For it seemed to him that the church of Rome was falling, and that Dominic sustained it with his shoulders, in recompense of which, the said pope commanded that the said order should have the precedency among the mendicants. It is reported of this monk, that his mother going with child of him, dreamed that she had in her womb a dog which cast flames of fire out of his throat.⁵ His followers interpreted that to his advantage, as if it thereby were signified, that he should be that dog that should vomit out that fire which should consume the heretics. On the contrary, those whom he daily delivered up to death, might very well say that he was that dog that had set all Christendom on fire ; and that the flames which proceeded out of his throat, were to denote the fiery and infernal sentences which he should pronounce against the Christians. So well did he manage his, and his brethren's affairs, that before he died, he built a great many houses in Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, Spain, and elsewhere ;

¹ *Treasure of Histories*, in the year 1206.

² *Lib. Inquisit.*, cap. de non occidendo, fol. 100.

³ Sic fuit occisus Sanctus Petrus de ordine fratrum prædicatorum.

⁴ *Moynes qui mandient.*

⁵ *Martyrology*, in the *Life of Dominic*.

for which he obtained great revenues, either from the liberality of those who affected his order, or from the confiscations of the Waldenses; out of which the earl Simon of Montfort gave him vast privileges and alms; as "*cutting large thongs out of another man's leather.*"

He laboured in the Inquisition as chief, with such satisfaction to the popes, that from that time forward the monks of his order were ever employed in the Inquisition.

The power conferred upon the said monks inquisitors was without limits. For they might assemble the people when they pleased by the sound of a bell, and send out process if there were occasion to imprison, or open the prisons without control. All manner of accusations were valid; a sorcerer, or a harlot, was a sufficient and irreproachable witness in the case of pretended heresy. It was no matter who accused, or whether it were by word of mouth, or by tickets cast in before the Inquisitor. Without any personal appearance, or confronting of each other, the process was made, without party, without evidence, and without any other law than the pleasure of the inquisitors. To be rich, was a crime near unto heresy; and he that had anything to lose, was in a way to be undone, either as a heretic, or at least as a favourer of heretics. One single suspicion stopped the mouths of fathers, mothers, and relatives, that they dared not intercede to prevent future punishment; and if any one begged leave to convey a cup of water to them, or a little straw to lie upon in some stinking dungeon, he was adjudged as a criminal, and a favourer of heretics, and often reduced to the same or worse extremity. No advocate durst undertake the defence of his most intimate relative and friend, nor a notary receive any act in his favour. Moreover, when any one was once entangled with the snares of the Inquisition, he could never live with any assurance, for he was always to begin again. If he were released, it was only for a time, till they had better considered of it. Death itself did not put an end to the punishment, since they have left us copies of their sentences against the bones to disinter them, and to burn them, even thirty years after the decease of the person accused. Those who were heirs, had nothing certain; for upon any accusation of their parents or relatives, they durst not take upon them the defence of their right, or possess their inheritance without the crime and suspicion of heresy, that they rather inherited their evil faith than their goods. The people, even the most rich and mighty, were constrained almost to adore those monks inquisitors, and make them large presents for the building of their convents, and endowing their houses, for fear of being accused of heresy, and esteemed not zealous for the faith by those holy fathers. The more to impress persons with the apprehensions of those things, they sometimes made a show and bravado of their prisoners, leading them in triumph in their processions. Some being obliged to whip themselves, others to go covered, after the manner of Benedictines, with certain red cassocks crossed with yellow, to show that they had been convicted of some error, and that for the first fault which they should hereafter commit, they stood already condemned as heretics. Others appeared in their shirts, their feet and heads bare, with a halter about their necks, and a torch in their hands; that being thus equipped, they might strike a terror into the beholders, to see such persons, of all qualities and sexes, reduced to so miserable a condition, being all forbidden to enter into the church, but to stay at the door, or to cast an eye upon the host when shown by the priest, till it was otherwise ordered by the fathers, the inquisitors.

To complete the satisfaction of the said fathers, the party accused was banished for his penance into the Holy Land ; or listed for some other expedition against the Turks or other infidels, levied by order of the Pope, under an obligation to serve the Church for a certain time at his own expense ; during which time, the said holy fathers took possession of the goods of the poor pilgrim ; but he must not inquire whether the said monks had any private familiarity with his wife, during his absence, for fear of being condemned as a person relapsed, impenitent, and altogether unworthy of favour.

Moreover those cruelties were practised ever since the year 1206, the time that Dominic set up his inquisition, to the year 1228 ; by which time there was so great a havoc made of these poor Christians throughout all Europe, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, being assembled at Avignon in that year, at the instance of the monks of the inquisition, to confer with the said monks about several difficulties which they met with in the execution of their office, they had compassion of the misery of a great number of the persons accused, and kept prisoners by the said monks inquisitors, saying—⁶

“ It is come to our knowledge that you have apprehended so many of the Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charges of their subsistence, but also to provide stone and mortar to build prisons for them. We advise you to defer a little such imprisonments, until the pope be advertised of the great numbers that have been apprehended, and till he notify what he pleases to have done in the case. And there is no reason, *vous tuissiez*, you should take offence hereat ; for as to those who are altogether impenitent and incorrigible, or concerning whom you doubt of their relapse or escape, or being at liberty, that they would infect others, you may condemn such without delay.”

There needs no other proof than this of the said prelates, to make it appear that the number of those delivered up to death by the inquisition, was very great. For upon the question moved by the said inquisitors, whether those who have kept company with the Waldenses, and have taken the Lord's Supper with them, were excusable, because they pleaded ignorance, not knowing that they were Waldenses, the said prelates answered, that they were not excusable. “ For,” they added, “ who is so great a stranger as not to know, that the Waldenses have been for this long time punished and condemned, and that for these several years past, they have been prosecuted at the pains and charges of Catholics, that prosecution having been sealed by the condemnation of so many persons, so that it cannot be called in question ?”

Now the speech of the said prelates being compared with what George Morel wrote in the year 1530, it would appear to be none of the least miracles of God, that notwithstanding the bloody persecutions ever since Waldo's time, in the year 1160, until the said year 1530, there were, according to the report of the said Morel, at that time, above eight hundred thousand persons who made profession of the religion of the Waldenses.⁷ As to the subtleties of the inquisitors, we should have had no knowledge of them, had it not been for those who made their escape out of the inquisition of Spain ; but it was the will of God, that their cunning tricks

⁶ Catalogue of the Testimony of the Truth, page 534.

⁷ George Morel in his Memorials, p. 54.

should not be so concealed, but that we should have examples of them, even from themselves. Behold then the crafty subtleties and deceit of the inquisitors, which served them for a rule, in drawing up the process against the Waldenses.

“ It is not expedient to dispute of matters of faith before the laity.

“ No person ought to be counted a penitent, except he accuses those whom he knows to be like himself.

“ After that any one hath been delivered up to the secular power, care must be taken that he be not suffered to excuse himself, or to manifest his innocence before the people: for if he be put to death, and he justifies himself, it will be an offence to the laity; and if he should escape, there would be danger of his loyalty.

“ Care must be taken not to promise life to one under sentence of death, before the people; for no heretic would suffer himself to be burned if he could escape by such a promise. And if he should promise to repent before the people, and his life should not be granted to him, the people would be offended thereat, and believe that he was wrongfully put to death.

“ The inquisitor ought always to presuppose the fact, without any condition, and must only inquire about the circumstances thereof, as thus: How many times hast thou confessed thyself to heretics? In what chamber of thy house have they lain, and such like?

“ The inquisitor may look into any book, as if he found written therein the life of the party accused, and all that he inquires of.

“ It is necessary to menace the person accused with death, if he doth not confess; telling him that his fact is too apparent, that he ought to think of his soul, and renounce his heresy, for he must die, and undergo with patience what shall happen unto him: and if he answers, since I must die, I had rather die in that faith which I profess, than in that of the church of Rome; then take it for granted, that before he only dissembled in his repentance, and so let him suffer justice.

“ We must never think to convince the heretics by literature and the scriptures, forasmuch as learned men are rather confounded by them; and here indeed the heretics fortify themselves, seeing they are able to delude the most learned.

“ Moreover, care must be taken, that heretics do answer directly; and when they are pressed with frequent interrogations, they have a custom to declare, that they are simple and illiterate persons, and therefore know not how to answer. But if they see that the assistants are moved with compassion towards them, as if they should do them wrong, counting them to be simple people, and therefore not culpable, then they take courage, and make as if they weeped like poor miserable wretches, and by flattering their judges, endeavour to free themselves from the inquisition; saying, if I have done amiss in anything, I will willingly do penance, only lend me your aid and assistance to rescue me from this disgrace, into which I am fallen by the malice of others, and not by my own fault. But then the courageous inquisitor must never yield to such flatteries, nor give credit to those dissimulations.

“ The inquisitor must likewise tell them, that they will gain nothing by false-swearing, because they have enough to convict them of by evidence, and that therefore they must not think by means of their oath to evade the sentence of death: but must promise them, that if they ingenuously confess their fault, they shall find mercy: for there are many

persons in such a perplexity, who confess their error in hopes to escape."

Thus you see the subtleties of the monks inquisitors, which they formerly practised against the Waldenses throughout all Europe. It remains to lay open their practices in each respective kingdom and province, so far as they have come to our knowledge; and we will begin with Dauphiny, since that was the province into which Waldo and his followers retired at their departure from Lyons.

CHAPTER III.

The Churches of the Waldenses in Dauphiny, and the persecutions which they suffered.

THE Waldensian Churches in Dauphiny have been for these several hundred years dispersed into divers parts of the province. They had churches in Valentia, where there still remain places in which, time out of mind, the faith of the Waldenses hath been transmitted from father to son, in Faux and Bauregard in Valentinois, and la Baulme near Crest. Out of which places there have come to our hand certain processes against persons, who were accused by the inquisitors, as adherents to the faith of the Waldenses, A. D. 1300.

The most celebrated churches of that province are those of the valley of Fraissiniere near Ambrun, Argentiere and Loyse, which for the sake of reproaching the Waldenses was called Val-Pute, as if the said valley had been nothing but a brothel, and the receptacle of all manner of villany and debauchery. This was entirely destroyed. On the other side of the Alps there was a valley called Pragela, which they have inhabited, for a long period, in the dominion and jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Turin, peopled at present by those who are descended from the ancient Waldenses. The inhabitants of the said valley also peopled the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont, Perouse, St. Martin, Angrogne, and others. Those who inhabited in Provence and Calabria also came at first from the said places in Dauphiny and Piedmont. In the said valley of Pragela there are at present six fine churches, every one having its pastor; and every pastor has several villages, which appertain to each of those churches, all filled with the offspring of the ancient Waldenses.

They are churches truly reformed time out of mind; for though there are at this present time in the said valley, old people, and of those not a few, who draw near to, and some who exceed one hundred years; yet those good old men have never heard from their ancestors that mass hath been sung in their time in that country. Although the Archbishops of Turin may have caused it to be said in the said valley, unknown to the inhabitants, yet there is not one among them who hath made profession of any other faith, than the confession which is in the preceding book. All the books before mentioned have been received among the inhabitants of the said valley, which formerly was one of the securest retreats that the Waldenses had in Europe, environed on all sides with mountains almost inaccessible, into whose caverns they used to retire in the time of persecution.

Le Sieur de Vignaux, one of the first pastors who preached among those people, long before the exercise of the reformed religion was free in France, could never sufficiently mention the piety and integrity of those people, whom he found all disposed to receive the dispensation of the word of God, which their fathers had so much cherished, and in which they had instructed their posterity. And it is worthy our observation, though they were blocked up on all sides, and surrounded with the enemies of their faith, and in danger of being apprehended when they went out of their houses, yet no worldly consideration could divert them from their holy resolution, transmitted from father to son, of serving God, by taking his Word for the rule of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience. In that design, God hath blessed them above all other Christians of Europe: for their children are no sooner weaned, than their parents take a singular delight to instruct them in the Christian faith and doctrine, till they are able to confound persons dwelling elsewhere, who are well stricken in years, and overwhelmed with ignorance. To that perfection of knowledge do their pastors bring them, who not contented with giving them exhortations upon the sabbath, do also go upon the week days to the villages and hamlets to instruct them.

Nor do they favour and indulge themselves, because of the sharpness of the rocks, the severity of the season, and the incommodiousness of the country, where they are forced to climb high and steep mountains to visit their flocks, and bring unto them the food of their souls, even when the said people in the heat of summer are keeping their cattle upon the top of the rocks: but there do they instruct and exhort them in the open field. There may one see people who hear the Word of God with reverence and attention. There discipline is exercised with success. There the people pray with fervour at their return from their labour, when they betake them to their rest; and in the morning before they enter upon any business, they beg God's direction and assistance in their thoughts, words, and actions, first in their houses, and afterwards in the church; and so go forth to their labour under the protection of the living God, whom they love, honour, and adore. There is to be found more zeal and simplicity, than in other places where riches and luxury abound. Neither are they so ignorant and illiterate, but that they have among them persons who know how to read and express themselves handsomely, and in good terms, especially those who travel with their commodities into the Low Countries. They have also schools, in which they educate and nurture their children, and they want nothing which they esteem necessary, to the advancement of God's glory among them.

The first persecution which is come to our knowledge, is that which was set on foot by a monk inquisitor, of the order of the Friar-minors, named Francis Borelli, being commissioned in the year 1380 to make inquiry into, and give information concerning the sect of the Waldenses in the dioceses of Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienne, Geneva, Aubonne, Savoy, the country of Venice, Dyois, Forests, the principality of Orange, the city of Avignon, and Selon: as he was authorized by his bull given him by Pope Clement VII., who then kept his residence at Avignon.¹ By reason of the proximity of his court to the dwellings of the said Waldenses, the Pope thought to rid Dauphiny of all those who counted him Antichrist.

¹ This bull was taken out of the chamber of the country of Grenoble.

To that purpose he commanded the prelates of Dauphiny, Provence, and other places within the extent of his power and jurisdiction, for there was then a schism and division in Europe, part for Pope Urban VI., residing at Rome, and partly for the said Clement, enjoining them to have so vigilant an eye over their flocks, that not one of the sect of the Waldenses might dwell there.

That monk summoned all the inhabitants of Fraissiniere, P'Argentiere, and Val-Pute, to appear before him at Ambrun, under pain of excommunication. They neither appeared themselves, nor any for them, and were therefore condemned for contumacy, and at length cut off from the Romish Church by a final and most dreadful excommunication. In the space of thirteen years, he delivered by sentence to the secular power, to be burned at Grenoble, of Val-Pute, William Mary of Villar, Peter Long Chastan, John Long Fruchi, Albert Vincens, Johanna the wife of Stephen Vincens, and others, to the number of one hundred and fifty men, several women, and a great many of their children of both sexes.

He delivered also to the secular power in the valley of P'Argentiere and Fraissiniere, Astune, Berarde, Agnessonne the wife of John Bresson, Barthelmie the wife of John Porte, and others of both sexes, to the number of eighty, all of whom were condemned; and when any one of them was apprehended, he was immediately carried to Grenoble, and there, without any other form of law and process, instantly burned alive.

This last sentence was pronounced in the cathedral of Ambrun, in the year 1393, to the great profit and advantage of the monks inquisitors, who adjudged one moiety of the goods of the said persons condemned to themselves, and the rest to the temporal lords. Then they forbade all their neighbours to aid or assist them in any way whatsoever; to receive, visit, or defend them; to give them any sustenance, or to have any manner of communication or dealing with them; or to afford them any counsel or favour, under the pain of being attainted and convicted for favourers of heretics. They declared them unworthy of all places and public offices, prohibiting others to make use of their evidence, judging them unfit to bear witness, or to succeed in an inheritance. And if they were judges, that their sentences should be null and ineffectual, and that no causes should be tried before them—if advocates, that their defence and pleas should not be taken—if notaries, that their instruments should be void, cancelled and defaced—if priests, that they should be deprived of all offices and benefices; interdicting all ecclesiastical persons to administer the sacraments to them, or to afford them burial, or to receive any alms or oblations of them, under pain of deposition from their functions, and deprivation of their benefices.

That monk reserved to himself, by the said sentence, the review and examination of the process of a dozen whom he particularized therein, whom he would fain have escape through the Golden Gate, or by bribery. For in the processes which have come to our hands, we find several complaining that they would never have been entangled with the snares of the Inquisition, had it not been for their wealth; it being evident that they had never been acquainted with the religion of the Waldenses.

As to the Waldenses of the valley of Pragela, they were assaulted by their enemies, on the side of Susa, a town in Piedmont, about the year 1400; and forasmuch as they had often attempted them in vain, it being at a season when they could make their retreat to the high mountains, and caves thereof, where they might do much mischief and damage to

those who should come there to attack them ; their enemies set upon the Waldenses about Christmas, at a time when those poor people never dreamed that any would have dared to pass the mountains covered with snow. Seeing their caves possessed by their enemies, they betook themselves to one of the highest mountains of the Alps, called l'Albergam, or a mountain of retreat, flocking thither with their wives and children ; the mothers carrying the cradles, and leading their little children by the hand, who were able to go. The enemy pursued them till night, and slew a great number of them before they could reach the mountain. Those who were then put to death, had the better portion ; for night having surprised that poor people, who were in the snow, destitute of any means of kindling a fire to warm their little children, the greatest part of them were benumbed with cold. In the morning they found four score little children dead in their cradles ; and the greatest part of their mothers died after them. The enemies retiring in the night to the houses of the said poor people, plundered and pillaged all that they could convey away with them to Susa ; and to complete their cruelty, they hung upon a tree a Waldensian woman, whom they met upon the mountain of Meane, named Margaret Athode.²

The inhabitants of that valley look upon this persecution to be the most violent, that in their time, or in the time of their forefathers, they had ever suffered. They speak of it to this day, as if the thing were but lately transacted, and fresh in their memory ; so often have they from generation to generation made mention of that sudden surprise, which was the occasion of so many miseries amongst them.

In the meantime the Waldenses of the valley of Fraissiniere, who escaped the former persecution, were again cruelly handled by John, archbishop of Ambrun, their neighbour, in the year 1460 ; in the time of Pope Pius II. and Louis XI., King of France.

That archbishop gave commission to a monk of the order of the Friar Minors, named John Veyleti, to prosecute the said Waldenses ; who proceeded therein with such diligence and violence, that there were hardly any persons in the valleys of Fraissiniere, l'Argentiere, and Loyse, who could escape the seizure of that inquisitor ; but they were apprehended either as heretics, or else as favourers of them. Those therefore, who were unacquainted with the faith of the Waldenses, had recourse to King Louis XI., beseeching him, by his authority, to put a stop to the course of such persecutions. The king granted them his letters, and by them the design of the inquisitors may easily be discovered, who involved several Romanists in their process, under colour of the inquisition against the Waldenses.

Letter of King Louis XI.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France, Dauphin de Viennois, Count de Valentinois and Dioys, to our well-beloved and faithful governor of Dauphiny. Health and dilection.

“ Touching the inhabitants of the valleys of Loyse, Fraissiniere, l'Argentiere, and others belonging to our country of Dauphiny, we have been certainly informed,—That notwithstanding they have, and will still live,

² Vignaux Memorials, fol. 6.

as becomes good Christians, without holding, believing or maintaining any superstitious tenet, but only such as is agreeable to the ordinance and discipline of the Church—nevertheless, certain religious mendicants styling themselves Inquisitors of the Faith, and others, thinking by vexations and persecution to force and extort their goods from them, and by other ways to molest them in their persons, have been, and still are desirous, falsely to lay to their charge, that they hold and believe certain heresie and superstitions contrary to the Catholic faith; and under that colour and pretence, do trouble and annoy them with process upon process, both in our court of parliament of Dauphiny, and several other countries of our dominions.

“ And for the confiscation of the goods of those whom they charge with the said crimes, several of the judges, and even of the inquisitors of the faith, who for the most part are religious mendicants, under the colour of the office of inquisitors, have and daily do continue to send out process against several poor people, without any just or reasonable cause; have put some upon the rack, called them to question, without any preceding information, and have condemned them for crimes which they were not guilty of, as hath been afterwards found out; and of others they have taken and exacted great sums of money to set them at liberty, and molested and troubled them by divers unjust and illegal means, to the prejudice and damage not only of the said supplicants, but also of us, and the whole republic of our country of Dauphiny.

“ Wherefore, we being willing to provide against this mischief, and not to suffer our people to be troubled by such unjust and illegal methods; especially the inhabitants of the said places affirming, that they always have, and will still continue to live, as becomes good Christians, and professors of the Catholic religion, without holding or believing any other faith than what is allowed by the Church; neither have maintained, or will maintain or believe anything contrary thereto; and that it is unreasonable, that any person should be condemned for the crime of heresy, except those who stubbornly, obstinately and contumaciously maintain and affirm things contrary to the sincerity of our faith; have with great and mature deliberation, and to put a stop to such frauds and abuses, unjust vexations, and illegal extortions, granted to the said supplicants, and do grant, and with our certain knowledge and special consent, full power and authority, royal and delphinal, we have willed and ordained, and do will and ordain by these presents, that the said supplicants, and others of our country of Dauphiny, be freed from the court and suits, and whatsoever suit any of them shall have commenced against them for the causes above-mentioned; we have of our certain knowledge, full power and authority, royal and delphinal, abolished and do abolish, made void and do make void by these presents. And our will and pleasure is, that from the beginning of the world to this day, there be nothing exacted of them, or injury offered to them in their body, goods, or good name. Except, nevertheless, there be any who obstinately, stubbornly, and contumaciously will hold and affirm any points contrary to the holy Catholic faith.

“ Moreover, we have willed and ordained, and do will and ordain, that the goods of the said inhabitants our supplicants, and others of our country of Dauphiny, which, for the cause above-mentioned, have been taken and exacted of any person, in what manner soever, by execution or otherwise, by the order and demand of our court of parliament of Dauphiny, or any other whatsoever; as likewise all bonds and obligations, that they have

given for the causes above-mentioned, whether it be for payment of fees and expenses for the said persecution, or otherwise, shall be again restored unto them; unto which restitution all such shall be compelled to submit, who have in anything, either by sale or spoil of their goods, moveables or unmoveables, by detention or imprisonment of their persons, any ways wronged them, until they have fully restored their goods and things above-mentioned, and obeyed our commands; otherwise to be forced and compelled by all just and reasonable methods requisite in such a case; notwithstanding all appeals whatsoever, which our will is, should be absolutely suspended.

“Because that by reason of those confiscations, which have been formerly pretended, of the goods of those whom they have accused and prosecuted in this case, several, rather out of covetousness, and a desire of possessing the said confiscations, or part of them, than out of justice, do and have sued and prosecuted several people; and to further and procure the said confiscations, have made use of many unjust and illegal means; we have declared, and do declare by these presents, that we will not from henceforward have any confiscations taken, levied or exacted, for the said cause, for us, or by our officers; and all our right and claim we have quitted and remitted to the children, and other heirs and successors of those from whom such confiscations shall be exacted. Moreover, to prevent the frauds and abuses offered by the said Inquisitors of the Faith, we have forbidden, and do forbid any person to suffer or permit the said inquisitors to proceed from this time forward, against the said inhabitants of our country of Dauphiny, or to hold them in suit for the above-mentioned, or the like causes, without our express letters concerning that matter. We have further forbidden, and do forbid, any of our judges and officers of our subjects, for the above-mentioned, or the like causes, to take upon them any jurisdiction or cognizance, but that they refer all causes and suits relating to the said business to us, and those of our great council, to whom, and to no other, we have reserved, and do reserve the examination and determination. We therefore expressly command and enjoin you, duly and punctually to put our said letters in execution, according to their form above-mentioned, and not otherwise, as in such case is requisite. For it is our will and pleasure that it should be done: And to that end we give you full power and authority, commission and special commandment. We charge and command all our justices, officers and subjects, commissioners and deputies, that they give their assistance for the due obedience thereunto. Given at Arras, May 18, Anno 1478.”

The Archbishop of Ambrun ceased not to proceed further against the persons accused, but was much more animated than before; grounding his procedure upon that clause of the said letters: “Except there be found any among them who rebelliously, contumaciously, and obstinately harden themselves in their opinions.” Therefore he pretended, that he did nothing in contradiction to the said letters, since those who had received them did not appear in judgment to justify themselves, making it manifest that they were neither obstinate, rebellious, nor contumacious. Moreover, the said archbishop extorted from part of the inhabitants of Fraissiniere, l’Argentiere, and Val Loyse, a renunciation or denial of the requests presented to the King, declaring that no persons in Dauphiny were less free from heresy, than those who were the readiest to clear themselves before the King; and caused a second information to be made. We have observed in that

information that the witnesses produced were for the most part priests, or officers belonging to the said archbishop, William Chabassol, Canon of Ambrun ; Francis Magnici, priest of the Valley of Loyse ; Rostain Payan, curate of St. Marcelin ; Anthony Garneri, priest ; Aimar Raimondi, chaplain ; Michael Pierre, curate of Fraissiniere ; all which deposed that those who had recourse to King Louis XI., were Waldenses. Thus the archbishop being fortified and encouraged by their recantation, and those witnesses, and the assertion of John Pelegrin, who was corrupted by money to charge and accuse the Waldenses of the ancient calumnies, which were formerly imposed upon the primitive Christians, that they met together in private and obscure places, and there, after the candles were put out, to commit sin, he sent to the court to vindicate and justify himself against the informations given to the King, that he prosecuted the Waldenses rather for the sake of their goods, than out of zeal for the Catholic Faith. But that single witness prevailed but little against several others who would never depose against their consciences, that they had seen among the Waldenses, anything which did bear the appearance of that villany with which the false witness had charged them. Nevertheless the archbishop did not desist from annoying and disturbing the said persons accused, to the utmost of his power ; so that the greatest part of them that were unable to defray the charge, betook themselves to flight, there being not any amongst those that were persecuted, except James Palineri, who protested against the unjust trouble and molestation given them, to the prejudice of the letters obtained of his majesty, and demanded a copy of their proceedings, that he might right himself by law. The archbishop let him alone, prosecuting those who had not the courage to oppose his violent practices. But the consuls of Frassinere, Michael Ruffi, and John Girraud, having been summoned to appear before the archbishop, to answer both in their own name, and the inhabitants of their valley ; after they had made answer, that they had nothing to say before the archbishop, because their cause was depending before the King and council, which they then openly averred, and demanded a copy of it ; being pressed to answer notwithstanding all their protestations and averment to the contrary, Michael Ruffi nodding his head, answered in his own language, *Veici ragis* ; and being pressed a second time, he said, *Veici una bella Raison*. The archbishop being enraged against the said consuls for such a contempt, sent them to the fire without any other form or process. But the archbishop himself did not long survive them, for he died with an evident mark of Divine justice, soon after their execution. Thus ended the persecution in the year 1487.

We may observe a remarkable piece of villany in the process formed by this monk Veiliti. Having the said process in our hands, we discovered little bills, wherein the said commissioner used to take the answers of the persons accused, simply and nakedly, as they came out of their mouths, but we found them afterwards stretched and extended in the process, altogether contrary to what they were in the *sumptum*, as they called it, altering therein the intention of the said person, making him to say that of which he never thought.

Inquire, whether he believed, that after the words of consecration were pronounced by the priest in the Mass, the body of Christ was present in the Host in as gross and extensive a manner as it was upon the Cross ? if the Waldenses shall answer, no, Veiliti, or his clerk, he dictating it, set down the answer thus : " he confessed he believed not in God." In-

quire whether we ought not to pray to the saints? if he answer, no, they set down, "he reviled and spake evil of the saints." Inquire whether we ought to reverence the Virgin Mary, and pray unto her in our necessities? if he answer no, they write, "that he spake blasphemy against the Virgin Mary." Thus you may see the fidelity of the inquisitors in so weighty and important an action. It could not be without the great Providence of God, that the history of such villanies should be preserved till now, that men might see by what spirit they were actuated and inspired, who cut the throats of, and burnt the faithful members of the church, after they had loaded them with impostures; demanding of us notwithstanding, where these faithful members of the church were, whom they had massacred before our time.

If the reader desires to know how the process and indictments fell into our hands; here he will again see the great Providence of God, in causing the very same persons, who were the authors and actors of those cruelties and villanies, to keep the said papers and process in their libraries, and other places wherein their records are laid up; the archbishops of Ambrun themselves, John and Rostain, and others, until the city was recovered out of the hands of the rebels in the year 1585. Then all the said process and proceedings, attempted and contrived for many hundred years together against the Waldenses, were flung out into the street, because the archbishop's palace was set on fire by the enemies themselves, with a design to defend a tower called *Tour Brune*, whither they were retired, and to cut off a wooden gallery, by which the archbishop had passage to the tower. The Sieur de Calignon, chancellor of Navarre, and the Sieur de Vulcon, chancellor to the King, in the Parliament at Grenoble, being there, they caused the papers, containing the process, framed long ago against the Waldenses, to be gathered together; whence we have collected that which relates to the cruelties and lewd behaviour of the said monks inquisitors, and their adherents; as likewise that which followeth concerning the Waldenses in Dauphiny, and the persecutions carried on by the commissaries of the archbishops of Turin, against the Waldensian churches of Pragela.

The method of harassing the Waldenses by war was never known till that time; but Albert de Capitaneis, Archdeacon of Cremona, sent against them by Pope Innocent VIII, began to desire the aid and assistance of the King's Lieutenant in Dauphiny, called *Hugues de la Paln*, who for this service levied troops, and marched to those places where the said Albert told him any of the Waldenses were, in the valley of Loyse. That the business might seem to be undertaken according to justice and equity, and to give the better authority to their proceedings, the Lieutenant of the King took along with him a Counsellor of the Court, named John Rabot. Upon their arrival at the said valley of Loyse, they could meet with none of the inhabitants, for they had all fled into their caverns on the top of the mountains, having carried thither with them their little children, and whatsoever they accounted most precious, and fit for their sustenance and nourishment. This Lieutenant of the King caused a great quantity of wood to be placed at the entrance of their caves, and to be set on fire, so that either the smoke by suffocating, or the fire by burning them, constrained a great number to throw themselves headlong from their caverns upon the rocks below, where they ended their lives, being dashed in pieces. If there were any one amongst them who dared to stir, he was immediately slain by the soldiers of Paln. That perse-

cution was very severe: for there were found within the said caverns four hundred little children, suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers. Among the Waldenses dwelling in the adjacent valleys, above three thousand persons, men and women, belonging to the said valley, then perished. To say the truth, they were wholly exterminated; so that thenceforward that valley was peopled with new inhabitants, and there was no family of the said Waldenses that ever after took footing there; which proves beyond dispute, that all the inhabitants thereof, of both sexes, died at that time. That Lieutenant of the King having destroyed the inhabitants of the valley of Loyse, fearing lest the Waldenses in the neighbouring country should settle there again, and that they might not hereafter be put to a second trouble to expel them, he gave the goods and possessions of the valley to whom he pleased; which were not so soon divided, but that the Waldenses of Pragela and Fraissiniere had made provision for their safety, expecting the enemy at the passage and narrow straits of their valleys; so that when the Lieutenant of the King came to invade them, he was obliged to retreat. Albert de Capitaneis's commission calling him elsewhere, he substituted a Franciscan monk, named Ploieri, who began to exhibit fresh informations against the Waldenses of Fraissiniere, in the year 1489. He cited them to appear before him at Ambrun, and for not appearing, he excommunicated and anathematized them, and at last condemned them, as contumacious heretics and backsliders, to be delivered to the secular power, and their goods to be confiscated. At this judgment assisted a counsellor named Ponce, in the behalf of the Parliament of Dauphiny, to the end that this mixed judgment might admit of no appeal. The sentence was pronounced at the great church at Ambrun, afterwards fixed upon the door of the said church upon a large pannel, in the lower part of which were thirty-two articles of the faith of the said Waldenses, against the Mass, Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, Pilgrimages, the Observations of Feasts, distinction of meats upon certain days, and other points maintained by the Waldenses.

The informations on which their sentence was grounded having come to our hands, this imposture hath been detected to their own condemnation. We find not any witness to these allegations: but, on the contrary, though the chief of those that were heard, were priests or monks, on being asked by the monk, whether they knew the contents of the aforesaid articles to be true; they answered, that they never knew any such doctrines either taught or practised amongst the Waldenses.

In the same parcel of writings, containing the process against the Waldenses, we find one drawn up against Francis Gerondine and Peter James, two *barbs*, or pastors, who were taken, "*sur le col de coste plane*;" *about the hill in the side of the plain*, in 1492. Being asked the reason why the sect of the Waldenses multiplied and increased so fast, and for a long time together had spread itself into so many places, this monk wrote down the answer of Gerondine after this manner: "That the dissolute and debauched lives of the priests was the cause of it; and because the cardinals were covetous, proud, and luxurious, it being manifest to all, that there was neither pope, cardinal, nor bishop, who kept not their concubines, and few or none who were not guilty of unnatural crimes; and therefore it was an easy matter for the pastors of the Waldenses to persuade the people, that the religion of such scandalous persons could never be good, since the fruits of it were so bad." And imme-

diately after, the said pastor being asked what their doctrine was concerning lechery, they made him to answer, that lechery was no sin; as if it were a thing possible for the pastors to draw the people off from the Church of Rome, by condemning the lechery of the priests, if they themselves should teach that lechery was no sin. All this was thus set down and subscribed, not only according to what was dictated and ordered by the said monk, but approved of, and signed by the Counsellor Ponce, and Oronce, Judge of Briancon. Wherein appears the clandestine conspiracy and unjust confederacy of the said Inquisitors, in that they were not satisfied with persecuting them by open violence, but likewise loaded them with calumnies, making the pastors to answer so unsuitably and childishly, touching those matters in which, as appears in their Exposition on the Seventh Commandment, the pastors were thoroughly informed by the Holy Scriptures; and in which Exposition they leave nothing unsaid of all that which the Word of God teacheth us against luxury and incontinency.

That persecution was extremely severe; for the Waldenses being condemned as heretics by the Inquisitor, Ponce the Counsellor, and Oronce the Judge hurried them to the fire, without suffering their appeal. That which increased the number of the persecuted was, that whosoever did any ways intercede for them, though it were the child for the father, or the father for the child, he was presently committed to prison, and his indictment drawn up as a favourer of heretics.

In the year 1494, Anthony Fabri, doctor and canon of Ambrun, and Christopher de Salliens, canon, vicar, and official of the Bishop of Valence, received a commission from the Pope to commence suit against the Waldenses in Dauphiny, otherwise called Chagnards. Fabri, the Inquisitor, and Gobandi, notary of Ambrun, and secretary to the said Inquisitors, carried to Ambrun an indictment framed against Peironnette of Beauregard, in Valentinois, the widow of Peter Berand; whom we do not mention for her constancy, but because in her answers she delivered many things which make some addition to this history.

Being demanded whether she had seen or heard of any of the pastors of the Waldenses, she at first replied that she had not, being resolved to answer negatively to all interrogations. The Inquisitors ordered, because she had not satisfied their demands, that she should be committed to the Bishop of Valence's prison; where being menaced to be further pressed with the question, she confessed that about twenty-five years before, two men clothed in grey came to her husband's house, and after supper one of them asked her,—"*N'avez vous jamais oui parler d'un plen pung de monde, que si non era tot lo monde seria a fin,*"—Whether she had heard of a handful of people that are in the world, without which the world must soon be at an end?—and she answered, "that she had never heard of such, but from one Monsieur Andre, minister of Beauregard, who frequently told her, that there was a small number of people in the world, without whom the world must perish. He then told her, that he was now come thither on purpose to confer with her, about that little flock, and to give her to know that they were the men who had by God's commandments learned how to serve him; and that they travelled about the world on purpose to instruct men how they ought to worship and honour him; and to correct and reform the abuses of the Church of Rome. Among other things, he told her that we ought not to do anything to another which we would not have done to ourselves—That we are to

worship one God only, who is alone able to help us, and not the saints departed—That we ought not to swear—That we are to be faithful to our matrimonial engagement, and to sanctify and keep holy the Sabbath day ; but there was no need of observing other feasts—That ecclesiastical persons were too rich and wealthy, which was the cause why they lead such scandalous lives ; and that he said of the Pope, in his language: *Autant crois, et autant maluais es lo Popa coma neugun autre, et perco non ages de poissansa* ; That the Pope is as bad or worse than any other, and therefore he hath no authority. That he taught that there was no Purgatory ; but only Heaven for the good, and Hell for the wicked ; and that, therefore, all trentals and suffrages said by the priest for the souls of the deceased, or their processions in the church-yards, singing *kirieleison*, avail nothing : also, that it was better to give to the poor than to offer to the priests ; and that it was an idle and superstitious thing to bow the knee before the images of saints."

She was remanded back to prison, and the next morning sent for again. But persisting in what she had said before, she added, that the said pastors had told her, "that the priests who took money for the masses they sing, were like Judas, who sold their master for silver ; and that they who gave money for their masses, were like the Jews, who bought Christ with money."

Those Inquisitors discharged Peironnette, until they were otherwise advised, having first obtained from her whatsoever she knew of the assemblies of the Waldenses, of those persons that frequented them, of the places and times of their meetings, which afterwards occasioned great trouble to the said Waldensian Churches, and much profit and advantage to the Inquisitors.

In the year of our Lord, 1497, Rostain, the Archbishop of Ambrun, would know at his arrival how matters had been carried on till that time against the Waldenses of his diocese ; and finding that the inhabitants of the valley of Fraissiniere had been excommunicated by the Inquisitors, who had then framed their indictments, and that they had delivered them into the hands of the secular power, nothing but their flight obstructing the execution of the sentences pronounced against them ; he would not enter into the said valley, though earnestly entreated by one Fazion Gay, an inhabitant of the said valley, saying, "that they had been condemned *Authoritate Pontificis Romani*, and therefore he might begin his journey to them *inconsulto Pontifice* : but when the pope *laxabit mihi manus*, shall loose my hand, and their absolution shall manifestly and clearly appear to me, I will visit them." Fazion Gay, speaking in behalf of the said inhabitants, who made profession of living as becomes good Catholics, says, they answered, "that the King had freed them from such punishments, provided that they behaved themselves like good Catholics for the future."

The archbishop replied, "that he would do nothing till he had sent to the pope, and that he had for that purpose deputed friar John Columbi, a master in divinity, and that he would write to the pope and cardinals, and send them a verbal report of what had been transacted against them, and desire their advice, how to demean himself in this affair." Hereupon, Charles VIII., king of France, having departed this life, he took his journey to the coronation of King Louis XII., in the year 1498, which coming to the knowledge of the said inhabitants of Fraissiniere, and knowing too well that they had no reason to expect that anything in their favour would come from Rome, and that the archbishop would be easily

persuaded to enjoy those goods that his predecessors had confiscated, and that he would be unwilling to restore those goods which they had annexed to his archbishopric, they concluded among themselves to send to King Louis XII., and to become humble supplicants to him, that he would be pleased to take some course for the restitution of their goods, which the archbishop, the monks inquisitors, and others, detained from them. The King referred this business to his chancellor and council. The chancellor making mention thereof to the archbishop, he replied, that the restitution which they required did not concern himself, because the said goods were confiscated by the inquisitors, long before he became archbishop of Ambrun: but the president of Grenoble, and the chancellor Rabot, were then at Paris, who were able to answer to the article, they being the men that had condemned them.

The Waldenses, on the other hand were very urgent that the archbishop might particularly be enjoined to make restitution of the goods, because several parcels thereof were added to the archbishop's domain; and whensoever they required them, he sent to the pope, to the prejudice of the order and decree of the late king.

The grand council having taken cognizance of this business, commanded that no innovations should be made in that which related to the Waldenses of Fraissiniere, the king having written to the pope, that apostolical commissaries might be appointed, with the archbishop as ordinary, to conclude this business for that time.

In order to the prosecution of the said ordinance, there were nominated for apostolical commissioners, a confessor of the king's, and the official of Orleans, who arrived at Ambrun upon July 4, 1501.

The reader may judge of the archbishop from those memorials left by himself, and which we have here transcribed verbatim.

“The gentlemen, (saith he) the confessor, and the official of Orleans, being come to Ambrun, dispatched to me a packet by the post, to bring me the letters missive of the king; to which, upon my receipt of them, I paid my obedience, and sent to desire they would lodge with me, as Monsieur the confessor had promised to do at Lyons. I immediately sent some of my people to offer them a lodging, and presented them my wine. To whom they returned this answer, that I should no more send anything, that they might not be suspected by the inhabitants of Fraissiniere, and that for that reason they would not accept of my lodging. After dinner I went to their lodging, in company with the abbot of Boscaudon, with some of my canons and other officers. I again offered my lodgings to the said commissioners, showing them honour and reverence, as to apostolical and royal commissioners, out of respect to their office and persons. Then the said commissioners presented to me the said apostolical and royal commissions, requiring me, as being joined in the same commissions, and as Ordinary, to observe the same. The commissions being seen and read, I presently offered to lend them all the aid and assistance that possibly I could, and that on my part there should be nothing wanting towards the full and complete accomplishment of the said commission, offering unto them all the processes and indictments that I had, as they demanded them; notwithstanding a great part of the said processes remained in the grand council, ever since the time that Adam Fumée, the chancellor, caused my predecessor and his secretary to be arrested at Lyons, until the said Adam Fumée had the original of the process delivered to him; not suffering the said secretary to detain any writing, as the said secretary, *medio juramento*, in their presence deposed. Afterwards, the confessor began to blame

those commissioners who had been formerly employed therein, notwithstanding that I had before offered to deliver the said process, he did charge and admonish, "*semel, bis, ter, sub pœna excommunicationis lata sententia, trina et canonica monitione procedente*—once, twice, three times, under the penalty of excommunication, the third canonical notice having preceded;" that I should produce immediately all the indictments which I had concerning this matter: for that he was to spend but a few days in the affair, being to return to court against the feast in August, to the King, who expected him as his confessor. When I saw that he acted contrary to all form of law, and that he intended to proceed against the episcopal dignity and authority, rather by suspensions than excommunications; and that I was a judge as well as they, and which is more, the Ordinary, I required the copy of their commissions, according to the forms of law. Then the confessor replied, that he had not long since made use of the same censures and commands towards the masters of the parliament of Grenoble, and that consequently he might use it towards myself.

"He also replied unto me, you petty clerks know nothing but two C. C., *codice et capitulo*, and two F., *digestis*, and will take upon you to put down and suppress theology; and that he heard the king say with his own mouth, that the archbishop of Ambrun would withstand his commission, and openly accuse the Waldenses. To whom I answered, that he must pardon me, for I did not believe but that the king had a better opinion of me, because I had never employed my labour in this matter but to a good end, as I always intended and designed to do. Then the confessor proceeding in his discourse, spake these words: '*Vos ad me in modum Scribarum, et Pharisaorum Christum accusantium, ad Pilatum accessistis, cum tantis viris ecclesiasticis ad terrendum me: sed nihil teneo sub vobis, aut dominio vestro, et de nihilo vos timeo.*' That is:—'You are come to me, as the Scribes and Pharisees when they accused Christ before Pilate, and with such a numerous company of ecclesiastical persons to terrify me, but you have no authority to command me, and I do not at all fear you.' To which I replied, that I brought no more with me than those who used to bear me company when I walked through the city. Suddenly he ordered the laity to quit the chamber, then revoked the sentences which he had thundered out against me, contrary to all law and equity; saying, that it was necessary to make use of those rigorous terms before the lay people, and especially there being some of the Waldenses present. This was the kind of deportment of the confessor; and thus were the matters above-mentioned, as more fully and largely appears by a public instrument."

Thus you have part of the notes of Archbishop Rostain, wherein we find several falsehoods. He wrote in great trouble, that the said commissioners did not hear above three or four witnesses; but we find in the bundle of memoirs belonging to Archbishop Rostain, a copy of informations, in which there were twenty-four witnesses heard and examined.

He said, that they put no other questions to them but whether they were good Catholics or no; to which, being well instructed, they answered yes, and the commissioners were satisfied with that answer. Yet, it appears, that they asked them several questions concerning the eucharist, purgatory, invocation of saints, and divers other points.

Again, he declares, that the witnesses were timorous and dare not speak; and yet it is very apparent that the generality of the witnesses produced were priests and monks of the archbishop's faction, and brought by himself.

Again, that they suffered nothing to be written down; whereas it ap-

pears, that there are no indictments where there is more written, than in those drawn up by the said commissioners.

But that which most grieved the archbishop was, that the said commissioners cleared and absolved them from contumacy, *sine præjudicio causa principalis, et juris cuicunque acquisiti*; without prejudice to the principal cause, and to the right acquired by any one; against which the archbishop protested, and would not give his consent to sign the said sentence, complaining that the official of Orleans had manifestly discovered, by his proceedings, that he favoured the said Waldenses, especially having openly acknowledged, at his lodgings at the inn at Ambrun, that he wished he were as good a Christian as the worst person of the Fraissiniere.

But the greatest hurt and detriment fell upon himself, for he saw that he must of necessity restore several vineyards belonging to the said Waldenses, situated at Clements, at Crispin, at Chanteloube, and several estates at Chateau Roux, which John his predecessor had annexed to the domain of his archbishopric.

The king's confessor having reported to the king and his council, what he knew concerning the Waldenses, and that they were cleared and absolved of their contumacy, commanded that the goods of the said Waldenses should be restored: upon which King Louis XII. granted the following letters.

Louis by the grace of God, King of France, &c.

"Forasmuch as it is come to our knowledge, that the inhabitants of Fraissiniere have undergone great troubles and afflictions, punishments and molestations; we desiring to relieve them, and that restitution should be made of their goods, moveables and immoveables, do by these presents command and enjoin all those who do keep and detain the said goods, that immediately, and without delay, they desist and quit claim to the said goods, and make restitution of them to the said petitioners, or their procurators in their stead, every one in his place and order. And in case of opposition, refusal, or delay, we, out of regard to their poverty and misery, which they have a long time, and still do suffer and undergo, without being able to obtain justice; desiring with all our heart that it may be administered unto them; our will and pleasure is to take cognizance thereof in our own proper person, summoning all those who shall oppose or retard the execution of these presents, to appear before us at a certain convenient day.

"Given at Lyons, October 12, 1501."

Those mandatory letters being put in execution, it was the opinion of most men, since the best and the greatest part of the goods of the Waldenses were in the possession of the Archbishop; that it was highly reasonable that he should set the example unto others, especially since that which some of them possessed, was given unto them as a salary or fee, for their pains and services, by Archbishop John his predecessor.

The Archbishop Rostain answered, that he held none of the goods of the Fraissinieres—only certain goods, for good and just reasons, had been annexed to his archbishopric, and incorporated into his church by his predecessor, the said goods being within the territories and jurisdiction thereof, in which no commandment of the king ever used to be executed. Therefore, said he, it is not to be believed, that it proceedeth from the will and pleasure of the king, being the protector and defender of the Church, and following the example of his great and noble predecessors.

But yet, nevertheless, the archbishop being willing to please the lord our king, will be content to restore unto the inhabitants of Fraissiniere the vineyards, upon condition that other lords of Dauphiny will deliver that which they possess of the said goods.

Thus the people were frustrated in their design; for there was not one who would restore anything of that of which he had got possession. Therefore they summoned before the king and council, the archbishop, Monsieur Pons, Counsellor of the Parliament at Grenoble; Peter de Rames, Lord of Poit; Faix de Rames, Master of Montainard and of Argentiere; Arrouars de Bonne; and several other attorneys, priests, and burgesses of Ambrun and Briancon. These sent to the court, and having more friends and credit there than the inhabitants of Fraissiniere, their excuse was received, wherein they declared, that it was not in their power to restore the said goods, before the pope had absolved them.

The archbishop protested that, for his part, he was ready to restore all that his predecessors had annexed to his church, provided that they had the aforesaid absolution. This occasioned such as were less affected and constant to try this way, and to send to Pope Alexander VI. They were advised not to go to Rome, but to fetch a writ of absolution from the Cardinal Legate in France, George, entitled *Saint Christ*; which would suffice, and might be obtained with less expense; for the obtaining whereof, they made use of the commissary the king's confessor. They sent, therefore, Stephen Roux, who brought two bulls, one by which he gave absolution for simony, theft, murder, usury, adultery, detention of benefices, destruction of ecclesiastical goods, violence against clerks by beating them, unlawful oaths, perjury, frauds, apostasy and heresy; and whosoever had committed any crime, were it never so heinous, the cardinal absolved them from all by his apostolical authority.

And lest the archbishop should pretend the said bull could not absolve the people of Fraissiniere, having been condemned by the said apostolical authority, by commissioners and inquisitors deputed by the pope; and that his mouth might be stopped, he brought another bull, in which there was especially this clause: "Having power from the pope to decide or determine any matter, that any other who hath been deputed by the holy see, or substituted, can do, even where there hath been an appeal, absolving all that have in any manner been condemned."

The man thought he had made a good progress in this business; but Archbishop Rostain made a jest of his bulls, saying, that they were obtained at too dear a rate, and with importunity, and that he must have an absolution from the pope himself; and so resolved in short to restore nothing. All the rest followed his example; and although they had been absolved by the pope himself, yet no restitution would have been made; for he knew well enough that, in those days, all things were sold at Rome, as those Latin verses which were written against Pope Alexander VI. testify.

*Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Christum,
Enerat i. le, prius vendere jure potest.*

Pope Alexander sold altars, Christ, and his cross,
Before he could sell, he had bought them of course!

*Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
Ignis, thura, preces, cælum est venale, Deusque.*

Temples and priests, altars and crowns, they sell for pelf,
Fire, frankincense, prayers, heaven, and God himself!

Which is to be understood of the BREADEN GOD in the mass.

The archbishop, therefore, was the cause why others still detained those goods in their possession, without any restitution; and although some particular persons were afterwards called to an account, Le Sieur de Montainer, De Rames, and others, yet they could never obtain any remedy.

In the year 1560, the Waldenses of Fraissiniere and Pragela had their churches supplied with pastors, who kept them up to the exercise of their religion, at the time when all the professors of the Reformation were persecuted unto death. The President Truccion made a speech to the states of Provence, assembled the same year, on November 6, pressing them to exterminate the Waldenses of Fraissiniere and Pragela, saying, that it was expedient to purge the old heretical leaven, which would otherwise infect and sour the whole country of Dauphiny, if some course were not taken to prevent it. It was resolved thereupon by those states to extirpate them by open force, and to this end, commissions were given out to levy troops, and march into the said valleys: but so soon as the drum was beaten up, and the men were under arms throughout Provence, the unexpected death of King Francis II. gave a new turn to the design; and the said Waldensian Churches in Dauphiny continued in the same posture, by the singular favour of God.

CHAPTER IV.

The Waldensian Churches in Piedmont, and the persecutions which they endured.

THE Waldenses had famous churches in the valleys of Piedmont, Angrogne, La Perouse, the valley St. Martin, Lucerne, and other neighbouring places, time out of mind. It is held for certain among them, that they descended from the Waldenses of Dauphiny, Pragela, Fraissiniere, and other neighbouring places; and that in process of time, being so vastly multiplied and increased, that the country could not supply them with provisions, they were constrained to disperse themselves far and wide, where they could best settle themselves. And so dearly have they loved one another, like brethren, that notwithstanding they have been oppressed with continual troubles, yet they have ever relieved one another, with a most hearty love and charity, not sparing their lives and goods for their mutual conservation.

The first troubles that the Waldenses of Piedmont endured, were occasioned by the report of certain priests, sent thither by the Archbishop of Turin, who gave in information, that the people committed to their charge did not live according to the manners and faith of the Church of Rome, neither making any offerings for the dead, nor caring for masses or absolutions, or to redeem any of their relations out of the pains of purgatory, by any of the usual ways and methods.¹ Thenceforward

¹ Vignaux, Memorials. Fol. 7.

the archbishops of Turin persecuted them, as much as lay in their power, rendering them odious to their princes; who hearing of the good report that their neighbours gave of their mild and honest conversation, and that they were a simple people, fearing God, and of a good deportment, without deceit or malice, loving integrity and plain dealing, always ready to serve their princes; and that they very willingly and cheerfully yielded to them all dutiful obedience; being moreover in such favour and esteem with the people their neighbours, that they endeavoured to get the youth of Piedmont into their service, and to procure nurses among them to bring up their young children: the said princes hearing thus well of them, were resolved for a long time not to molest and disturb them; but the priests and monks, who were frequently amongst them, getting no handle from their belief and behaviour, charged them at length with an infinite number of forged calumnies; and whensoever they went into Piedmont upon business, they always apprehended the Christians, and delivered them into the hands of the inquisitors, and the inquisitors to the executioner, so that there was hardly any town or city in Piedmont, in which some of them were not put to death. Jordan Tertian was burnt at Suse; Hyppolite Ronsier at Turin; Villermin Ambroise was hanged at Meane; and also Anthony Hiun. Hugh Chiampe de Fenestrelles, being apprehended at Suse, was conveyed to Turin, where his entrails were torn out and put into a bason, and he himself afterwards was most cruelly martyred. Among which servants of God, there were some who maintained that truth which had been known for above two hundred and fifty years among them. But among all the rest, the constancy of Catelin Girard is worthy of our remembrance. Standing upon the block whereon he was to be burnt at Revel in the Marquisate of Saluces, he requested his executioners to give him a couple of stones, which they refused to do, fearing that he designed to fling them at somebody; but he protesting the contrary, at last they delivered them unto him; who having them in his hand, said unto them; 'When I have eaten these stones, then you shall see an end of that religion for which you put me to death;' and so cast the stones upon the ground.²

The fires were kindled till the year 1488, at which time they resolved to assault them by open force; because they perceived that the constancy of those whom they did publicly put to death, drew a great number of others to the knowledge of God; and that by this means they should never accomplish their design. Therefore they levied men to join with Albert de Capitaneis, commissioned by Popes Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. There were eighteen thousand soldiers raised, besides a great number of the inhabitants of Piedmont, who ran to the plunder from all parts. They marched all at once to Angrogne, Lucerne, La Perouse, St. Martin, Praviglerm, and Biolet, which is in the Marquisate of Saluces. They raised troops also in Vaucluson in Dauphiny, overrunning the valley of Pragela; to the end, that being obliged to defend themselves, they might not be able to assist their neighbours, the Waldensian Churches in Piedmont. All this was ordered by the singular providence of God, that they divided their troops into parties, rather out of pride, than for their better expedition. For notwithstanding the Waldenses were employed in their own defence, and could not succour one another, yet the enemy by this division did so

² Vignaux, Memorials. Fol. 6.

lessen their forces, that they were everywhere beaten; but especially in the valley of Angrogne, where they made their most violent attack. As that levy of men could not be raised, without suspicion, that it was against themselves; so they accordingly made preparation for their reception, keeping themselves in the strait passes, where but few men were able to attack them; being also armed with long targets of wood, which wholly covered them, and whereon the arrows of their enemies struck without any damage to themselves. The foremost being thus armed and covered, the rest did good service with their bows and cross-bows under the said targets. As the enemy endeavoured to approach the passes, the women and children being spectators upon their knees, prayed in their own language, "O dio, aiutaci; O God, help us!" Whereat the enemies scoffing, among others, Captain Saquet, counterfeiting the said women, was slain and cast headlong from the mountain into a deep bottom, which is still called the Gulf of Saquet. At the same time, a captain, named Le Noir de Montdeni, as he cried out to the soldiers to put them to death, was killed with the shot of an arrow in the throat, which the soldiers perceiving, and also that they were covered with rocks, and themselves with stones and arrows, they all betook themselves to flight, and the greatest part of them threw themselves down from the rocks. The Waldenses took notice of another effect of divine Providence; that the enemies approaching to their strongest place by nature, which is in the valley of Angrogne, called Le Pré de la Tour, where they might have fortified themselves, and made themselves masters of the said valley, God sent so thick a cloud, and so dark a fog, that the enemies could hardly see one another, insomuch that they had no leisure or opportunity to know the strength of the place, or to stay there; whereupon the Waldenses taking heart, followed the pursuit so vigorously, that the persecutors being all dispersed, and not seeing which way they went, the greatest part fell headlong down the mountains; and betaking themselves to flight, discharged themselves of their arms and booty, which they had gotten at the entrance into the valley, where they had poured out the wine, and the corn, and loaded their servants with the most valuable moveables of the Waldenses.

It pleased God at length to touch the heart of their prince with some compassion towards those poor people. Philip VIII., duke of Savoy, and prince of Piedmont, declared that he would not have that people, who had been always most loyal, faithful, and obedient to him, to be so rigorously handled by way of arms; being contented that a dozen of the principal among them should come to Pignerol, where he was, to beg pardon for all the rest, for having taken up arms in their own defence, which he gave them to understand by a prelate whom he sent to Praisut. They deputing the said embassy of twelve to do whatever his highness required of them, he kindly received them, and forgave them all that was past during the war, upon paying a certain sum of money for the charges of it. And whereas he had been informed, that their young children were born with black throats, and that they were hairy, and had four rows of teeth, he commanded some of them to be brought before him to Pignerol; and seeing them all fair and perfect creatures, he was much displeased with himself for being so easily imposed upon as to believe the report made to him concerning that people; declaring withal, his pleasure was, that thenceforward they should have the same liberties and privileges as formerly, and as all the rest of his subjects in Piedmont did enjoy.

Notwithstanding, the monks inquisitors sent out processes every day, against as many of them as they could apprehend. Especially they lay in ambush, in a convent near to Pignerol, whence they delivered them to the secular power. That persecution lasted till the year 1532, when they resolved to order their churches in such manner, that that exercise, which was before performed in covert, might be manifest to every one; and that their pastors should preach the gospel openly, without regard to any persecutions which might befall them upon that account.

His highness the duke was speedily advertised of this change, and much incensed thereat; so that he commanded Pantaleon Bersor to hasten into the valleys with his troops; which he so readily performed, that before the Waldenses were apprised of it, he had entered their valleys with five hundred men, part foot, and part horse, ransacking, pillaging, and laying waste whatever came in their way. The people leaving their ploughs and tillage, betook themselves to their mountain passes, and with their slings, charged their enemies with such a shower of stones, and with such violence, that they were constrained to fly, and leave their prey behind them; many of them being killed upon the spot. This news was presently brought to his highness, being likewise told what experience had taught them before, that it was not the way to reclaim and subdue those people by arms, the strength of their country so favouring them, and they being better acquainted with the straights and passes of the mountains, than the assailants; and that therefore there was no good to be done, when "*the skin of one Waldensian must be purchased at the expense of the lives of a dozen of his other subjects.*" He thought it therefore not convenient to molest them any more by arms; but only that they should be apprehended one by one, as they came into Piedmont; and that exemplary justice should be inflicted upon them, if they changed not their faith; that thus they might gradually be destroyed, to the terror of all other inhabitants of the said valleys, and so their ruin might be procured insensibly, and without the hazard of any other of the prince's subjects.

All this did not hinder them from persisting in their resolution; and, to the end that all things might be done in order, all the heads of every family, with their pastors, assembled together, out of all their valleys, at Angrogne, on September 12, in the year 1535; where it was certified by one of them that their brethren, the Waldenses of Provence and Dauphiny, had sent George Morel and Peter Mascon, their pastors, into Germany, to confer with Ecolampadius, Bucer, and other servants of God, who there preached the gospel, concerning their faith, which had time out of mind been transmitted from father to son. He reported: That Ecolampadius and Bucer had found that God had been very merciful and gracious unto us, in that he had preserved us undefiled in the midst of so many idolatries and superstitions, which in the ages foregoing had infected all Christendom, under the tyranny of the antichrist of Rome—that they encouraged us by holy admonition and persuasions, and exhorted us not to bury those talents which God had imparted unto us—and that they looked upon it as an evil thing that we have so long deferred the public profession of the gospel, by causing it to be preached in the ears, and to the knowledge of every one; leaving the event of things to God, to dispose whatsoever it shall please him should befall us in the promoting of his glory, and the advancement of his Son's kingdom. Afterwards, having read the letters of Ecolampadius and Bucer, which were sent to them, as well as to their brethren, the Waldenses of Provence and

Dauphiny, the propositions or articles following were ordered, read, and approved, and unanimously signed and sworn to by all the assistants, as what they would preserve, observe, believe, and inviolably retain among them, without any contradiction; and that this they would do, by the grace of God, as being agreeable to the doctrine which hath been delivered from father to son among them, and taken out of the word of God.³

RULES OF FAITH AND PRACTICE ADOPTED BY ALL THE WALDENSES, WHO MET IN ONE ASSEMBLY AT ANGROGNE, SEPTEMBER 12, 1535.

Article I. Divine service cannot be duly performed, but in spirit and truth; for God is a spirit, and whosoever will pray unto him must pray in spirit.

II. All that have been, or shall be saved, were elected by God before all worlds.

III. They who are saved cannot miss of salvation.

IV. Whosoever maintaineth free-will, wholly denieth predestination, and the Grace of God.

V. No work is called good but that which is commanded by God; and none evil but that which he forbiddeth.

VI. A Christian may swear by the name of God without any contradiction to what is written in the fifth chapter of Matthew, provided that he who sweareth, taketh not the name of the Lord in vain. Now that person sweareth not in vain, whose oath redoundeth to the glory of God, and the good of his neighbour. A man also may swear in judgment, because he that beareth the office of a magistrate, be he Christian or infidel, derives his power from God.

VII. Auricular confession is not enjoined by God; and it is concluded according to the holy scriptures, that the true confession of a Christian consists in confessing himself to one only God, to whom belong honour and glory. There is another kind of confession, which is, when a man reconcileth himself to his neighbour, whereof mention is made in the fifth of Matthew. The third manner of confession is, when, as a man's sin is public, and exposed to the notice and censure of all men, so his confession and acknowledgment of the fault be as public.

VIII. We must rest or cease upon the Lord's day from all our labours, out of zeal for the honour and glory of God; for the better exercise of charity towards our neighbour, and our better attendance upon the hearing of the word of God.

IX. It is not lawful for a Christian to revenge himself on his enemy, in any case or manner whatsoever.

X. A Christian may exercise the office of a magistrate over Christians.

XI. There is no certain time determined for the fast of a Christian; and it doth not appear in the word of God that the Lord hath commanded or appointed certain days.

XII. Marriage is not prohibited to any man, of what quality or condition soever he be.

XIII. Whosoever forbiddeth marriage, teacheth a diabolical doctrine.

XIV. He who hath not the gift of contiency is bound to marry.

³This admonition or remonstrance given by Ecolampadius and Bucer, to George Morel and Peter Mascon, is in the Memorials of Morel, fol. 5.

XV. The ministers of the word of God ought not to be removed from one place to another, unless it be to the great benefit and advantage of the Church.

XVI. It is no ways repugnant to the apostolical communion, that the ministers should possess anything in particular, to provide for the maintenance of their families.

XVII. As to the sacraments, it hath been determined by the holy scriptures, that we have but two sacramental signs or symbols, which Christ Jesus hath left unto us: the one is baptism, the other the eucharist or Lord's supper, which we receive to demonstrate our perseverance in the faith, according to the promise we made in our baptism in our infancy: as also in remembrance of that great benefit which Jesus Christ hath conferred upon us, when he laid down his life for our redemption, cleansing us with his most precious blood.

Those articles being resolved upon by them, astonished the Romish priests, who were then among them to collect the revenues of their cures, so that being out of all hopes of ever seeing those people reclaimed, or reduced to the obedience of the Church of Rome by any violence and compulsion, much less of their own accord, and perceiving the door of their gain to be shut, they departed without speaking a word. Upon this their retreat, the mass vanished of itself in the valleys of the Waldenses; and because they had only the New Testament, and some books of the Old translated into the Waldensian tongue, they resolved speedily to send the whole bible to the press, their books being only manuscripts, and those few in number. They sent therefore to Neufchatel in Switzerland, where they gave one thousand five hundred crowns in gold to a printer, who published the first impression of the bible which was seen in France.⁴ In the year 1536, they sent Martin Gonin to Geneva to provide a large supply of those books which he should see necessary for the instruction of the people. But they were balked in their attempt, because that good man was apprehended for a spy as he was passing over the Mountain de Gap, by George Marten, Lord de Champollion. As soon as Gonin was discovered to be a Waldensian, he was sent to Grenoble, and there confined in prison. Afterwards, in the night time, he was cast into the river Lyzere, for fear he should declare his faith before the people.⁵ The monk-inquisitor who delivered him to the secular power told them that it was not convenient that the world should hear him, "because," said he, "it is to be feared that they who hear him may become worse than himself."

It then happened that there were wars in Piedmont, between Francis I. and the Prince of Piedmont, which fell out providentially for those Waldenses; for during the continuance of those confusions they were at quiet, until Pope Paul III. solicited the parliament of Turin to take some violent course against them, as pernicious and mischievous heretics, whensoever they should be delivered into their hands by the inquisitors. That parliament caused a great number to be burnt at Turin, in imitation of other parliaments in France, who in those times burnt all those whom they called Lutherans.

⁴ Ecclesiastical History of the Churches of France, p. 37.

⁵ Book of Martyrs of our Time, lib. 3, fol. iii.

The Waldenses appealed to the king, presenting to him their petition that they might not be persecuted by the parliament for the profession of that religion, in which they and their ancestors had lived for so many hundred years, with the permission of their princes. But the king enjoined them to live according to the laws of the Church of Rome, upon pain of being punished as heretics. He likewise commanded the parliament at Turin to cause all his subjects within their jurisdiction to profess his religion; adding, that he "*did not burn the Lutherans throughout his whole kingdom of France, to make a reserration of them in the Alps.*"

The parliament endeavoured to put the king's decrees speedily in execution; and to that end enjoined the Waldenses, upon pain of death, immediately to dismiss their ministers, and to receive priests among them to sing mass, in conformity to all others of the king's subjects. They replied, that they could not obey any such injunctions, contrary to the commandment of God, whom they would obey rather than man, in matters relating to his service. But if the king had not at that time been elsewhere engaged, doubtless the parliament would have compelled them to do that by force, to which mere injunctions could never have brought them. They therefore were contented to prosecute them by the Inquisition, and to receive from the monks those whom they condemned to be burnt. But in the year 1555, they increased the persecution. Having condemned to the fire Bartholomew Hector, a stationer, who suffered death at Turin, because he died with admirable constancy, insomuch that he edified even the assistants, as well as others the standers by, so that he drew tears from their eyes, and compassionate expressions from their lips; they unanimously justifying and applauding him for his good and holy speeches and prayers to God—the parliament took occasion thereupon to use their utmost endeavours to subvert and overthrow this profession in its very source and original, and to make use of the king's authority to constrain the people either to submit to the laws of the Church of Rome, or else to suffer a miserable death. To this end, the parliament of Turin deputed the President of Julian, and an assessor named de Ecclesia, to repair to those places, and there to put in execution whatsoever they thought proper, either to the reduction or extermination of the said people, with a promise to assist them in whatsoever should be necessary to that purpose, according to the advice and counsel that they should receive from them.⁶

The president with his assessor took their journey to Perouse, and caused public proclamation to be made in the name of the king, that every one of the inhabitants should go to mass upon pain of death. Afterwards they came to Pignerol, where they summoned several to appear before them. Among others, there appeared a poor simple labouring man, whom the president ordered to have baptism again administered to his child, who had been lately baptized by the Waldensian minister, near Angrogne. The poor man desired so much respite, as to offer up his prayers to God, before he answered him. Which, with some laughter, being granted, he fell down upon his knees before all the standers by, and having concluded his prayer, he said to the president, that he would cause his child to be re-baptized, provided he would oblige himself by a bond, signed with his own hand, to discharge and clear him from the sin that he should

⁶ Book of Martyrs of our Time, lib. 8, fol. 123.

commit in so doing, and suffer himself the punishment and condemnation, which God would one day inflict upon him for it, taking this iniquity upon him and his. Which the president understanding, commanded him to depart out of his presence, without pressing him any farther.

Having framed and drawn up several indictments against some particular persons of the said valleys, and made collections of whatsoever the president could imagine might be hurtful to the people, he tried also to win them by the preaching of the monks, whom he brought with him into the valley of Angrogne. Being therefore come to the place where their temple stood, he caused one of the monks to preach before the Waldenses, who bestowed much time in exhorting them to return to the Church of Rome, concerning which he related many things, to which the people gave no credit. After the monk had said as much as he thought good, and held his peace, the greatest part of the people requested that the pastors there present, or some one of them in the name of the rest, might be permitted to make answer to the sermon which the preaching friar had made; but the president would by no means yield to it. Upon which ensued a murmuring among the people, which astonished the president and his monks. But dissembling their fear, the president withdrew to Turin, without speaking one word; where, being arrived, he gave the parliament an account of his proceedings, and withal signified to them, how difficult a matter it was to overcome that people by violence and extremities; because if any attempt should be made to take them by force, they were resolved to defend themselves; and their country favouring them, it was to be feared that it would cost much blood and labour, before they could either be reduced to the Church of Rome, or despatched out of the world. It was the work of a king of France to exterminate them; and therefore it was necessary to send the report, and to leave the issue of so troublesome an undertaking to his own will and pleasure. This advice was followed; the indictments and reports were sent to the king; but as court affairs cannot be finished in a short time, it was a whole year before any other course was taken, 'or so much as mentioned against them, than that of the inquisitors who continually delivered some of them to the secular power. At the year's end, the king sent down express orders from the court, to compel them by force to do that, which they could not be brought to do by fair words and kind usage. The parliament sent the president of Julian again, who upon his arrival at Angrogne, commanded them in the king's name to go to mass, upon pain of both bodily punishment and confiscation of goods. They demanded a copy both of his commission and his speech, promising to return him such an answer, as that he should have reason to be satisfied therewith: but nothing could give the president satisfaction, who still urged them in vain to alter their religion. They answered him, that they were not bound to obey decrees which were contrary to the commands of God. He commanded, that twelve of the heads amongst them, together with all the ministers and schoolmasters should instantly resign themselves prisoners at Turin, there to receive such sentence as reason should require. He enjoined the syndics of the said valleys to dismiss and enjoin all strangers forthwith to depart; and thenceforward, not to receive or entertain any preachers or schoolmasters, but such as shall be sent them by the papal diocesan. They answered that they neither could nor would obey commands that were contrary to those of God; and that they would not appear at all at Turin, since they could not do it without the hazard of their lives, and being troubled for their faith.

The Parliament of Turin were so incensed against them, that as many of them as they could cause to be apprehended in Piedmont, and the frontiers of their valleys, they committed to the flames at Turin: among others, Jeffery Varnigle was burnt in the castle-yard, 1557, by whose death, the Waldenses were very much strengthened and edified, there being a great number present, who saw and heard him continue to call upon God to his last breath.

During those grievous persecutions, the Protestant princes of Germany interceded for them, intreating King Henry II. to permit them peaceably to enjoy that religion in which from generation to generation they had lived for ages past. The king promised to have regard to their petitions: and so they continued unmolested until the peace was concluded between the kings of France and Spain, and till the Duke of Savoy was restored, in 1559, to his dominions and government.

About a year after the said restitution of the country, in 1560, the pope's nuncio reproached the Duke of Savoy, that he did not imitate the zeal of the king of France, who out of affection to the Roman religion, to the utmost of his power had persecuted the Waldenses and Lutherans of the valleys of Angrogne, and other neighbouring and adjacent places; and that if he did not contribute what in him lay, either to bring them back into the bosom of the church, or else to destroy them out of the world, the pontiff would have great reason to suspect him as a favourer of them. The Prince of Piedmont promised to make use of all the means he could either for their reduction or total subversion. In pursuance of which declaration, he commanded them to go to mass upon pain of death and of seeing their valleys exposed to fire and sword. To which commands they not yielding obedience, he assaulted them with military force, and gave the charge of that war to le Sieur de la Trinité. He caused them at the same time to be persecuted by the monks inquisitors, Jacomet and de Corbia. After la Trinité had been sufficiently defeated with his troops, seeing that the lion's claw stood him in no stead, he made use of the fox's skin, and told them that what was passed had happened unto them rather for want of parley and communication than out of any ill-will which his highness bore to them—that if his soldiers had exceeded their bounds, it was because of the resistance which they met with—that he would for the future be an instrument of their preservation, and become as zealous to procure their rest and quiet, as at first he had shown himself ardent to give them trouble. To that purpose he advised them to send some of the principal among them to his highness, by whom he would send his letters recommendatory to the prince, and Margaret, dutchess of Savoy, only sister to Henry, king of France, and that he was very well assured his highness would bury in oblivion all that was past. But it was his opinion above all things, that the Waldenses ought to give some testimony of obedience to their prince, who was obliged by the pope to set up the mass in all his territories, and that therefore they should suffer the mass to be sung at Angrogne, which would be but a thing indifferent since he did not require their presence thereat, but only that he might write to his highness that they were his obedient and loyal subjects. Moreover, because his highness was fully bent that no strange minister should remain within his territories, they should entreat their pastors to withdraw to Pragela for some days, and after his highness was reconciled to them they could recall them. He had much difficulty to get them to comply with that point. "If we intreat our pastors to withdraw, the Waldenses retorted, it will be the counsel of the flesh,

to which God will not give his blessing; for our enemies, when they shall have gained this advantage over us, that we have no persons left to comfort, counsel, reprove or exhort us, will doubtless endeavour to the utmost of their power to prevent forever the return of our good pastors, by whose ministry we have been so worthily instructed and so well fortified against a world full of temptations. And since we shall not fail of being accused as rebels in recalling them, it is better not to deprive ourselves of the fruit of their holy ministry, and be accounted as such now by serving God, and keeping those whom he hath sent to preach his word unto us. He is still as mighty to preserve us as he hath hitherto been, and we should be ungrateful wretches to doubt of his assistance, not considering that we poor miserable sheep, the dogs being driven away, shall be devoured by the wolves." Those representations, and several others made by the more zealous and perspicacious amongst them, could not hinder some of them from entreating their pastors to withdraw for some days into Pragela, a neighbouring valley, and peopled with their brethren the Waldenses of Dauphiny. There might a man see the justice of God executed upon them, and the beginning of misery. They all of them melted into tears, all their rocks resounded and echoed with their outcries and lamentations when the women and children went to conduct their pastors to the top of the mountains to depart from them to the other side. In other places, when they saw the principal amongst them take their journey to Turin, into the hands of their enemies, several foretold the mischief that would befall them thereupon, and that it seemed to them that God had abandoned them at the very same time when the Waldenses forsook him in the person of his servants. It fell out just according to what was foretold by those who would not allow of, nor consent to such counsels of the flesh. Being arrived at Turin they were closely confined in prison, their indictments drawn up as against heretics, and the passes secured and guarded to prevent any one from giving notice or information of the treatment which the said deputies had received. In the mean time la Trinité told them, that he knew his highness had granted all their requests, and that he had written to him that he detained them only for this cause, that he might be better assured of their promises for the time to come, to which purpose he likewise erected a fort, which he built near Angrogne. That which gave them a suspicion was, that they heard no news from their Waldensian prisoners, much less would la Trinité permit them to send any thither. At length having a long time consulted together what they had best to do, seeing a fort was building, which if they should suffer to be completed, it would bridle and restrain them for ever; and fearing on the other hand, if they should undertake any thing against the workmen, that they would put all those whom they had sent to Turin to death, they were reduced to extreme perplexity. But they were soon cleared in all their apprehensions and suspicions, knowing that they had been deceived by de la Trinité; and that therefore it highly concerned them to commit the issue to Divine Providence, and to make their peace and reconciliation with him by fasting and prayer. Which having done, they recalled their pastors, begged the assistance of their neighbours of Pragela, who came unto them with their arms, entered into those temples where la Trinité had caused altars to be erected and images to be placed. The Waldenses then demolished those altars and laid them level with the ground, broke the images, besieged the fort and took it, beat the succours that were sent to relieve the said fort, put them to flight and slew a great number of the soldiers. The prince

Emanuel Philibert, being very much incensed, determined to avenge himself upon the prisoners: but Margaret interceding for them, endeavoured all she could to appease and pacify the prince; telling him that they must needs have been informed of the treatment that their deputies had received from his highness, and that seeing themselves in a fair way to be entirely destroyed, they had taken those desperate methods for their preservation. Now his royal highness by the advice and instigation of the pope's nuncio, had compelled the said deputies to go to mass, and there to ask pardon of God, the pope, and their holy mother the church of Rome, with a promise to live in obedience to its laws, and afterwards remitted them to prison, waiting for the perfection of his fort. But seeing himself frustrated in his design, he followed the methods of treaty proposed by Margaret, under which they have lived to this day. It is true, they afterwards suffered at various times, several persecutions, which with much zeal and patience they did undergo. Among others, that in the year 1570, was very severe. For their prince having entered into an offensive league against the Protestants with several other princes of Europe, he began to molest and disturb his said subjects of the valleys. He forbade them to hold any correspondence with the Waldenses of Dauphiny upon pain of death, or to assemble themselves or meet in any synod or council, except in the presence of the governor of Castrocaro. In pursuance of which that governor did not fail to be present at their first council called at Bobi. The pastors and elders there present, signified to the governor that his presence and assistance at their councils would not be in the least prejudicial to the matters in agitation therein, which were of such a nature, that if the whole world were witnesses to them, the more clearly and evidently would their piety towards God, and their fidelity to their prince appear, forasmuch as they held no consultations there, but what might tend to the glory of God, and loyalty to their superiors. Yet since his highness took occasion to mistrust them, he must have been misinformed by some of their enemies. Therefore, being satisfied in their conscience that they had deserved no such thing, they looked upon that novelty as a manifest infringement of the treaty which he had made with them, and as a persecution destroying the free exercise of their religion. They therefore desired the governor of Castrocaro to withdraw, and not to molest them by such innovation and infringement of the foregoing treaty, at least till such times as, having cleared and justified themselves before his highness, it should be otherwise ordered by him. The governor was fully resolved to stay there. The pastors and elders protested against the said innovation. The governor also on the other hand protested and declared that he undertook nothing therein without the express commands of his highness, and that they ought to be better satisfied that that charge had been laid upon him, rather than upon any other, since he gave place to none in good-will and affection towards them, always interpreted their actions to the best advantage, and would make a true report to his highness of the loyalty and fidelity that he perceived in their carriage and deportments.

He was therefore admitted into their synod, at the conclusion of which, he made use of this artifice; he endeavored to sow envy and jealousy amongst the pastors, speaking well of them in general, that he had found their order to be good and decent, and that he could not have believed they had proceeded with so much zeal, order and charity; but that there was no reason why they should wonder that his highness had been so jealous and mistrustful of strange ministers, because he knew that they were more

violent in their opinions than the generality of the natives of the country. He again excepted Stephen Noel, whom he knew to be a quiet and peaceable man, and more desirous to content and satisfy his highness. Therefore since his highness had resolved to permit no stranger to dwell in his territories, he could not believe that the ministers would be exempted any more than others; and to the end that he might not any more be constrained to employ his power and authority to drive them out of his dominions, that it would be better for them and much more for their honour, to depart elsewhere freely and of their own accord, than to stay till the prince expelled them out of his country by banishment. They replied, they could not believe that his highness had any such meaning or intention as the said governor would persuade them; but that to inform themselves of the truth thereof, they would send a deputy to his highness.

The governor being incensed because they would not give credit to his words, nor do any thing according to his persuasions, gave permission to the soldiers of the fort of Castrocaro to surround the church when the minister was in his sermon, and there to commit many insolencies and disorders, firing several muskets and alarming those who saw themselves surprised and unarmed. Stephen Noel was desired to write to lady Margaret, which he did; but the letters whereby madame assured them that the governor had received orders from his highness to contain himself within the bounds and limits of the treaty made between his highness and the said people, remained in the hands of the governor. While those things were in agitation, the massacre of the Huguenots happened in France, in the year 1572, which so puffed up the pride and increased the stubbornness of the governor, that his violences could by no means be restrained. Bonfires being made throughout all Piedmont in token of joy for that horrid effusion of blood, the governor persuaded himself that he should shortly see the like persecutions in the Waldensian valleys. Therefore hearing the cannons fired and understanding the great pleasure and satisfaction that his highness took therein, the Christians were persuaded that they should not continue long unmolested, and therefore that it was the safest way to convey what they most valued into the caverns upon the top of the Alps, whither they used to fly in times of trouble. His highness being informed that the Waldenses were in a posture of defence, would not hazard the lives of his other subjects to subdue them, but rested contented with having terrified them; giving commandment that when any of them came into Piedmont, they should be apprehended and executed as heretics. Which the Christians being aware of, they provided themselves with what was necessary for their nourishment and sustenance in Dauphiny, and in the valleys of their brethren of Pragela and Valclusion. After the decease of his highness and Margaret, Charles Emanuel their son, and prince of Piedmont, suffered them to live in peace and tranquillity, under the treaties made with his father and mother. Notwithstanding which, the inquisitors have always been upon the watch to take some or other of them, especially to hinder them from speaking of their faith when they came into Piedmont. In such case, provided it appear that they have held any conferences concerning religion, they have always condemned them as the teachers of strange doctrines and swervers from the treaties whereby it was enjoined that they should broach no new opinions.

The last who was persecuted in that cause, was a merchant of Lucerne, who much strengthened and edified the people by his constancy. His history will manifest to the world that the popes continue to show how

hateful and odious the doctrines of the gospel is to them, and that if it lay in their power to overrule the hearts of the kings and princes of Europe at their pleasure, the fires would still be burning in all those places where they have any influence or authority.

In the year 1601, Bartholomew Copin, a Waldensian of the valley of Lucerne, being at Ast in Piedmont with his goods and merchandise, Copin sitting at table in the evening at supper with several other merchants, one of them started a discourse concerning the diversity of religions, and uttered many expressions tending to the dishonour of the Waldenses of Angrogne and the neighbouring valleys. Copin hearing him speak of his brethren and of their religion, to the dishonour of God, and with less modesty than became such who profess themselves to be merchants; and believing that he should render himself partaker in the crime, if he did not make some reply to the blasphemies which he heard, returned an answer to the person who held such discourses in favour of his own religion. What, said the man whom Copin reprimanded, are you a Waldensian? Yes, said he, I am. Do you not believe the real presence of God in the host? No, said Copin. "See, replied the other, what a false religion yours is!" "*My religion*," said Copin, *is as true as that God is God, and as I am certain that I shall die.*" The next day Copin was called before the bishop of Ast, who told him that he had been informed of certain scandalous opinions and discourses which he held yesterday in the evening, at his lodgings, and that he must acknowledge his fault if he would obtain pardon for it, or else that he would take care to have him punished. Copin answered, that "he was provoked to say what he did, and notwithstanding, he had said nothing but what he would stand to, and maintain at the hazard of his life: that he had some goods in the world, and a wife and children, but that his affections were so far dead to such things, as not to love them to the prejudice of his conscience. As to his life and conversation, he said if his lordship would be pleased to inquire of the merchants of Ast, who all knew him, concerning his honesty and good behaviour, they would all certify that he never wronged or injured any man during the whole course of his traffic and commerce among them; and that being a merchant he ought to be dismissed to follow that business for which he came thither, to trade and traffic, without being molested and hindered. That if the Jews and Turks were permitted to keep the fairs and traffic throughout all Piedmont, much more ought he to be suffered so to do, who was a Christian; since in that discourse about religion, he only made answer to a question, and that it was lawful for him to answer and give a reason of his faith to any one that asked him in any place whatsoever, even by the treaty made between the Waldenses and his highness, which forbids them to broach and teach any new doctrines and opinions, but doth not deprive them of the liberty of making answer to whosoever shall perplex them with any questions.

The prelate regarded not those just remonstrances, but commanded that he should be committed to prison. The next day the bishop's secretary visited Copin, expressed much love and kindness to him, and told him that he forewarned him as a friend, that if he did not acknowledge his fault, he was in great danger of losing his life.

Copin replied, that his "life was in the hands of God, and that he would never preserve it to the prejudice of his glory. He beseeched God, that as he had but two or three steps to take in his journey to heaven, to give him his grace not to shrink back, or turn aside." Some time after he was

examined by a monk inquisitor before the prelate, who at first treated him with kind and gentle persuasions, endeavouring to win him by fair words to the abjuration of his faith: but Copin always repulsed him by the word of God, telling him, that "if he should be ashamed of, and deny Jesus Christ, Christ would be ashamed of, and deny him before God his father." The monk then concluded his dispute with menaces and threatenings. "Out upon thee thou cursed Lutheran; thou shalt go to all the devils in hell, and when thou shalt be tormented by those unclean spirits, thou wilt call to mind the holy instructions, which we have given thee, to bring thee to salvation: but thou hadst rather go to hell, than reconcile thyself to thy holy mother the church."—"I have been reconciled a long time ago," said Copin, "to the holy church."

After several violent attempts, they caused his wife and his son to come to him, promising him liberty and leave to go away with them, if he would make satisfaction for his offence by the confession thereof. They permitted his wife and his son to sup with him in prison; where the time was spent in exhorting them to patience; the wife, because she should be deprived of her husband, and the child of its father. Copin said, that "he was fully persuaded that God would be a father to him, and better than a husband to her; and that for his part, he was not obliged to love wife or children more than Christ; that they ought to esteem him happy, that God was pleased to confer such honour upon him, that he should bear witness to his truth at the expense of his life; and that he hoped God would give him grace to suffer and undergo all manner of torments for his glory." He recommended the care of his son and daughter to his wife, enjoining her to bring them up in the fear of God. He commanded his son to be obedient to his mother, that so he might draw down the blessing of God upon him. He desired their prayers to God for him, that he would be pleased to strengthen him against all temptations. Thus having blessed his son, and taken leave of his wife, they were dismissed out of prison, and he locked up where he was before. His wife and child pouring forth floods of tears, crying and lamenting in such a manner as would have melted the most obdurate hearts into pity and compassion. That good man, not contented with what he had said to them, wrote to his wife the following letter; the original of which she hath delivered to us, written and signed with Copin's own hand.

To my well-beloved consort Susanna Copin.

From the Tower of Lucerne.

"MY DEAREST CONSORT:—I have reaped much comfort and consolation from your coming hither, and so much the more, by how much the less I expected it. I believe it was no small comfort and satisfaction to yourself too, to have the opportunity of supping with me, as it fell out upon Saturday the fifteenth of September, 1601. I know not how it came about, that we were permitted so to do. But all things are in the hands of God, and be the cause what it will, I do not think that we shall eat together any more. I therefore beseech God to be your comforter, and put your trust in him, who hath promised never to forsake those who depend upon him. You want not prudence, and therefore so manage and govern our house, that you may keep Samuel and Martha in obedience to you, whom I command by the authority that God hath given me, to honour and obey you; for in so doing they will obtain the blessing of God. As to the rest, be

not troubled and concerned for me, for if Divine Providence hath decreed to put a period to my life, and if it please the Almighty to demand the restitution of that soul which he hath a long time lent me, my trust is in him, that out of his immense and divine mercy and goodness, he will receive it into heaven for the sake of his son Jesus Christ, who I believe hath blotted out our sins by his holy death and passion. Be careful to pray unto God, and to serve him: for by that means you will be happy. You need not take any care to send me any thing for these three weeks. At the end of which you may send me some money, if you please, to pay the gaoler, and something more for my own relief and succour, if I live so long. Moreover remember that which I have often told you; that God added fifteen years to the life of king Hezekiah, but that he had prolonged my term much more; for you have seen me dead as it were a long time ago. Nevertheless I still live, and hope, and certainly believe that he will still preserve my life, till my death shall be more to his glory, and my own happiness and felicity, through his goodness and mercy towards me."—*From the prison of Ast, September 16, 1601.*

The prelate of Ast was in great perplexity, to know how to dispose of that good man. If he should let him go, he feared giving offence, and that several others would take courage, and openly exclaim against the Romish religion. On the other hand, there was a clause in the treaty made between his highness and the Waldenses, which cleared him from guilt in those words. It provided that "if any question should be put unto them relating to their faith, being in Piedmont among the rest of the subjects of his highness, it should be lawful for them to make answer, without incurring thereby any personal or real punishment."—Now the question was put to him, and therefore he ought to have been acquitted; but the prelate would not have it said, that he had wrongfully and unjustly imprisoned him. To the end therefore that he might not be charged with his death, and that he might not send him away absolved, he sent his indictment to pope Clement VIII. to know what they should do in the case. It could never be learned what answer that prelate received from him; but soon after Copin was found dead in the prison, with the appearance and suspicion of having been strangled; for fear that had he been publicly executed, he would have edified the people by his confession and constancy. After his death, he was condemned to be burned; and being brought out of prison, his sentence was read in the same place, and cast into the fire. This was the last of the Waldenses, so far as it has come to our knowledge, who suffered death for his faith.

CHAPTER V.

The Waldenses dwelling in the valleys Maties and Meane, and the Marquisate of Saluces; and the last persecutions which they suffered.

WHEN the Waldenses of Dauphiny dispersed themselves into Piedmont, some of them dwelt in the Marquisate of Saluces, in the valleys of Maties and Meane, and other adjacent parts; but these did not escape, during the grievous persecutions and sufferings of their brethren of the valleys of Angrogne, St. Martin, and other places. All their refuge was to fly into the

valleys of the Alps, especially when the governors of that marquisate persecuted them by the command of the kings of France, who put to death all those who within their realms and dominions made profession of the Waldensian faith. Now King Henry IV. styled the Great, having granted to his subjects an edict of pacification, the Waldenses who dwelt in the marquisate, enjoyed the same privileges as his other subjects did. But when by the treaty made with the duke of Savoy, la Bresse was exchanged for the marquisate of Saluces, the Waldenses, within the extent and jurisdiction of the said marquisate, were deprived of the free exercise of their religion. At the instance and importunity of the nuncio of pope Clement VIII. they were not only interdicted the free exercise thereof; but by a new edict, all those were banished out of the marquisate, who made profession of any other religion than that of the church of Rome. To hasten their departure, a great number of monks and inquisitors were sent into that marquisate and the valleys, who went from house to house, examining every one of them concerning their faith. By which means upwards of five hundred families were driven into exile, who retired into the kingdom of France, and especially into Dauphiny. That they might not be reproached in the places where they came, that they were banished out of their country for any crimes or enormity that they had committed; but that it might be known it was their zeal for their religion alone, which caused them to become wanderers and pilgrims in the world, they made the following declaration in the year 1603.

Declaration of the Waldenses dwelling in the valleys of Maties and Meane, and the marquisate of Saluces, made in the year 1603.

Whereas time out of mind, and from generation to generation, our predecessors have been instructed and brought up in that same doctrine and religion which we from our infancy have openly and publicly professed, and in which we likewise have instructed our families as we have been taught by our ancestors; whereas also, when the Marquisate of Saluces was under the jurisdiction of the king of France, we were permitted to make profession thereof without trouble and molestation, as our brethren of the valleys of Lucerne, la Perouse, and others do, who by express treaty made with our sovereign Lord and Prince, have enjoyed to this day the free exercise of the reformed religion, yet his highness, instigated and pushed on by evil counsel, and by persons biassed by prejudice and passion, rather than of his own free will, resolved to disturb and molest us, having published an edict for that purpose. To the end therefore, that all men may know that it is not for any crime or misdemeanor perpetrated either against the person of our prince, or for rebellion and opposition against his edicts, or for murder or theft, that we are thus persecuted and spoiled of our goods and houses; we protest and declare, that being very well assured that *the doctrine and religion taught and practised by the reformed churches of France, Switzerland, Germany, Geneva, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland and other kingdoms, countries and lordships, is the only true christian doctrine and religion approved of and established by God, who alone can make us acceptable to himself, and bring us to salvation, we are resolved to follow it at the expense of our lives and fortunes, and to continue therein to the end of our lives.* But if any one pretends to say, that we are in an error, we desire that they would make us to see our error, promising immediately thereupon, to abjure and repent of it, and to follow

that better way which shall be shown unto us, desiring nothing more than with a sure and safe conscience to pay that true and lawful service and homage, which we poor creatures owe to our Creator, and by that means to attain true and everlasting happiness. But if any shall go about or attempt by mere force and compulsion, to constrain us to forsake and deviate from the true road to salvation, to follow the errors and superstitions and false doctrines invented by men, we had rather lose our houses and goods, and also our very lives. We therefore most humbly entreat his highness, whom we acknowledge to be our true and lawful lord and prince, not to suffer us to be troubled and molested without cause, but to permit us and our posterity after us, to continue to the end of our days in that obedience and service, which as his loyal and faithful subjects, we have hitherto rendered unto him. Since all that we desire of him is, as we are bound and obliged to do by the commandment of God, we may also have the liberty to render to God the homage and service due to him, and which he in his holy word requires of us.

"In the mean time we desire the reformed churches in the midst of our exile and calamity, to receive and look upon us as true members thereof, being ready, if it should please God so to order it, to seal the confession of faith by them made and published, with our blood, which we acknowledge to be every way conformable to the doctrine taught and written by the holy apostles, and consequently therefore truly apostolical. This we promise to live and die in, and if in so doing we suffer afflictions and persecutions, we return God thanks for them, who hath given us the honour to suffer for his name's sake: committing the issue of our affairs and the righteousness of our cause into the hands of his Divine Providence, trusting that he will deliver us when and how he pleases. We moreover most humbly beseech God, that as the hearts of kings and princes are in his hand, he would be pleased to mollify the heart of his highness and incline him to take pity upon those who never have, and are resolved that they never will offend him, and that he may perceive and acknowledge us to be more loyal and faithful unto him, than those who incite and push him on to such persecutions; and in the mean time, we pray that the Lord would be pleased to support us in the midst of such temptations, and to fortify us with patience and constancy that we and our surviving posterity may persevere in the profession of the truth to the end of our lives. Amen."

That persecution continued till 1620, at the instance of pope Paul V. and his nuncio, who continually have teased and tormented those people by the monk's inquisitors. Some of them they induced to renounce their faith, who knew not how to part with their riches, so firmly were their affections linked and wedded to the world; but the greatest part of those Waldenses constantly persisted in the service of God, choosing rather to be banished from their native country upon earth than to be for ever deprived of life eternal; being indifferent to the place of their nativity, their possessions, and their houses, which they could not enjoy without denying Christ and his truth.

CHAPTER VI.

The Waldenses dwelling in the new lands, and their persecutions.

THE new lands, concerning which we are now to speak, are in the Alps, on the frontiers of Piedmont, Dauphiny and Provence, of which the metropolitan city is Barcelona or Barcelonette. In the said country there are certain villages which have long been peopled and inhabited by the Waldenses, situated in the best part of the said countries, among others in Jossiers. These people continued a long time without the regard or notice of the princes of Piedmont; but the priests rendered them odious to the world, because they got nothing by them, for they made no oblations for the living and the dead as other people did. So when his highness persecuted all those within the extent of his dominions, who had forsaken the laws of the church of Rome, they were not forgotten, especially when the governors of the said valleys were their enemies. These therefore among others, in the year 1570, were enjoined either to go to mass, or to quit his highness' country. In which strait they could find no other way to help themselves, than by joining themselves to some others, who being threatened with the like banishment had recourse to the protestant princes, intreating them to intercede with their prince for them, that he would be pleased not to trouble and molest them so for their religion, which from generation to generation they had professed for the space of several hundreds of years; during which time their princes never had more faithful and loyal subjects than they were, nor were they outdone by any in duty, submission, and paying taxes and contributions; which they have ever most readily and cheerfully rendered to their princes, as they continued always ready to pay obedience to their commands; desiring only that they might not be troubled for their conscience's sake. The prince Palatin of the Rhine sent one of his counsellors of state, ambassador to the prince of Piedmont, with certain other eminent and noble persons. Upon their arrival at Turin, they saluted his highness in the name of the said prince Palatin, and delivered their letters credential. The prince Emanuel Philibert gave him a very friendly audience. This counsellor gave him to understand that the sole charity of his master towards Christians and those of his own profession, had moved him to mediate and intercede for them that his highness would suffer them peaceably to enjoy the exercise of their religion without offering violence to their consciences.—That he should receive it as a favour done to himself, and that it would oblige all the protestant princes of Germany, who by them made the same requests unto him:—that God would be more propitious and his subjects more loyal and faithful, if he did not show himself relentless and inexorable:—that the troubles and confusions which have happened within the realms and dominions of all those kings and princes who have attempted by force of arms to conquer and reclaim the hearts of their subjects, and to reduce them to obedience by violence, ought to caution and instruct all other princes who are not come to such extremities:—and that since those who have not made use of rigour and austerity have won the hearts of their subjects to a more strict fidelity and allegiance to them: this means being in his power, he intreated him to take pattern herein from the most gentle and merciful princes.

It appeared by the answer of his highness, that he was not pleased with

that mediation, but much more so by the effects which followed it. For he answered that although he did not inquire how the prince Palatin of the Rhine, and the other princes of Germany, ruled and governed their subjects, and that being a sovereign he had nothing to do to give an account of any of his actions and proceedings; nevertheless, he returned thanks to the said prince and all others who had expressed so much charity and good will towards himself, his state and subjects, as to desire their peace and tranquillity. But that the mischiefs and miseries, which by means of the diversity of religions have happened amongst them, have made him desirous to have but one religion in his dominions, that which he there found, and in which he had been brought up and educated, for fear least under this cloak of religion and liberty of conscience, he might be put to dispute those things with his subjects like an equal, which he had a right to determine as a sovereign, as had been the fate and condition of several other princes in Europe, who in this case, could not exercise a sovereign authority over their subjects. To show them that he loved peace, he had published an edict in favour of his Waldensian subjects dwelling in the valleys of the Alps, which he caused to be kept inviolable. But that if without the bounds of the said valleys, he found in his dominions any factious, busy spirits, affecting novelties, he caused them to be punished as rebels. That he thought as the said princes had compassion on his subjects, so as to endeavour that they might enjoy the exercise of their religion, so he was certain they could not take it amiss if he provided for the security and preservation of his state, by the punishment of seditious and rebellious persons. That out of regard to their intercession he would inquire more narrowly into the state of his subjects making profession of their religion, and give them some ease and refreshment.

And because he had made mention particularly of one Giles, a minister whom he kept confined in a dungeon, he caused him to be brought out, and put into a chamber, and after inquiry made into the crime of which he was accused, understanding that it was because he had written letters to Geneva, to the prejudice of his service, he set him at liberty. He reproved a certain captain of a castle of the valley of Meane, for something that he had done against the Waldenses of the said valley; but as to the rest, the said counsellor scarce got half way upon his return homeward, but the persecution grew much more violent than before. Amongst others the governor of the new lands about the end of November following, caused it to be proclaimed with sound of trumpet, that all those who would not go to mass within one month, were to quit his highness' territories within that space, upon pain of confiscation both of body and goods. Those poor people of the new lands could no whither direct their course, without running the risk of losing their lives. For in Provence the parliament of Aix committed to the fire those whom they called Lutherans. In the dominions of Honorat, earl of Tendes, they were delivered into the hands of the executioners. Gonsague, duke of Nevers, general to the king of France in the marquisate of Saluces, put them to death. In Dauphiny, the archbishop of Aubrun caused as many as he could apprehend of them, either to rot in the dungeons, or else to perish with cold and hunger at Tour-Brune. In Piedmont, they were banished. There was no other means left them, but in the midst of winter to pass by night over a high mountain almost inaccessible, covered over with frost and snow, to get if they could into the valley of Fraissiniere. They betook themselves therefore to the said mountain about Christmas, in the sharpest season of

all the year; but before they could reach the top thereof, the greatest part of the women and little children were benumbed with the cold, and night overtaking them at the top of the mountain, they were forced to lie upon the ice, where the larger part of them were found dead the next morning. Those who escaped that danger retired into the valley of Fraissiniere. Now after the houses of that poor people had for some time remained destitute of inhabitants, because no body would seize and take possession of their lands, much less till and cultivate them, the governors permitted the said Waldenses to dwell in them, and tolerated their religion; only they were obliged to go out of the territories of their prince for the exercise thereof, and so they re-peopled the valley.

CHAPTER VII.

The Waldenses dwelling in Calabria, and the persecutions that they suffered.

ABOUT the year of our Lord 1370, the Waldenses of the valley of Pragels in Dauphiny, growing too numerous for their small country, were constrained to send out some of their youth to seek where they might inhabit by taking up the employ of tillage and husbandry. They found in Calabria certain wild and uncultivated lands, and thinly peopled, and yet very fertile, as they might judge by those parts that were adjacent. Seeing therefore, that the country was fit to bring forth corn, wine, oil, olive and chesnuts, and the hills were fit for pasture for their cattle and to furnish them with fuel and timber proper to build withal, they went to the proprietors of the said lands to treat with them about the conditions of dwelling therein. The said lords gave them a very kind and friendly reception, consented to their rules and laws to the great advantage of the new inhabitants, and made a compact and agreement with them about their rents, tithes, tolls and penalties, in case any quarrels, contests or misdemeanors should happen amongst them. Then having assigned to them certain parts or parcels of the country, the greatest part of them returned home to let their parents know what bargain they had struck in a rich and fruitful country, likely to abound with all manner of temporal blessings, so as to enable them to return what their parents and friends were pleased to give them towards house-keeping. Several of them married and returned with their wives into Calabria, where they built certain little towns, St. Cixt, la Garde, la Vicaricio, les Rousses, Argentine, St. Vincens, and Montolieu. The proprietors counted themselves happy in having met with such good subjects, who had peopled and fertilized their countries, making them to abound with all manner of fruit; but chiefly because they found them to be honest and conscientious men, paying them all the duty and respect that could be looked for at the hands of the best and most faithful subjects in the world. Only the priests and curates complained that they did not live like other people in the matter of religion, making none of their children either priests or nuns, nor caring for singing, tapers, lamps, bells, nor for the masses for the dead. They had erected certain temples without adorning them with any images, and never went on pilgrimages; they caused their children to be instructed by certain strange schoolmas-

ters, to whom they paid much more honour and respect than they did to them, giving them nothing but their tithes according to their compact and agreement made with their lords. They suspected, therefore, that the said people made profession of some particular religion, which hindered them from mixing or allying themselves with the natives of the country, and that they had no good opinion of the church of Rome. The lords of the place fearing that if the pope should take notice that there were certain people so near his seat, who despised and contemned the laws of the church of Rome, he would destroy them, withheld the curates from complaining of those people who, as to all other matters were so just and honest, and had enriched all that country, and even the priests too; for the tithes alone which they received out of so vast a plenty and abundance of all manner of fruits brought forth and produced in those countries which before yielded them no profit or advantage, were such that they might very well bear with other matters. Those lords represented withal, that they came to dwell in those places from far countries, where perhaps the people were not so much addicted to the ceremonies of the church of Rome; but since in the main, they were just and honest, charitable to the poor, and feared God, they would not have them troubled and molested by any farther or more particular scrutiny into their conscience. These reasons wrought much with their enemies, and the lords of the said places stopped the mouths of their murmuring neighbours, who could never entice them into their alliances, and who saw their lands, goods, cattle and all that they possessed was attended with signal and singular blessings, by alleging farther that they were a temperate, sober and wise people, not dissolute and debauched, not given to frequent balls or taverns, never known to suffer any blasphemous expressions to escape their lips. In a word, living in a country where the inhabitants were addicted to all manner of vice and wickedness, they were like precious stones in a dunghill, and therefore, both envied and admired, but always vindicated and upheld by their lords, who comparing those with their other subjects, could never speak enough in their commendation. They were therefore maintained and protected by their said lords against all envy, and in spite of the priests, until the year 1560, when they could no longer defend them from the thunderbolts of the pope, and then calamities came upon them.

Those people understanding that in the valleys of Pragela and Piedmont there were certain pastors who openly preached the gospel, they sent to Geneva to provide themselves pastors, who sent them Stephen Negrin and Lewis Paschal. Upon their arrival, they endeavoured as much as in them lay, to establish the exercise of the protestant religion. Pope Pius the IV. having notice of it, assembled the college of cardinals, and concluded upon the entire extirpation of those people, who being so near to the pope's seat, had presumed to plant the faith of the Lutherans. The charge of their destruction was given to cardinal Alexandrino, the most furious and violent man amongst the cardinals. He made choice of two monks for his informers, Valerio Maluicino and Alphonso Urbin, a Dominican monk, who began with the inhabitants of St. Cixt. Being in the place, they caused the people to be assembled, speaking very mildly to them, protesting that they were not come to trouble or molest them, but only to admonish and advise them in a friendly manner, to desist from hearing any teachers, but such as should be appointed them by the prelates of their diocese. That they very well knew they had received ministers from Geneva, but by forsaking them and living for the future in obedience to the laws of the church

of Rome, they need not fear any thing; but if they presumed to keep and conceal the said ministers among them, they would endanger both their lives and fortunes, because they would be condemned as heretics. To discover who those were that had wholly rejected the laws of the church of Rome, they caused the bell to be sounded for mass, inviting the said people to come thereunto; but they, instead of going thither, forsook their houses and fled into the woods with such of their wives and children as were able to follow them, leaving only a few decrepid men and women, and some little children in the city. The monks dissembled that flight, that they might ensnare and entrap them all at once. They went to la Garde without threatening any of those who stayed behind at St. Xist. Being there, they caused the gates of the city to be shut, and the people to be assembled, and told them that the inhabitants of St. Xist had renounced and abjured their religion, and going to mass had begged pardon at the hands of God. They promised them that if they would do the like, no body should offer them any hurt or violence. Those poor people thought that the monks had told them nothing but the truth, and therefore they complied with whatsoever they required of them. But when they understood that their brethren of St. Xist had refused to go to mass, and that they were retired into the woods, they were extremely ashamed and displeased at their weakness and apostacy, and immediately resolved to fly with their wives and children to their brethren of St. Xist; but Salvator Spinello, the lord of the place, would not suffer them to make so miserable a retreat, promising to defend and protect them against all injuries, provided, they would live, said he, like good Roman catholics. In the mean time, the monks sent two companies of foot after those of St. Xist, who hunted and pursued those poor people like wild beasts, crying amassa, amassa, kill, kill. They slew a great many of them. Those who could reach the top of the mountains, desired to be heard, which request being granted them, they intreated them to have pity upon them, their wives and their children; that they would remember they had for several ages inhabited the country wherein they dwelt; that during that time there was no body who complained of their life and conversation; and that notwithstanding if they could not dwell in their houses in the profession of that faith in which they had hitherto lived, if they might be permitted to retire under the protection of God, either by sea or land, whithersoever it should please the Lord to conduct them only with their own persons and some few conveniences for their use and subsistence, they would very willingly forsake all their goods, rather than fall into and comply with any idolatry, promising both for themselves and theirs, never to return to their houses again. They intreated them in the name of God not to drive them to any further necessity of defending themselves, because if they were once deprived of all hopes of mercy, it would be to the peril of those who had reduced them to such extremity. The soldiers being but the more enraged at these words, violently and impetuously rushed upon them, which obliged those poor people to a just defence, and God so prospered and assisted them, that they slew the greatest part of the soldiers who pursued them, and put the rest to flight. The monks inquisitors wrote to the viceroy of Naples to send immediately some companies of soldiers to apprehend certain heretics of St. Xist and de la Garde, who had fled into the woods, telling him that in this he would do a work acceptable to the pope and meritorious to himself, by freeing the church from such a contagion. The viceroy came in person with some troops. As soon as he was arrived at St. Xist, he caused it to

be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that the place was condemned to fire and sword. Whilst those things were in agitation, the women had time to return to St. Xist, whither they went to get some food for their husbands and children in the woods. The viceroy caused it to be proclaimed throughout the whole kingdom of Naples, that all the exiles who would come to the war against the heretics of St. Xist, should receive pardon and forgiveness for their former offences. Whereupon great numbers of them came in, and were conducted to the woods where the fugitives of St. Xist were, and they chased them so hotly and furiously, that at length having slain a great number of those poor people, the rest of their wounded retired into the caverns upon the top of the rocks, where the greatest part of them perished by famine. The monks inquisitors seemed to be very much displeased at what had happened, and going to Cossence, where the syndic of St. Xist appeared before them, they advised him forthwith to withdraw, for fear if the viceroy should know he was there, he would cause him to be apprehended. This lulled the inhabitants of la Garde into security, who being summoned by public proclamation to appear before the said inquisitors at Cossence, or else before the viceroy at Folcade, they were easily induced to believe the promises and fair words of the inquisitors. For seventy of them were apprehended upon their arrival at Folcade, and being bound were carried to Montaud before the inquisitor Panza, who caused them to be put upon the rack. Amongst others, he tormented Stephen Charlin with such violence that his bowels burst out of his belly, to make him confess that they sometimes met together by night to commit whoredom and damnable incests, the candles being put out. But notwithstanding the extremity of the said torture, they could never extort from him the confession of so heinous and flagitious a piece of wickedness as that forged against them.

There was another, named Verminel, who by reason of the torments which he endured upon the rack, promised to go to mass. The inquisitor thought, that since the torture of the rack had constrained him to renounce his faith, he might, by doubling the violence thereof, draw from that weak person a confession of the foregoing imposture; and therefore he caused him to be tormented in such a manner, that he often left him eight hours hanging upon the rack, but for all that could never force so horrid a calumny out of his mouth.

A person called Marcon, was stripped stark naked, and beaten with iron rods, afterwards drawn through the streets and burnt with firebrands. One of his sons was assassinated with a knife, and the other led to the top of a tower, where a crucifix was offered unto him, with a promise, that if he would kiss it, he should have his life saved. He replied, that he had rather die than adhere to any idolatry; and though he were cast headlong from the tower, as he was threatened, he had rather his body should be dashed in pieces upon the earth, than his soul, by denying Christ and his truths, should be cast into hell. The inquisitor, very much enraged with this answer, commanded him to be cast down, that he may see, said he, whether his God will preserve him. Bernardine Conte was condemned to be burnt alive; as they led him to the stake, he let drop a certain crucifix, which the executioner had put into his hands. The inquisitor commanded him to be sent back to prison, that his torture might be aggravated and increased. He had him thence conveyed to Cossence, and there covered over with pitch, and so burned. Moreover, the same inquisitor Panza, cut the throats of fourscore of them, just as butchers do their sheep; and afterwards caused them to be divided into four quarters, and

the highway which lies between Montald, and Chateau Villar, for the space of thirty miles, to be set with stakes, and a quarter to be stuck upon each of them. He caused four of the principal men of la Garde to be hanged, and strangled in a place called Moran, James Ferner, Anthony Palcomb, Peter Jacio, and John Morglia, who died with admirable constancy. A youth named Samson, defended himself a long while against those who came to apprehend him: but being wounded, he was at length taken, and led to the top of a tower, where he was bid to confess himself to a priest there present, before he was cast down. He refused, saying, that he had confessed himself to God. Then the inquisitor commanded him to be thrown down. The next day the viceroy passing below by the said tower, saw that poor man lie languishing, with his bones all broken, imploring the mercy of God. He kicked him with his foot upon the head, saying, "that dog is yet alive; give him to the hogs to eat."

Sixty women of St. Xist were tortured upon the rack, with such violence, that the cords corroded their arms and legs to that degree, that a great quantity of worms bred and engendered in their wounds, which eat them up alive, they not knowing how to remedy it, till some body, moved with pity and compassion towards them, secretly gave them some lime, which destroyed them. They died almost all of them in prison in a very miserable condition. Nine of the chief and most beautiful amongst them were lost, and it was never known what became of them, *after they were delivered to the fathers of the inquisition.*

That inquisitor went next to Agathe, where he delivered a great number of them up to the secular power. And if any one offered to intercede for them, he had him immediately put upon the rack, as a favourer of heretics: so that no one at length durst open his lips in their favour.

Pope Pius IV. sent the marquess of Butiane, in order to complete their destruction, with a promise, that if he would do that good piece of service to the holy see, as to clear Calabria of the Waldenses, that had taken footing there, he would give his son a cardinal's hat. That marquess met with no great difficulty in the execution of his commission: for the monks, inquisitors, and the viceroy of Naples, had already put to death almost all those whom they could apprehend, having sent the strongest and most robust of them to the Spanish galleys, banished the fugitives for ever, and sold or slain their wives and children.

As to their ministers, Stephen Megrin was imprisoned at Cossence, where he was starved. Lewis Paschal was conveyed to Rome, and there condemned to be burnt alive. Pope Pius IV. would see the last punishment of him who had held and maintained him to be antichrist, being present with several cardinals at his death. But the pope wished himself elsewhere, or that Paschal had been dumb, and the people deaf: for he spake many things against the pope from the Word of God, which very much displeased him. Thus did that person die, calling upon the name of God, with such an ardent zeal, that he moved thereby the spectators to pity him, and made the pope and cardinals to gnash their teeth for anger.

Thus you see the end of the Waldenses of Calabria, who were entirely exterminated. For if any of the fugitives returned, it was upon condition, that they would live in obedience and subjection to the laws of Rome.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Waldenses dwelling in Provence, and their persecutions.

THE Waldenses inhabiting Provence, the parts of Cabriers, Merindol, la Coste, and other neighbouring places, have been accounted the first offspring of the Waldenses of Dauphiny and Piedmont, as still appears by the families of the same name; and there remain some amongst them to this day, who can evidently make out the same. It was upon the like occasion, that those of Calabria took up their abode in Provence, to disburthen their valleys of so vast a multitude of inhabitants as were therein. And although at their first arrival into Provence, the country wherein they dwelt was but a wild desert, and an uncultivated place, yet by the blessing of God, within a few years they rendered it fruitful, and fit to bear corn, wine, oil, olive, and other fruits, in great plenty and abundance.

The first persecutions which they suffered, have not come to our knowledge, although we find the commissions given out by the popes and antipopes residing at Avignon, very near to their habitations; as particularly that of the archdeacon of Cremona, Albert de Capitaneis, and Francis Borelli, a monk of the order of the friar minors, who in the year 1380, received a commission against them, to examine the Waldenses in the diocese of Aix in Provence, Arles and Selon. As also when they were restored into the said province in the year 1228, when the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne met together at Avignon to give their advice to the inquisitors about the business of the Waldenses, who then said, that the inquisitors had taken and apprehended so vast a number of them, that they were not only at a loss to provide food for their subsistence, but also to procure lime and stone enough to build prisons for them. It is certain that the Waldenses of Provence, dwelling as it were at the gates of the pope's palace, and round about Avignon, were not then forgotten.

The first persecution, is that which history gives us an account of, in the reign of King Louis XII. about the year 1506. This king having been informed, that in Provence there were a certain people, who lived not according to the ordinances of the church of Rome, but were wicked and flagitious wretches, committing all manner of impieties and villanies, the memory of which struck a horror into men's hearts, and were such with which the primitive Christians had been charged; he left it to the parliament of Provence to take cognizance thereof, and to punish them according to their deserts. Which orders the said parliament having diligently put in execution, so soon as he understood that several innocent persons were put to death, he put a stop to the proceedings of the said parliament, and would not suffer them to continue their persecutions, till such time as he could certainly be informed, what manner of people those were, who had been represented to him as such wicked and impious wretches. To that purpose he sent Adam Fumee, master of his requests, who brought him back word, that the information which had been given him concerning the Waldenses of Provence, was notoriously false; for they were not any ways guilty either of sorcery or adultery, but lived like honest men, doing no hurt or injury to any man; that they caused their children to be baptized, and taught them the articles of the creed, and the

commandments of God; that they carefully observed the Lord's day; and that the Word of God was purely expounded to them.* Parui a Jacobin monk, confessor to the king, testified also as much, who had been joined in commission by the king, with the said master of requests: "His auditis, Rex jurejurando addito inquit, Me et cætero populo meo Catholico meliores illi viri sunt"—which the king having heard, he declared with an oath, that they were more pious, honest, and religious persons than himself, and his catholic subjects. That persecution being stayed, and restrained by Louis XII. they continued unmolested till the reign of Francis I.; and when there was a talk in France, about the reformation in matters of religion, they sent two of their barbes or pastors, George Morel into Dauphiny, and Peter Bourgogne to John Oecolampadius, minister of Basle, to Capito and Martin Bucer at Strasburg, and to Richard Haller at Berne, to confer with them about their religion, and to ask their advice and counsel, about several points, in which they desired to be instructed. The letters which Oecolampadius and Bucer wrote to them, have already been inserted; when we endeavoured to prove, that several eminent persons among the professors of the Reformation have given testimony to their piety and probity.^b Therefore we will only lay before you those of the said Waldenses.

"Salut a Monseignor Oecolampadio. Car moti racontant, a sona a nostras oreillas que aquel que po totas cosas, te a reple in de la Benediction del seo Sperit, coma se cognois per li frue. Emperco nos sen vengu de region lognana a tu de corage ferment alegre, sperant et nos confidant mot que lodict sperit enlumenare nos per tu, et nos esclairare motas cosas lasquals són a nos en dubi, et ferment cubertas per la colpa de la nostra ignoranca, &c."

Letter of the Waldenses of Provence to Mr. Oecolampadius.

HEALTH BE TO YOU MR. OECOLAMPADIUS:

"Whereas several persons have given us to understand, and the report hath reached our ears, that He who is able to do all things, hath filled and replenished you with the blessings of his Holy Spirit, as it conspicuously appears by its fruits—we therefore have recourse to you from a far country, and with stedfast hope and confidence, that the Holy Ghost will enlighten our understanding by your means, and will reveal to us, and let us into the knowledge of several things, wherein we are now doubtful, and which are hid and concealed from us, by reason of our ignorance and remissness; and as we have reason to fear, to the great damage and disadvantage, both of ourselves and the people of whom we are the unworthy teachers. That you may know at once how matters stand with us; we, such as we are, poor instructors of this small people, have undergone for above these four hundred years, most sharp and cruel persecutions, and not without great and signal marks and instances of Christ's favour, as all the faithful can easily testify; for he hath often interposed for the deliverance of this people, when under the harrow of the said cruel and severe persecutions. And therefore we come unto you for advice and consolation, in this our state of weakness."

* Yesebec in Oratione de Valdensibus.

^b Book L. Chapter VI. of this History.

They wrote another much to the same effect, to Martin Bucer; wherein they say, that they had written to their brethren of Neufchatel, Morat and Berne, concerning the same subject; which shows with what care and diligence the said Waldenses always endeavoured to understand more and more the mysteries of godliness, in order to their salvation: especially since they pitched upon that time, openly to exercise their religious worship before all the world, when the flames of persecution raged throughout all France, against the professors of their religion, who were at that time called Lutherans. The more zealous therefore they were, the more they incurred the spite and fury of their adversaries, and threw themselves into extreme perils and dangers. But as all are not victorious by faith, so there were found some weak and infirm persons amongst them, who following the instigations of the flesh, persuaded themselves, contrary to all reason, that they might innocently bow themselves in those places, where God is offended by idolatry, by preserving their heart pure and undefiled before God. Oecolampadius took occasion thence to write the following letter, to be communicated to those hypocrites, who walk not uprightly before God.

Letter written by Oecolampadius to the Waldenses of Provence, who thought they might serve God, by bowing before popish idols, 1530.

Oecolampadius desires the grace of God, through Jesus Christ his son, and the Holy Ghost to his well-beloved brethren in Christ, called Waldenses.

WE understand that the fear of persecution, hath caused you to conceal and dissemble your faith. Now with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation; but those who are afraid to confess Christ before the world, such shall find no reception from God the Father. For our God is truth, without any dissimulation; and as he is a jealous God, he cannot endure that any of his servants should take upon them the yoke of antichrist; for there is no fellowship or communion with Christ and Belial: and if you communicate with infidels, by going to their abominable masses, you will there hear blasphemies against the death and passion of Christ: for when they boast, that by the means of such sacrifices, they make satisfaction to God for the sins both of the living and the dead, what naturally follows thence, but that Jesus Christ hath not made sufficient expiation and satisfaction by his death and passion, and consequently that Christ is no Jesus, that is, no Saviour, and that he died for us in vain? Thus if we participate of that impure table, we declare ourselves to be of one and the same body with the wicked, although it be never so contrary to our wills and inclinations. And when we say *amen* to their prayers, do we not deny Christ? What death ought we not rather to undergo? What torture and torment ought we not rather to endure? Nay, into what abyss of woe and misery ought we not rather to plunge ourselves, than by our presence to testify our consent to, and approbation of the blasphemies of the wicked? I know that your infirmity is great, but those who have been taught, that they were redeemed by the blood of Christ, ought to be more courageous, and always to fear and stand in awe of him, who can cast both body and soul into hell. And what? Is it enough for us to have preserved this life alone? Shall this be more precious to us than that of Christ? And are we satisfied with having enjoyed the delights and pleasures of this world? Are there not crowns laid

before us, and shall we flinch back and recoil? And who will believe, that our faith was ever true and sincere, should it want zeal and ardor in the time of persecution? We beseech the Lord to increase your faith. And certainly it is better for us to lose our lives, than to be conquered and overcome by temptations. And therefore, brethren, we advise you thoroughly to weigh and consider the business; for if it be lawful to conceal our faith, under the tyranny of antichrist, it will be as lawful so to do under that of the Turk, and with Dioclesian, to worship a Jupiter or Venus: it would then have been lawful for Elijah to worship the calf in Bethel: and what then will become of our faith towards God? If we do not pay to God that honour which belongs to him, and if our life be nothing else, but hypocrisy and dissimulation, he will spue us up like base and lukewarm wretches. And how shall we glorify the Lord in the midst of sufferings and tribulations, if we deny him? We must not, brethren, look back, when once we have put our hand to the plough: neither must we give ear to the dictates and instigations of our flesh, which moving and enticing us to sin, notwithstanding it endureth many things in this world, yet it suffereth shipwreck in the haven."

Those pious instructions and admonitions tended very much to the strengthening and confirmation of the more weak and infirm, and came in good time for those who were soon after harassed and oppressed with several outrages and cruelties; and even one of the messengers who brought the said letters, was put to the necessity of making use of them, Peter Masson, who was taken at Dijon, where he was condemned to die as a Lutheran. George Morel made his escape with his letters and papers, and arrived safe into Provence, where he successfully laboured to re-establish the Waldensian churches. Some member or other of which was daily summoned before the parliament of Aix, and were condemned either to be hanged or burnt, or dismissed with marks of infamy in their forehead; until in the year 1540, when five or six of the principal persons of Merindol being summoned to appear, instead of the rest of the inhabitants, at the instance and importunity of the king's attorney in the parliament of Aix, and at the solicitation of the arch-bishop of Arles, the bishop of Aix and other ecclesiastical persons, sentence was given against them; the most exorbitant, cruel, barbarous and inhuman that was ever pronounced by any parliament; resembling in all respects the edict of king Ahasuerus, given out at the request of Haman against the people of God, as we read in the book of Esther. For not only the persons summoned to appear, were condemned by the said sentence, for their obstinacy to be burnt alive, and their wives and children to be banished, but it was moreover ordered, that the country of Merindol should be laid waste and rendered wholly uninhabitable; the woods cut down, and levelled with the ground, for the compass of two hundred paces round about it: and all this without permitting them to be heard or to speak in their own defence.

The king being informed of the rigour and severity of that edict, sent the Sieur du Langeai into Provence to inquire into the manners and religion of the said Waldenses, and having understood that those people had been charged with many things which they were not guilty of, King Francis the I. sent his letters of grace, not only for those who had offended by obstinacy and contumacy, but also for all the rest of the inhabitants of Provence, expressly commanding and enjoining the parliament not to proceed for the future so rigorously in such cases, as they had formerly done.

These letters were suppressed. Those that were cited to appear in person, desired leave to answer by a proctor.

Francis Chai and William Ormand appeared in the room of the rest of the said people, desiring in their names, that they might be informed where in their error lay, by the word of God, being ready to renounce and abjure all heresy, if it could be made out and proved to them that they were fallen into any. To that purpose they delivered the confession of their faith in writing, that if they found anything therein worthy of reproof, when compared with the holy scriptures, they might be instructed what it was they were to abjure; or if the contrary, that they might not any more be disturbed and molested by so many persecutions, for fear, lest supposing that they made war only against men, they should be found to oppose God and his truth, in the persons of those who maintained it.

All their requests served only to fret and irritate them the more; for the judges being prepossessed with the opinion, that they were heretics, without taking the pains to search into the truth of it, concluded all in favour of the priests, their accusers. So that when the cardinal of Tournon had by surprise obtained the king's letters for the execution of the said sentence, notwithstanding the pardon and revocation before obtained, it was executed and performed.

In the year 1545, the president Opede, governor of Provence, in the absence of the earl of Grignan, deputed for commissioners the president Francis de la Fon, Honore de Tributis and Bernard Badet, counsellor; and the advocate Guerin, in the absence of the procurator general, despatched several commissions and proclaimed the war by sound of trumpet, both at Aix and Marseilles. The troops being thus levied, and the five ensigns of the old bands of Piedmont joined with them, the army marched to Pertuis. On the fourteenth day of April, they went to Cadenet, and upon the sixteenth, they began to set fire to the villages of Chabriers, Pepin, la Mothe, and Martin, belonging to the Sieur de Sental, then a child; where the poor labourers were slain without any resistance, their wives and daughters ravished, and women big with child, with little infants, were murdered, without any pity or compassion! Several women had their breasts cut off, after whose death, the poor children were starved to death; the said d'Opede ordering it to be proclaimed, that no body should give them any food or succour, upon pain of the halter. They ransacked, burnt and pillaged, every thing that they found in those places, and left none alive but those whom they had reserved for the galleys. Upon the seventeenth, Opede ordered the old bands of Piedmont to draw near, and the day following caused the villages of Lormarin, Ville Laure, and Trezemes to be burnt, and at the same time on the other side of the Durance, the Sieur de la Rocque and others of the city of Arles, burnt Gensson and La Rocque. Opede, upon his arrival at Merindol, found no body there but a very ignorant and simple young lad named Morisi Blanc, who had surrendered himself to a soldier, with a promise of two crown pieces for his ransom. Opede finding no body to exercise his rage upon, paid the soldier ten shillings, and so commanding him to be bound to a tree, he caused him to be shot to death with harquebuses; then he commanded the said village, consisting of above two hundred houses, to be pillaged, burnt and razed.

There remained the town of Chabriers, surrounded with walls, which they were battering down with cannon-shot. The poor people who were shut up therein, to the number of about sixty peasants, told them that they need not employ so much powder and pains to batter them down, since

they were ready to open the gates to them, and also to leave both the place and the country, and go to Geneva, or into Germany, with their wives and children, leaving all their goods behind them, only desiring that a safe passage might be granted them.

The lord of Chabriers interceded for them, that their cause might be decided by course of justice, without force or violence; but Opede getting within the city, commanded the men to be brought forth into a meadow, where he caused them to be hewed in pieces with swords, these valiant executioners trying their manhood and dexterity, in cutting off of heads, arms and legs. He caused the women to be shut up in a barn full of straw and ordered fire to be put to it, where many pregnant women were burnt. Upon which a soldier moved with pity and compassion, having made a place for them to creep out at, they were repulsed into the fire with pikes and halberds. The rest of those men who were found hidden in the caves were brought into the castle-hall, where they were most barbarously murdered and massacred, in the presence of the said Opede. As to the women and children that were found in the temple, they were exposed to the hands of ruffians of Avignon, who slew about eight hundred persons, without distinction of age or sex. Towards the end of that execution, the Sieur de la Coste, Opede's kinsman, came thither, who intreated him to send him some soldiers, offering to bring all his into Aix, and to make as many breaches in the wall as he pleased. Three companies of foot were sent thither, who pillaged and plundered whatsoever they pleased, burnt part of the village, ravished the women and virgins, and slew some peasants without meeting with any resistance. In the mean time the residue of the inhabitants of Merindol and other places, were pursued by Opede and his army through the rocks and mountains, and forced to great extremities and distress. They begged of him to give them leave to retire into Geneva, with the remainder of their wives and children. He replied that he would send them with their wives and children to dwell with all the devils in the infernal regions, so as to blot out the very memory of them from the face of the earth.

King Francis I. being informed of the cruelties practised and executed in pursuance of the said edict, was extremely displeas'd at it, so that being at the point of death, and pricked with remorse of conscience, especially because the whole had been transacted under his name and authority: being sorry also that he could not before his death inflict any punishment upon the shedders of so much innocent blood, he charged and enjoined his son Henry to revenge it. In pursuance of which, after the decease of his father, he issued out his letters patent, in the year 1549, whereby he took upon himself the examination and decision of the cause of the Waldenses of Provence. The advocate Guerin was hanged because he misinformed the king, when he kept back the revocation of the first retention of the cause of the Merindolians, upon which followed shortly after the execution of the sentence passed by the parliament of Aix. All the rest who were guilty, escaped upon this consideration, that *it was not expedient to proceed any farther in favour of the Lutherans* at that time.

As to the residue, who escaped the fury of this massacre, some of them retired to Geneva, others into Switzerland and Germany, others dwelt near thereabouts, and went thither sometimes by stealth to till and cultivate their lands, and so by little and little returned home to their own habitations, which they built and repaired whensoever they were permitted so to do by favour of the said edicts. They became afterwards the seed, the

prime and original source of several famous churches, which still flourish to this day, no less celebrated for their zeal and piety than the other churches in the kingdom of France.*

CHAPTER IX.

The Waldenses fled into Bohemia, and the persecutions which they suffered.

SEVERAL have written that Waldo, upon his departure from Lyons, went into Dauphiny, and having erected some churches, and laid the foundations of those which have been almost miraculously preserved there to this day, he went thence into Languedoc, and left some barbes or pastors there, who set up and governed those churches, which afterwards cost the pope and his clergy so much pains to destroy.^b That thence he took his journey into Picardy, and being expelled, he went next into Germany, and from Germany into Bohemia, where, as some affirm, he ended his days.^c The Waldenses of Dauphiny, Piedmont and Provence, held a communion and correspondence with their brethren who had retired into Bohemia; for proof of which we have the message of Daniel de Valence and John de Moline, barbes in Bohemia, who did very much mischief to the churches of that kingdom, because they discovered and betrayed those flocks to the adversaries, which before lay hid and concealed by reason of the grievous and severe persecutions then raging.

We have likewise an apology of the Waldenses of Bohemia, in a letter which they wrote to king Ladislaus under the following inscription.^d

Al Serenissimo Princi Rey Lancelao. A li Duc, Barons, et a li plus

* PERRIN, in this remark, referred to the churches of the Huguenots, at the period when he wrote, 1618. In consequence of the toleration and favour exhibited towards the reformed Christians by Henry IV. for a short time, through divine mercy they were much in the same condition, with the brethren of the primitive race of believers, of whom it is recorded, Acts ix. 31, "The churches had rest and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied." All those Waldensian churches were subsequently devastated by the "revocation of the edict of Nantes;" so that the flourishing "cities set on a hill," whose "zeal and piety" could not be hidden, were overthrown. The few Christians who survived the universal ravages contrived and enforced by Louis XIV. and the Jesuits, were scattered among the protestant countries; some of them even escaping to America, and the pure resplendency of the evangelical light among the Christian churches in France, almost was extinguished. On that same hallowed PROVENCE, where the spiritual Ark of God then appeared to have taken up its abode, has been inscribed during the last hundred and fifty years, "ИСНАВОН, where is the glory?"

^b The same desolation attended the churches in Dauphiny, as was experienced in Provence. Refer to the note at the end of chap. viii.

^c Albert de Capitaneis, Lib. de Origine Valdensium, Thuanns in Hist. sui Temporis, p. 457. Petrus Valdus eorum Antesignanus, patria relicta in Belgium venit atque in Picardiam quam hodie vocant, multos sectatores nactus, cum inde in Germaniam transisset, per Vandalicas Civitates.

^d Vignaux, Memor. fol. 15.

veil del Regne. Lo petit tropol de li Chrestians, appella per fals nom falsament Pauvres o Valdes. Gratia sia eu Dio la Paire et en Jesus lo Filli de luy.

This letter is a proof of the correspondence which the Waldenses of Dauphiny held with those of Bohemia, since we find that letter in their tongue which contains an apology or defence against the crimes and imputations formerly charged upon both of them, and which were also equally imputed to the primitive Christians. We find likewise in the same volume a treatise inscribed as follows, *Aiço es la Causa del nostre despartiment de la Gleisa Romana*. This is the cause of our separation from the Roman church; the same causes which have been common to all the separatists from her, for fear they should share and participate of her judgments.

The author of the catalogue of the witnesses of the truth, makes mention of a kind of inquisition carried on and practised against the Waldenses of Bohemia, in the reign of king John, which was about the year 1330. Also in another inquisition, it is observable that the Waldenses of Bohemia sent those whom they would have instructed in theology to the Waldensian doctors in Lombardy.*

In the treatise concerning the original of the Bohemian churches, at the time when the doctrine of John Huss was received and entertained there, the ministers, elders and protestants of Bohemia say, that the Waldensian churches of that country had been oppressed by papal tyranny to that degree, that they could not meet any more in their assemblies, and that there were none of their writings to be found in Bohemia.†

Esrom Rudiger, in his treatise relating to the Bohemian churches, saith, that the Waldensian churches were erected and established at least two hundred and forty years before those of the Hussites; and although he doth confess that their belief was the same, yet he affirms that there did not remain the least memory of their churches in their time, excepting those in France, Merindol and other adjacent and neighbouring places; and that when these were sent into Bohemia to unite themselves to them in their religion, they inquired whether they made open and public profession of the truth. But when they understood that there were some amongst them who sometimes frequented the popish temples, and were present at their idolatries, they sharply and severely reprimanded them for it.‡

Therefore those persons that have answered under the name of the Waldenses, and published their confession, which we may find at this day in the catalogue called *Catalogus rerum expetendarum*, are not really any of the Waldenses, but only some of those who by way of calumny and reproach, were afterwards so called; not that they were ever ashamed of that name, being very well assured of the purity of their doctrine. They acquiesced in the vulgar error, when they say they know very well that several good persons, and such as both follow and love the truth of the

* Flac. Ill. in Catal. Test. Verit. p. 116.

† Lib. de Origine Ecclesiarum Bohemia, p. 273. Sed cum oppressæ Tyrannide Pontificia conventus publicus nullos haberent, neque Scripta horum extarent ulla, ignotis nostris prorsus fuere.

‡ Esrom Rudiger in narratiuncula de Ecclesiis fratrum in Bohemia, dicit Waldenses, ad minimum CXXL. annis Originem nostram antecedunt.

gospel, being deceived by the false marks and characters whereby they have been described, have taken them for Waldenses.⁵

Moreover they give this testimony to the Waldenses, that it appears they had great light and understanding, that they thoroughly understood and purely taught many things, and also that they have undergone very many sufferings and persecutions for the truth, especially in France. And that therefore it was they desired to be distinguished from them, as it is observed that the Waldenses have been very serviceable to the establishment of the truth in their times, so the world may know, that the Hussites have not been a little so in theirs.⁶

Æneas Sylvius reporteth of Peter de Dreeze and James de Misne, disciples and followers of the Waldenses, that they travelled into Bohemia in the time of John Huss, and that after some conference and conversation with him, they taught him their doctrine. They themselves do not deny it. For they say, that Wickliff was moved to throw off the papal yoke, by the example of the Waldenses, and that Wickliff was the means and instrument which God made use of, for the instruction of John Huss who taught in Bohemia, and that therefore they thought themselves very much obliged to the churches of the Waldenses; since whatsoever was good in them, they say, was transplanted into theirs, and so they were, in one sense, the beginning and original of their churches.¹

CHAPTER X.

The Waldenses dwelling in Austria, and their persecutions.

A GREAT number of the Waldenses dwelt in Austria, who were there harassed with horrid and severe persecutions, as appears by the Chronicle of Hirsauge, where it is observed that a great many of them were burnt in the city of Creme, belonging to the dukedom of Austria. But that which did most alarm their persecutors, was the speech of one of them, who being about to suffer at Vienna, the metropolis of Austria, told them at his execution, that there were above fourscore thousand persons of his faith in that country.²

About the year of our Lord 1467, the Hussites reforming and separating their churches from the church of Rome, understood that there were some churches of the ancient Waldenses in Austria, upon the frontiers of Bohe-

⁵ Confession of the Waldenses, in the Catalogue rerum expetendarum. Lib de Origine et Confess. Eccl. Bohem. Scimus quod multi boni viri, et Veritatis Evangelicæ instauratæ cultores et sectatores pii seducti, et indicationibus falsis et criminationibus adversariorum pro Valdensibus nos hebeant.

⁶ Ibid. Hoc quidem constat multum in ipsis lucis fuisse, et de plerisque eos recte sensisse et docuisse, et propter Veritatem gravissima perpressos in Gallia imprimis.

¹ Æneas Sylvius, History of the Taborites.—De Origine and Confess. Eccl. Bohemicarum, p. 265. Non dubitamus autem quæ bona et vera in Ecclesiasticorum deprebentur nostros, ea inde assumpsisse et in suas transtulisse, &c. Ut hoc nomine etiam gratia aliqua a nobis Ecclesiis illis debeatur, præsertim cum Viculus a Valdensibus adjutus dicatur, qui Hussum nostrum excitavit.

² Chron. of Hirsauge.

nia, in which there were great and learned men ordained, and appointed to be pastors, and that the doctrine of the gospel flourished in its full force and vigour amongst them. That they might be informed of the truth thereof, they sent two of their ministers with two elders, giving them in charge to inquire into, and know what those flocks or congregations were; for what reason they had separated themselves from the church of Rome; their principles and progress; and also to discover and make known to them the beginning of their own conduct in Bohemia, and to acquaint them with the cause and reason of their separation and dissension from the Romish church.

These men being arrived thither,^b and having found out those Waldensian churches, after a diligent and careful search for them, they told them, that they did nothing but what was agreeable to the ordinance of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the doctrine of his apostles, confining themselves wholly to the institution of the Son of God in the matter of the sacrament.

It was a matter of great joy and satisfaction to the Waldenses, to understand, that a great number of people in Bohemia, had advanced the glory of God, by casting off the corruptions and idolatries of the Roman church; exhorting them in God's name, to continue and carry on that work, which they had so well begun, for the knowledge and maintenance of the truth, and for the establishment of good order and discipline amongst them. In token of their great joy, and that holy society and correspondence, which they desired to hold with them; they blessed them, praying, and laying their hands upon them.

Afterwards the said Waldenses gave them an account of God's miraculous preservation of them, for many hundred years, notwithstanding the many grievous and continual persecutions, which they have suffered and endured; and so the Bohemians lovingly and kindly took their leave of their said brethren, and at their return, related what they had both seen and done in that their journey, to their unspeakable satisfaction and content. Thenceforward, they were possessed with a holy and affectionate desire of holding communion or correspondence with each other as often as they could, in order to their mutual edification. In pursuance of which design, the brethren of Bohemia sent letters to the Waldenses of Austria, giving them to understand, how great the comfort was that they received from their last communication with them. But yet as they themselves did not desire to be soothed or flattered in any of their faults, so they could not without breach of charity conceal what they had found culpable and amiss in them; namely, that they gave way too much to their infirmities, since that after they had known the truth, they notwithstanding frequented popish temples, being present at those idolatries which they condemned, thereby basely profaning and polluting themselves: saying, that it is not only our duty to believe with the heart, but that we must likewise make confession with our mouth to salvation. They likewise told them of another fault they had taken notice of; that they were too solicitous about heaping up riches; for although their end and design might be good and just, namely, to support and comfort each other in the time of persecution; yet because every day is attended with troubles and afflictions enough of its own, and because such cares and solitudes do not become those whose

^b Joachim Cham. *Hist. de Ecclesiis Fratrum in Bohemia and Moravia*, p. 104.

business it is only to look before them, and to lay up treasure in heaven, they condemned what appeared as excess in them, and in which at length they would be in danger to place their chief hopes and confidence.

The Waldenses of Austria returned them hearty thanks, intreating them to continue this holy love and affection towards them, assuring them that they for their parts were ready to do what in them lay to further and promote their correspondence, and to appoint a time and place of meeting, in order to a mutual conference.* For although they had for a long time been sensible of those faults and defects, which they had taken notice of, yet it had not as yet laid in their power to remedy the same, but they were in hopes that being met together, they might enter upon better and more efficacious resolutions, and also confer about several other matters of the last importance and concern. Now when they were just upon the point of sending to the place, which they had appointed for their meeting, they began to fear that the business might be detected and discovered, and so might be of dangerous consequence to them all. Besides all that, they considered with themselves, that they had already been supported under many difficulties, notwithstanding their faith and assemblies were sufficiently known to the world, and that therefore they would run themselves into extreme peril and danger, if they should unite themselves to other people. These considerations put a stop to their former purposes and designs of a mutual correspondence; as also that in the year following, in the year 1468, the persecution increased against the Waldenses of Austria, for a great number of them were burnt at Vienna. Among others, history gives us an account of Stephen, an elderly man, who being burnt there, confirmed many by his constancy. They that could escape this persecution, retired into the country of Brandenburg, where they did not tarry long, being there also exposed to fire and sword. Among those, there was Tertor, who fled into Bohemia, where he joined himself to the churches of the Hussites, and finding that a man might live there in peace and security both of person and conscience, he returned into his country, and persuaded many to go and dwell in Bohemia, who met there with a very kind and friendly entertainment; and since that time, there have been no particular assemblies of the Waldenses, but they have united themselves to the churches of the Hussites.*

CHAPTER XI.

The Waldenses residing in Germany, and the persecutions which they there underwent.

NOTWITHSTANDING, that immediately after the arrival of Peter Waldo and his followers into Germany, there was so great and cruel a persecution raised along the Rhine, by the incitement and instigation of the bishops of Mayence and Strasburg, that eighteen were burnt in one day, and in the same fire; yet we find^b that in the reign of Frederick II. about the year 1213, Germany, and particularly Alsatia, was full of the Waldenses.

* Joachim Cam. in *Hist. de Ecclesiis fratrum in Bohemia and Moravia*, pp. 105, 117.

^b Dubravius, *Hist. of Bohemia*.

They searched after them with that diligence and strictness, that they were constrained to disperse themselves into other parts, to escape the fury of the persecution. This flight proved very beneficial to the church, because many learned preachers were hereby dispersed abroad to divulge and make known the purity of their religion to the world.^b

In the year 1230, Conrad de Marburg, was made superintendent of the inquisition by the pope. He exercised this office with extreme cruelty against all sorts of persons, without any respect even of the priests themselves, whose bodies he punished, and confiscated their goods.^c He used to try men with a hot iron, saying, that *they who could hold a red hot iron in their hands, and not be burnt, were good christians, but if on the contrary they felt the fire, he delivered them up to the secular power.*^d The Waldenses had at that time a considerable number of schools, wherein they caused their children to be instructed in their faith; and notwithstanding all the persecutions and inquisitions executed upon their flocks, yet they ventured to preach, calling their congregations together by the sound of a bell, maintaining and affirming in *publica statione*, that is, openly and publicly before all the world, saith the historian, that the pope was a heretic, his prelates simoniacs, and seducers of the people; that the truth was no where preached but amongst them; and that if they had not come to preach amongst them, God, rather than he would have suffered the faith to perish, and be banished out of the world, would have raised up others out of the very stones themselves, to instruct and enlighten his church by the true preaching of the gospel. Hitherto, said they, your preachers have buried and concealed the truth, and published falsehood; we, on the contrary, preach the truth, and bury falsehood and lies. In short, we do not give a false and fictitious remission, invented and ordained by the pope, but by God himself, and according to our vocation and ministry.^e

It is observed by Matthew Paris, an English historiographer, that about the year 1230, a great number of them took up arms in Germany, where they were cut to pieces, being surprised in a place very disadvantageous to them, being bounded on the one side with a marsh and on the other with the sea, so that it was impossible for them to make their escape.^f

About the year also 1330, they were grievously harassed and oppressed in several other places of Germany, by Echard, a Jacobin monk, the inquisitor. But after many cruelties practised against them, as he urged the Waldenses to discover to him the cause and reasons of their separation from the church of Rome; being convinced in conscience, that they charged it with several errors and corruptions of which it was really guilty, and not being able to disprove the articles of their faith by the word of God, he gave glory to God, and confessing that the truth had gained the victory, he entered into communion with the Waldensian churches, which he had for a long time persecuted and punished with death. The other inquisitors being advertised of that alteration, were highly incensed thereat, and sent so many persons in pursuit after him, that he was at length taken and carried to Heidelberg, where he was burnt, maintaining and affirming that it

^b Constans upon the Revelation.

^c Vignier, First part of his Bibli. Historial.

^d Trithem Chron. Hirsaugiensi, Godefridus Mon. in Annalibus.

^e Krantz Metrop. l. 8, § 18, and Saxon. l. 8, cap. 16.

^f Matth. Paris, Henr. 3, Anno 1230.

was a notorious piece of injustice to put so many innocent and righteous persons to death, for adhering to the righteousness of Christ in opposition to the forgeries and inventions of antichrist.⁶

In the year 1391, the monks inquisitors apprehended four hundred and forty-three Waldenses in Saxony and Pomerania, who confessed that they had for a long time been instructed in their faith and religion by their ancestors, and that their teachers came from Bohemia.⁷

In the year 1457, the monks inquisitors of the diocese of Eistein in Germany discovered and apprehended several Waldenses, whom they put to death. They had twelve barbes or ministers amongst them, who instructed them.

We must not pass by the thirty-five citizens of Mayence, who were burnt at Binge, because they were known to be professors of the faith of the Waldenses: nor those fifty whom the bishop of Strasburg caused to be burnt in the same fire; nor the report of Trithemius, that they confessed that in those days the Waldenses were so numerous, that in travelling from Cologne to Milan, they might take up their inns with hosts of their own profession, and that the signs and gates were marked with certain tokens whereby they might be distinguished.

The most excellent instrument among them in God's hands, was Raynard Lollard, who was at first a Franciscan monk, and an enemy to the Waldenses. But he was a person inspired with holy zeal and a desire to find out the true way to salvation, wherein he made such a progress, that the enemies themselves were forced to commend him. John le Maire ranks him in the number of those holy persons, who foretold by Divine revelation, several things which came to pass in his time. That worthy man teaching the doctrine of the Waldenses, was taken by the monks inquisitors in Germany, and being delivered up to the secular power, was burnt at Cologne.¹

This person wrote a commentary upon the Revelations, wherein he observed that several things were spoken therein with reference to the antichrist of Rome. From him the faithful were called Lollards in England, where he used to teach. Witness that tower in London, which is at present called by his name, Lollard's tower, where the faithful were wont to be confined and imprisoned.²

⁶ Vignier, in the third part of his *Bibliotheca Historialis*, in the year 1390.

⁷ Krantz, *Metrop.* lib. 8, pag. 18, and in *Sax.* l. 8, cap. 16.

¹ John le Maire, in the third part of the *Diff. of Schisms*, in the twenty-fourth Schism.

² "LOLLARD'S TOWER," was a large detached room belonging to bishop Bonner's palace in London, and formed a prison of the most gloomy nature. It was set apart for the punishment of protestants, formerly called Lollards, who were brought before him on an accusation of heresy, and who were there subjected to various tortures, at the discretion of that bigoted and merciless tyrant. The most common punishment inflicted was setting them in the stocks in which some were fastened by the hands, and others by the feet. They were in general permitted to sit on a stool, but to increase their punishment, some were deprived of that indulgence, so that lying with their backs on the ground, their situation was exceedingly painful. In this dungeon, and under these tortures, they were kept, some for several days, others for weeks, without any other sustenance than bread and water, and to aggravate their sufferings, they were prohibited from being seen by their relations or friends. Many of those who had tender constitutions, died under those inhuman inflictions; but those who were otherwise, survived to execrate the name of their barbarous persecutors.

CHAPTER XII.

The Waldenses who were persecuted in England.

ENGLAND was one of the first places which was honoured with the reception of the gospel. For a little after the departure of Waldo from Lyons, many there were condemned to death as Waldenses, about eleven years after the dispersion of the Waldenses from the city of Lyons. Waldo departed from Lyons in the year 1163, and Matthew Paris^a observes, that the monks inquisitors caused the Waldenses to be burnt in England in the year 1175. John Basse makes mention of a person who was burnt at London in the year 1210, for no other reason but because he was tainted with the faith of the Waldenses.^b Thomas Walden, an Englishman, hath written that in the reign of Henry II. king of England, the Waldenses were grievously and cruelly persecuted, and that they were called Publicans.^c As to those against whom they could prove nothing worthy of death, they branded them in the forehead with a red hot key, that every body might know them. The faith of the Waldenses was much more public and notorious during the wars against the Albigenes, because as the Sieur de la Popelinere hath well observed, the proximity or nearness of the territories of the earl Remond of Thoulouse to Guienne, then in possession of the English, and the alliance to the king of England, who was brother-in-law to earl Remond, gave the English opportunity, not only of assisting the subjects of Remond in their wars, but also to inform themselves of the faith of the Albigenes, which was the same in all respects with that of the Waldenses; and they alleged that the violence and injustice practised against them was so great that the English were often constrained to defend them against those who invaded their lands under the colour and pretence of religion.^d Rainard Lollard, was the happy instrument whom God at that time made use of to make known to the English, by lively and powerful remonstrances and exhortations, that doctrine for which the Waldenses were put to death. The said doctrine was received by Wickliff, as hath been observed in the book which treats of the original and confession of the Bohemian churches, who were thereby very much let into the knowledge of the truth. He was a very eminent divine in the University of Oxford, rector of the parish of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, and a man of great and profound learning and eloquence. He won the hearts and esteem of several Englishmen, and of even the prime nobility of the kingdom; the duke of Lancaster, uncle to king Richard, Henry Persy, Lewis Gifford, and the chancellor, the earl of Salisbury; by whose favour the doctrine of the Waldenses or of Wickliff, took footing and became current in England until pope Gregory XI. severely persecuted the receivers of it, by means of the monks inquisitors. The flames of persecution were then raised and kindled in England for the space of several years, to put a stop to its progress and to prevent its spreading; but it

^a Matthew Paris, Hist. of England, the year 1163.

^b John Basse, Chron. of London.

^c Tho. Walden, fourth volume of Things Sacramental, lib. 12, chap. 10.

^d La Popelinere, Hist. of France, l. 1.

was all to no purpose, for it was there held and maintained in spite of all the endeavours of antichrist to the contrary, until such times as his yoke was entirely rejected and thrown off. True it is, that the bones of Wickliff were disinterred above thirty years after his death, and condemned to be burnt, together with such books of his as his enemies could discover; but there was so vast a number of them abroad, that it was altogether impossible for his enemies wholly to deprive the church of them, for the more they endeavoured to prevent the reading and knowledge of them by terrible menaces even of death itself, the more were the affections of the people moved and incited to read and peruse them with the greater fervour and ardency. It is likewise said, that a certain scholar having carried one of Wickliff's books into Bohemia, entitled the *Universals*, and communicated it to John Huss, he attained thereby to such a degree of knowledge and wisdom, that he became the admiration of all Bohemia, and very much edified those who with himself readily forsook the church of Rome. Which occasioned the Hussites to say* that Wickliff did at first awaken their John Hus. Wickliff wrote above a hundred volumes against antichrist, or the church of Rome; the catalogue of which we find in the book of the description of famous men, who have resisted and opposed antichrist and his errors.

CHAPTER XIII

The Waldenses fled into Flanders, and there were persecuted.

AFTER the great persecution raised against the Waldenses in the time of Philip le Bel, the historians make mention of their retreat into Flanders, where he pursued them, and caused a great many of them to be burnt.†

* *Lib de Origine et Confess. Eccles. Bohemix. Wicclefus a Valdensibus adjutus Hesium nostram excitavit, page 264.*

† In the middle of the twelfth century, when a dreadful persecution raged upon the European continent, against the disciples of Christ, a company of the Waldenses, about thirty men and women, to escape from their implacable adversaries, fled from Germany to England. They resided near Oxford, and speaking only the German language, soon attracted notice by their religious practices. They were all arrested upon suspicion of heresy, and conducted before a council of Inquisitors at Oxford. When examined respecting their religion, GERMAN, the pastor of the little flock, answered, that they were Christians—that they believed the doctrine of the Apostles; but that they did not receive the Romish tenets of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the invocation of saints, and similar anti-christian superstitions. They were instantly condemned as heretics, and delivered to the secular power to be tormented. Henry II., then king of England, through the instigation of the Roman prelates, commanded that those Waldenses should be “branded with a hot iron on the forehead, then whipped through the streets of Oxford, and having their clothes cut off at the girdles, should be left in the fields; and all persons were prohibited from affording them any shelter or relief, or exhibiting towards them any proof or act of humanity, under the penalty of torture and death!” That malignant and cruel decree was executed in its utmost rigour. In the most intense cold of a very inclement winter, the whole Christian company speedily perished, from nakedness, starvation, and the frost; in the year 1186.—*Henry's Great Britain, vol. v. page 338.*

† Aldeg. first table of the Diff. Fol. 149. John Dubravius in the history of Bohemia, lib. 14.

And because they were constrained to fly into the woods, to escape the fury of their persecutors, they were called *tarlupina*, that is, inhabitants with wolves.

Matthew Paris says, that one Robert Bougre, a Jacobin monk, did formerly live amongst the Waldenses, and was a professor of their faith; but having forsaken them, he became a monk, and a most violent persecutor, so that he caused several of them to be burnt in Flanders. But when his own party and friends understood that he abused his power, and the authority of his office, laying several things to their charge of which they were not guilty, and made use of it against those who were altogether ignorant of the faith of the Waldenses, he was not only deprived of his office of inquisitor, but also imprisoned: he was likewise convicted of several crimes for which he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.^b

CHAPTER XIV.

The Waldenses who were persecuted in Poland.

ABOUT the year of our Lord 1330, there were several persons in the kingdom of Poland, who made profession of the religion of the Waldenses. The bishops had recourse to the means appointed by the pope, the inquisition, whereby they delivered many of them into the hands of the executioner. The author of the *Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth* tells us, that he had the forms of the inquisition lying by him, which the inquisitors made use of in this persecution.^a

Vignier saith, that at their departure out of Picardy, several of those who were there persecuted, retired into Poland.^b

Le Sieur de la Popeliniere tells us in his history, that the religion of the Waldenses did spread and extend itself throughout all the places of Europe, even among the Polonians and Lithuanians; and that they have ever since the year 1100, been sowing and propagating their doctrine, which was but very little different from that of the modern protestants; and that notwithstanding the efforts and endeavours of all the potentates and princes to the contrary, they have to this day stoutly and courageously maintained and defended it.

CHAPTER XV.

Several of the Waldenses were persecuted at Paris.

IN the year 1210, twenty-four Waldenses were taken at Paris,^c of which some were imprisoned, and some burnt. There happened also during the

^a Mat. Paris, *Life of Henry III.*

^b Flac. Illy. *Catal. of the Wit.* p. 539.

^c Vignier, *Biblio.* p. 130. *Hist.* l. 1.

^d *Hist. of Languedoc*, l. Forier, fol. 7.

twenty-first schism, and in the popedom of John XXII. a very severe persecution against the Waldenses throughout all France, and especially at Paris.

Also in the year 1304, the monks inquisitors appointed to search after the Waldenses, apprehended one hundred and fourteen of them at Paris, who were burnt alive, and suffered the fire with admirable constancy.^d

We likewise find in the *Sea of Histories*, that in the year 1378, the persecution against the Waldenses continuing, a vast number of them were burnt in the Place de Greve in Paris.^e

CHAPTER XVI.

The Waldenses dwelling in Italy, and the persecutions which they there suffered.

IN the year 1229, the Waldenses had already spread themselves in great numbers throughout all Italy.^a They had ten schools in Valcamonica alone, and they sent money from all parts of their abode into Lombardy, for the maintenance and support of the said schools. Rainerius saith, that about the year of our Lord 1250, the Waldenses had churches in Albania, Lombardy, Milan, and in Romagna, likewise at Vincence, Florence, and Val Spoletine.^b In the year 1280, there were a considerable number of Waldenses in Sicily, as Haillan observes in his History.^c

In the year 1492, Albert de Capitaneis, inquisitor and archdeacon of Cremona, surprised one of the barbes or pastors of the Waldenses, named Peter de Jacob, as he was passing over a mountain in Dauphiny, called le Col. de Costeplane, in his journey from Pragela, into the valley of Fraissinières.^d Being demanded whence he came, he replied, that he came from the Waldensian churches in Italy, whither he had been to perform his duty, by fulfilling of his charge; and that he had passed by Genoa, where he told them the barbes of the Waldenses had a house of their own; which agrees with what the Sieur de Vigneaux observes in his memorials; that a barbe or pastor, named John of the valley of Lucerne, was for some misdemeanor suspended the ministry for the term of seven years, and that during the said time, he remained at Genoa, where the barbes had a house of their own, as they likewise had a very handsome one at Florence.^e Besides the above mentioned testimonies and proofs of the Waldenses dwelling in Italy, we have also those of Calabria. They were harassed in Italy with continual persecutions until they were entirely destroyed. The emperor Frederick II. did most severely handle and persecute them by edicts, by the inquisition, and by constitutions, especially that which condemns the Gazari, Patarens, Leonists, Speronists, Arnoldists, &c.^f There

^a First Tab. p. 152.

^b Sea of Hist., year 1378.

^c Sigonius de Regno Italico, lib. 17. Vignier, third part of his Bible History.

^d Rain. in Summa, fol. 18.

^e Le Sieur de Hail. Life of Phil. 3.

^f It appears by the indictment of the said pastor, the original of which is in our hands.

^g Vigneaux, Memorials, fol. 15.

^h Constitut. which begins Inconsultem Tunicam.

he laments and condoles the folly and simplicity of those whom he calls Pataréns, that is, persons exposed to sufferings and misery, because they prodigally flung away their lives, being ambitious of martyrdom; whereas by quietly adhering to the faith of the church of Rome, they might, saith he, live in peace and tranquillity amongst other people, who acknowledge her to be their mother, and head over all the churches in the world. It was his pleasure, that they should be speedily and severely punished, for fear they should spread themselves further, seeing they had also begun to inhabit in Lombardy, and his kingdom of Sicily, where he ordered them to be handled with the utmost rigour and severity, that they might be banished thence, and from the world together.

Roger king of Sicily did likewise make constitutions against them, and caused them to be persecuted.

Pope Gregory IX. harassed and oppressed them with grievous persecutions. One of his legates banished them out of all the cities and countries of Italy, and commanded that their houses should be razed.^a He likewise ordained and established two preachers in Milan, who, by the authority of the archbishop, made a search after the Waldenses, and wheresoever they could catch any of them, they made the prætor carry them where the archbishop appointed, at the public expense and charges.

Pope Honorius also most cruelly persecuted them under the name of Fratricelli; that is, Shifters: for those who were called by that name in Italy, were no other than Waldenses. In the time of Boniface VIII. they were charged with the same crimes and imputations, as the Waldenses of Dauphiny, and the primitive Christians were. The monks inquisitors ever made a strict and diligent search after them in Italy, to deliver them up to the secular power, and not satisfied with condemning the living, they also made process against the dead, disinterred their bodies, burned their bones, and confiscated their goods.

Paulus Æmilius speaks thus of the Fratricelli.^b There were, saith he, in the time of Charles le Bell, very many famous persons eminent for their courage and learning. That age did indeed flourish in learning; and some there were who were truly pious and holy; but some out of an eager and unseasonable desire to excel the rest of the world in goodness, became very wicked and impious: and others there were whose manners and institutions were dubious. As to the just and righteous, they were troubled and grieved at the wickedness of the times, but were forced to hold their peace: and as to those whom they called Fraterculi, they condemned the clergy both by word and writings, speaking against their gaudy apparel, their wealth and titles, and taught they were not becoming or agreeable to the Christian religion. Which occasioned it to be said, that they were of the religion of the Waldenses, because such was their doctrine.

Among others there was one named Herman, who being buried at Ferrara, was condemned to be disinterred twenty-eight years after his death, and his bones to be burnt; although he was accounted in his lifetime a righteous and holy man. Andrew likewise, and Guillaume his wife, were disinterred, and their bones burnt.^c

^a Sigonius de Regno Italico, lib. 17.

^b Paulus Æmilius in Charles the Fair.

^c See of Hist. in the year 1300.

^d The Waldensian colony in Calabria Citeriore had increased in the sixteenth century to four thousand persons. To suppress those churches, and reduce them

CHAPTER XVII.

Some of the Waldenses retired into Dalmatia, Croatia, Sciaevonia, Constantinople, Greece, Philadelphia, Diagonicia, Livonia, Sarmatia, Bulgaria, and there suffered persecution.

THE monk Rainerius, in his book of the form or method of proceeding against the heretics, in that catalogue that he made of the Waldenses, or poor of Lyons, observes, that in his time, in the year 1250, there were

to the papal bondage, the Inquisitors at Rome sent two monks, Malvicino and Urbino, who were directed either by fraud or force to accomplish their satanic design.

On their first arrival, those monks assumed great gentleness. Having assembled the inhabitants of Santo Xisto, the monks announced their friendly warning to the Waldenses, not to hear any teachers but the Romish massmen, to dismiss the Waldensian missionary evangelists, and to live according to the popish rules, in which case, they would have nothing to fear—but if they would not submit to the court of Rome, they would incur the punishment of heretics, the confiscation of their property, and death in ignominy and torment. Having appointed a time for the celebration of mass, they required all the Waldenses to attend on that idolatry. But those Christians in a body left the town, except a few aged persons and children, and retired into the neighbouring forest.

The subsequent details are found in Chapter viii. But one circumstance which Perrin only mentions incidentally must be detailed in full, as given by Pantaleon, and De Porta. Pope Pius IV. promised to make the brother of the marquis of Buccianici, a cardinal, if that marquis, who was governor of Mentulto, would eradicate Christianity out of the province of Calabria. The following narrative was written by an eye-witness of that papal impious tragedy.

"I have now to inform you of the dreadful execution of the Lutherans this morning, June 11, 1560. To tell you the truth, I can compare it to nothing but the slaughter of so many sheep. The executioner went to the prison, and bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin or *benda*, as we call it, led him into an adjacent field, and causing him to kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he murdered in the same manner. In this way he butchered the whole number, eighty-eight men. Not any person, after witnessing the slaughter of one, could stand to look at a second. The meekness and patience with which they went to martyrdom are incredible. I still shudder when I think of the executioner *with the bloody knife in his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore*, going to the house, and taking out one victim after another, just as a butcher does his sheep that he intends to kill. According to the order, the dead bodies are appointed to be quartered, and hung up on the public roads throughout Calabria. The marquis of Buccianici, the governor of the province, will go on and put others to the torture, and multiply the executions until he has destroyed the whole of them.

"A decree this day has been passed that a hundred women shall be racked, and afterwards executed, in order that there may be a complete mixture of men and women. Some refuse to look at the crucifix, or confess to a priest, and will be burned alive. These people amount to sixteen hundred, all of whom are condemned. They are a simple, unlettered people, entirely occupied with the spade and plough, and show themselves sufficiently religious at the hour of death."

Tommaso Costo, a Neapolitan historian of that period, thus writes of those Calabrian Christians.—"Some had their throats cut, others were sawn through the middle, and others were thrown from the top of a high cliff: while the father saw his son put to death, and the son his father, they exhibited not any symptoms of grief, but said joyfully, that they should be as the angels of God."

When the persecutors were "drunken with the blood of the saints, and with

churches in Constantinople, in Philadelphia, Slavonia, Bulgaria, and Diagonicia.³

Vignier takes notice, that after the persecution of Picardy, they dispersed themselves into Livonia, and Sarmatia.³

Matthew Paris tells us, that they had spread themselves long ago, as far as Croatia and Dalmatia, and had taken such footing there, that they had brought over several bishops to their party. He likewise says, that there was one Bartholomew, who came from Carcassone, to whom they paid all obedience; and that he styled himself in his letters Bartholomew, *the servant of servants of the Holy Faith*, and that he created and ordained bishops and churches. This may be forgery, because he attributes that to this person, which is attributed to the pope; that is, in styling himself *the servant of servants*, and yet usurpeth and exerciseth a dominion and sovereignty contrary to the institution of the Son of God, and the practice of his apostles. As also what Albertus de Capitaneis saith, that they had their great master or supreme pastor in the city of Aquila, in the kingdom of Naples, upon whom they did absolutely depend: for we find not one word in all their writings that has the least tendency to, or gives the least hint of any such matter. We only make use of the words of this historian, to show the extent of those places, whither the Waldenses had fled to avoid the fury of the persecution.³

Antonin relates, that the Waldenses called in Italy Fratricelli, were burnt in his time, in several parts of the world; so that several of them leaving Italy, were forced to fly into Greece; as also that one of the most eminent and notable amongst them, Lewis de Bauiere, and two monks or grey-friars, John de Chastillon, and Francis de Hecastura, were burnt for adhering to them.⁴

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Waldenses inhabiting in Spain, and the persecutions which they there suffered.

IN the time of the wars against Remond earl of Thoulouse, and the earls of Foix and Comminge, when the Waldenses were persecuted by the pope's legates, several of them fled into Catalonia, and the kingdom of Aragon. This is what Matthew Paris takes notice of, saying, that in the time of pope Gregory IX. there were a great number of Waldenses in Spain;⁵ and also about the year 1214, in the time of pope Alexander IV.

the blood of the martyrs of Jesus," Revelation xvii. 6; it was not difficult to dispose of the prisoners who remained. The men were sent to the Spanish galleys; the women and children were sold for slaves; and the entire colony was exterminated.—"Many times have they afflicted me from my youth"—may the Waldenses say—"many times have they afflicted me from my youth—*My blood*—the violence done to me and my flesh"—*my CHRISTIAN BLOOD BE UPON ROME!*—*McCrie's Reformation in Italy*, chapter v.

³ Rain. de forma hereticandi, fol. 10.

³ Vignier, third part of his *Bibl. Historial*. p. 130.

³ Matthew Paris, *Life of Henry III.*, King of England.

⁴ Antonin, part III. Tit. 21.

⁵ Matthew Paris, *Reign of Henry III.*

who complains in one of his bulls, that they had suffered them to take such footing, and had given them time to increase and multiply as they had done.² For in the time of pope Gregory IX. they were advanced so far in number and credit, that they ordained bishops over their flocks, to preach their doctrine unto them; which coming to the knowledge of the popish bishops, they were most cruelly persecuted.³

CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES.

By the contents of the preceding chapters, it appears, that the Christians called Waldenses have opposed the errors and abuses of the church of Rome, and for above four hundred and fifty years were persecuted, not by the sword of the Word of God, but by all manner of violence and cruelty, in conjunction with several forgeries, calumnies, and false accusations, so that they were forced to disperse themselves wheresoever they could, wandering through wild and desert places. Yet the Lord hath so protected and preserved the residue of them, that notwithstanding the rage and fury of satan, they continued invincible against all the assaults of antichrist: whom they have challenged to spiritual combat, beating down and subduing him by the blast of God's Spirit. Crying out with a loud voice, not only throughout all Europe, but also in other places of the earth, that it was high time to *depart out of Babylon, that we might not share in, and partake of her judgments.* This is the people who endeavoured to set up, and re-establish the true and pure service of God by his word—a con-

¹ Bull which begins *Iræ cunctis.*

² From 1412 to 1425, a great number of persons who entertained the sentiments of the Vaudois were committed to the flames by the Inquisitors of Valentia, Roussillon, and Majorca. The followers of Wickliffe emigrated to the Spanish Peninsula; for in 1441, the Inquisitors of Arragon and Valentia reconciled some of them to the papacy, and condemned others to the fire as obstinate heretics. But previous to that time, a fiery inquisition had been in operation against the Beghards, which is an opprobrious epithet then applied to the Waldenses by the persecuting popish priesthood, thereby to excite odium against those Christians, and to justify their own blood-thirsty cruelties. The leader of those disciples was condemned to perpetual imprisonment at Valentia, in the year 1350, and the bones of his followers were dug up from their graves and burned; nevertheless in 1442, it was discovered that they had multiplied both in Biscay and Calahorra. Alfonso de Mella, a Franciscan, and brother of the prelate of Zamorra, having incurred the suspicion of being at the head of a party of Waldensians, fled with his companions to the Moors, among whom, he died by torture at Grenada, having been pierced with reeds—³ an example—records the biographer—worthy to be recorded, of the vanity in human affairs, and the opposite dispositions of persons borne by the same mother.—John II. king of Castile, also sent a band of musketeers to scour the mountains of Biscay, and of Old Castile, who drove the Christians before them, like cattle, and delivered them to the Inquisitors, by whom they were transferred to the flames of martyrdom, at Domingo, and Valladolid. Thus the ancient Believers, after a most barbarous and unrelenting persecution of two centuries, were exterminated in Spain, with the exception of a few, who concealed themselves in the remote and inaccessible districts; and who at a subsequent period furnished occasionally a straggling victim, to the myrmidons of the Inquisition, when *surfeited with the blood of Jews and Moriscos.*—*McCrie's History of the Reformation in Spain*, chapter 1.

temptible people indeed, and looked upon as the filth and scum of the world, but by whom notwithstanding the Lord has wrought many admirable and miraculous things, making them the instruments of re-establishing his church first in France, and afterwards causing the streams of his law and pure doctrine to issue as it were out of the new Zion, and to overflow the rest of the world, gathering together his elect by the preaching of his Holy Gospel. That which is most to be admired in this work is, that the doctrines which they have believed and taught, have been so miraculously preserved amongst them, in the midst of the grievous and continual persecutions which they have suffered for righteousness' sake. It is also a thing worthy of our admiration, that their enemies should have kept a register of those evils and miseries which they did most unjustly make them suffer. They gloried in having shed that blood which cries to heaven for vengeance, and in having banished the church into the wilderness for a certain appointed time; and have made known by their histories, that the dragon hath done nothing more than what he was suffered to do, to *make war against the Saints*.^{*} But being rescued and delivered from their great tribulations and afflictions, and their garments washed in the blood of the Lamb, they were conducted to living fountains of waters, and God hath wiped away all tears from their eyes.—“He who overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.” *Revelation*, xxi. 7.

LAUS DEO!

^{*} The conclusion of Faber's "*Inquiry into the History and Theology of the ancient Valenses and Albigenses*" is so apposite and convincing, and is so admirable a counterpart to the last paragraph of Perrin's narrative concerning the Old Waldenses, that it must be introduced, especially as the volume whence it is extracted is unknown to almost every American student.

I. "Agreeably to the promises of our Saviour Christ, there never has been wanting, from the very first promulgation of the Gospel, a spiritual visible Church of faithful worshippers. Through all the worst and darkest periods, even through that century which Baronius himself calls '*the iron, and leaden, and obscure age,*' such a Church incessantly has existed; though often, to all appearance, on the very brink of destruction. In novem inchoatur seculum, quod, sua asperitate ac boni sterilitate ferreum, matque exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum, appellari consuevit, *obscurum*."—*Baronius Annal.* in A. D. 900.

There was a time when, in the boasted immutable communion of the Latins, religious knowledge was at so low an ebb, that the Cardinal, during the evolution of his leaden age, is fain to pronounce that *Christ himself was asleep!* while the mystic ship of the Church was overwhelmed by waves; and what he thinks even yet worse than the alleged somnolency of the omniscient Redeemer, the ecclesiastical mariners "of the Popedom," *snored so soundly*, that the disciples who might rouse their sleeping Lord, could no where be found.—*Dormiebat tunc plané alto, ut apparet, sopore Christus, cum navis fluctibus operiretur: et quod deterius videbatur, deerunt, qui Dominum sic dormientium clamoribus excitarent discipuli, stertentibus omnibus.*—*Baronius Annal.* in A. D. 912.

However, he who keepeth Israel neither slumbered nor slept. Profound as might be the drowsiness of the whole Latin "Apostates" respecting which Baronius so justly and so honestly complains; widely extended as might be the great apostacy from the faith, which Paul so characteristically foretold; nevertheless, Christ was not without mariners, both fully awake, and zealously active at their post. What the Cardinal was unable to find throughout the *Vast obscure of the papal dominions*, and the want of which might seem to have frustrated the promise of the Saviour himself, continued to exist in the secluded and despised valleys of Dauphiny and Piedmont.—Though incessantly harassed and persecuted by the tools of the papacy, yet through all those middle ages which preceded the Re-

formation of the sixteenth century, the Vallenses were never either exterminated by the sword of violence, or enslaved to the unhallowed superstitions of the Latin "Hierarchy." According to the remarkable confession of an archbishop of Turin in the earlier part of the sixteenth age, though perpetually attacked by an enemy of surpassing power, still in mockery of all expectation, the Vallensic Christian of the Alps came off victorious, or at least showed himself unconquered and invincible.—*Quippe quia, a longe potentissimo hoste inversus, præter opinionem victor, aut omnino invictus, evasit; multo, quam prius, fit insolentior atque audacior; et quem prius valde formidabat, repulsam facile deinceps contemnit. Idque tunc magis contigit, quum hostis conatus sæpius inanes fuere.*—*Claud. Seyssel. Turin. adversus Valdenses, Fol. 1.*

II. With the Reformed Churches of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the visible and united churches of the Vallenses and the Albigenes, now actually existing in the valleys of the Cottian Alps, agree; both in all essential parts of Scriptural doctrine, and in a steady opposition to the unscriptural corruptions of the court of Rome.

Through the medium of the Vallensic churches, which at the very beginning of the fifth century, not to speak of even a yet earlier period, subsisted where they still exist, in the region, geographically defined by Jerom, lying between the waters of the Adriatic sea and the Alps of King Cottius, we stand connected with the purity of the primitive churches. In despite of the lawless innovations of the papacy, innovations which are condemned by the testimony of the earliest ecclesiastical writers, the promises of Christ have been faithfully accomplished.

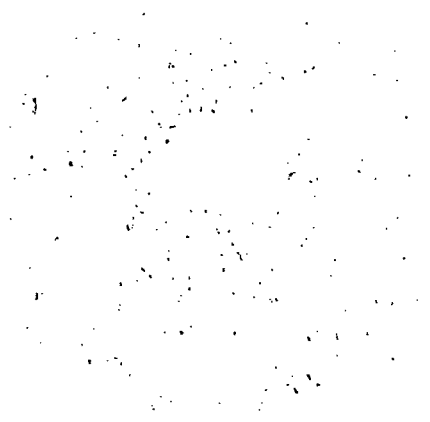
III. In the valleys of the Alps, by pure visible churches, the ancient faith of Christianity has been preserved, through all the middle ages of innovating superstition, sound and uncontaminated.

Behold! the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. The angel of the Lord was in it; and the arm of the mighty God of Jacob was its protection. Therefore the son of wickedness "and perdition" could not destroy it: and the enemy was unable to wear it out by violence.

ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΤΩΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΩ.



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HISTORY

OF THE

OLD ALBIGENSES

ANTERIOR TO THE REFORMATION.

By **Jean Paul Merrin.**

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,

FROM MODERN

HISTORIANS AND THEOLOGIANS.

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HISTORY
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BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE ALBIGENSES, THOSE OTHER GLORIOUS WITNESSES TO THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY, AGAINST THE ANTICHRIST OF ROME. CONTAINING THE TEDIOUS WARS AND TERRIBLE PERSECUTIONS WHICH THEY SUFFERED FOR THE SAKE OF THE GOSPEL, IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER. I.

Who the Albigenses were.—Their faith.—Who were comprehended under the name of the Albigenses.—At what time, and by whom they were instructed in their faith.—In what credit and esteem their pastors have been.—By whom, and in what council condemned.—How they have multiplied and increased.—What cities and great lords have sided with them.—For what doctrine the Popes hated, and put them to death.

THE Albigenses, who are treated of in this history, did not differ from the Waldenses in faith, but were only so called from the country of Albi where they dwelt, and whence at first they derived their original. The popes condemned them as Waldenses. The legates made war upon them as professors of the faith of the Waldenses. The monks inquisitors formed their process and indictments as against Waldenses.^a The people persecuted them as such, and they themselves looked upon that title as an honour, being very well assured of the purity of their doctrine, as the same with that of the Waldenses.^b In respect whereof, several historians call them Waldenses. We shall distinguish them therefore not by their faith, but by the place wherein they lived, and by the particular wars that they suffered for above fifty years. Under the name of Albigenses, we comprehend all the subjects of the earls Remond of Toulouse, both the

^a Rainerius de forma hæreticandi.

^b James de Riberia, in Collectaneis urbis Tolozæ.

father and the son, the subjects of the earls of Foix and Comminge, and all those who adhered to their party, who fought for their religion, and underwent the same troubles and persecutions.

They received the faith of the Waldenses, a little after the departure of Waldo^c from Lyons. The instruments who were employed in that work, were Peter Bruis, Henry, Joseph, Esperon, and Arnold Hot, from whom they were afterwards called Pierrebruisians or Petrobruisians, Henricians, Josephists, Esperonists, and Arnoldists. But Henry and Arnold principally laboured in the country of Albi, and with such success, that within a little time there were found but few, and in several places not any, who would go any more to the mass; saying, that *the sacrifice of the mass was only invented to enrich the priests*, and to make them the more esteemed and regarded in the world, as being able by their words to make the body of Christ, and to offer him up as a sacrifice to God the Father, for the sins both of the living and the dead. Which is a piece of wickedness and impiety, that in effect destroys the sacrifice of the Son of God, and makes the merit of his death and passion of none effect. There were many in the dioceses of Rhodes, Cahors, Agen, Toulouse, and Narbonne, who gave ear to their reasons and persuasions, because the doctors who taught amongst the Waldenses were learned men, and well skilled and versed in the holy Scripture. But the priests on the contrary, who applied their study to nothing else but the sacrifice of the mass, and to receive the oblations for the dead, were ignorant, and therefore contemned and slighted by the people.^d

Pope Alexander III being much moved and incensed, because several great provinces did cast off and reject the yoke of the court of Rome, and withdrew their obedience from it, condemned them as heretics in the Council of Lateran.^e

Nevertheless they multiplied and increased to that degree, that in the year 1200, they possessed the cities of Toulouse, Apamiers, Montauban, Villemur, Antonin, Puech Laurence, Castres, Lambes, Carcassone, Beziers, Narbonne, Beaucaire, Avignon, Tarascon, the country of Veniscin; and in Dauphiny, Crest, Arnaud, and Monteil-Aimar.^f

Moreover, they had many great lords who sided with them, Remond earl of Thoulouse, the earl of Foix, the viscount of Beziers, Gaston lord of Bearn, the earl of Carmain, the earl of Bigorre, the lady of Lauar, and

^c Here is the like inadvertency with respect to the Albigenses, as we observed with respect to the Waldenses; his deriving as well these as the former from Waldo of Lyons. With reference to both, the truth of history in short is this—That as in the Valleys of Piedmont, the primitive christianity was derived down to Claudius Archbishop of Turin, who maintained the purity of doctrine in the ninth century against the innovations of Rome, and who transmitted down the same to his disciples, and they to succeeding generations to this day—so in the neighbouring parts, in France, in the eighth century, the purity of christianity in opposition to the idolatry of the church of Rome, was strenuously maintained under Charlemagne; and from the holy men of that age the lamp of pure doctrine was handed down to Bertram, from him to Berengarius, from him to Peter Bruis, from Peter Bruis to Waldo, from Waldo to Dulcinus, from him to Marsilius, from him to Wickliff, from him to Huss and Jerom of Prague, and from their scholars, the Frates Bohemi, to Luther and Calvin.

^d James de Riberia in his Collections of the City of Toulouse.

^e Claudius de Rubis in his Hist. of the City of Lyons, l. 3, p. 269.

^f Holagaray in the History of Foix.

several others, of whom mention shall be made in their proper place. Besides all which, the kings of Arragon and England often took upon them the defence of their cause, by reason of their alliance with Remond earl of Toulouse.

The doctrines that they maintained against the court of Rome were these †

I. That the Romish church is not the holy church, and spouse of Christ, but that it is a church filled with the doctrine of devils—That Babylon, which John described in the Revelation, the mother of fornications and abominations, gorged with the blood of the saints.

II. That the mass was not instituted either by Christ, or the apostles, but is the invention of men.

III. That the prayers of the living are unprofitable to the dead.

IV. That purgatory, as held and maintained in the church of Rome, is a human invention, to serve the avarice of the priests.

V. That the saints ought not to be invoked.

VI. That transubstantiation is an invention of men, a false and erroneous doctrine; and the adoration of the bread, manifest and downright idolatry.

Therefore that we must forsake the church of Rome, wherein the contrary was affirmed and taught, because we cannot be present at the mass, wherein idolatry is used and practised, nor expect salvation by any other means than by Jesus Christ, nor transfer that honour to creatures, which is due to the Creator, nor call bread by the name of God, and worship it as such, without incurring eternal damnation, because idolaters shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven.

For all these things affirmed by them, the papists hated, persecuted, and put those "WITNESSES" to death.

CHAPTER II.

POPE INNOCENT III. made show of a desire to reduce the Albigenes into subjection to the Court of Rome by preaching and conference. The famous dispute at Montreal. For what end the Pope permitted controversial debates in matters of religion.

POPE INNOCENT III. was desirous to recover and reduce the Waldenses under the power of Rome, either by preaching and conference, or else entirely to destroy and root them out by force of arms and cruel punishments.

Before he came to extremities, he thought it convenient, and even necessary, in order to justify his proceedings, first to *begin with words*, and afterwards *fall to blows*. He therefore sent certain preaching friars among them who might endeavour to win them over by gentle arguments and persuasions.

† Ibidem. James de Riberia, ut supra.

The author of the *Treasury of Histories* thus speaks concerning those times: "When the news was brought to Pope Innocent III. that the disloyal heresy of the Waldenses had spread itself throughout his province of Narbonne; not only amongst the meaner sort, but that even earls, barons, and knights, were tainted and infected therewith; he therefore sent the abbot of Cisteaux thither, and two monks with him, to preach against those rebellious miscreants. When they had travelled a little way preaching throughout the country, they returned to Montpellier, where they met with a courageous man, who was bishop of Cestree. That good man asked the abbot of Cisteaux what he did there. He replied, that the pope had sent him against the Sodomites, but he could not convert them. That good man told him, that he was not at all dismayed and astonished at it; but bid them still vigorously and diligently maintain the work of our Lord, and went himself on foot to set a good example unto others, and they also tarried and went on foot with him. The abbot afterwards returned to the general assembly: but the bishop and two monks travelling a long time, and preaching through the country, converted some of the poorer sort of people; but of the grandes there were but few who returned to the popish faith.

The abbot returned into the country, and brought another abbot along with him, and several monks came thither, all on foot, whereupon the bishop began to think of returning into his country, but he died by the way. The monks who preached through the countries, found the princes so hardened and obdurate in their malice, that they would no longer stay there, but went back into their own countries; all except friar Peter of Chasteauneuf, who continued there preaching with one of his companions."^a

When the Albigenes understood the design of the pope, which was, to pretend that it was not his fault that those whom he judged to be wanderers and strayers from the faith, were not brought over to the obedience of the court of Rome, by gentle arguments and reasonings; they thought it much concerned them to vindicate and maintain their faith by conferences, or that otherwise they should give people occasion to think, that there was some weakness and imbecility in their religion, if none of their pastors would undertake its defence. It was therefore concluded and agreed upon among the said Albigenes, to give the bishops to understand, that their pastors, or some of them in the name and behalf of the rest, were ready to prove and maintain their faith and religion by the word of God, provided the conference might be well ordered and governed; that there might be moderators on both sides, who should be vested with full power and authority to prevent all sedition and tumult. Provided also that it were held in some place, to which all parties concerned in the said conference might have a free and safe access. Moreover, that some one point or subject should be pitched upon and chosen, with the common consent of all the disputants, which should not be given over till fully discussed and determined; and that he who could not prove and maintain it by the word of God, should acknowledge himself to be vanquished and confuted.

The bishops and monks accepted of all the above mentioned conditions. The place where the said dispute was held, was Montreal near Carcassone, in the year 1206. The umpires agreed upon by both parties, were the

^a *Treasury of Histories*, year 1206.

bishops of Villeneuve and Auxerre, on the bishop's side, and R. de Bot, and Anthony Riviere for the Albigenses.

Arnold Hot was the pastor for the Albigenses, together with those who were judged to be proper persons for such an action. Arnold arrived the first, at the time and place appointed; then came the bishop Eusus, and the monk Dominick, with two of the pope's legates, Peter Chastel, and Racul de Just abbot of Candets, Bertrand prior de Autreive; also the prior of Palats, and several other priests and monks.

The theses or points proposed by Arnold to be discussed, were these: that the mass and transubstantiation were invented by men, and not instituted and ordained by Christ, nor his apostles.

That the church of Rome is not the spouse of Christ, but the church of trouble and confusion, drunken with the blood of the martyrs.

That the polity or government of the church of Rome is neither good nor holy, nor established by Jesus Christ.

Arnold sent those propositions to the bishop, who required fifteen days to answer them, which was granted. The bishop did not fail to appear at the day appointed, bringing along with him a great scroll of writing. Arnold Hot desired to be heard by word of mouth, saying, that he would fully make answer to the contents of the said writing, begging his auditors' patience if he took time in answering so tedious and prolix a writing. They promised to give him a patient and attentive audience without any interruption. He discoursed at several times for the space of four days, to the great admiration of the assistants, and with so much readiness on his part, that all the bishops, abbots, monks and priests might well wish to have been elsewhere. For he suited and adapted his answer to the points laid down in the said writing, with so much order, clearness and perspicuity, that he made it manifest and evident to the assistants, that the bishop had written much, but *proved nothing* against his propositions, which might truly tend to the advantage of the court of Rome.

Then Arnold required, that since in the beginning of their conference, both the bishops and himself were bound and obliged to prove what they alleged by the word of God alone, the said bishops, priests and monks might be put upon making out that the mass, in every part of it, as they authorized and sung it, was instituted by the Son of God, and sung in the same manner by his apostles, commencing at the beginning, down to the *Ite, missa est*. But the bishops could not prove, that any part thereof was ordained either by Jesus Christ or his apostles; at which the bishops were very much ashamed and displeased, for Arnold had reduced them to their only canon, which they pretended to be the best part of their mass, in which point he proved, that their mass was not the holy supper of the Lord, saying; that if the mass was not the holy supper instituted by the Lord, there would remain after the consecration, all that which was in the Lord's Supper, namely, bread; but in your mass, as you so say, there is no bread: for by transubstantiation the bread vanishes. Therefore, said he, the mass without bread is not the holy supper of the Lord, wherein there was bread.

Jesus Christ broke bread.
Paul broke bread.

The priest breaks the
body, not bread.

The priest therefore doth not do that which Jesus Christ or Paul did. Upon these antitheses, which Arnold made concerning the Lord's Supper, and the mass, to prove that it was instituted neither by Christ nor his

apostles, the monks, bishops, legates, and priests withdrew, without hearing him any further, fearing lest he should make some impressions upon the assistants, which would very much stagger their belief of the mass.

The monk of the valley of Sernay endeavoured to render that action suspicious, saying, that when the heretical judges, being the more numerous, perceived the badness of their cause, and the wretchedness of the dispute on their side, they would not, saith he, give judgment in that dispute, nor even deliver up the writing to those of our party, for fear, he adds, they should come to light, and so render the heretics their due. But how should two legates of the pope, bishops, abbots, monks, and priests, put themselves into such a place, where they were so overnumbered? That monk saith in the same place, that the chief among the heretics came to dispute with the papists at the castle of Montreal. They therefore were masters of the castle, and consequently had no reason to fear or doubt of any such violence. Besides, how should the bishops have required the judgments of the moderators or umpires in a point, wherein they held, that there needs no more than the sentence of the pope, who cannot err? and how could that monk tell that the Waldenses were overcome, if there was no judgment given in the case?

About the same time there were held several other disputes at Sarignon and Pamiers, but this was only to amuse the Albigenes; for while the bishops of Toulouse and Onizomonde were disputing at Pamiers, and the two legates of the pope with Arnold at Montreal, the bishop of Villeneuve, the umpire and moderator of the bishop's party, declared, that nothing could be concluded upon or determined, by reason of the coming of the soldiers, with the mark of the cross, as on a crusade. This was a piece of murderous craft and policy of the pope, to hold them in conference about religion, whilst he levied and prepared great armies to exterminate and destroy both them and their religion.

CHAPTER III.

The disputes about religion terminated in wars stirred up by the Pope.—Pretences of the Pope for publishing the Croisade against the Albigenes.—Earl Remond submitted and humbled himself before the Pope's legate, was whipped by him; deprived of his earldom of Venaisin by the Pope, and then made General of the Army of the Cross, at the Siege of Beziers.

WHEN pope Innocent had made ready his armies of crusaders, and dispersed them throughout the country of the Albigenes, they held no other disputes, but by fire and faggot. The executioners were then the chief disputants, and the monks inquisitors the harpies, whom the pope made use of towards the extirpation of the Albigenes. The pretence which he alleged for so signal and remarkable an expedition against Remond earl of Toulouse, was the death of a certain jacobin monk, who, as he said, was slain by the Albigenes. For the pope took occasion thence, to dispatch preaching monks throughout all Europe, to gather together all such as would come to revenge the blood of friar Peter of Chasteauneuf, who was slain by the heretics, as he fabled, promising paradise to who-soever should bear arms for the space of forty days in the said war. A

war which he termed the *Holy War*, and for which he gave the same pardons, and the same indulgences, as he did to those who transported themselves to conquer the holy land. He likewise styled it the *War for the Cross*, and the army of the Church. As to earl Remond; in these terms he thundered against him in his bull. "We command and enjoin all archbishops and bishops, throughout their respective dioceses, to pronounce and declare earl Remond anathematized and excommunicated, as the murderer of a good servant of God, and that with bell, book and candle, each Lord's-day and holy-days. We moreover promise to all those who shall take up arms to revenge the said murder, the pardon and remission of their sins, since those pestilent and troublesome villains aim at nothing but to take away our lives. And since according to the sanctions of the holy canons, WE ARE NOT TO KEEP FAITH WITH THOSE WHO DO NOT KEEP IT WITH GOD, we would have all to know and understand, that every person who is bound to the said earl, either by oath of allegiance, covenant, or alliance, or any other way, whatsoever, is absolved by apostolical authority, from such obligations, and it is lawful for any Roman Catholic, not only to persecute the said earl in his person, but also to seize upon, and possess his country."

As to the Albigenes, see here what treatment he gives them. "We therefore, strictly and earnestly admonish and exhort you, as being a matter of so vast importance and concern, that you would study and endeavour, by all the means which God shall put into your hands, to abolish and destroy the wicked heresy of the Albigenes, and its followers. And that with more rigour and severity than you would use towards the Saracens themselves, persecuting and impugning them with a strong hand, and a stretched-out arm, because they are worse than they, driving them out of the land of the Lord, and depriving them of their lands and possessions, banishing them, and putting Roman Catholics in their room."

The pope wrote to all christian princes, to dispose themselves to obtain the like pardons and indulgences, by warring against the Albigenes, as they should obtain by crossing the seas to fight against the Turk. The author of the *Treasure of Histories*, particularly says, that the pope entreated king Philip, and several barons, to undertake with him that expedition against the Albigenian heretics, and thereby gain his pardons; and that the king made answer, that he could not do it, by reason of his war with the emperor Otho, and John king of England. Of the barons, many undertook the expedition, thereby to procure their pardon.

Earl Remond being informed of what was in agitation against him throughout Europe, at the instance of the pope, sent an ambassage unto him, and besought that he would not condemn him unheard, and assured him that he was not guilty of the death of friar Peter de Chasteauneuf, it having been evidently proved, that the murderer had fled to Baucaire. He complained of the malice of his enemies, who had given a wrong information of the said murder: but it was all to no purpose, for before his apology could come to Rome, the troops of crusading soldiers were set forth to pour out their rage and fury upon his territories; namely, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Nevers, the earl of St. Paul, the earl of Auxerre, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Poitiers, the earl of Forests, and earl Simon of Montfort, the Sieur de Bar, Guichard de Beaujeu, and Gauchier de Joigni. The ecclesiastics who raised a great number of pilgrims in their dioceses, were the archbishop of Sens, the archbishop of Rouan, the bishop of Clermont, the bishop of Nevers, the bishop of

Lizieux, the bishop of Bayeux, and the bishop of Chartres, and several others. Each bishop came with his party of pilgrims, to whom the pope promised paradise in Heaven; but *gave them not one farthing upon earth.* He only gave them to know, that *in such kinds of war, they often meet with more blows than pardons.* That levy of pilgrims was made in the year 1209.

Now the earl must of necessity either make head against the violence of his enemies, or else come to submission. The latter was esteemed the more easy, but very dangerous. For to surrender himself to the discretion of his enemies, was to run the hazard of his destruction. The earl Remond therefore made his appearance at Valence before Milo the pope's legate.

Being entered the toil, he went about to excuse himself; saying, that he wondered so great a number of armed men should come against him, who had recourse to no other arms but his own innocence.—That it was a great piece of injustice in those who would persuade the soldiers of the cross, that he was guilty of the death of friar Peter de Chasteauneuf.—That they ought, before they had thus moved heaven and earth, as it were, to have inquired into the truth of the fact, and not condemn any one without hearing him.—That there were several witnesses of the death of the said monk, who was slain at St. Giles by a certain gentleman, whom he pursued.—That the murderer, after he had given the blow, fled to his relations at Baucaire.—That that murder was very displeasing to him, and that therefore he had endeavoured to the utmost of his power to have him apprehended and punished; but he made his escape. But suppose he had been guilty of the said crime, the ordinary course or method of justice therein was to proceed against him, and not fall upon his subjects, who in such a case would be altogether innocent. And therefore he told the said legate, that since in confidence of his own innocence, and fortified with the testimony of his conscience alone, he was come to deliver himself into his hands, there was no farther occasion to employ such a vast number of pilgrims against him whom they already had in their power.—That he was sure, were his innocence and integrity known, those who were coming to fight against him, would employ their weapons in his defence. And therefore he desired the said legate to countermand the crossed soldiers, before they approached any nearer his territories, promising to clear and justify himself of what was laid to his charge, in such a manner, as should be to the satisfaction both of the pope and the church. And lastly, that his person ought to be a sufficient hostage or security, for the performance of his promises.

The legate replied, That earl Remond had done well in coming to make his appearance, and inform him of his innocence, of which he would advertise his holiness, and make intercession for him. But that the business was of such consequence and importance, that it did not depend upon his knowledge only to send back the soldiers of the cross, the raising of whom has caused so much pains and cost, unless he gave such proofs and assurances of what he said, as might take away all suspicion from the pope and the church, that he would not hereafter deceive those who had confided in him—and therefore he ought to think it no difficult matter to deliver into his hands seven of the best castles that he had in Provence, in the country of Veniscin, which was then joined to Provence, as a pledge.

Earl Remond knew then well enough his error in putting himself

under the hatches. But it was too late to retreat, for the counsels which the legate gave him, were as so many commands. He knew that he was a prisoner, and that he must receive the law from him into whose hands he had imprudently thrown himself, and therefore seemed willing to obey whatsoever the legate commanded him; saying, that both himself and his country were at the service of his holiness; only beseeching the legate, that his subjects might receive no damage from the soldiers of the cross. The legate promised him all the assistance that he desired in that matter, and immediately sent Theodosius, canon of Genes, into the country of Veniscin, to put garrisons into the castles and places of importance belonging to the said country, and to command all the governors of the cities to come to the said legate without delay.* Where being arrived, it was told them that the earl Remond had resigned his castles into the hands and protection of the pope, in token of his fidelity to the church; of which they ought to be advertised and informed, that they might be disposed for the future to acknowledge themselves the lawful subjects of his holiness, if the said earl should in any thing act contrary to the oath of allegiance, which he had taken to the pope, and the court of Rome; in which case, as they were already, they should be freed and discharged from all their oaths of fidelity, formerly made to the said earl, and his country forfeited and confiscated to the pope. The said governors being astonished to see their lord stripped and deprived of his territories and dominions; could not in his presence, avoid doing whatsoever the legate required of them. But that which grieved them most was, to see the earl Remond conveyed to St. Giles's, where he was reconciled to the pope and the church of Rome, with the following ceremonies. The legate commanded him to strip himself naked without the church of St. Giles, having nothing on but a pair of linen drawers, his feet, head, and shoulders bare: then he put a cowl which priests wear, about his neck, and dragging him by the said cowl, he caused him to go nine times about the grave of the late friar Peter of Chasteauneuf, who was buried in the said church, whipping him with rods, which he had in his hand, all the time that he went about the said grave. The earl Remond demanded satisfaction for so extraordinary a penance, inflicted for a crime which he had never committed, since he did not slay the said monk. The legate replied, that although he did neither slay him nor cause him to be slain, yet because that murder was committed within his territories and jurisdiction, and he never made any pursuit or inquiry after the murderer; that murder was deservedly imputed to him, and that he must therefore make satisfaction to the pope and the church, by that humble repentance, if he desired to be reconciled to either. Nay, that he must likewise be whipt before the earls, barons, marquesses, prelates, and a great number of other people. He made him also swear by the corpus domini, as they call it, and by certain other relics, which were brought for that purpose, that he would continue to his life's end, to pay universal obedience in all things to the pope and the court of Rome, and that he would wage a perpetual, mortal and irreconcilable war against the Albigenes, until they were either entirely extirpated and destroyed, or else reduced to the obedience of the pope of Rome. To which having solemnly, but by force given this oath; the legate, to honour him the more, and to oblige him to stand to what he had sworn, made him general of the army of the cross,

* The monk of the valley of Serney, *History of the Albigenes*, cap. 11. fol. 33.

to lead them to the siege of Beziers. Which he did with the design, to make the Albigenes despair of ever being maintained and defended by him, who having abjured their religion, was put in commission to oppose and persecute it.

CHAPTER IV.

The perplexity of Earl Remond after his pretended reconciliation.—The siege of Beziers.—The intercession of the Earl of Beziers for his city, to no purpose.—The taking of Beziers; how, and with what cruelty they were used.

EARL REMOND of Toulouse, was very much troubled and perplexed, when the charge was laid upon him of leading the army of the cross before Beziers. To make war against the Albigenes was to act in contradiction to his conscience, and to make himself an enemy to those of whom, till then, he had been the chief support and pillar; and moreover, to bind and stake himself down to a perpetual servitude to the pope and his legates. On the other hand, to endeavour to desert the army of the cross by flight—that was to give them a new handle to persecute him; for in that case they might with some colour of justice pursue him, as a perfidious, relapsed, and perjured person; and if he were apprehended, he should run the danger of losing his life, his dignity, and his friends together. On the other side, in doing what the legate's charge obliged him to, he would occasion the loss of Beziers, the total destruction of the subjects of the earl of Beziers, his nephew, and even of his nephew himself. In that trouble and anxiety of spirit, he chose rather to tarry in the army of the crusaders for some days; after which he took leave of the legate, to set out for Rome, in order to humble himself before the pope, which could not be denied him. In the mean time, while the persecutors made their approaches to the city of Beziers, the rams, slings, machines, and other engines of war, were prepared to give the general assault, applying so vast a number of scaling ladders to the walls of the city, that it was utterly impossible to resist, or withstand the furious attack that the crusaders were preparing to make.

The earl of Beziers went forth out of the city, and cast himself at the feet of the legate Milo, begging his mercy for the city of Beziers, and beseeching him not to involve the innocent in the same punishment with the guilty, which would undoubtedly come to pass if Beziers were taken by storm, which might easily be done by so great and powerful an army as that was, which was ready to mount the scaling ladders at every part of the city. That there would be great effusion of blood on both sides, which might be hindered and prevented; that there was a great number of Romanists in Beziers, who would be involved in the self-same ruin, contrary to the intention and design of the pope, who aimed at nothing but the punishment of the Albigenes. But if it was not his pleasure to spare his subjects for their own sake, yet he desired him to have regard to himself, his age, and quality, since the damage would fall upon him, who was in his minority, and a most faithful and obedient servant to the pope, as having been brought up and educated in the church of Rome, in which

he would live and die. But if he was offended that such persons as were enemies to the pope had been *tolerated* within his dominions, it ought not to be imputed to him as his fault, since he had no other subjects than those which his deceased father had left him; and that by reason of his minority and the shortness of the time since he came to the government, he could not as yet be supposed able to take cognizance of that evil, or apply a proper remedy, although he did design so to do. However, that he hoped for the future, to give such satisfaction to the pope and the court of Rome, as became a dutiful and obedient son to them both.

The legate's answer was, that all his apologies and excuses would stand him in no stead, and that he must do as he could.

The earl of Beziers returned into the city, caused the people to be called together, and told them, that after he had made his submission to the legate, he interceded for them, but could obtain nothing in their behalf but pardon upon condition that all those who made profession of the faith of the Albigenes, would abjure their religion, and promise to live according to the laws of the court of Rome.

The papists entreated them to submit to that great violence, and not be the occasion of their death, since the legate was resolved to pardon none, unless they would all of them live in subjection to one and the same law.

The Albigenes made answer, that they would not renounce their faith for the poor and contemptible purchase of this perishing life; that they knew well enough that God could, if he pleased, save and defend them. But they knew as well, that if he was pleased to be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be an exceeding honour for them to sacrifice their lives for *righteousness' sake*;—that they had rather displease the pope, who could only destroy their bodies, than God, who is able to destroy both soul and body together;—that they never would be ashamed of and forsake a faith whereby they had been taught the knowledge of Christ and his righteousness, and at the hazard of eternal death, exchange it for a religion which annihilated the merit of Christ, and made his righteousness of none effect;—that they therefore might treat for themselves as they could, but must not promise anything in their behalf, contrary to the duty of good Christians.

Which being understood, the Romanists sent their bishop to the legate, to entreat him not to comprehend those in that punishment of the Waldenses, who had ever been constant adherents to the pope of Rome; of whom, he who was their bishop had a certain knowledge, not believing that the rest were so past all hopes of repentance, but that they might be brought over by a becoming mildness, to the church, which doth not delight in blood.

The legate flew into a passion, and with terrible threatenings and menaces, did protest and swear, that "unless all those who were in the city, did acknowledge their fault, and submit to the power of Rome, they should all be put to the sword, without any regard to Roman Catholics, to age or sex." He immediately commanded, that the city should be summoned to surrender at discretion; which they refusing to do, he caused all his engines of war to play, and gave orders for the general assault. Now, it was impossible for those who were within to withstand such an attack: so that being thus pressed and overcharged by above a hundred thousand crusaders, they were at length vanquished, saith the author of the *Treasures*

of *Histories*; the enemies rushed in upon them, slew a great number of them, and then set fire to the city.^a

The city being taken, the priests, monks, and clerks, came forth out of the great church of Beziers, called Nazari, carrying the banner, cross, and holy water, bare-headed, clothed with their ecclesiastical robes and ornaments, singing the *Te Deum laudamus*, in token of joy that the town was taken, and purged of the Albigenes. The pilgrims who had received orders from the legate to slay all, broke in upon their procession, made the heads and arms of the priests to fly about, striving who should do best; so that even those were all hewed in pieces.

To excuse this cruelty, even condemned by some of the spectators themselves, they have inserted these *lying* stories in history—that the cross-men were enraged against the said inhabitants of Beziers, because they had thrown the book of the Gospels over the walls of the city, crying, there is the law of your God; and that the pilgrims thereupon made a resolution, to slay all those that they should find within the compass of Beziers, that they might be sure those might not escape, who had been guilty of such a blasphemy. But how is it possible that the Albigenes could have acted with so much impiety against the holy Gospel of our Lord, when one of the chief causes why they forsook the church of Rome was, because the holy Gospel of Christ was locked up from the people? One of the principal false crimes which they laid to earl Remond's charge was, that he always carried a New Testament about him. To that lying wonder they annexed a cheating miracle, which is, that Beziers was taken upon Magdalen's day, because, say they, the heretics speak evil of Magdalen in their law. Thus doth the author of the *Treasure of Histories* express himself in the case. Now this is such a hellish and diabolical imposture, that I hardly dared commit it to paper; and yet the monk of the valleys of Sernay hath set it down at large, without any scruple, although the very thoughts of it alone is sufficient to make any one's hair to stand on end, who hath the least spark, the least grain of piety.^b

The city being thus pillaged, burned and razed, the crusaders, who thought that they had merited paradise by that devastation and effusion of

^a *Treasure of Histories*: the taking of the city of Beziers: Paul Æmilius, pp. 13-17. The capture of the town was followed by the most horrid cruelties. As the Albigenes refused to yield upon the terms proposed by that impious blasphemer, the pope's legate, he ordered a general assault to be made; and the place having thus been taken by storm, every species of outrageous cruelty that barbarous superstition could devise was practised. Nothing was to be heard but the groans of men, who lay weltering in their blood, the lamentations of mothers, who, after being violated by the soldiery, had their children taken from them, and dashed to pieces before their faces. The city being fired in various parts, new scenes of confusion arose; in several places the streets were streaming with blood. Those who hid themselves in their dwellings had only the dreadful alternative to remain and perish in the flames, or rush out and fall by the swords of the soldiers. The bloody legate, during those infernal proceedings, enjoyed the carnage, and even cried out to the troops, "Kill them, kill them all; kill man, woman, and child; kill Roman catholics as well as Albigenes, for when they are dead the Lord knows how to pick out his own." Thus the beautiful city of Beziers was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 persons were murdered.

^b *Treasure of Histories*, in the taking of Beziers. Petrus Vallis Sernens. *Hist. Albigen.* chap. 16.

Christian blood, were immediately led to Carcassone, before the expiration of the forty days of war, which they had vowed to the pope of Rome; because, at the end of that term, every one was permitted to return home.

CHAPTER V.

The siege and capture of the town of Carcassone.—The general assault on the city.—A great number of the soldiers of the cross slain.—The intercession of the King of Arragon for the Earl of Beziers ineffectual.—The stratagem for the taking of the Earl of Beziers.—The flight of the people of Carcassone.—The taking of Carcassone.

WHEN the earl of Beziers saw that he could obtain nothing from the legate in favour of his city, having left it to the prelate, to try if he could by any means, obtain pardon for the people; in the mean time, knowing very well that Beziers being taken, the city of Carcassone would not fail of being next attacked by him; because, being strong by nature, the legate could not make a place of arms, nor fix a garrison in a more proper place; he was advised to retire thither, and immediately to furnish it with whatsoever was necessary to hold out a long and tedious siege. He therefore made his retreat to Carcassone, attended by his most faithful friends and servants.

The legate's army followed close upon his heels, to which there arrived fresh supplies of soldiers of the cross;—the bishops of Agenois, Limoges, Bazades, Cahors, and the archbishop of Bordeaux, each bringing along with him the crusaders of his diocese. There likewise came the earl of Touraine, Bertrand de Cardaillac, the lord of Chastelneau, and the lord of Montratier, who commanded the troops of Querci; of all which troops the earl of Dunoy was general. There came also so great a number out of Provence, Lombardy, and Germany, that the legate Milo's army was found to consist of about three hundred thousand fighting men, when he arrived before Carcassone.

This is the situation of Carcassone. There is a city, and a town or borough; the city stands upon a hill, or rising ground, surrounded with a double wall: the borough is in the plain, about two miles distant from the city. In those days, the city was accounted a very strong place, and a great number of the Albigenes fled thither. The crusaders thought to make themselves masters of it out of hand, for they furiously rushed upon the first rampart, and filled the ditch with fascines; but they met with so courageous and valiant a repulse, that the ground was covered with their dead bodies round about the city.

The young earl of Beziers very much signalized himself in that first day's action, animating his subjects, and telling them that they must remember the usage and treatment which those of Beziers received;—that they had to do with the same enemies, who had changed the siege, but not the cruelty of their temper, nor their will to exterminate and destroy them if they could;—that it was therefore better for them to die in battle, than to fall into the hands of such cruel and relentless enemies;—that as for his part, he made profession of the Roman religion, but he saw well enough that that war was not upon the account of religion, but only a piece of robbery contrived and agreed upon, to invade the territories

and dominions of the earl Remond, and all those that were related to him;—that it did much more concern them to stand stoutly in their own defence, than it did him, who could lose no more than his life and possessions, without changing his religion; but they were liable to lose both their lives and the free exercise of their religion at once;—that he would never desert nor forsake them in so honourable a cause as was that of defending themselves against those common enemies, who, *under the mask of pretended piety, were nothing else than thieves and robbers.*

The Albigenes being animated and encouraged by the speech of this young lord, took a solemn oath, that they would devote and venture both their lives and fortunes in the preservation and defence of the city of Carcassone, and whatever else did concern the said lord.

The day following the legate ordered the scaling ladders to be applied, and the general attack to be given to the town of Carcassone. The people who were within made a stout and resolute defence; but the ladders being crowded with assailants, and placed so near together as to touch one another, those that were in the borough being beat from the walls, the enemies entered in upon them, and gave the inhabitants of the said borough just the same treatment as they did those of Beziers, putting them all to the sword, and then burned the town.

Whilst those things were transacted, the king of Arragon came to the legate's army, and went first into earl Remond's tent, who was forced to assist at that siege against his own nephew. Thence he went to the legate, and told him, that having heard that the earl of Beziers, his kinsman, was besieged in Carcassone, he was come in order to endeavour to make him sensible of his duty to the pope and the church: which he persuaded himself, he might the more easily do, because he knew that the said earl had always made profession of the Roman religion.

The legate gave him leave to undertake what he said he designed. The king of Arragon approached the ramparts;—the earl of Beziers held a parley with him. The king of Arragon desired to know, what had moved the earl to shut himself up in the city of Carcassone against so vast an army of crusaders. The earl replied, that it was the justice of his cause which obliged him to defend his life, his possessions, and his subjects, who had put him upon it;—that he knew the pope, under the colour and pretence of religion, had a design to ruin both the earl Remond his uncle, and himself too;—that he found this when entreating for the inhabitants of Beziers, his subjects—he would not receive the Roman catholics into favour, neither did he spare the priests themselves, who were all cut in pieces, though clothed with their sacerdotal ornaments, and under the banner of the cross;—that that horrid instance of cruelty and impiety, together with that transacted in the borough of Carcassone, where they were all exposed to fire and sword, without distinction either of age or sex, had taught him not to look for any mercy at the hands of the legate, or his crusaders;—that he had therefore much rather die with his subjects in his own defence, than be exposed to the mercy of so relentless and inexorable an enemy as the legate was; and although there were several of his subjects in the city of Carcassone of a contrary faith to that of Rome, yet they were such persons as never did any wrong or injury to any one, and who were come to aid and assist him in his necessity—and that in recompense for that good service to him, he was resolved never to desert them, as they had promised on their part to hazard and expose both their lives and fortunes in his defence;—that he hoped that God, who is

the protector and defender of the innocent and oppressed, would aid and support them against that misinformed multitude, who, under the colour of meriting heaven, had left their own houses to murder, plunder, burn and destroy the houses of other men, without reason, mercy, or discretion.

The king of Arragon returned to the legate, who assembled several great lords and prelates together, to hear what report the king of Arragon had to make to them; who told them, that he had found his kinsman, the earl of Beziers, very much offended and displeased with their former proceedings against the people of Beziers and the borough of Carcassone, his subjects—and that he was induced to believe, that since they did not spare the Roman catholics, nor the priests themselves, this was not a war undertaken upon the account of religion, but only a kind of *robbery carried on under the colour and pretence thereof*;—that he hoped that God would be pleased to make known his innocence, and the occasion which he had to secure himself by a just defence;—that he must no longer hope nor expect, that they would surrender themselves to their discretion, since the only discretion which they had was, to slay all those that did resign themselves to their mercy;—that no one ever got anything by driving his enemy to despair, but that if the legate was pleased to grant to the earl of Beziers and his subjects a tolerable composition, and upon reasonable terms, the Albigenses might sooner be brought over to the church of Rome by gentleness and mildness, than by the extremity of rigour and severity; and above all, they ought to remember, that the earl of Beziers was but young, and a Roman catholic, who might prove very instrumental to the reduction of those who had put their confidence in him.

The legate answered the king of Arragon, that if he would withdraw a little, they would consult about what was best to be done in the case.

The king being called in again, the legate gave him to understand, that in regard to his intercession he would receive the earl of Beziers to mercy; and that therefore he might, if he pleased, bring out a dozen more with him, with their bag and baggage. But as to the people in the city of Carcassone, they should not go out but at his discretion—of whom they ought to have a good opinion, because he was the pope's legate, and that they should all, both men, women, maidens and children, come forth *stark naked*, without any covering to hide their nakedness—That the earl of Beziers should be kept under strait custody and confinement, and all his possessions remain in the hands of the succeeding lord, which should be chosen for the preservation of the country.

The king of Arragon, although he knew that a composition upon those terms was not worth the proposing to the earl of Beziers, nevertheless performed his trust therein. Which when the earl of Beziers understood, he replied that he would never go out upon such unjust and dishonourable conditions as those were, and that he was resolved to defend himself with his subjects, by such means and methods as God should be pleased to appoint.

The king of Arragon departed not without showing his displeasure and dislike of those ungodly proceedings.

The legate commanded them to play all their engines of war, and to take the city by force. But he had the mortification to see a great number of his crusaders slain:—for those who were in the city, cast such a quantity of great stones, fire, pitch and brimstone upon them, and galled the assailants with such showers of arrows, that the ground was covered,

and the ditches filled with the dead bodies of the crossmen; which occasioned a very great stench both in the camp and city. This rough entertainment, caused the remainder of the soldiers of the cross to seek for forage about the fields, as having accomplished their forty days' service, in which time they had purchased paradise, refusing to enter upon any further conquest, after so glorious a purchase, for fear they should exchange their former felicity for mere blows.

The legate was very much troubled to see his army reduced to so small a number, and out of all hopes of taking that important place, so convenient for the quartering of those who should have the future charge and conduct of "*the army of the church.*" Therefore he bethought himself of a stratagem, which he effected. He sent for a gentleman, who was in the army, and told him, that it lay in his power to do the church a signal piece of service. For which, besides the rewards he would receive in heaven, he should be recompensed upon earth in proportion to his merit. He was to approach near to the ramparts of the city of Carcassone, and there by some signal or other to let the besieged know, that he desired parley with them; and then that he would beg leave to speak with the earl of Beziers, because, as his kinsman and servant, he had something to tell him, which would tend to the great honour and advantage of all the inhabitants of Carcassone—which having done, he must in the next place make use of all his craft and subtilty to terrify and intimidate him, and to persuade him to fling himself upon our mercy; and particularly, that he would endeavour to the utmost of his power, both by persuasions, promises, oaths and execrations, *of which he, as being the pope's legate, had power to clear and absolve him,* to bring him to him, with assurance to see him safe back into Carcassone.

That person played his part so well, that he brought the earl of Beziers along with him to the legate, where being arrived, the young earl told the legate, that if he were pleased to exercise a little more moderation and mildness towards his subjects, that business should be concluded to his satisfaction, and he would reduce the Albigenes into the church of Rome—that the conditions which had been proposed to him were shameful and dishonourable, and very ill becoming those whose eyes ought to be as chaste as their thoughts—That his people would choose rather to die, than to see themselves exposed to such ignominy and disgrace; and therefore he desired him to be more moderate in his proposals, and told him, that he was persuaded he could make his subjects submit to any thing that was tolerable and reasonable.

The legate's answer was this—"The inhabitants of Carcassone might do as they pleased—That he need not take any further care about them, because he was his prisoner till Carcassone was taken, and his subjects had better learnt their duty."

The earl being astonished and surprised, vowed and protested that he was betrayed, and that faith was violated; and that he came thither upon the word of a gentleman, who promised with solemn oaths and execrations, to conduct him safe back into the city of Carcassone. Being demanded who, or where that gentleman was, that young earl did then learn how imprudent it was to leave his city upon bare words alone. He was committed to the guard and custody of the duke of Burgundy.

The inhabitants of Carcassone having heard of the confinement of their lord, burst out into tears, and were seized with such a fear and terror, that they thought of nothing more than how to escape the danger

they were in. But all means of so doing, to outward appearance, were taken away from them, for they were blocked up on all sides, and the trenches filled with men. But there was one among them, who told them that he had heard some ancient men of the city say, that there was a certain vault or passage under ground in Carcassone, so big, that very many might walk upright therein, which led to the castle of Cameret or Cabaret, about three leagues distance from Carcassone; and that if the mouth of entry thereof could be found, Providence had provided for them a miraculous deliverance. Then was all the city, except those that kept guard upon the ramparts, employed in searching out this passage. At length the entrance being found, they all of them began their journey through it about the beginning of the night, carrying with them only a little victuals to serve them for a few days. It was a dismal and sorrowful sight, to see this removal and departure accompanied with tears, sighs, and lamentations, to think that they must leave their moveables, and houses furnished with all sorts of goods, to betake themselves to the uncertain event of saving themselves by flight, leading their children, and decrepid old persons along with them, and to hear the miserable outcries of the women. They arrived next day at the said castle, from whence they dispersed themselves up and down, some to Arragon, others into Catalonia, others to Toulouse, and the other cities belonging to their party, wheresoever it pleased Divine Providence to dispose of them.

The next day the crusaders wondered that they had heard no noise all that night, and much more, that they saw nobody stirring that day. They drew near to the wall, in much doubt, fearing lest it should be a stratagem, contrived to draw them into an ambuscade; but not perceiving any thing, which might give them any cause of suspicion, they mounted the breach, entered the town, and cried out to the army, that the Albigenes were fled. The legate caused speedy proclamation throughout the army, that no person should offer to seize, and carry off any of the plunder; but that it should all be carried to the great church of Carcassone, whence it should all be afterwards brought out and sold for the profit of the crusaders, rewarding each of them according to their deserts. But the earl of Beziers was committed close prisoner to one of the strongest castles in Carcassone.

CHAPTER VI.

The legate Milo establishes a general for the Church.—Earl Simon of Montfort accepts the commission.—Earl Remond is absolved by the Pope.—Death of the Earl of Beziers.—The King of Arragon displeas'd with Earl Simon.—Several revolts from his obedience.—He desired a fresh supply of crusaders from the prelates.

THE city of Carcassone being in the possession of the legate, he resolv'd to make it a place of arms against the Albigenes. Thereupon he call'd a council of all the prelates and lords who remained in his army, to ask their advice about his future conduct in a war, which, as they saw, must needs be of long continuance. He likewise told them, that although he thought it expedient, that a legate of his holiness should always accompany the army of the church, to give authority to its proceedings, it was not

withstanding necessary, that a secular general should be chosen, both potent, wise, valiant and formidable, with absolute power to command on all occurrences, and to expedite and despatch all the affairs relating to the war, by his wise and prudent management—it being beyond the capacity of the clergy to lead the armies, or to make war. That they should therefore agree among themselves upon one of the lords of the cross, who should be put in possession of the conquered countries, and to whom the care and management of that *holy war* should be committed, until it was otherwise disposed of by the pope.

That charge was at first offered to the duke of Burgundy, and then to the earls of Nevers and Paul, who all refused it; which they perceiving, and not being able to agree about the nomination of the said general, they unanimously nominated and appointed two bishops, with the abbot of Cisteaux, the legate of the apostolic see, and four military men, to whom they gave full power to choose a person, who should have the future conduct and government of the army of the church.

They nominated the earl Simon of Montfort, which being declared unto him, he excused himself, alleging his inability. But he at length accepted of it, after the abbot of Cisteaux had enjoined him, by virtue of his obedience, to submit to the said nomination, and he promised, saith the author of the *Treasure of Histories*,* to endeavour, to the utmost of his power, to harass and persecute the enemies of our Lord, for so they called the Albigenes.

Earl Simon of Montfort being made general of the army of the church, took up his residence at Carcassone with four thousand crusaders, who were still remaining out of that vast levy of three hundred thousand men. Montreal, Faniaux and Limons, made large contributions towards the garrison, for they were not to harbour crusaders therein, who were obliged to no service after the expiration of their forty days, but such soldiers as were well affected to guard and secure that place.

In the meantime, the earl Remond of Toulouse, went to king Philip Dieu Donne, to obtain his letters recommendatory to the pope, to the end that he might be fully justified and cleared of the murder of friar Peter of Chasteauneuf, of which he had been unjustly forced to confess himself guilty, only because the said murder was committed in his territories, and legate Milo had inflicted a very unjust and severe penance for the same. From the court of France he set out for Rome, where he immediately received absolution from Pope Innocent III. as if it had been prepared and reserved for him. The pope gave him a very kind reception, presented him with a very rich cloak, and a ring of great value, and fully pardoned and absolved him concerning the said murder, declaring him sufficiently cleared and justified with relation to that matter.

The earl of Beziers, prisoner at Carcassone, died quickly after earl Simon of Montfort had been put in possession of his lands, *with great suspicion of having been poisoned*. Earl Simon seemed to be very much concerned for his death, and caused him to be interred with great pomp and splendour in the great church of Carcassone, being carried with his face uncovered, to the end, that his subjects might not question his death. He went soon after to lay claim to the inheritance of the said earl, as belonging to him, by virtue of the donation which had been made him by the

Treasure of Histories, in the Treatise of the Albigenes.

pope's legate, and the charge or commission in which he was placed for the service of the church. In pursuance of which, he demanded the investiture of the country of Beziers and the city of Carcassone, of the king of Arragon. The king of Arragon refused to give it him, showing his displeasure and dislike of the ruin and extinction of that family, under the colour and cloak of religion. The duke of Burgundy testified the like displeasure, when the charge of general was offered to him, saying, "that he had lands and lordships enough of his own, without accepting of those of the earl of Beziers, and robbing him of his possessions; adding, that he had already suffered but too much injury and wrong."

Earl Simon began to be feared by all his neighbours, upon the report which he spread abroad, that in the spring following, he should have a great army of crusaders at his command, and that he would then punish those who would not acknowledge the authority in which the church had placed him. The inhabitants of Castres sent certain of their citizens to him, with the keys of their city; the castle of Pamies was delivered up to him, every one submitted to his commands round about Carcassone, and in the earldom of Beziers. Notwithstanding this, he met with a cross accident in the midst of his prosperity, which to him was an omen of many misfortunes. The king of Arragon holding secretly correspondence with the gentlemen of Beziers, instigated them to humble that petty tyrant, who had been intruded into the possession of another, saying, that if he was not put to the necessity of having always a great number of crusaders for his conquests, he would abuse their rest and repose, and take courage to seize upon, and invade the dominions of all his neighbours, under pretence of that commission which had been conferred upon him by the pope; but if he knew the danger of wanting his soldiers of the cross, he would be better advised, since it was impossible for him always to have so great a number of crusaders at his command, as to render him continually formidable; for there must be time to raise, time to bring them out of far countries, and if he did not make use of them within forty days after their arrival, he would be more weak after the expiration of their pilgrimage, than he was before. That the best course they could take to annoy, and to do him a mischief was, to keep themselves blocked up in their garrisons at the arrival of the crusaders, and to set upon them on all sides at their departure when they were weak; so that being at length quite tired and wearied out with the fatigue of this business, he might dearly pay for that possession, to which he supposed he had a sufficient right and title, by the donation of those who had nothing to do therewith. The king of Arragon added further, that he could not bear to hear of so unjust a usurpation, without showing his resentments of it; since if that war was made with a design to take away the goods and the lives of the Albigenes, what right had the legate to confiscate the estate of the earl of Beziers, who ever lived and died in the faith of the church of Rome? That it was therefore apparent, that the greatest fault they found in the said earl was, that they knew him to be young, and not powerful. That should it please God to spare his life, he would undoubtedly testify and make known his love to the earl of Beziers; and that he would revenge the wrong of his kinsman and nephew, and be a friend to those who had any resentment of his injuries. Those hopes of being succoured and assisted by the king of Arragon, gave heart and courage to those who bore with impatience the tyrannical government of earl Simon of Montfort, so that going one day from Carcassone to Montelier, he found at his return, that several had taken

up arms to free themselves from his yoke, having besieged certain of his soldiers in a tower near Carcassone. He made what haste he could to their assistance, but it was too late; for not being able to pass a river called Sarasse, and going to Carcassone to pass over the bridge, the tower was in the meantime taken, and his soldiers in it. This petty affront brought him into contempt, and gave several others the boldness to offer the like. Upon this, captain Boucard, one of the commanders of earl Simon, belonging to the castle of Seissac, undertook the surprisal of the strong castle of Cabaret, and to that purpose, made his approaches with as much secrecy as he could. Captain Rougier, who held the castle for the earl Remond, was gone out with twenty-four horses to forage. Boucard set upon him at unawares, and had like to have routed him, but Rougier perceiving it to be the enemy, charged him with that fury and briskness, that he put Boucard's troop to flight, and brought him prisoner to that very castle, which, as he said, he was come to surprise.

About the same time Gerard de Pepios joined himself to the Albigenes, and seized upon Puiforignier, and the castle of Menerbe. Now the war was carried on on both sides with extreme cruelty; for if it be true, as the monk of the valleys of Sernay hath written, Gerard put out the eyes, and cut off the ears, nose, and upper lips of all the soldiers of earl Simon which he could take, and sent them back naked to the said earl, leaving only one with one eye to be a guide to the rest. On the other hand, whensoever the earl Simon gained the superiority, he caused a great fire to be kindled, and burnt all the prisoners that he took of the Albigenes therein.

The Romish adherents who took up arms for the Albigenes, did the like; for William of Rochfort, bishop of Carcassone, caused the abbot of Cisteaux to be slain, whom he met near Carcassone, his body being found murdered with twenty-six wounds, and the monk that was with him, with twenty-four.

Upon this, saith the monk, the city of Carcassone, and the soldiers that were therein, were under such a consternation, that they were almost out of all hopes of saving themselves otherwise than by flight; for they saw themselves surrounded with an infinite number of enemies. The earl Simon took occasion from those miseries, which put him out of patience, to write to the prelates throughout all Europe, that if he were not assisted the spring following, with a fresh supply of crusaders, it was impossible for him to hold out; because the enemies perceiving his weakness, made their advantages of it, as might hence appear, that since the departure of the last crusaders, he had lost above forty cities and castles, the keys of which had been formerly brought, and delivered to him by the people, who now revolted from him and the church, he being unable, for want of men, to remedy and prevent it. That he therefore besought them in God's name to lend him their assistance, or else he must be forced to quit and fling up the rights of the church and the country together.

Thus each party striving which should do the greatest mischief to the other, the earl Simon, whilst he waited for fresh supplies, took the castle of Beron near Montreal, where he put out the eyes, and cut off the noses of above a hundred Albigenes, and left one of them with one eye, to serve for a guide to conduct those mutilated christians to Cabaret.

CHAPTER VII.

Fresh hosts of Crusaders join Earl Simon, led from France by his wife. Earl Simon recovered by them the castles of Menerbe, Termes, and the city de la Vaur. Earl Remond is cited to appear before the Legate.—He refuses to make his appearance.—He is deceived by Tolquet Bishop of Toulouse, who maketh him lose the castle of Narbonne.—Death of the legate Milo.

In the year 1210, earl Simon being shut up in Carcassone, saith the treasure of histories, for want of forces, he understood that the countess his wife was bringing a great number of crusaders along with her from France, at which news he greatly rejoiced and went to meet her. A pleasant war indeed it was, in which the soldiers were raised by the priests, and headed by a woman.

The crusaders were employed in the recovery of the castle of Menerbe, a place by nature very strong, upon the frontiers of Spain. That siege was obtained at the intreaty of Ameri, lord of Narbonne, and the inhabitants thereof, who told them, that that place had ever been a thorn in their feet. They surrendered themselves for lack of water to the discretion of the legate, who ordered the crusaders to enter into the place with the cross and banner, causing the *Te Deum* to be sung. The abbot of Vaux had a mind to preach to those who were found in the castle, and exhort them to acknowledge the pope and adhere to the church of Rome; but they not staying till he had made an end of his discourse, unanimously cried out: We will not renounce our faith, we reject that of the church of Rome; your labour is to no purpose; neither life nor death shall move us to forsake our religion. Upon this answer, earl Simon and the legate caused a great fire to be kindled, and cast a hundred and forty persons of both sexes therein, who approached the flames with joy and alacrity, thanking and praising God, that he had vouchsafed them the honour to suffer death for his name's sake. Thus did those true martyrs of Jesus Christ end their frail and perishing lives in the midst of the flames, to live eternally in Heaven. Thus did they triumph over the pope's legate, opposing him to his face, threatening earl Simon with the just judgment of God, and that he would one day, when the books should be opened, dearly pay for the cruelties, which he then seemed, without danger of punishment, to exercise. Several of their monks and priests exhorted them to have pity on themselves, promising them their lives, provided they would live in obedience to the Romish faith; but three women only accepted of life upon condition of the abjuration of their religion; and they were induced so to do, by the allurements of Richard de Mar-siac's mother, all the rest most constantly suffering death.*

After that expedition, earl Simon laid siege to the castle of Termes, in the same territory of Narbonne, a place which seemed invincible by human force; which was also taken for want of water, not by capitulation; but because having for a long time wanted water, when it rained, and they drinking of the rain water which fell into their cisterns, which were not sufficiently cleansed and purified, they all fell sick. Therefore seeing themselves reduced to such a condition, and if they were put upon

* The monk of the valley of Bernay, chap. 47, Chass. lib. 3, chap. 7.

the necessity of fighting, they were unable to make any defence; they resolved to quit the place by night: which they did, without being perceived. The bishop of Chartres' soldiers entered the place, as soon as they perceived they had departed, and set up the standard of their bishop therein.^b

Among other reasons which earl Simon made use of to animate the pilgrims, this was one of the most powerful, that that place was of all others most execrable, because there had been no mass sung therein, ever since the year 1180, for the space of thirty years.^c

The castle Vetville de la Vaur, gave great uneasiness to earl Simon.^d It was besieged with fresh troops of crusaders, who came not long before from France, during the siege of Termes, under the conduct of the prelates of Chartres and Beauvais, the earls of Dreux, and Pontieure. That place was situated upon the river d'Agotte, five leagues from Carcassone, looking towards Toulouse, the lady of which was one Gerandi, sister to Aimeri, lord of Montreal. The legate had deprived the lord of Montreal of all his places and possessions, which occasioned him to cast himself into the city de la Vaur, to defend his sister. There were a great many honest people within that place. The legate had crusaders with him from all parts; from Normandy, they were led by their bishops, especially by the bishop of Liseux. Six thousand Germans were likewise upon their march to him. The earl of Foix being advertised of their coming, lay in ambush in their way, where he totally routed them, without suffering any to escape, except one count, who at the beginning of the engagement fled to carry the news to earl Simon, who caused the earl of Foix to be pursued with fourteen thousand men, but it was to no purpose; for he had already made his retreat to Mongiscard.

After six months siege, the city de la Vaur was scaled and taken, where the inhabitants were all put to the sword, except twenty-four gentlemen, whom earl Simon caused to be hanged. Aimeri was hanged upon a gallows higher than the rest; the lady de Lavaur was cast into a pit, and there knocked on the head with stones. We read but of one single act of humanity, that was ever done by earl Simon's troops, which was this; a certain gentleman being informed, that there were several women and damsels shut up in a house together, he begged them of the general, who granted them to him, and he conducted them safe and secure out of their hands, without any violence or indignity.^e Those were the principal places which the legate took in the year 1210.

Earl Remond of Toulouse, upon his return from Rome with the pope's letter, gave legate Milo to understand, that he was reconciled to the pope, and had received a full and entire absolution from him, and that he had made him some presents. The matter notwithstanding is otherwise set down in the *Treasure of Histories*,^f for it is there said, that the pope wrote to the bishop of Rhodes, to Milo, and to Theodosius, that if the earl could sufficiently clear himself before them of the death of friar Peter, and the heresy of which he was accused, they might give him his absolution.

^b Termes. The lord of Toulouse, in the history of his times, p. 459.

^c Petrus Vallis Sarm. lib. 15.

^d Lib. 3, p. 129. Hologarai Hist. of Foix, p. 129.

^e Chass. lib. 3, p. 150.

^f *Treasury of Hist.* in the treatise of the Albigenes.

That clause gave authority to the legate to call again the said earl to an account for the facts aforesaid, which was to reduce him to the source and original of his misfortunes. Earl Simon pressed the legate to proceed in the cause of earl Remond, either to absolve or condemn him, that he might know whether he was to take him for a friend or enemy to the pope and church, whether he must be at peace, or whether he was to wage war against him.

The legate Milo commanded him to appear in person, because he would examine into the matter once more, and know how he and his subjects would demean themselves towards earl Simon and the church.

Earl Remond replied, that neither he nor his subjects had any thing to do with them, that he had made his reconciliation with the pope, which the legate could not be ignorant of, since he had shown him the bulls, and that therefore he should desist from molesting him.

Earl Simon and the legate wrote to him a second time, telling him that it was necessary for him to come to them, to confirm the contents of the bulls, and render them effectual. His answer was, that he had much rather take the pains to go to Philip king of France, and the emperor, nay, and even to Rome itself, to make his complaint to the pope of the injury they did him, than to put himself any more into their hands.

When the legate saw that he could not entice him by letters, he consulted how he might take him by craft. They sent Tolquet bishop of Toulouse to him, with instructions how to demean himself in order to deceive him. That person was a very fit and proper instrument to bring about and accomplish the premeditated treachery. He therefore went his way to earl Remond, and insinuated himself into his favour, by feigned protestations of service, and sorrow to see an ill understanding betwixt him and the legate.—That he wished it were in his power to remove all jealousies, and to make up the breach, though it were at the hazard of his life, offering him all the service and good offices he could do him.—That he was much more obliged to procure the preservation of his welfare, than of any other person besides.—That as a friend, he advised him to take away from the legate all pretence of suspicion; so that when he would show he put his confidence in him, he could then no longer question his fidelity.—That a fair occasion now offered itself of obliging the legate and earl Simon, which was this, that he knew they were coming to Toulouse, and if he would offer them his lodgings in the castle of Narbonne, he would thereby let them see, that he put confidence in them, and so lay an obligation of friendship upon them. The earl Remond, incited by that bishop, offered them his castle. They accepted of it, and immediately placed a great garrison therein. That earl had no sooner let the words slip out of his mouth, than he began to repent of them, but it was too late to recede. He cursed his own imprudence, and his friends and subjects, his too great facility; for he saw his castle immediately fortified, to serve for a fortress, to check and overawe his subjects. And when they were masters of that place, they began publicly and openly to anathematize earl Remond; saying, that he deceived the pope, telling him that which he never designed to perform, since he continued as great an heretic as ever he was before his abjuration. That the destruction of the Albigenes, did depend upon the punishment and ruin of earl Remond; insomuch that if the earth were covered with the dead bodies of the Albigenes, yet whilst earl Remond remained in being,

they would continually spring up and increase; it was therefore resolved to exterminate the house of earl Remond, and utterly destroy it both root and branch. But as when man proposes that which Providence hath otherwise ordained, he finds himself fall short of his design—so was earl Simon disappointed of his hopes by the sudden death of the legate Milo, which changed the scene of Simon's affairs; for it required several years, to ruin and overthrow the house of earl Remond and his adherents, which he had proposed to do in a few days.

CHAPTER VIII.

Theodosius succeeding the legate Milo, proceeds against Earl Remond.—Excommunicated and drew up most violent articles against him.—Earl Remond and the king of Arragon withdraw from St. Gilles and Arles, that they might not be taken by the legate.—Simon lays siege to Montserrat.—Baudoin revolts.—The king of Arragon allies himself with earl Simon.

IN the year 1211, the pope's legate Theodosius gave earl Remond to understand, that he would do him all the justice he could desire in his affairs, and enticed him by specious words to St. Giles. Upon his arrival thither, he opened from the beginning the murder of friar Peter de Chasteauneuf, without consideration or regard to any preceding justification; and excommunicated Remond, not for being guilty of the death of the said monk; but because he did not expel the Albigenes out of his country, as he had obliged himself by promise to do. The earl Remond suspecting the said excommunication, withdrew to Toulouse, without saying one word, before the legate could have the means and opportunity of pronouncing and declaring the sentence against him.

The prelate of Thoulouse knowing him to be excommunicated, sent him word, that he must depart the city of Toulouse, whilst he sung mass; because he must not perform it, whilst any excommunicated person was in the city. Earl Remond, enraged at the impudence of that bishop, sent a certain gentleman of his attendance to tell him, that he was immediately to quit his territories, upon pain of death. The bishop departed, and sent word to the provost and canons of the cathedral church, that they must likewise go along with him, carrying the cross, the banner, and the host, and that for the greater solemnity and devotion, they should go barefoot, and in procession. In that equipage they arrived at the legate's army, where they were received as confessors persecuted for the mass, with the tears of the crusaders, and the universal applause of the whole army.

The legate thought, that he had now sufficient grounds to persecute the earl Remond, as a relapsed and impenitent person: but he desired very much to lay hold of him, for he thought if he should once get him into his clutches, he could bring him to make such a conclusion of the business as the earl of Beziers did. To that end, he soothed him up with letters full of testimonies of kindness and good-will, and by that means drew him a second time to Arles. The earl Remond desired the king of Arragon to be there, to prevent foul play, if occasion should require. At their arrival thither, the legate forbade the king of Arragon, and the said earl Remond, to depart from the city without his leave, upon pain of his displeasure, and being proceeded against as rebels to the church.

Some of earl Remond's friends found out the means to give him a sight of the articles of the sentence, which the legate was going to pronounce against him, as follows:—

That the earl of Toulouse should immediately disband all his soldiers, without reservation of one of them.

That he should live in obedience and subjection to the church, make reparation for its damages, and defray its charges and expense.

That they should eat of but two sorts of flesh throughout all his dominions.

That he should expel all the heretics, and their allies, out of his territories.

That he should deliver up into the hands of the legate, and the earl of Montfort, all those whom they would name to him, to do with them according to their will and pleasure, and that within the space of one year.

That no person within his dominions, either noble or ignoble, should wear any valuable apparel, but only black and coarse cloaks.

That all his strong places and castles of defence should be razed and demolished.

That no gentleman belonging to him should reside in any city or castle, but should dwell in cottages, and in the fields, like villagers.

That he should levy no toll or tributes in his land, but what were anciently imposed.

That every housekeeper should pay a yearly tribute of four Toulousian pence to the legate.

That when the earl of Montfort, or any of his subjects, passed through his country, they should pay nothing for what they had there.

That having accomplished and performed all the articles abovementioned, he should moreover go to the war against the Turks, and never return thence until he received orders so to do from the legate.

That after he had done all this, the legate, and the earl of Montfort, would restore him to his lands and lordships, when they thought good.

Those articles were communicated to the king of Arragon, who found them so tyrannical and unjust, that he would stay no longer in that place, but advised the earl of Toulouse instantly to take horse, for fear they should seize him, until the said articles were fully executed, or should murder and make him away, as he supposed they would do, to get possession of what he had. Because the king of Arragon had persuaded him never to trust the legate, or earl Simon any more, he upbraided his credulity, telling him in the Gascon tongue, *Pla bous an pagat*;—They have well rewarded you.

The legate and earl Simon being very much displeased, that the prey had escaped their hands, and knowing well enough that he would not suffer himself to be cajoled and imposed upon by them any more; endeavoured to gain that by force of arms, which by artifice they could not obtain. Upon that they went and laid siege to the castle of Montserand, in which earl Remond had placed earl Baudoin his brother together with the viscount of Montelar, Remond of Pierregourde, and Pons Roux of Toulouse, and several other valiant persons, for the defence of that place, the importance of which he very well knew. The earl Simon, out of all hopes of taking that place, desired to speak with earl Baudoin, which being granted, he told him that his brother did evidently demonstrate,

that he had a desire to destroy him, when he shut him up in so sorry and inconsiderable a place, which he very well saw he was no longer able to secure or defend; since at the arrival of so great a number of crusaders who were coming, he would be made sensible of his folly in shutting himself up in so weak a hold. That if he stood out any violent assaults of the soldiers, there would be left no room for mercy. That if he would deliver up himself and the place, he would commit it to his custody for the church, and moreover would make him partaker of his future conquests, with such advantage, that he might one day become greater, and in more authority than his brother, who by his rebellion had brought himself to the brink of total ruin and destruction. That his strength would never be sufficient to withstand the force of so many kings, princes, and potentates, who sent their people to that war, rewarded by their own pure zeal alone, without putting the church to any charge or expense. That every one would admire and commend his prudent retreat, besides the happiness and satisfaction which he would procure to himself, by consecrating himself to the service of God and his church, and forsaking an unhappy party, in which there was not any but whom the church judged worthy to be committed to the flames. Earl Baudoin suffering himself to be overcome by the fair speeches and promises of earl Simon, surrendered the place to him, and put himself into Bruniquel, a fortress very strong, belonging to earl Remond, and promised never to bear arms again, but in favour of the church. Those two places drew over to earl Simon's party, the towns of Rabasteins, Gaillac, Montagu, La Guarda, Pech, Selfas, La Guipia, Antonin, and some other neighbouring places.

Earl Remond being very much surprised to see himself forsaken and betrayed by his own brother, condoled his misfortunes at Toulouse, where he waited day after day for his investiture. To add to the weight of his calamities, he heard that the legate and earl Simon had enticed the king of Arragon into their alliance, his only support and stay under God upon earth. The means which they made use of to effect it was after this manner: the legate wrote to him, that he would get himself much praise and honour, and do a signal and notable piece of service to the pope and the church, if he would become once more a mediator to make peace between them; and that therefore they desired him to come to Narbonne, where he would see good foundations laid in order thereto. He took his journey thither. The first thing they proposed to him was, to make some accommodation between the earl of Foix, earl Simon, and the church;— a premeditated design to deprive earl Remond of his succours. After which, they gave him to understand, that earl Simon desired to live with him as the best friend and relation that he had in the world, and for that reason he was very willing to enter into alliance with him, if he pleased to accept of a daughter of his to marry with his eldest son; and such conditions they proposed to him, that he gave earl Simon his consent to the match between his son and earl Simon's daughter. Out of regard and consideration to which alliance, he gave the investiture of the earldom of Beziers, which he never would consent to before, nor to that of the country of Carcassone, which he did then likewise obtain. But the greatest mischief which this alliance did to the earls of Foix and Toulouse was, that they had caused the king of Arragon to oblige himself by oath, not to take the part of the Albigenes any more, but to stand neutral in that war of the church against them.

The earl Simon having accomplished his desire, which was to alienate

the king of Arragon from the earls of Toulouse and Foix, took his opportunity, and fell upon both of them, with all his ravaging crusaders.

CHAPTER IX.

Earl Simon lays siege to Toulouse.—After committing great spoils in the vineyards, he was beaten, and raised the siege.—Almeri is taken prisoner.—The Earl of Toulouse was succoured.—Earl Simon made war with the Earl of Foix, who went to speak with the Legate in person, but obtained nothing.—The King of Arragon animated the Earl of Foix, for whom his son Roger makes intercession in vain.

THE first attempt of earl Simon, after the alliance which he had contracted with the king of Arragon, was the siege of Toulouse, being strengthened by a vast multitude of crusaders, whom the bishop of Toulouse went to levy in France, whilst Theodosius the legate, and earl Simon diverted and amused earl Remond, under the colour and pretence of a treaty with him.

Being arrived at Montandre, upon the banks of the Garonne, near to Toulouse, earl Remond made a sally out of Toulouse with five hundred horse and a good many foot, upon them, and came as far as the bridge, in hope either to gain or to break it down.*

There was an obstinate dispute at that place, and many were slain on both sides. Earl Remond at length gave orders to sound a retreat: the enemy taking courage thereat, passed the bridge, and pursued earl Remond even to the gates of Toulouse. The earl returned upon them with that briskness and fury, that he drove the enemy back to the bridge, which being not large enough to receive them, they were almost all slain, before they could reach the foot of the bridge. Aimeri, earl Simon of Montfort's son, was taken prisoner.

Earl Simon seeing that loss, and his son taken prisoner, spurred on and encouraged his crusaders to the engagement. They endeavouring to revenge that overthrow, rushed into the ditches, and set up their scaling ladders; but they met with a most brave and valiant repulse. The ditches

* Chass. Lib. 4, c. 14, p. 162. Earl Remond determined to interrupt the besiegers by frequent sallies. After several furious assaults given by the popish army, and some successful sallies of the Albigenes, the earl of Toulouse compelled his enemies to raise the siege. In their retreat they did much mischief in the countries through which they passed, and put many defenceless Albigenes to death. The earl of Toulouse did all he could to recover the friendship of the king of Arragon; and as the marriage ceremony between that monarch's daughter and Simon's son, had not been performed; he intreated him to break off that match, and proposed another more proper: that his own eldest son and heir should wed the princess of Arragon, and that by this match their friendship should be again united and more firmly cemented. His majesty was easily persuaded not only to agree to this proposal, but to form a league with the principal Albigenes, and to put himself as captain-general at the head of their united forces, consisting of his own people, and of the troops of the earls of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminges. The papists were greatly alarmed at these proceedings. Simon sent to all parts of Europe, to engage the assistance of the Roman powers, and the pope's legate began hostilities by entering the dominions of the earl of Foix, and committing the most cruel depredations.

were filled with the dead bodies of pilgrims, and earl Simon was beaten from off his horse. Just in the midst of that action arrived the earl of Champagne, with a great number of crusaders, and he also came just in time to be well beaten. Earl Simon then ordered them to make what ravages they could. Upon that, the papists rushed into the vineyards, orchards and gardens, cut down all the fruit trees, and rooted up the vines; at which time, the president of Agennes, sallying out of Toulouse with a great number of the inhabitants, and seeing them spoil and destroy their possessions, they furiously fell upon the crusaders scattered about the fields, and slew a great number of them. The earl of Foix, on the other hand, at the head of some troops of horse and foot, slew as many of them as he could meet with. The earl of Bar kept his troops in better order, and observing the confusion and disorder of those especially who were flying away, he cried out a Bar, a Bar; which the inhabitants of Toulouse hearing, they charged them so briskly before any of them could rally and fall in with his party, that he was likewise defeated with the rest. Earl Remond retired with his troops into Toulouse, and commanded public and solemn thanksgivings to be made to God, for the signal and admirable victory which he had obtained over his enemies.

The fame of earl Remond's victories being spread abroad, there arrived succours to him from all parts round about: for they all began to grow weary of the troops of the pope, and willingly contributed both their lives and estates to drive them out of the country.^b Earl Simon growing scarce of provision, because the passages by which it should come were blocked up, was constrained to raise the siege. The earls of Chalons and Bar, and several other German earls, returned home, their quarantines, or term of forty days, being expired.^c Notwithstanding this, he would not lie idle in autumn. He therefore marched into the territories of the earl of Foix, to refresh the rest of his army, and to possess himself of some places. He penetrated even to the very town of Foix, and pillaged and destroyed all that was round about it, and afterwards set fire to the said town. Being come to Pamiers, the legate took one half of the army to accompany him to Roquemaure, where he went with the design to pass the winter. In his way, being in the territories of St. Felix de Caraman, he took the tower of Cassas, and about an hundred men that were found therein, whom he burnt alive, and caused the place to be demolished. Earl Simon, in the mean time, ruined and laid waste the country of the earl of Foix, while the earl was confined to his bed by a grievous fit of sickness, during which his servants dared not tell him of his losses, of Pamiers, Sauerdun, Mirepoix, and Pressaut, a very strong place near Carcassone, which they had also battered. Being recovered of his sickness, and understanding what havoc the earl Simon had made of his houses, and what ruin and devastation his poor subjects had endured, he went to the army of the cross, and desiring to speak with the general of the army, he delivered his mind to them as follows:

"The inconstancy of tottering and fickle fortune, most noble lords and gentlemen, makes me not at all wonder to see myself so severely handled and afflicted by that cruel step-dame. I have heretofore braved and defied mine enemies, fought in open field against those who durst resist my power, and entertained great and mighty monarchs as my friends. No-

^b Chass. Lib. 3, c. 14, p. 169.

^c Petrus de Val. Barn. c. 79.

body durst threaten, much less offer to offend me, neither could my sword endure it. I have been entrusted and employed in public negotiations, which are ever attended with great difficulties, but never contracted therein any dishonour or reproach. And I should have thought my labour ill bestowed, had it not been upon signal and eminent occasions—not desiring to acquire to myself the name of a man of honour and honesty, by the unjust and unworthy means which some men propose to themselves. For he that is not an honest man, but because the world should know him to be such, and honour and esteem him the more for it;—he who will not do good, but upon condition that men should know his virtue, is not a person from whom much service may be expected. We must, saith the maxim, go to war out of duty, and wait for that recompense which cannot fail to attend all worthy actions, though never so secret;—we must content ourselves with our good intentions, it being a mighty pleasure and satisfaction which a well-governed conscience receives in itself for well doing. My courage therefore remaining in my breast entire proof against all the assaults of fortune, and having my conscience clear in this, that I never gave you any occasion whatsoever to move you against me, I have made no difficulty to appear in your assembly, to bring my head, not my treasures, to expose it to the mercy of the soldiers; not to bring my riches, as so many bulwarks to secure my country, which you have already without cause reduced to a very miserable condition, but to resign myself to be judged by your council, and to submit to whatsoever shall be agreed upon thereby. For I had much rather never been born than to survive my reputation, and I could not endure to see that honour and glory extinguished, which I justly acquired in my younger years. Have you ever known me to be an enemy to the kingdom of France? If so, then let me shamefully lose both my life and honour together. And who is it that dares say it to my face? Have I ever conspired against the church? What then can I have done to deserve such treatment as this? And do you think, that for the sake of the little time which I have to spend in this vain and trifling life, I would forfeit the life eternal, and expose myself to everlasting death, to please any one's fancy and desire? Wise men are wont to propose more just and honourable ends in so weighty and important an enterprise. Every person of honour would rather choose to sacrifice his honour than his conscience. It is that which I look upon as the most valuable jewel in all my cabinet. Let me, I pray you, enjoy the same privilege which the kings of France have given me; that is, to be accounted faithful, as they have formerly esteemed me, when they had occasion to make use of my house: to the end, that not being provoked, I may not be constrained to defend myself, and offend you, which would be contrary both to my inclinations and design. This I solemnly vow and protest to you.”⁴

Roger the earl of Foix's son was very much concerned at the submission of his father, as being an action beneath the grandeur of their house. The king of Arragon was likewise distasted at it; for although he was allied to the earl Simon, yet he did not spare to let him know, that he could not approve of his unjust usurpations, under the colour of religion.

The earl Simon on the other hand, spoke openly and aloud; “That the conquests were just and lawful: that he had his right from the pope: that

⁴ Hologaray, *Hist. of Foix*, p. 133.

he possessed nothing, but what he had won by the sword: that he had an army to answer whomsoever offered to oppose him in it, though it were the king of Arragon himself, and strength enough to defend himself against any one whatsoever.*

The king of Arragon wrote to the earl of Foix, that since the legate and earl Simon had deceived him, in not making restitution of his lands and places, which they had promised to restore unto him, he must trust them no more: that the design of earl Simon was too evident and well known; which was, to make himself great and rich out of other men's substance, under the cloak of religion; if a stop were not put to his ambition and avarice, by the joint arms and confederacy of those, whom he had already robbed and deprived of their goods, together with those who were apprehensive, that having begun with their neighbours, his inclinations would prompt him to persecute them without end; for that the insatiable desires of men are boundless. That he knew, he did not seek after an alliance with him, out of any desire he had to be honoured thereby; but only to hinder him from succouring and assisting those, whom he designed to strip naked of what they had. He also sent letters to Roger the earl of Foix his son, exhorting him to strengthen himself against the unjust usurpations of Montfort, or otherwise he would be made a general laughing stock: that the earl Simon was but weak, accompanied with a few discontented crusaders, ready to return home; and that he should therefore take the field, and then he would quickly see who would assist him.

Earl Remond being troubled at the alienation of the king of Arragon, by the marriage of his son with Simon of Montfort's daughter, thought it necessary to try to regain him by another marriage. He therefore moved a match between Remond his only son, and one of the king of Arragon's daughters. The king of Arragon complied with the motion. Earl Simon was displeas'd at it. The monk saith, That that marriage rendered the king of Arragon very infamous and suspected, because the earl of Toulouse was a manifest persecutor of the church.†

The king of Arragon knowing the murmuring of earl Simon, did not fear openly to declare his design, to defend the earls of Foix and Toulouse; that one was his brother in law, and the other his subject. That he did not doubt, but that God would one day put it into their power to make him repent of his unjust conquests.

Earl Simon being advertised of the threats of the king of Arragon, besought him to blot those ill opinions, which he had conceived of him, out of his mind, and he would make him judge and umpire of the difference betwixt him and the earl of Foix. The earl of Foix, on the other hand, entreated the king of Arragon to comply with the motion, who obtained of earl Simon a restitution of all his lands, except Pamiers. When Roger his son heard of that exception, he presently said, that he would agree to nothing of that; but that he knew well enough how to recover that by the sword, which he by treachery and false pretences had unjustly taken from him. He took up arms, entered the field, foraged the country, and so seasonably laid hold of all opportunities and occasions, and managed his time with such an incredible diligence in all his exploits, that he made the army of the cross feel the bloody effects of his valour.

* Hologaray, Hist. of Foix, p. 133.

† Petrus Vallis Sarnens. chap. 64.

The earl of Toulouse, on the other hand, laid hold on that occasion, kindled and fomented those sparks of division, endeavoured to insinuate himself into the friendship of the earl of Foix, and they made between them and their confederates, a league offensive and defensive, against earl Simon, their common enemy; and met together at Toulouse to confirm it by oath; and thereupon they prepared themselves for the war: every one of them contributing according to their abilities, to so weighty and important an affair.

CHAPTER X.

Siege of Castelnaud d'Arri.—Earl Simon's retreat.—The Earl of Foix offered him battle.—The King of Arragon interceded for the Earls of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminge.—He wrote in their behalf to the Council at de la Vaur.—The King of Arragon bade defiance to Earl Simon.—Levies made on both sides; but Earl Simon advancing, took several places.

THE first exploit which the confederates undertook in that war, was the siege of Castelnaud d'Arri. They marched thither in the following manner; the van-guard was led by the earl of Foix and his son Roger; the main body by Remond earl of Toulouse; and the prince and sovereign de Bearn brought up the rear. That army consisted of fifty thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry; and moreover the city of Toulouse was well furnished and supplied with a good strong garrison, and all sorts of ammunition and instruments of war. Earl Simon threw himself into Castelnaud d'Arri. That place was very well situated, and the castle much better; and the city was sufficiently provided with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, to hold out a long siege. The earl of Foix made his approach, and lodged himself near the rampires, where he erected several machines. The enemy at the time made a sally out of the city, and rudely fell upon the vanguard, but they were so vigorously repulsed, that many were left dead in the trenches. The suburbs were taken by the besiegers. Earl Roger was there wounded with a stone from the city, cast out of one of their engines. The earl of Toulouse encamped upon a hill over against the castle, encompassed and surrounded with barriers. The prince de Bearn pitched on the other side of the city. The army of the Albigenes hourly increased upon the report which was spread abroad, that earl Simon was there blocked up, so great a desire had every one to see his ruin. Because there were too many Albigenes at that siege, it was judged convenient that Earl Remond should go with a party to surprise certain little castles, which were disadvantageous to the army. He made himself master of Puilaurens, Albi, Rabasteins, Gaillac, Montagu, and Sauerdun.

Earl Simon began to be sensible of his folly, in suffering himself to be blocked up in Castelnaud d'Arri; and that he, a general, ought to be at liberty, to make a general provision for those places which did depend upon his authority. He left Guy de Lewis, called the marshal of the faith, within the place; and the better to favour his escape, he caused a sally to be made upon the besiegers, to engage some of the troops whilst he made it.

Earl Remond being advertised of Earl Simon's departure, was extremely vexed, rather out of shame, than from an apprehension of any evil, which

he supposed would follow it. For the report had been every where spread abroad, that the general was in the cage, and that he should not come out thence, but bareheaded with a rope about his neck, begging for mercy. They complained one of another; the earl of Foix, because they had left him to engage in so fierce a battle without succours; and earl Remond, because he had run himself into such extreme dangers, without communicating it to any one.

At length they resolved to raise the siege, because winter was drawing on, and a vast levy of crusaders were marching towards them, whose lives the earl Simon would not much value, because he had the pope's bull, that such as should lose their lives in that war, would go straight into paradise, as free from sin, as a hen-roost is from scent. This earl Simon began to be puffed up with pride, and made a scoff at the great and fruitless preparations, which the Albigenses made for the war, and especially that they had suffered him to make his escape, though they were twelve to one.

Upon that retreat, the people of Castelnau must needs pursue the army: but they came off with the worst of it. For Roger turned upon them with that fury, that he chased and slew the enemy even to their gates.

The monk of the valleys of Sernay writes very fabulously concerning this matter. For he says, that although the army of the Albigenses did consist of one hundred thousand fighting men, yet the people of Castelnau d'Arri did gather their vintage, as if there had been no enemy before the city, and that the servants went to water the horses, half a league from the place, the Albigenses never daring to set upon them. Thus you may see the fidelity of such monkish historiographers; yet when he falls to vilifying and reproaches, he knows no limits in his excess. In the same place he put himself in a rage against one Savari de Mauleon, president to the king of England at Guienne, who had led some troops before Castelnau d'Arri in favour of the Albigenses. He calls him infidel, oppugner of the church, a most virulent and venomous person, a wicked and undone wretch, an enemy to God, the prince of apostacy, artificial in cruelty, the author of perversity, a diabolical person, nay even the devil himself. He had either doubtless followed very close upon their heels, or else this style is very monkish.*

After this retreat, every one of the Albigensian lords withdrew into their own quarters. The earl of Foix understanding that earl Simon was gone to Pamiers, where he did much annoy his subjects, departed from Toulouse with two thousand men, and came to the gates of Pamiers, to offer earl Simon battle, but he would not hearken thereto, finding his crusaders too weak to run the hazard of it; and doubting that the Albigenses would take the field the spring following, earl Simon thought of nothing so much all the winter, as to fortify those places in his possession, so as that they might hold out a siege. Amongst others, endeavouring to make provision for Farniaux, a place of importance. Roger perceiving the design, lay in ambush so advantageously, that he routed and defeated all those who brought them either ammunition or provision.

Earl Simon in the meanwhile, who feared nothing but the king of Arragon, got the legate to write to him, that he should intermeddle no more with the affairs of the Albigenses, unless he would involve himself in the same miseries and excommunication with them. He desired also that

* Petrus Vallis Sarn. p. 118.

Philip king of France would write to him, and intreat him not to take their parts, who are enemies to the pope and the church. The legate also got the pope to write to him upon the same subject.

Those intreaties of the pope and the king of France were to him as so many express commands, and therefore when the earls of Foix, Toulouse, and Comminge, were urgent upon him to assist them; he told them he would do it, but that it was necessary first to try whether he could not procure that by peaceable and gentle means, which could not without danger be obtained by war. That the legate had called a council of all those of his party, that he would write to them, and that if he could do no good by letters, he would endeavour to bring them to reason by arms. He therefore wrote to the said council, entreating them to put an end to those cruel and bloody wars undertaken under colour of religion, offering for the earls' part, their obedience to the pope and the court of Rome—but that they must never promise themselves any peace, until they had made restitution to the said earls of all their lands and possessions. The council at de la Vaur made the following answer.

“ We have heard the requests which you have formerly made in behalf of the earl of Toulouse, his son and his council, the earls of Foix and Comminge, and the lord of Bearn, in which you style yourself the humble and devoted son of the church; for which we return hearty thanks to our Lord God and your highness. You may assure yourself, that out of regard to the love you bear to the church, we would readily hear, and gladly comply with your petitions—but in answer to your highness, and the intercession which you make for the earl of Toulouse, his council, and his son, we do certify and assure you, that their cause and the determination thereof, doth belong to our sovereign father, he having reserved it to himself. You may call to mind if you please, the infinite number of graces, favours, and offers, made to him by our holy father the pope, after innumerable cruelties, and horrid outrages committed by him: you may also remember the kind and endearing entertainment which he found at the hands of the then abbot of Cistcaux, and the legate at Montpellier, in the archbishopric of Narbonne, about two years ago; as likewise the offers that were then made to him, which he rejected and refused to accept. Which grace and favour he did in such a manner contemn and despise, that he did often and arrogantly make himself appear to be an enemy not only to God, but also to his church; for which reason he hath deserved to be forever banished and excluded from the favour of God, and of his church. As to the petitions of the earls of Foix and Comminge, and the lord of Bearn, they have falsified and infringed the oaths which they took; and instead of conforming themselves to that mild and courteous admonition and instruction given, they are filled with that abominable heresy, for which they were to their great shame and disgrace excommunicated. This is all the answer that we can make in satisfaction to the request of your highness. Given at La Vaur the fifteenth of the Kalends of February, Anno 1212.”

The king of Arragon being much moved with this answer, wrote a second time to the council, requiring truce for the said earls, until an answer could come from the pope: but it was denied.

The earl of Foix was very well pleased that the council had not satisfied the requests of the king of Arragon, because he must have been

engaged to promise for him, and in his behalf, that he should acknowledge the pope and the church of Rome; and which was more, seeing the king persisted in that opinion, that such promises must be made in order to recover their goods and possessions, to the end that they might never oblige themselves to that which they could never perform; knowing that the king of Arragon and the earls of Comminge and Toulouse, were met at Toulouse to order and settle their affairs, he came thither, and thus he spake unto them:—^b

“Sir, and you my worthy masters,—Since ambition can teach men both valour and temperance, and avarice can give courage to a boy bred up in laziness in a shop, to commit himself to the mercy of the waves, and of angry Neptune, in a weak and slender vessel, it would be a piece of cowardly negligence in us, who, by the renowned trophies of our glorious actions and exploits, have signalized our names, even as far as the confines of Arabia, should we now, by a shameful and treacherous acknowledgment, pull down and overthrow the towering monuments of our valour. No: my arm shall never consent to that—we are not yet in a state of servitude. I and my son choose rather to try the inconstant fortune of war, than to derive upon us and ours so notable and so indelible a reproach. And therefore, for the honour of God, let us free ourselves from that shame; that men may not see us reduced to that deplorable condition, lamenting and condoling our losses like women. If we must needs submit, let it be after we have played the part of brave and heroic generals. This is a great and hazardous undertaking, you will say, but was resolved upon by you all: *Que je voy maintenant les restors que lui donnent le branle de sa cheute.* Adieu! we refuse to give our consent in any thing, let come what will.”

The king of Arragon was moved with the discourse of the earl of Foix, which charged him in particular with being the cause of their ruin, because he had animated them against the earl Simon and the legate, and then either left them as a prey to, or else procured them a peace worse than a bloody war. “You have, sir,” said he, “set open a door to our enemies, to tyrannize over us, had they accepted of it, and with much greater glory than they could have hoped to obtain by force of arms; for we had all been their subjects, without any other cost and labour than that of your earnest and diligent suit and request. As for my part,” said he, “I would sooner have stabbed myself than have drunk of that cup.” And after several examples, which he laid before them of those who have exchanged a shameful and miserable life for death, choosing rather to kill themselves than to serve for triumphs to their enemies, he continued his discourse to this effect:—

“As for my part, I had rather follow those great and generous spirits, than after having so often, in the cause of another, given testimony with sword in hand, that I preferred mine honour before my life, to play the coward, and grow negligent of it at last in a matter relating to myself. And although fortune should deprive me of all means of opposing the wrong and injury which they would do unto me, yet my courage will never permit that I should expose myself to the reflections of the people,

^b Hologaray, History of Foix.

nor to the insults and triumphs of persons less worthy than myself. This their denial of your request is my comfort, and the support of our honour, for we must either—oh, horrid and unheard-of action!—have broken our faith, or else basely have played the coward, and lived a life more miserable, more cruel, than any torment of *Phalaris*; like unhappy wretches, submitting our necks to the yoke of the enemy, and acknowledging ourselves subdued, sell our own and the liberty of our posterity for ever. Good God, what a blow were this! Since, therefore, the tempest is risen so high, receive us into your protection, and be our general, serving us for an example, a guide, and a tower of defence: so shall we engage our wills and lives, to show ourselves your most humble and devoted servants and valiant soldiers, when opportunity and occasion require. And although I be now worn out with years, yet never had I greater courage and resolution."

Earl Remond, seconding him, intreated the king of Arragon not to desert their cause, and offered both his estate and life, to fight under his authority.

The king of Arragon, overcome by these intreaties, and moved with compassion towards the afflicted, at length took up arms, and sent two trumpeters with this note of defiance to earl Simon.—"Endeavour without delay to execute the will of the pope, or to fight with your lord; and if you fall into my hands, I will make you pay for it. It is your duty—I will have it so—and I rather desire it, than to put myself to the trouble and charge of a great army for your destruction."

Earl Simon made good use of this letter of defiance, for he sent it into several parts of Europe, telling them by the bishops and monks who preached the *croisade*, that they had not only the earls of Toulouse, Foix and Comminge, or the prince of Bearn, to deal with, but they were to cope with a mighty and potent king, who had made himself general of the Albigenses; that if he was not supplied with extraordinary succours and assistants, the cause of the church was at an end; and therefore he desired every good christian, and especially the king of France, to aid and assist him in that holy quarrel, and extreme necessity.

The king of Arragon, on the other hand, wrote to the king of France, that earl Simon of Montfort had his mind puffed up with great conceits, beyond the reach and capacity both of his understanding and strength;—that all his designs were only varnished over with a pretence of religion, and that in the mean time his aim was nothing less than to be a king indeed, and Simon by name. He besought the king, both by his letters and agents, not to join with either party in the said war; which he easily obtained of the king, because it grieved him to see his subjects continually led away to be butchered in that war of the Albigenses, under pretence of the pope's pardon, and to see so many great lords, his relations, so harassed and persecuted by earl Simon.

When earl Simon knew that the king of France stood neuter, he was very much troubled at it, and could find nothing to have recourse to but the threatenings of the legate to excommunicate the king of Arragon, in case he proceeded any farther. The legate sent him an ambassage and letters. The king of Arragon returned them the following answer: "Go quickly, and tell your master that I will come and see him, and give him an answer with an army of ten thousand fighting men; and bid him see well to defend himself, for I will teach him to play with his peer."

Every one made preparation. Earl Simon sent the archdeacon of

Paris and James de Vitri into France, to preach the *croisade*.³ King Philip Augustus would not suffer that levy to be made in his kingdom; notwithstanding which, there went a great number thither from Auvergne, Normandy, and round about Lyons. The crusaders arrived before the king of Arragon had made ready his army, which gave advantage to earl Simon—for in the mean time he took Grave, and marched into the country of Foix, took Tudelle belonging to the Albigenes, and put all that were found therein to the sword, without distinction of age or sex; he besieged St. Antonin, took it, and caused thirty of the principal persons of that place to be hanged in cool blood, after he had given them their lives; and suffered the convent of monks which was in that place to be sacked and pillaged. He besieged Penes, and took it by capitulation, as he likewise did Marmand. He also seized upon the castle of Biron by the sea-side. Earl Simon caused Martin Alquay to be tied to a horse's tail, and so dragged through his army, and afterwards hanged him, because he had before surrendered the said place to earl Remond. Moreover, the castles of Sarrazin and Agen surrendered to him. The people of Moissac also opened their gates to the army of the cross. All this did earl Simon, before the king of Arragon appeared in the field.⁴

CHAPTER XI.

Exploits of Earl Simon, before the King of Arragon had prepared his army—The King of Arragon refused to come to any composition with Earl Simon, being weak.—The taking of the city of Muret, by the King of Arragon.—The battle.—The King of Arragon slain, and his army routed.

UPON the thirteenth day of September, in the year 1213, the king of Arragon, with Remond, earl of Toulouse, the earls of Foix and Comminge, and the prince of Bearn, appeared in the field with an army of seven thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. They took Muret, a little city bordering upon the country of Foix, seated upon the river Garonne; but they could not take the castle. Earl Simon supposed that would be the place where the army of the Albigenes would spend itself, because the castle was strong, and that if it held out for some time, the army would of itself be scattered and overthrown. He therefore put himself into that castle with a small number of his stoutest soldiers, and furnished it with ammunitions, and so heartened and encouraged the besieged by his presence, that they thought themselves invincible. Of such power and efficacy is the good opinion which soldiers have of their general to strengthen and confirm the most weak and faint-hearted.

Some began to reflect upon the king of Arragon's proceeding, in that he refused to accept of a composition so advantageous to himself, and all the Albigenian lords, which was offered him by earl Simon when he saw the disparity of their forces; for earl Simon had but about seven hundred foot and five hundred horse. It is ill assaulting a man who is destitute of all other hopes of escaping but by arms, for necessity is a violent school-

³ Petrus Vallis Sarnens. c. 69.

⁴ Chass. c. 17, p. 177.

mistress. But the king of Arragon thought it beneath him to be flattered, after having received so many insolent affronts from his vassal; for, as he observes, he wrote several letters without any salutation, containing the following expressions: "That if he continued in his obstinate defiance, he did likewise bid him defiance, and that thenceforth he would be bound to no service to him, and that he hoped, by God's assistance, to defend himself against him and his confederates."

The king of Arragon having these insolent expressions engraven in his memory, thought him altogether unworthy of favour in this his weakness, especially supposing that this submission of his was only to evade this dangerous shock, and to wait the arrival of his crusaders, and that then he would become more insolent and intolerable than before. Since earl Simon, at other times, when in the height of his strength and prosperity, and when he saw himself followed by an army of one hundred thousand men, used to make a jest of the submissions of the earls of Foix and Toulouse, he thought it would be a piece of weakness and cowardice not to return like for like; and that he would laugh at them afterwards, if they should show compassion to one who never had mercy upon any;—that since he had so long took delight in provoking and incensing the lords to be his enemies, he ought to have had a great number of soldiers, and such as might have had more solid pay than the pope's pardons; and those such as would not desert him in his greatest necessity, and be persuaded, as the crusaders were, that there was nothing more to be gained;—for he that hath purchased paradise, as the pope would make men believe in his bulls, hath nothing more to get but blows, if he desire any further reward, as those did who outstayed their *quarantins*, or forty days, in that war.

The king of Arragon thought that it was fit to make use of his advantages against so malicious and insolent a person. But nobody must promise himself the victory but the Lord, who is the God of Hosts—for the victory doth not depend either upon the number or forces of men, but upon God alone, who many times shows his strength and power in the weakness of men.

Their armies were ranged and ordered in the following manner. The earl of Foix and his son Roger led on the van of the king of Arragon's army, composed of three thousand horse and ten thousand foot, bowmen and pikemen, which were reckoned the surest arms in those days. The main body was commanded by earl Remond of Toulouse, in conjunction with the earls of Comminge, and the prince of Bearn, which did consist of above four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, without any rear-guard.

Earl Simon's van-guard was led by Guy de Lewis, marshal of the faith, consisting of five hundred horse and three hundred foot. The earl came in the main body, with one thousand horse and four hundred foot, almost all of them Frenchmen, without any rear.

The king of Arragon made his turns and returns at the head of his army, which was judged a great fault and oversight—because a general of an army ought not to behave himself like a captain of arquebusiers, nor run his curvets to be seen, since on the loss of him depends the fate both of the battle and of the country which he defends; but he ought to

keep in the centre of the army, to manage and conduct as occasion requires, the whole body, which ought not to move without his direction and commands. Earl Simon, on the contrary, came down slowly and gradually from the castle of Muret, inclosed, as it were, and in good order. The king of Arragon seeing him, thought that he rather came to throw himself at his feet than to fight;—however, he drew up his army upon very advantageous ground. They immediately joined battle, and earl Simon's van-guard were almost cut in pieces; and so ill did it go with him and his party, that it seemed to him, as if that were the place where Providence had called him to pay with interest for his former insolencies and cruelties, to his own shame and confusion. Then alas the king of Arragon approached at the head of his van-guard to his own total ruin and destruction; for drawing near to an ambuscade of four hundred musketeers, which earl Simon had placed within some old barns, he was there mortally wounded, and fell dead from his horse; whereupon they fell into such terror and disorder, that though the earls of Foix, Toulouse and Comminge, did what they could to stop the flight of their cowardly army, yet they could prevail nothing with them, but were forced themselves to follow the rest, and to commit themselves to the hazard of that shameful retreat, flying directly to Toulouse. Earl Simon prosecuted his victory, and pursued them to the very gates of Toulouse, and slew so great a number of them, that even he himself was moved with some compassion; and condoling the misfortune of his lord the king of Arragon, and causing search to be made for him among the slain, he interred him, not in the ground which they call holy, because he was excommunicated, but in a field near St. Granier.

The bishops, priests and monks, who were in the castle of Muret, where they might see the engagement from afar, had a certain monk, who attributed all the praise of that famous and signal victory to them, saying, that it was obtained by the benediction which the bishop of Comminge gave to the army of the cross, promising paradise to the pilgrims, without any pain of purgatory; and that if they lost their lives, they would all be received in heaven as martyrs; as also that all the clergy that were therein; retired into a church during the battle, and prayed with such ardency and fervour, that they rather seemed to howl than to pray.^b

The author of the *History of Languedoc* saith, that they got the better, because they had received the blessing of the bishops, and worshipped the wood of the true cross, in the hands of the bishop of Toulouse.^c

The Albigenes, on the contrary, acknowledged it to be a signal and remarkable instance of divine justice, in that the king of Arragon did at that time attribute more to his own might and power than to the divine succours and assistance; yet did they not lose their courage, although they lost in that day's engagement fifteen thousand fighting men; neither did they doubt or despair of the justice and goodness of their cause, it not being the first army which hath been defeated in a just quarrel, nor the first bad cause which hath been crowned and supported with victory. Thus were four hundred thousand Israelites beaten by twenty-six thousand Benjamites, who maintained a bad cause, and slew in two battles forty-two thousand men. Thus did the idolatrous and uncircumcised Philistines overcome the Israelites in two battles, and slew thirty-four thousand men,

^b Pet. Val. Sarnens. c. 127.

^c Hist. of Lang. fol. 12.

and took the ark of the covenant, and carried it about in triumph. So was Jonathan slain by the Philistines. Thus did Josias, who was zealous for the service of God, receive his mortal wound in fighting with the king of Egypt at Megiddo. Thus was king John, with an army of sixty thousand men, defeated and taken prisoner by the prince of Wales, who had not above eight thousand men; notwithstanding, the cause of the king of France was very just, he fighting in his own defence against an enemy who came to invade his own country.

The war of the Albigenes increased and grew very hot; for earl Simon thought it necessary to pursue his enemies half dead and overthrown; and on the other side, the Albigenes knew that they must of necessity defend themselves, or else be vanquished and brought into slavery.

CHAPTER XII.

Pope Innocent III. sends a new Legate, named Bonaventure, against the Albigenes.—Prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, took upon him the cross, and caused Toulouse and Narbonne to be dismantled.

EARL SIMON, puffed up with that victory, sent to summons the earls of Toulouse, Foix, and the prince of Bearn, to deliver up to him the keys of the cities and castles which they possessed, and that they should either subscribe to what the legate pleased, or else resolve miserably to perish.

They returned him no answer, but all of them retired into their own countries, to make the best provision they could for their affairs. Earl Remond withdrew to Montauban, and wrote to the inhabitants of Toulouse, whence he had lately departed, that he understood that Rodolph, bishop of Arras, was coming with a great number of crusaders, and that therefore he saw it was impossible for them to defend the city against such an assault; that therefore they should capitulate and compound with earl Simon, reserving only their hearts to themselves, until God should enable them to disentangle and free themselves from those miseries into which they were plunged and involved, by the insatiable avarice of their common enemy;—that he, in the mean time, with the earls of Foix and Comminge, and the prince of Bearn, would endeavour to the utmost of their power, to perplex and infest the enemy's army, in order to their public and common good. The people of Toulouse deputed six of the most eminent persons of their city to present earl Simon with the keys of Toulouse. He gave those persons an honourable reception, and commanded them not to stir thence without his permission. In the mean time, he sent word to Louis, the son of king Philip Augustus, that after the battle of Muret, the inhabitants of Toulouse proffered to surrender themselves unto him; but it was his desire, that he should reap the glory of that conquest, as being worthy of himself alone. King Philip's father would not suffer him before to go to the war against the Albigenes, because he had promised the king of Arragon to stand neuter. But hearing of the death of the said king of Arragon, he permitted him to go. Upon the prince's arrival at Toulouse, the city was put into his hands, and the legate presently calling a council of the prelates of his party, it was concluded, that the plunder should be granted to the crusaders, and the city

be dismantled, the castle of Narbonne excepted, which was speedily executed, contrary to the promise which they had made unto them, that nothing within the city should be altered. This use did earl Simon make of the forces and presence of prince Louis—for otherwise he durst not have undertaken either to plunder or dismantle that great and glorious city, without running the risk of his own destruction, had his forces been never so great.

At that same time came Bonaventure, the pope's new legate, and the soldiers of the cross, attended by the bishop of Beauvois, the earls of Paul, Savoy, and Alençon, the viscount of Melun, Mathew de Montmorenci, and other lords. The legate seeing such a number of crusaders, feared that prince Louis would dispose of several places belonging to the Albigenes, to the prejudice of the pope's authority, in whose name all those conquests were made to surrender. To prevent which, he sent to all those places which held for the said Albigenes, the absolution and protection of the church, so that when the prince went about to attack any of them, they produced their absolution, and showed that they were under the protection of the church. That legate had the confidence to tell prince Louis, that since he had taken upon him the cross, he ought to be subject to his commands—because he represented the person of the pope, whose pardons he was come to gain, by obeying the church, and not by commanding, like a king's son; hitting him likewise in the teeth, that the king, his father, refused to contribute to the extirpation of the Albigenes, when occasion required,—but that after the so many miraculous and notable victories which they had obtained, he came to glean the ears of that glory, which was due to those alone who had prodigally spent their lives in the service of the church. Prince Louis dissembled that audacity. Narbonne was dismantled, with the advice and consent of the prince, which neither the legate nor earl Simon durst have done, without his presence. The bishop did what he could to hinder it from being dismantled, saying, that it was a matter of great importance, that the walls and ramparts of a place bordering upon the frontiers of Spain, should not be demolished; but earl Simon and the legate urged the contrary, and they prevailed.

Thus stopped the current of earl Simon's success, for when the quarantins, or forty days' service of that levy of crusaders, whom prince Louis had brought with him, were expired, he had much ado to defend himself. Notwithstanding, the Albigenes, also fatigued and tired with continual wars, and visited and harassed time after time with new expeditions, did faint under the burthen of them. Now, by reason that the face of this war was changed by the alteration of its general, and because we shall have occasion hereafter to speak more of the son of Remond, earl of Toulouse, the other Remond, and Roger, the earl of Foix, his son, than of the old earls, we shall record in a second book the actions of the children who succeeded their fathers, who also were grievously harassed and afflicted, for no other reason but to rob and deprive them of what they had. For none of those great lords were deservedly prosecuted for religion, since they often had recourse to the pope, as to the source and original of their miseries, which they found by experience to be but a poor remedy, having never brought any thing away with them from Rome, but fair words, attended with very fatal and pernicious effects.

BOOK II.

HISTORY OF THE ALBIGENSES, AND OF THE PERSECUTIONS WITH WHICH THEY WERE HARASSED BY THE ANTICHRISTIAN POWERS, FROM THE YEAR 1213, UNTIL THEIR TOTAL DESTRUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

Renewal of the war against the Earl of Foix.—The Arragonians made incursions into Earl Simon's territories.—He is defeated by the Earl of Foix.—Bonaventure the Legate persuaded the Earls of Foix and Toulouse to go to Rome.—They do no good there.—Earl Raymond's son went thither from England, to no purpose.

PRINCE LOUIS, the king of France's son, after the expiration of his forty days, returned home, not without much displeasure and discontent, to see so much tyranny and oppression transacted in the war, carried on against the Albigenes. Earl Simon endeavoured to procure a pardon for those crusaders last come from France against the earl of Foix. He laid siege to the castle of Foix, to his great loss: for a great number of his valiant men were slain before that place. At the end of ten days he raised the siege, finding to his cost, that the place was invincible. Earl Simon's brother had his quarters at Varilles. The earl of Foix dislodged him, and slew him with a spear, and put his party to flight. This was a counterpoise to Montfort's prosperity, which had rendered him insolent and imperious.* As one misfortune seldom comes alone, he likewise received advice by a messenger, that a great number of Arragonians and Catalans had made an incursion into the country of Beziers, and the places round about Carcassone, putting all they met to fire and sword, saying, that they would revenge the death of their king Alphonsus. He was therefore informed, that if he did not make what speed he could to their assistance, that whole country would be lost. He departed from Foix with great diligence. The earl of Foix, who was better acquainted than he, with the by-ways and narrow streights of his country, blocked up his passage, and lay in ambush, in a place so proper and advantageous to defeat him, that he had slain the greatest part of his forces, before any alarm was given, or he had any notice of it. He made his escape with but a few of his men. When he came to Carcassone, he found nobody to oppose him. The Arragonians had made their retreat; but had they waited his coming, they might easily have routed him, considering the few troops which remained with him. At the same time came to him other

* Hologaray, Hist. of Foix, fol. 159.

letters, which required his presence in Dauphiny, where Ademar de Poitiers and Ponte de Monlaur obstructed the passage of the crusaders, who came down the Rhone, and were led by the archbishops of Lyons and Vienna. The cities also of Monteil, Aimar, and Crest-Arnaud, sided with the Albigenses, which very much annoyed the pilgrims. Simon came to a treaty with Monlaur and Ademar de Poitiers, not being able to cope with so many enemies at once. He was a second time informed, that the Arragonians were returned about Carcassone, and went thither to repel them; but was well beaten, so that he was forced to keep himself shut up in Carcassone, not having wherewith to keep the field, until he received a fresh army of crusaders.

He seeing then that he could do no good with the earl of Foix by arms, had recourse to his usual subtilty and deceit, to effect his destruction under the colour of friendship. He got Bonaventure the legate to write to him, telling him, that he was touched with pity and compassion towards him, to see him persist so obstinately in a great and tedious war, to his vast charges, and the expense of his subjects' lives; which he might, if he pleased, conclude within a very short time, by taking his journey to Rome, and declaring his innocency before the pope. That he would assist him to the utmost of his power, in procuring the restitution of all his countries; but that it was also necessary, he should give the church some pledge or security of his fidelity—that he should put the castle of Foix into his hands, the only means to remove all umbrage and suspicion, which immediately upon his return should be restored to him with the rest of his castles.

He suffered himself to be gulled and imposed upon by those promises, delivered the castle of Foix into his hands, and took his journey to Rome. But as he went, so he returned, like a fool: for the legate had written to the conclave and pope at Rome, that the earl of Foix was one of the most dangerous heretics that was amongst the Albigenses; that he was courageous, valiant, and the most formidable; and that if he were subdued, it would very much weaken the earl of Toulouse; that he had deprived him of the means of doing any mischief, by wheedling him out of those places, which the church could never have gotten by arms—the castle of Foix; that they were to take care not to make any restitution of his lands, otherwise it was impossible for the church ever to accomplish the destruction of the Albigenses. The pope was ready and willing enough to have joined in his ruin, but because he came to him with submission, he feared that it would prove a means to hinder any from ever trusting the pope hereafter.

He was prodigal of his crosses, bulls, and fair speeches; but he commanded his legate not to restore his places unto him, till such times as he had sufficiently cleared and justified himself, and given good proofs of his loyalty and obedience. Upon his return, he addressed himself to the legate, to claim and enjoy the effects of his fair promises. The legate told him, that his hands were bound up by the pope, because there were some clauses in his bulls, which obliged him to proceed afresh, and examine in good earnest into his innocency: but that he might assure himself of his friendship and affection, and that he should not lay the blame upon him, if he were not fully satisfied according to his expectation, and that he would do his best endeavours towards the disposing of earl Simon to a reconciliation and friendship with him. The earl of Foix withdrew by little and little, for fear of being stopped and arrested by them, and betook

himself to the fields and houses of his subjects, for as for his own, they were all in the hands of earl Simon. There he cursed his credulity in suffering himself to be overreached and imposed upon by a priest, bit his thumbs with madness to see himself so sottishly and so grossly abused, after so many tricks and stratagems played against him.

The earl of Toulouse and the king of Arragon resolved to make a levy of their subjects, and erect a fort at Mongranier, a place fortified by nature. They made it within a few days a place of defence, by the help of their poor subjects, who condoling their own, and the calamities of their lords, very willingly laboured both night and day to finish the work. This place being built, he furnished it with a garrison, and left his son Roger therein for its defence. It was besieged by earl Simon, and at length taken by famine. The terms of the capitulation were, that Roger should not bear arms against the church for one year: an article which did very much trouble this young and valiant lord; for he confined himself to a house during the said year, where with impatience he counted the months and days, that at the end of the term appointed, he might either fall valiantly in battle, or else vanquish and subdue his enemies. And to that end, he often consulted with the son of the late king of Arragon, to stir him up to use his best endeavours to revenge the death of his father.

Bonaventure the legate, made use of the same artifice to ensnare the earl of Toulouse; persuading him to go to Rome, where he might better and more advantageously conclude his business, than with earl Simon, especially seeing he was charged with the death of earl Baudoin, his own brother, taken in the castle of Olme, in the country of Cahors, because he had taken up arms against him. An action which rendered him odious both to God and men, and which his enemies did aggravate and enhance, in order to move and excite the pilgrims to be revenged on him for it; saying, that they denied him a confessor, even at the point of death; and that Baudoin prayed to God, to raise up some good Christians to revenge the injury, which his brother, like a second Cain, had done unto him.^b

Remond, the earl of Toulouse's son, understanding that his father was to take his journey to Rome, also went thither with letters from his highness the king of England to the pope, beseeching him to do his brother-in-law justice. This young lord had been till then brought up in England, where he could no longer stay, seeing his father harassed and oppressed with the fatigues of a continual war, but resolved with himself to do what he could to work his deliverance, either by treaty or by arms.

The cause of earl Remond was tried and debated before the pope. There was a certain cardinal who affirmed and maintained that those lords were very much injured and abused, who had often bestowed the best of their lands and revenues to the church in token of their obedience. The abbot of St. Uberti did also stoutly stand up in their defence. Earl Remond likewise defended his own cause, and charged the bishop of Toulouse with several crimes and exorbitancies: and that though he had been forced to defend himself by arms, the blame ought to be laid upon those who had driven him to that necessity. That had he not made resistance, he had been long since ruined and overthrown. That the bishop of Toulouse had several times robbed him of the best of his revenues; and that never being satisfied, he still continued to trouble and molest him, dividing

^b Pet. Vallis Sarnens. c. 133.

the spoil of his goods with Simon, earl of Montfort. That their avarice alone had occasioned the death of one hundred thousand men at Thoulouse, and the pillage of that great and glorious city, a loss which nothing can ever repair. The charter of Lyons did likewise remonstrate to the pope, that the bishop of Thoulouse had always been the kindler of the fire, and then warmed himself by the flames.*

Arnaud Villamur also presented himself before the pope, demanding justice of the legate and earl Simon, who had invaded his country, he knew not why nor wherefore, since he had never behaved himself otherwise than as one most loyal and obedient to the church of Rome. He related at large the mischiefs, murders, plunders, burnings and robberies which the legate and earl had committed under colour of the service of the pope and church; that it was therefore highly necessary, that that mask should be plucked off, which would turn to the dishonour of both; and some good and proper remedy be applied thereto, in order to procure and establish the peace and welfare of the church.

Remond de Requesueil, of the country of Querci, did likewise lay before his holiness, several villanies which the earl of Montfort had committed, beginning with his proceedings against the earl of Beziers, whom he had caused miserably to die in prison, siezed upon his lands, and ruined his subjects; and so proceeded to what he had transacted against all the other lords, whom he had forced to defend themselves against his violence and tyranny.†

The pope being touched with a sense of these outrages, would have done some justice; but it was intimated to him that *if he should make the earl of Montfort restore that which he had taken for the church, he would find no one would fight either for the pope or church* in future. Besides, if he should command restitution to be made, yet earl Simon might justly refuse to make it, till such times as full satisfaction and recompense were made to him for his trouble, labour and expense.

The pope left the management of this affair to the legate, commanding him in general terms to restore their lands to all such as should show themselves faithful and obedient to the church. As to earl Remond's son, it was his will and pleasure, that all, or at least part of that land which did belong to earl Remond in Provence, the county of Venescin, should be reserved for the maintenance of his son, provided he did give evident and manifest tokens and proofs of his loyalty and good conversation, showing himself worthy of divine mercy.‡

Upon their return, they demanded of the legate, the execution of their bulls, requiring the restitution of their countries. The legate answered, that there were some restrictions therein, which would require some time to decide; that they should therefore bring forth fruits worthy of their repentance, and then they should receive what was granted to them by the pope, otherwise not.

Therefore when the earls saw that it was only a cheat, and a trick which had been put upon them, they were resolved to come to blows.

* Petrus Vallis Sarn. c. 152.

† Chass. Lib. 4.

‡ Pet. Val. Sarnens. c. 152.

CHAPTER II.

Earl Remond's son taketh Baucaire. The bishop of Toulouse betrays the citizens of Toulouse. The inhabitants of Toulouse receive very ill treatment from Earl Simon. They defend themselves to his confusion. A new expedition. Remond retakes Thoulouse. Simon of Montfort, went thither, and after several battles was slain by a stone thrown by a woman. His army was put to flight.

THE first exploit of earl Remond's son in this war was the taking of Baucaire, where he made himself master of the city, and afterwards reduced the castle by famine. Earl Simon not being able to relieve them, made a capitulation for those that were within, which was, that they should come forth only with their baggage. Earl Simon did there lose one hundred gentlemen, whom he had laid in ambush near the city, which the people perceiving, they sallied out upon them, and cut them in pieces.

The young earl Remond did very much signalize himself in this siege, and gave earl Simon to understand, that this young lord would prove a thorn in the foot of his son Aimeri, which would give him as much trouble and disturbance as he in his time had done his father.

The earl of Montfort went thence to Toulouse, to ravage and plunder it. The bishop had gone thither before him, and having told the consuls and principal men of Toulouse that they must appear before earl Simon; they accordingly went to him, but it was to their great detriment. For no sooner did they make their appearance, but he caused them to be bound; which being observed by some who could make their escape to the city, so hot and sudden an alarm was given therein, that all the people were up in arms before his arrival; but entering in by the castle Narbonne, they took several towers which yet stood out, and put themselves into some places, and having began to pillage and plunder near the castle, the people fortified themselves, and pursued with such violence the robbers and incendiaries, who had already set fire to some houses, that they drove them even to the castle Narbonne. Earl Guy came just in the midst of the engagement to the assistance of earl Simon his brother; but after a short skirmish he was constrained to fly after his brother. Earl Simon's men were forced to retire, part of them to Stephens, part to the tower of Mascaro, and others to the bishop's palace, where a great number of them were slain. The bishop who knew that he had been the occasion of this misfortune, he having persuaded the citizens to make their appearance before earl Simon, and earl Simon on the other hand to seize upon them, still continuing and proceeding in his treachery, went forth from the castle Narbonne, and entering the streets, would persuade the people to be quiet and easy; for that the earl designed to make up and conclude these differences with amity and mildness, and that they should not reject those overtures of peace. He represented so many things to them, that they at length gave ear to the reconciliation, seeing themselves naked of defence, and overawed by a tower and strong garrison; knowing well, that upon the arrival of the first supply of crusaders, their city would be exposed to be plundered. When the conditions of peace came to be proposed, the first article was that earl Simon would agree to nothing till all the inhabitants had first carried their arms to the town-house. He had much ado to get them to comply with this point, but they did at length yield. Which being

done, earl Simon caused his men to advance, and so seizing upon the town-house, against a people naked and disarmed, and having ordered their arms to be conveyed to the castle Narbonne, he committed the principal men of the city to prison, sending them out of Toulouse wheresoever he pleased, and causing them to be treated with that cruelty and barbarity that a great many of them died by the way. Thus was Toulouse dispeopled of its chief inhabitants, and the rest put to their ransom. A little after, returning from the country of Bigorre, when he could not make himself master of the castle of Lourde, he discharged his choler upon that city, suffering it to be plundered and ravaged by his pilgrims, and then demolished the rest of the towers, which were yet standing round about the city.

The earl of Toulouse was in the mean time at Montauban, who hearing of the usage of his miserable and distressed subjects, could do nothing for some months but lament and condole their misfortunes.

About that time, the year 1214, the legate held a council at Montpellier, to recruit and renew the army of the church, and to establish the authority of earl Simon. The monk of Sernay tells us, that he was there declared prince of all the conquered countries which did belong to the Albigenes; and that with the joint consent of the whole council, they despatched the archbishop to Ambrun to the pope, to intreat his holiness, in the names of all the prelates, who had given their assistance at the said council, that he would pronounce and declare the earl of Montfort, lord and monarch of all the countries conquered and taken from the Albigenes, which he did.*

The council sent to him to come and receive the dignity and title of prince and monarch. He made his entrance into the city, and being in the church of des Tables, where the prelates of the council were met to pronounce their sentence in favour of the said earl of Montfort, they heard a noise and uproar in the city, and sending to inquire the meaning and occasion of it, it was told them, that the people understanding earl Simon was come into the city, had taken up arms with a design to kill him, as being their capital enemy. He was advised to steal along by the walls of the city, and make his escape, for fear the council should suffer on his account. He therefore went on foot, without any attendance, that he might not be known at the gate, and so he escaped that great and imminent danger. Thus he saw himself in one and the same hour honoured and adored almost like a god, chosen and saluted as prince and monarch, and forced to fly away in a disguise, and hide himself like a scoundrel for fear of the mob.

In pursuance of the resolution of that council, the pope in all his writings gave him the title of monarch, styling him the active and dexterous soldier of Jesus Christ, the invincible champion of the catholic faith; and in the year 1215, he sent him a bull dated the 14th day of the Nones of April, whereby he authorized him to retain all the conquered countries under his authority, granting to him the revenues, profits, and power of executing justice therein, seeing, said the pope, that you neither can nor ought to make war at your own expenses. That bounty and liberality of the pope in giving away that with which he had nothing to do, obliged him to make a journey to France, to be invested in the dutchy of Nar-

* Paul Emil. in the life of Philip August.—Petr. Val. Sernens.

bonne, and earldom of Toulouse, and all the other countries, which the army of the cross had conquered and usurped from those they called heretics, or the favourers and abettors of them, which he obtained of the king. The monk tells us, it is impossible to describe the honours which were done him in his way to France, there being no city through which he passed, where the clergy and people did not come out to meet him, crying blasphemously. "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." For such, and so great, says he, was the devotion of the people towards him, that there was none but thought himself happy if he could but touch the hem of his garments.^b

In the year 1216, Montfort returned from France with one hundred bishops, who had caused the croisade to be preached in their dioceses, resolving with that great army, to conquer and make himself prince and monarch of all those countries which had been given him by the pope: and to make it apparent, that he had not a treaty with Girard Adememar, Guitaud Lord of Monteil-Aimar, nor Aimar de Poitiers, otherwise than till such times as he should be in a capacity to destroy them, he passed the Rhone at Viniers, and laid siege to Monteil-Aimar. Guitaud or Girard made a stout and obstinate defence: but when the inhabitants saw the great army of crusaders, they entreated their lord to come to a composition, for fear the city should be pillaged; which he did, though it cost him his own castle. Thence he went to besiege the tower of Crest Arnaud, which the governor surrendered out of cowardice, otherwise it was impossible for the pilgrims to have taken it by force. After this earl Simon gave one of his daughters in marriage to the son of Aimar of Poitiers; and so was a peace concluded between Aimar of Poitiers, and the bishop of Valence, between whom there had formerly been carried on a long and tedious war. Earl Simon had a little before married one of his sons to the daughter of Dauphin de Viennois, and another to the countess of Bigorre. All which alliances strengthened him very much against his enemies. Every one stood in awe of him, and trembled at his presence, and with that great army of crusaders who followed him, he took Pezquieres near Nismes, and stormed Bezonce, putting all who were therein, even the very women, to the sword. He was marching to Toulouse to plunder and rase it, and to make search after the earl of Toulouse, though he were hid in the very bowels and centre of the earth, when he received letters from his wife, begging him to make what haste he could to deliver her out of the hands of the earl of Toulouse, who had besieged her in the castle Narbonnes, signifying that he was strong and powerful, and had moreover all the people at his service, who received him with great acclamations and applauses, crying with a loud voice, "long live the earl of Toulouse." That he was accompanied by his nephew the earl of Comminge, Gaspard de la Barre, Bertrand de Gorda, Enguerrand de Gordo of Caraman, Arnaud de Montagu, and Stephen de la Valette, all brave men, well furnished with soldiers.

About the year 1217, earl Remond entered into Toulouse with trumpets sounding, drums beating, and colours displayed. The people pressed to come at him, casting themselves at his feet, embracing his legs, kissing the hem of his garments, and slaying all those whom they found in the city, that sided with earl Simon. Whereas, if earl Simon had come di-

^b *Peur. Val. Sarnens*, c. 148, 153, 161.

rectly to Montauban, at his return from France, earl Remond would not have known what course to have taken. But he made a stop at Monteil-Aimer, Bezonce, and Pasquieres, and delayed so long about the marriages, that he gave earl Remond opportunity to get together his forces, and prepare himself for a great assault; and to add to his mortification, when he received advice that his enemy was at Toulouse, the greatest part of his crusaders returned to France. However, he was obliged to go to Toulouse with those forces he had left; for his wife was in a fair way to be taken. And he that had put so many women and children to death, was doubtful what might become of his own, if she should fall into the hands of his enemies.

Earl Remond created an officer, called a Provost, whom they all promised to obey upon pain of death. This was the first Provost who was established at Toulouse. His business was, to provide for the defence of the city, to keep the ditches clean, repair the breaches, and to appoint to every man his post, especially in time of war. There came as succour from all parts to earl Remond, those who desired to have satisfaction for the violence and injuries of earl Simon.

Earl Guy was one of the first in the engagement in behalf of earl Simon his brother; but he was worsted and put to flight. The archbishop of Aix and Armagnac, and their crusaders, returned without fighting. Earl Simon at his arrival, made show as if he would besiege Toulouse. But the frequent sallies and irruptions of those who were within, gave him to understand how ineffectual his attempt would be. He therefore called a council of the prelates and lords, to advise with them what he had best to do. The legate perceiving earl Simon to be abashed and disheartened, said unto him; "Fear nothing: for we shall within a little time recover the city, and put to death and destroy all its inhabitants: and if any of the crusaders are slain in the encounter, they shall go directly to paradise as martyrs, and that this they ought firmly to believe." Then said one of the chief commanders to him; "You talk with great assurance, Monsieur Cardinal. If the earl believes you, the war will not prove much for his advantage. For you and all the rest of the prelates and clergy are the authors of all this misery and destruction, and would be stirring up more, if they would believe you."

It was not seasonable for the cardinal to take notice of, or resent that bold reply, and he was forced therefore to swallow that reflection. It was then concluded, that no farther assault should be given to the city, but that it should be blocked up on that side, which lies towards Gascogne. Whereupon the earl of Montfort caused part of his army to pass the river towards Soubra. But those of the city made so strong a sally, and with such success, that they put their enemies to flight. During this engagement came the earl of Foix with fresh troops of his own subjects, with several of Navarre, and some Catalans, who furiously fell upon earl Simon, pursuing him and his men even to the brink of the Garonne, where with fear and precipitation, they flung themselves by heaps into their boats, and a great many of them were drowned in the river. The earl Simon likewise fell in, and had much difficulty to escape drowning.

Earl Remond caused a general assembly to be made at St. Saornin, wherein he exhorted the people to give God thanks for that beginning of victory, which they had obtained over their enemies, as a signal instance of the divine love and favour; and that they should therefore more firmly hope in him for greater mercies. He exhorted every one, to lend their

helping hand to make and prepare the engines, in order to play against the castle Narbonnes, telling them, that if that place was lost by the enemy, it would complete their utter ruin and destruction; and if recovered by them, they should then be rendered safe and secure. They made ready, within a very little time, their wooden engines, to cast their stones, their slings, their mangonnels to shoot their arrows, their fowling-pieces, cross-bows, other instruments, which were then in use; and the whole was planted against the castle Narbonnes; which did very much terrify and dismay those that were within.

The earl of Montfort being at Montolieu, took counsel how to behave himself in this tedious siege, and against enemies so animated and enraged. The bishop of Toulouse, to comfort and encourage him, told him, that he must have a good heart, for monsieur the cardinal had sent letters and messengers, throughout all the world, to procure him supplies, and that he would shortly be furnished with so great a number of men, as might enable him to do whatsoever he pleased. To whom the above mentioned Robert de Pequigny replied, that he spoke at his pleasure, and that if the earl of Montfort had not given credit to him, and such as he was, he would not have been involved in that trouble and perplexity, wherein he was now fallen, but might have continued in peace within; and that he was the cause and occasion of all the mischiefs, which they felt, and of the death of so many men, who were continually butchered, by means of his wicked and pernicious counsel.*

After several engagements, winter drew on, which stopped the course of the besiegers, retiring into quarters round about Toulouse, with much earnestness and impatience expecting fresh recruits of crusaders. Earl Remond, on the other hand, surrounded the city with a rampart, and fortified himself against the castle Narbonnes, and prepared himself for the reception of the crusaders, whensoever they should appear. He sent his son in the mean time to seek and raise recruits. At length, in the

* At Tell, while the minister was preaching to a congregation, the papists attacked and murdered many of the people. A lady of considerable eminence, being exhorted to change her religion, if not for her own sake, at least for that of the infant she held in her arms, said, with undaunted courage, "I did not quit Italy, my native country, nor forsake the estates I had there, for the sake of Jesus Christ, to renounce him here. With respect to my infant, why should I not deliver him up to death, since God delivered up his son to die for us?" As soon as she had done speaking, they took the child from her, delivered it to a popish nurse to bring up, and then cut the mother to pieces.

Dominico Berto, a youth of sixteen, refusing to turn papist, was set upon an ass with his face to the tail, which he was obliged to hold in his hand. In this condition he was led to the market place, amidst the acclamations of the populace; after which they cut off his nose, ears, and cheeks, and burnt holes in several parts of his body till he at last died. An Albigense young lady, of noble family, was seized by the papists, and carried through the streets with a paper mitre upon her head. After mocking, beating her, and smearing her face with dirt, they bade her call upon the saints; to which she replied, "My trust and salvation is in Christ only; for even the virgin Mary, without the merits of her son, could not be saved." On this the multitude fell upon and destroyed her.

Many other horrible cruelties were perpetrated by those bigoted monsters; and the pope sent them a letter, approving what they had done, and commanding them, if possible, not to leave one *heretic* alive in that part of the country; which command they strictly fulfilled; butchering all the protestants in the neighbouring districts.

spring of the year 1218, there came to earl Simon one hundred thousand soldiers of the cross, and to earl Remond great supplies from Gascogne, led by Narcis de Montesquiou, and the young earl of Toulouse, and Arnaud de Villemur did likewise bring him several fine troops. When this great number of crusaders had arrived, the legate and earl Simon being resolved to make them earn their pardons, commanded them instantly to scale the city, which was deferred till the next day: by which time they found other work to do; for the first night after their arrival, trusting and confiding in their vast multitude, so as to keep no good guard; the earl of Toulouse sallied out upon them with such success, that the field was covered with dead bodies. The Toulousians being weary of killing returned to give God thanks for his assistance.

Earl Simon entered the castle Narbonnes, to discover, if there were any way thence to attack the city, but he found none; at which being much troubled and concerned, two of the lords of the cross advised him to come to some honourable composition. The cardinal Bertrand replied, there needed no task of that nature, and that the church was able to save him in spite of their teeth, if they spoke in favour of the Albigenes. One amongst them made answer; "Why, Mr. Cardinal, should you without any cause or reason, rob earl Remond and his son of that which was their own? If I had known as much, said he, of that matter as now I do, I would never have come upon this expedition." The whole country was against earl Simon, which occasioned a famine in his army; but Toulouse, on the contrary, was plentifully supplied. Upon the eve of the day called John the Baptist, early in the morning, earl Remond's troops made a sally out of Toulouse, crying, Avignon, Beaucaire, Muret, and Toulouse, killing all they met with. A soldier ran to earl Simon, and told him, that the enemy was come forth; to whom he replied, *that he would first see his Redeemer*, and afterwards he would see the enemy; there ran several others to him, crying, we are undone, if no body will head the army, which did fly before the Toulousians. He made answer, that he would not stir a foot from the mass, though he were there to be slain, *till he had seen his Creator*: so that had not the priest who sung the mass, clipt and curtailed it, for fear his ears should have been clipt, he had either been taken, or slain before the altar. Naugiers^d speaks of it as follows. At this rude and violent shock, earl Simon having mounted his horse, his horse was wounded in the middle of his head with an arrow, which he feeling, suddenly got the bit between his teeth, so that Montfort could neither stop nor manage him, but flew with him backwards and forwards in despite of what he could do to the contrary, which a soldier perceiving from the city, took aim at him, and shot him with his cross bow through his thigh, with which wound, Montfort lost great store of blood, and finding himself very much pained therewith, he desired earl Guy his brother, to have him out of the crowd to stanch his blood. In the mean time, whilst he was yet talking with his brother, he received a blow with a stone, cast out of a mangonnel, or engine used to cast stones or darts withal, which some body discharged unwittingly, but it severed his head from his shoulders, so that his body fell dead to the ground. It was, saith Naugiers, a strange and miraculous accident; and by this may his successors know and consider, that he maintained an unjust quarrel, not to punish

^d Naugiers' History of Toulouse, chapter 10.

those who were renegadoes and apostates from the faith, but to harass and oppress his own subjects, loading them with miseries upon miseries, to ravish women and their daughters, to the end, that they might ruin and confound them, although at the same time performing the duty of subjects, and to seize upon and detain the goods and possessions of another, who, although he were a heretic, as Montfort imagined, yet he might in the twinkling of an eye, see his error, and amend his life. But he was blinded with an ambitious desire of reigning; which visibly appears from his ill usage, oppressions, and extortions, exercised against the innocent people of Toulouse, who honoured, loved him, and prayed for his prosperity as their Lord. This skirmish and defeat happened in June, 1218.

This is the character which Naugiers the historian, who wrote in those days, hath given of this person, as of one who was led and biased with passion, and insatiable avarice: but that which is worthy of our observation is, that he was not overthrown, till just at that particular juncture, *when by three several councils*, he had been pronounced and declared, sovereign and monarch of all his conquests, general of the armies of the church, restorer of the church, the son, servant, and darling thereof, and the defender of the faith; adored by the people, dreaded by the great, and the terror of kings. Thus as the proud and ambitious paricide, Abimeleck, was slain by a piece of millstone, cast by a woman from a tower, which brake his skull; so was that destroyer of the people, ruiner of cities, devourer of other men's estates, slain by a stone cast out of a sling by a woman, as some historians have observed.*

The monk, on the contrary, makes the following exclamation: "But who is he that can write or hear that which followeth? who can relate it without grief, or hear it without tears or lamentations? who is it, says he, that will not dissolve and sink away, when hearing the life of the poor to be taken away? he who being laid in the dust, all things fall and perish with him, by whose death all is dead? was not he the comforter of the sorrowful, the strength of the weak, the succour of the afflicted, and a refuge for the miserable?" He had reason to speak thus: for when Montfort was dead, his whole army was dispersed. Bonaventure the legate, had only time to tell Aimeri of Montfort, that he was nominated and appointed by him, and the rest of the bishops then present, to succeed earl Simon his father in his conquests and offices; and then they immediately betook themselves to their heels, flying with the rest of the bishops of the cross, to Carcassone; and so great was their consternation, that they durst not stop at any place, for fear of being pursued. The crusaders disbanded themselves; saying, that they were not obliged to any further service, because their quarantins or forty days, were just expired. During this confusion, earl Remond sallied out of Toulouse, and gave the enemy so brisk a charge, that he drove them out of all their intrenchments, and did there make so great a slaughter among the crusaders, who were destitute both of courage and conduct, that he slew and cut in pieces all that were in the camp of Montolieu, and did much mischief to those that were encamped at Sobra. There remained the castle Narbonne, which still held out for the legate. Aimeri of Montfort speedily assembled what troops he could get together in that confusion and disorder, and making what haste he could to the castle, he brought out the garrison

* Pet. Val. Sarnens. c. 165.—Chass. lib. 4. c. 11.

by a false door, and fled after the legate, carrying along with him the body of his father, with great precipitation, to Carcassone. It was well for him that earl Remond did not pursue him, for the fear and dread of him was sufficient to have killed all the crusaders who were with him. But earl Remond retired with his troops, to provide for the preservation of the city and castle Narbonnes, which the enemy, when they left it, had set on fire. Moreover, he caused the bell to be tolled, that the people might go to give God thanks in their temple, for the happy and miraculous victory which they had obtained; in that this cruel and audacious Cyclops was overthrown, who several times had exposed them to be plundered and pillaged, rased their walls, demolished their rampires, battered down their castles, and ravished their wives and daughters, slain their citizens, spoiled their lands, and reduced their whole country to extreme misery and desolation.^f

^f After Toulouse was recovered by the Albigenes, the pope supporting earl Simon's crusade, new forces were raised for him, which enabled him again to undertake the siege of that city. The earl assaulted the place furiously, but being repulsed with great loss, he seemed sunk in affliction: when the pope's legate said, to comfort him, "Fear nothing, my lord, make another vigorous attack; let us by any means recover the city, and destroy the inhabitants; and those of our men who are slain in the fight, I will assure you shall immediately pass into paradise." One of the earl's principal officers, on hearing this, said with a sneer, "Monsieur cardinal, you talk with great assurance; but if the earl believes you, he will, as heretofore, pay dearly for his confidence." Earl Simon, however, took the legate's advice, made another assault, and was again repulsed. To complete his misfortune, before the troops could recover from their confusion, the earl of Foix made his appearance, at the head of a formidable body of forces, and attacked the already dispirited army of earl Simon, easily put them to the route; when the earl himself narrowly escaped drowning in the Garonne, into which he had hastily plunged, in order to avoid being captured. This miscarriage almost broke his heart; but the pope's legate continued to encourage him, and offered to raise another army, which promise, with some difficulty, and three years delay, he at length performed, and that bigoted nobleman was once more enabled to take the field. On this occasion he turned his whole force against Toulouse, which he besieged for the space of nine months, when in one of the sallies made by the besieged, his horse was wounded. The animal being in great anguish, ran away with him, and bore him directly under the ramparts of the city, when an archer shot him in the thigh with an arrow; and a woman immediately after throwing a large stone from the wall, it struck him upon the head, and killed him; thus were the Albigenes, like the Israelites, delivered by the hand of a woman; and thus this atrocious monster, who had so long persecuted the people of God, was at length himself slain by one of those whom he had intended to have slaughtered if he had been successful. The siege was raised; but the legate, enraged to be disappointed of his vengeance on the inhabitants, engaged the king of France in the cause, who sent his son to besiege it. The French prince, with some chosen troops, furiously assaulted Toulouse; but meeting with a severe repulse, he abandoned that city to besiege Miromand. This place he soon took by storm, and put to the sword all the inhabitants, consisting of 5000 men, women, and children.

The bloodthirsty legate, whose name was Bertrand, being very old, grew weary of following the army; but his passion for murder still remained, as appears by his epistle to the pope, in which he begged to be recalled on account of age and infirmities; but intreated the pontiff to appoint a successor, who might carry on the war as he had done, with spirit and perseverance. In consequence, the pope recalled Bertrand, and appointed Conrade, bishop of Portua, to be legate in his room. The latter determined to follow the steps of his predecessor, and to persecute the Albigenes with the greatest severity. Guido, earl of Montfort, the son and heir of earl Simon, undertook the command of the troops, and immediately laid siege to Toulouse, before the walls of which he was killed. His brother Almeric suc-

CHAPTER III.

Earl Remond recovered all that Earl Simon had taken from him in l'Agenois.—The Earl of Foix retakes Mirepoix from Roger de Leni.—The Earl of Comminge regains the lands which were detained from him by Joris.—Advantages of the Albigenes in Lauragues.—Expeditions of small effect after the death of Earl Simon.—Prince Louls took Marmande, and returned into France, after having summoned Toulouse to surrender.

EARL Remond followed the victory, making himself master of the castle Narbonne, and fortified it against the crusaders, who, he knew, would return the year following. In the mean time he sent his son l'Agenois, who reduced Condom, Mermande, Aquillon, and other neighbouring places, to the obedience of his father. Mirepoix, on the other hand, was besieged by the earl of Foix, who summoned Roger de Leni to surrender, telling him that he must not any more trust and rely upon earl Simon, for he was dead: that he ought to be contented with having so long and so unjustly detained that which was his. That if he provoked him to change his patience into fury, he would lose both his life and Mirepoix together. It was a great trouble to the marshal of the faith, for such was the vain title which the legate had conferred upon him, to deliver up that place; but he did at length give it into the hands of the earl of Foix.^a

The earl of Comminge did likewise right himself against one Joris, to whom the legate had given all that which the soldiers of the cross had taken in his country; for he recovered all from him, and put him to death.

ceeded to the command, but the bravery of the garrison soon obliged him to raise the siege. On this the legate prevailed upon the king of France to undertake the siege of Toulouse in person, and reduce to the obedience of the church, those obstinate heretics, as he called the brave Albigenes. The earl of Toulouse hearing of the great preparations made by the king of France, sent the women, children, cattle, &c. into secret and secure places in the mountains, ploughed up the land, that the king's forces should not obtain any forage, and did all that a skilful general could perform to distress the enemy. By these wise regulations the French army, soon after entering the earldom of Toulouse, suffered all the extremities of famine, which obliged the troops to feed on the carcasses of horses, dogs, cats, &c. which unwholesome food produced the plague. The king died of grief; but his son, who succeeded him, determined to carry on the war; he was, however, defeated in three engagements, by the earl of Toulouse. The king, the queen-mother, and three archbishops again raised a formidable army, and had the art to persuade the earl of Toulouse to come to a conference, when he was treacherously seized upon, made a prisoner, forced to appear barefooted and bareheaded before his enemies, and compelled to subscribe the following ignominious conditions.—1. That he should abjure the faith that he had hitherto defended. 2. That he should be subject to Rome. 3. That he should give his daughter Joan in marriage to one of the brothers of the king of France. 4. That he should maintain in Toulouse six popish professors of the liberal arts, and two grammarians. 5. That he should take upon him the cross, and serve five years against the Saracens in the Holy Land. 6. That he should level the walls of Toulouse with the ground. 7. That he should destroy the walls and fortifications of thirty of his other cities and castles, as the legate should direct. 8. That he should remain prisoner at Paris till his daughter was delivered to the king's commissioners. After these cruel conditions, a severe persecution took place against the Albigenes, many of whom suffered for the faith; and express orders were issued that the laity should not be permitted to read the sacred writings.

^a Hologaray, Hist. of Foix. p. 161.

The spring following, in the year 1219, came Almeric, or Aimeri of Montfort to l'Agenois with some troops of the cross, to recover that which his father had there possessed; and to that end and purpose, he laid siege to Marmande; the young earl of Toulouse was going to the relief of the besieged, when he received advice from the earl of Foix, that he had taken a great booty of men and cattle in Lauragues, but he was afraid he could not bring them to Toulouse, without being engaged on the way by the garrison of Carcassone; he therefore desired that he would come to his assistance. Young Remond therefore marched thither, and came just as the earl of Foix was upon the point of losing his booty, being pursued by the viscount of Lautrec, and the captains, Foucat and Valas.^b Being come to the engagement, Valas and Foucat loudly animated and encouraged their crusaders, saying, "We fight for heaven and the church;" which young earl Remond hearing, he cried out as loud to his men, "Be of good heart, my friends, we fight for our religion against thieves and robbers, shrouded under the cloak of the church. They have robbed enough, let us make them vomit it up again, and pay off the arrears of their thefts and robberies which they have heretofore committed." Thereupon they gave them the charge. The viscount of Lautrec betook himself to flight; Foucat was taken prisoner, and all their troops cut in pieces. Captain Seguret an eminent robber, was taken and hanged upon a tree in the field. Thus did they come laden with victory and spoil to Toulouse, with their prisoners and cattle. The siege of Marmande continued, but without any progress or success; for Almeric having caused a general assault to be made upon the city, the inhabitants defended themselves with such bravery and resolution, that the ditches were filled with the dead bodies of the crusaders. This was just upon the arrival of the great expedition of prince Louis, who brought along with him thirty earls. An expedition for the raising of which, Bertrand, the legate, had written to king Philip in the following terms; "Do not fail to be in the confines of Toulouse, during the whole month of May, in the year 1219, with all your forces to revenge the death of the earl of Montfort; and I will procure, that the pope shall publish the croisade throughout the world, for your better aid and assistance." Thus the legate commanded the king of France. His son came to Marmande, and summoned those that were therein to surrender. They capitulated with him. He promised them their lives. Almeric complained of it, saying, that those were not worthy to live, who had been the death of his father. He called the prelates together, and declared to them his discontent, occasioned by that composition, in that life was granted to those that were the murderers of his father. All the priests were of opinion, that notwithstanding the promise made, they should all be put to death. Prince Louis was for having the composition stand inviolable. Notwithstanding this, Almeric caused his troops to slip into the city, with a charge to kill all, even so much as the women and children. They put his orders in execution, the prince was offended thereat, and thereupon left Almeric and the legate. In his way he summoned the inhabitants of Toulouse to surrender. They defended themselves against him. He received news of the death of his father, which occasioned him to return home. And thus, all the effects of that great expedition, by which it was intended to bury all the Albigenses alive, vanished away without any assault.

^b Chass. Lib. 4. c. 13.

CHAPTER IV.

Alteration made in the war of the Albigenses, occasioned by the death of Pope Innocent III.—
Change of the legate.—Death of Remond, Earl of Toulouse.—Sickness of the Earl of Foix,
the Lady Philippe de Moncade, his mother, and Dominic, the Inquisitor.

BERTRAND Bonaventure, the legate, being tired with the long fatigues of the war, perceiving that the danger thereof was greater than either the pleasure or profit, took occasion, under pretence of his age and impotency, to return to Rome. And besides, pope Innocent being dead, pope Honorius his successor, who had not carried on this war by his authority from the beginning thereof, knew neither the importance of it, nor how to manage and give directions in it: and therefore had need of the advice of his legate, to instruct and inform him by what means to continue and carry it on, and to acquaint him what profit and advantage would thereby accrue to the holy see. Bonaventure therefore intreated him to depute another legate, and told him that the necessity of that war was such, that it did not only concern the loss of all the countries taken from the Albigenses, which they might easily recover if they met with no greater opposition, but that the fate of the church of Rome did likewise depend thereupon, because *the doctrine of the Waldenses and Albigenses did directly shake the authority of the popes, and undermine and overthrow the ordinances of the papacy.* That war had been very expensive, and cost them very dear. For within the space of fifteen years, one hundred thousand soldiers of the cross had been slain therein, who came at several times to end their lives in Languedoc, as if there were not graves enough elsewhere to bury them, or as if men in those days were obliged to be born in France, and to die in that war, fighting against the Albigenses. That all this would be lost, if they did not continue to harass and persecute them, until they were entirely destroyed. The pope made Contat his legate, whom he sent thither.

Now Almeric, although he was very valiant and courageous, yet he had not attained to that authority which his father had got, who had made himself, at the cost of the Albigenses, a great general, beloved of his soldiers, of wonderful courage and valour, patient in afflictions, indefatigable in labour, diligent in his enterprises, of great foresight, and provident for the necessities of an army; was very affable, but of an irreconcilable hatred to his enemies, because he hated them only to enjoy what they had, which he could not do till after their death, which he did what in him lay, to procure and accelerate, under the plausible colour and pretence of religion. His son was a true inheritor of the enmity of his father, but dull and sluggish, and loving his ease, and altogether unfit for any action of moment and importance. Besides, he was deprived of the monk, Dominic, whom his father had always made use of to his very great advantage. For placing Dominic in the cities which he had conquered, he left it to him to complete their destruction by his inquisition, which he could not do by arms. He died on the sixth of August, 1220, so rich and wealthy, that notwithstanding he was the author and founder of a begging order, the Jacobin monks, yet, he made it known before his death, that "a scrip well managed, is better than a rent ill paid;" for he left several houses, and much goods behind him, thereby showing that he made use of his

scrip, only for a colour and show of poverty; but that he thought good to get wherewithal to live otherwise, doth appear from the safeguard or protection which was given him by earl Simon a little before his death, the tenor of which is as follows.^a

“Simon, by the grace and providence of God, duke of Narbonne, earl of Toulouse, viscount of Licestre, Beziers, and Carcassone, health and love. We command and enjoin you to take special care to preserve and defend the houses and goods of our most dear brother Dominic, as if they were our own. Given at Toulouse, December 13, 1217.”

The death of that monk was a great comfort to the Albigenses, who had persecuted them with such cruelty and violence. But they were on the other side much more weakened by the death of Remond, earl of Toulouse, the earl of Foix, and madame Philippe de Moncade, his lady.

The earl Remond died of sickness, very much lamented of his subjects. He was just, mild, valiant, and courageous, but too apt to give ear to those who advised him for his ruin. He was moved at first only with a true charity to his subjects, who made profession of the faith of the Waldenses; but afterwards having been basely and unworthily handled and treated by the pope's legates, he knew both the cruelty of the priests, and the falsity of their doctrine, by the conferences and disputes which they had held in his presence with the pastors or teachers of the Albigenses. His epitaph was written in two Gascon verses.

Non y a home sur terre per grand Segnor que sous.
Qu'em iettes de ma Ferre si la Gleisa non sous.

The author of the history of Languedoc tells us that he died suddenly, and was carried into the house of the friars of John's hospital, and that he was not buried, because he died excommunicated. There was a head not long since showed at Toulouse, which was by some believed to be the head of earl Remond, which they said had always remained without burial.^b But it is very improbable that he who died among his subjects, of whom he was lord, should have so little credit and respect after his death, as not to be interred; that he who by his courage and valour, had restored his subjects to their houses, and their city to its ancient grandeur and glory; that he should be cast out like a dog, whose death they all lamented as a father. It is neither true nor likely that they should deny him that last office of charity, which they did not refuse even to their greatest enemies; for the Albigenses were never known to have refused burial to any.

As to the earl of Foix, he was a prince of whom history gives this character and testimony.—that he was a patron of justice, clemency, candour, magnanimity, patience, and chastity; a good warrior, a good husband, a good father, a good manager, a good administrator of justice, worthy to have his name honoured, and his virtues related by posterity. When this good prince saw that he must exchange earth for heaven, he met death with an undaunted bravery and resolution, rejoicing that he was to leave the world, and the vanity thereof. He called his son Roger, and exhorted him to serve God, to live virtuously, and to govern his people with paternal care, keeping them under obedience to his laws, and so he gave up the

^a Pet. Val. Sar. ad finem.

^b Hologaray, p. 164.

ghost. Madame Philippe de Moncade followed shortly after, not without suspicion of being poisoned by some domestic enemy of the Albigenses, whose religion she zealously and devoutly professed. She was a princess of great and admirable foresight, faith, constancy, and loyalty. She uttered before her death, several fine and sweet expressions, full of edification, both in the Castilian and French tongue, in contempt of death, which she received with a wonderful courage and constancy, tempering her words with most christian-like comfort and consolation, to the great edification of her friends.

The death of all these persons made a wonderful change and alteration in the war of the Albigenses on both sides.

CHAPTER V.

Almeric of Montfort resigned the countries taken from the Albigenses, into the hands of King Louis VIII.—Siege of Avignon.—The king sets up a Governor in Languedoc.—The war against the Albigenses is renewed.—Toulouse besieged.—Treaty of peace with Earl Remond and the people of Toulouse.

ALMERIC of Montfort was not so fortunate in the war of the Albigenses; for he had neither king Philip Augustus to permit him to raise crusaders, nor pope Innocent III. to order and appoint them. Besides, there was neither city nor village in France, without such whom the war of the Albigenses had made widows and orphans. Moreover, the prelates were put into great frights and fears by the fierce and bloody battles and engagements which were usually fought, and several had fled, leaving their mitres, and some abbots their crosses behind them. The talk of the expeditions of the cross were now grown less frequent. This hindered Almeric for a long time from enjoying his conquests, at which time being very much troubled and afflicted, he took his journey to France, and resigned to Louis VIII. all the right which he tendered to the said countries, and which the pope and the councils of la Vaur, Montpellier, and Lateran had given him. In recompense thereof, the French king made him constable of France, in the year 1224.

King Louis VIII. went into Languedoc, to put himself in possession thereof, and coming before the gates of Avignon, he was denied entrance, because professing the faith of the Albigenses, they had been excommunicated and given by the pope to the first conqueror. Avignon was not then the principal city of the earldom of Venescin as it now is; but belonged to the king of Naples and Sicily. The king being moved and incensed with that denial, resolved to lay siege to it, which lasted for eight months, at the end of which they surrendered themselves in 1225.

During this siege almost all the cities of Languedoc acknowledged the king of France's authority, by the means and mediation of Amelin, archbishop of Narbonne. The king made Imbert de Beaujeu governor in Languedoc and returned to France; but he died by the way at Montpensier, in September, 1226.

The young earl of Toulouse had obliged himself, by promise made to the king, to go and receive the absolution of pope Honorius, and that afterwards he would restore him to the peaceable possession of all his

countries; but the death of the king intervening, he saw the kingdom of France in the hands of king Louis IX. then a child, and under the tuition and government of his mother. He believed that having to do with an infant king and a woman, he might recover that by force, which he had given away by agreement. Which made him resolve to take up arms, strengthened and encouraged so to do by the succours and assistance of the Albigenes his subjects, who were now in hope to restore and maintain their party in its former vigour and power, during the minority of the king of France; but they all were mistaken in their projections and designs. For although Louis IX. was in his minority, yet he was so happy as to have a wife and prudent mother. For king Louis VIII. had before his death appointed her to be tutoress or guardian of his son, very well knowing her great capacity and sufficiency for such a charge. Moreover, Imbert de Beaujeu maintained the king's authority in Languedoc, took up arms, and made head against earl Remond and the Albigenes. The queen sent him several troops, by the help of which he recovered the castle of Bonteque near Toulouse, which very much annoyed Imbert and his party. All the Albigenes who were found therein, were put to the sword, except one deacon who was set apart with those who would not abjure their religion, and by the command of the said Imbert, Amelin the pope's legate, and with the advice of Gyon, bishop of Carcassone, they were all burnt alive in the year 1227, suffering death with admirable Christian courage and constancy.

The more hot and violent the persecution grew, the more did the number of the Albigenes multiply and increase, which Imbert de Beaujeu perceiving, he took his journey to the court, and gave them to understand that without succours and assistance he could no longer preserve and defend the countries and places lately annexed to the crown, and patrimony of France, against earl Remond and the Albigenes. During his absence, earl Remond took the castle of Sarrazin, one of the strongest places which Imbert had in his hands, and keeping the field he did very much annoy his enemies.

Imbert returned from France in the spring of the year 1228, followed by a great army of the cross, in which were the archbishops of Bourges, Aouch, and Bordeaux, each of them heading the crusaders under his jurisdiction.

Earl Remond retired into Toulouse, and was immediately blocked up, and all the country round about, insomuch that the harvest was wasted and spoiled. Being reduced to this extremity, Elias Garin, the abbot of Grandseve, came from Amelin, the pope's legate, with an offer of peace to earl Remond and the people of Toulouse. He was received with great joy, as one offering bread and peace to a people famished, and tired with war. Yet the more wise and perspicacious, who had a clearer insight into the event of things, knew well enough, that so soon as they had gotten earl Remond into their clutches, they would make use of him to persecute them, to establish and set up the inquisition, and kindle the fires again, and so ruin and destroy them both body and soul; but the reasons and allegations of those persons were overcome by the importunate cries of the famished populace, who could not discern the halter which was to strangle them. Besides this, the enemy had their agents and confederates even in Toulouse, who terrified and intimidated earl Remond, telling him, that he was not now to deal with Almeric of Montfort, but with a king of France, who wanted not strength and power to destroy them; that continual fevers

kill men, and a long and tedious war would overwhelm and bury them all. Earl Remond gave his word to the abbot, to meet him upon a certain day at Vasieges, there to resolve upon what was to be done to bring the peace to a perfection; and in the mean time a truce was granted to the people of Toulouse for some days. Earl Remond met at the day and place appointed, as did likewise the abbot of Grandselve. After several proposals, and many overtures about the peace, the abbot made him believe, that it would be better for him to be in France than there; that seeing the affair did concern the king, the queen mother must be present thereat, as guardian and regent; and that so more might be done in a few days, than could else be effected in some years, because it was a business which required several journeys backwards and forwards, which perhaps would be long and fruitless; that he would engage his faith, that he should receive full satisfaction and content. Being overcome with these specious promises, he yielded to come into France, to what place soever the queen mother should be pleased to order and appoint him. Meaux was the place which he made choice of, and the time was fixed for his coming. He went thither, but was no sooner arrived, but he began to repent it, and was made sensible of his folly in giving credit to the words of a priest; especially knowing that his late father had fared so ill by trusting those who hold this for a maxim, "*That no faith is to be kept with heretics or the favourers of them;*" and that he being held and accounted for such a one, had no reason to promise himself better success.

There was now never a word said of a treaty, but of submission to whatsoever should be imposed upon him. He had no more his liberty to talk, for he was straitly and securely guarded, for fear he should again fly to the Albigenſes. The author of the history of Languedoc, who though in other matters he was a very great enemy to the Albigenſes, yet he could not write of this without commiseration and pity, so sad and deplorable was the condition of this lord. These are his words.*

"It was, says he, a lamentable sight to see so brave a man, who had stood out and made resistance for so long a time against so many men, come barefooted in his shirt and drawers to the altar, in the presence of two cardinals of the church of Rome, the one legate in France, and the other in England. But this was not all the ignominious penances inflicted upon him, for there were so many conditions or articles proposed in that treaty of peace, any one of which would have been sufficient for his ransom, if the king of France had taken him in the field fighting against him."

* History of Languedoc, p. 33—Fol. 34.

CHAPTER VI.

Articles of the Treaty betwixt Remond, Earl of Toulouse, and the Pope's Legate, Amelin, and the Queen Mother of Louis IX. King of France.

IT was an easy matter to finish and complete the treaty, for the articles were proposed to earl Remond, with this condition, that he should sign them without making any reply or demur.

Article I. That after earl Remond had begged pardon in the manner appointed, in his shirt, barefoot and bareheaded, with a torch in his hand, for all that he had done against the church, he should promise to defend the faith, and banish and expel the heretics out of his territories.

II. That he should yearly pay three marks of silver to the church so long as he lived.

III. That he should forthwith pay down the sum of six thousand marks of silver, for the reparation of the cities, castles and houses which were ruined and demolished by him or his father, during the late wars.

IV. That he should pay two thousand marks of silver for the reparation of the monastery, and for the maintenance of the monks of Cisteaux.

V. Five hundred marks of silver for the monks of Cleruaux.

VI. A thousand marks for those of Grandselve, and for the reparation of their monastery.

VII. Three hundred for the church of Belle Perche.

VIII. Six thousand marks of silver for the reparation of the castle Narbonne; and that it should be held ten years by the legate in the name of the church.

IX. That he should give towards the maintenance of four doctors in divinity, two doctors of the canon-law, six masters of art, and two grammarians, who should read daily lectures, each of them according to his faculties, to such scholars as should come to Toulouse, the sum of four thousand marks of silver; of which, each master in divinity should have twenty-five, the doctor of law fifteen, and the master of arts ten marks a year for the space of ten years.

X. That he should receive the cross at the hands of the legate, and go beyond sea to fight against the Turks and Saracens, and should go to Rhodes, where he should tarry for the space of five years, and bring a certificate from the great master of Rhodes.

XI. That he should never, for the future, undertake any thing against the church.

XII. That he should wage war with the earl of Foix, and never make peace with him without the leave of the legate.

XIII. That he should raze and demolish all the walls, towers, and fortifications of Toulouse, according to the prescriptions of the legate.

XIV. That he should level and destroy thirty-five cities or castles, in which number the following shall be included; Fainaux, Castelnau d'Arri, la Bastide, Avignonnet, Pech Laurens, Sanct Paul, la Vaur, Rebasteins, Guailac, Montague, Hautpec, Verdun, Castel Sarrazin, Montauban, Agen, Saverdun, Condon, Auterine, and others which the legate should name unto him, which he must never rebuild without his leave and permission.

XV. That if any of his subjects held any fortress or castle, he should

cause him to demolish it, or upon case of refusal, he should make war with him, at his own costs and charges.

XVI. That he should deliver into the hands of the legate, Penne d'Agenes, and all the other places above mentioned, to be kept by him for the space of ten years. But if he could not obtain and enjoy them, he should try to gain them by war. And if he could not within two years make himself master of them, he should make his voyage beyond the seas as aforesaid, and resign his right of Penne to the templars, getting them to come over and conquer it. Which if they refuse to do, the pleasure of the legate is, that the king of France should conquer it. But if he refuse to hold it when he hath taken it, that he cause it to be utterly razed and demolished, so that it may never be rebuilt.

XVII. That for the full accomplishment of all this, he should resign himself a prisoner into the hands of the king at the Louvre in Paris, whence he should not depart till he had first caused one of his daughters to be brought to Carcassone, and committed to the custody of the king, into the hands of those persons whom he should appoint and depute for that purpose.

XVIII. That he should likewise deliver the castle Narbonnes and Penne d'Agenes, and the other places into the hands of the legate. That he should cause the walls of the city, which were over against the said castle Narbonnes, to be demolished, and the ditches which were betwixt them to be filled up, so that a man might freely pass and repass without fear and danger. That the whole should be accomplished and performed before his departure and releasement out of prison. All which being done, the legate gave him his absolution, and delivered it in writing.

Thus you see the conditions of the treaty, between earl Remond and the pope's legate. This great trouble and affliction of this prince was but the beginning, the first step to the misery of the poor Albigenes; for thence sprang the great persecution, whereby they were totally destroyed.

CHAPTER VII.

Pecuniary penalties laid upon the Albigenes.—Earl Remond is forced to make decrees against them.—A Council at Toulouse against the Albigenes, in which they were prohibited the reading of the Holy Scriptures.—Other constitutions against them.—Earl Remond's daughter carried to Paris.

THE subjects of earl Remond, being advertised of that dishonourable and disadvantageous treaty of their lord, were exceedingly troubled and displeased at it, whereby they saw themselves upon the brink of total ruin and destruction; because thereby their lord was obliged to do what in him lay to forward their extirpation: besides this, they plainly saw they were to have a new master, who was their sworn and professed enemy. They also forced earl Remond at the same time, without giving him leisure to consider with himself, to sign the following statutes, at a time when he dared not contradict them.

"I. To facilitate the payment of the respective sums, which he had bound and obliged himself to pay towards the convents, by way of

penalty; they caused him to command and enjoin, that all his subjects who made profession of the faith of the Albigenes, should furnish him with a mark of silver a head. And this was to persuade him, that he ought not to look upon that condemnation as strange and severe, since the payment of the said sums would wholly lie upon the Albigenes. Moreover, by this means they put all his subjects to the test; for so many as should refuse to pay the said mark of silver, were thereby known and taken notice of, so that it was a kind of inquisition, to single out, and discover all such as should be afterwards persecuted. And that such as should continue and persevere in their religion, should be punished and sentenced to death, their goods confiscated, their wills rendered invalid and of none effect; so that neither their children, nor any other of their relations, could recover or enjoy their inheritance.

II. That their houses should be utterly levelled and demolished.

III. He did likewise command and ordain, that all those who should refuse the inquisitors their houses, farms, and woods, or should protect and defend the heretics, or should rescue and deliver them when they were taken, or should deny the inquisitors their aid and assistance, or refuse to vindicate and defend them when they required it, or should not do their best endeavours to keep and secure such as the said inquisitors should apprehend, should suffer corporal punishment, and have their goods confiscated.

IV. That those who were suspected of heresy, shall take their oaths to live in obedience to the Romish faith, and renounce and abjure their heresy; and if they shall refuse so to do, they shall suffer the same punishment as the heretics. But if after the oath taken, it doth appear, that they have received, favoured, or advised any heretic, they shall suffer whatsoever punishment the council shall think fit to inflict upon them.

V. We moreover ordain, saith he, if it shall appear, that any one who hath been an offender shall die a heretic, and that sufficiently proved and made out before the prelate; that his goods shall be confiscated, and the houses wherein he shall have dwelt since the treaty of peace made at Paris, or wherein he shall dwell hereafter, shall be utterly razed and demolished.*

Thus, you see, what they caused earl Remond to sign and ordain, and from that instant they began to ruin and destroy those, when severed and by piecemeal, whom they could never overthrow, when united and in conjunction.

Moreover, to give the better authority to the institution, they called a council at Toulouse, in the year 1229, at which were present the archbishops of Narbonne, Bordeaux, and Aouch, and several bishops and prelates; where, among other articles which were there concluded upon, this decree shows with what spirit those prelates were acted and inspired.^b

“We forbid and prohibit, say they, the books of the Old and New Testament to the laity, unless they will have the psalter, or some breviary for divine service, or the prayer book of the blessed virgin Mary for their devotion. Most expressly forbidding them to have the said books translated in the vulgar tongue.”

* These statutes of earl Remond, are found in the book of Rainerius de modo examinandi hereticus, fol. 130.

^b The seventh canon of the council of Toulouse.

At that time did pope Gregory IX. also make constitutions against the Albigenes. And especially because he would stop the mouths of their pastors and ministers, who cried down and exclaimed against their humane inventions; he ordained, that all and every of the laity, of what rank or quality soever, should be prohibited from preaching.

King Louis IX. did likewise make statutes in conformity to those of earl Remond, as did also the emperor Frederick, which we shall not insert, since they all proceed from one and the same source and original. He who hath seen one, hath seen them all, for they tended only to make the kings, princes, emperors, and potentates, to set their hands to what they saw useful, and convenient for the persecution of those who withstood and opposed the ordinances of the popes; which they durst not refuse to do, under pain of having the self-same constitutions employed and executed against themselves.

After the treaty made with earl Remond, he was kept a prisoner until the payment of the sums therein specified; and in the mean time, Peter de Colmieu vice-legate went to Toulouse, to reduce the city under the obedience of the king. He caused the wall to be razed, and the towers to be demolished, that they might not any more be able to rebel against the king. He did also bring Joan, the only daughter of earl Remond, to the queen mother, being no more than nine years of age, to be brought up with her, till such time as she was of age to marry with Alphonsus, the king's brother. The removal of that young princess was a very great affliction to earl Remond's subjects, foreseeing that this change of government would interrupt and destroy their peace and tranquillity.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Earl of Toulouse solicits the Earl of Foix to submit himself to the obedience of the Pope. The practices he made use of to draw him off from the party of the Albigenes.—How he suffered himself to be managed by the Pope's Legate.

THE earls of Foix, Comminge, and the prince of Bearn, were still to be conquered, or else to be won over to their party by crafty and subtle practices. Colmieu the legate, judged earl Remond to be the most proper person to effect the latter, and therefore he commanded him to write to the earl of Foix, and tell him, that he must either follow his example, or else resolve miserably to perish. He wrote to him in very friendly and amicable terms, telling him, that the union which had ever been between their two houses, obliged him to endeavour and procure his good and welfare as much as his own; that if he did not submit himself to the church of Rome, he saw such a storm likely to discharge its fury upon his head, as would inevitably prove his ruin and overthrow: that having a king of France for his enemy, it was utterly impossible for him to hold out against him: that he begged of him to receive his advice, together with the present which he made him, as a further proof and token of his love and friendship; that is, if he would comply with that submission towards the pope, and the court of Rome, he would hold him thenceforward quit and discharged of that homage, which he did him for the earldom of Foix.

He intreated him to procure the earl of Comminge, and the prince of Bearn, to make the same submission.

The answer of the earl of Foix was:—"That he could not renounce his party, nor his faith, at a time, when he should give the world reason to suspect, that he had been influenced more by fear than reason; and that it was convenient, in order to so signal and advantageous a change as they expected from him, that the truth, not the allurements of promises, or the force of arms, should overcome. That he would see that vast number of crusaders coming, with which they threatened him, and trust in God. That he would then give them to understand the justice of his cause, and make them repent their rash and inconsiderate vow."

Earl Remond was not satisfied with that answer, much less the legate, who found out another way to win him over to their party. There being some of his subjects within his dominions, and around about the said earldom, who being scared and terrified with the apprehension of their approaching ruin, they intreated him to have compassion on himself, and his miserable subjects, who would undoubtedly be destroyed by that last and violent attack. At the same time, the legate caused the earl of Toulouse to write to the principal men of the earl of Foix and his subjects, telling them, that there was an excellent opportunity offered to their lord of concluding his troubles, if he did not render himself unworthy thereof, by his obstinacy; that their only way to procure to themselves a firm and lasting peace, was to persuade him, as much as in them lay, to take hold of that opportunity, before the croisade was set on foot.

The subjects of the earl of Foix, partly with regard to their interest, partly for fear lest their lord, already well advanced in years, without wife or children, should leave them exposed to the mercy of the first conqueror, if he should die without a lawful heir, joined their humble prayers and intreaties to the pressing and cogent persuasions of the earl of Toulouse. They by their tears and intreaties obtained that which the earl of Toulouse could never do by threatenings, prayers, and promises: for he promised them, that he would treat for their peace with the legate, and would accept of it for their good and satisfaction.

The pope was informed of the earl of Foix's design, and with the former sent another legate into the earldom of Foix, the cardinal Ange, accompanied by the archbishops of Narbonne and Folæ, William de Toration, the bishop of Cousserans, Bernard de la Grace, Peter abbot of Bolbonne, John abbot of Comelonge, William abbot of Foix, Peter de Thalames, the legate's lieutenant, Lambert de la Tour, and several others. Being arrived at St. John de Berges, in the earldom of Foix, thither came also the earl of Foix, with the prime nobility, and principal men of his country.

The legate acquainted the earl of Foix with the great joy and satisfaction of the pope, when he heard, that after so tedious and cruel wars, and so many fierce and bloody battles, there were some hopes of seeing them peaceably concluded: that he was come from the pope to finish and effect that which was begun; that he had nothing more to do, but to know upon what terms he would resolve upon, and come to an accommodation, and to take his promise and oath of fidelity to the Roman pontiff, which it was necessary for him to make in such a case.

Earl Roger made the following reply to the legate and his assistants.*

* Hologaray, Life of Roger earl of Foix.

"Gentlemen, I have long since bid adieu to rhetoric, having accustomed myself to make my speeches, and plead my cause by the point of sword and spear, which will excuse me to you, if in the terms of a soldier, I tell you my resolutions and designs. My cousin the earl of Toulouse hath procured, for which I return him thanks, our enemies to give us the hearing as to the reason and causes of our taking up arms, which they would never grant till now; and he desires moreover, that we would desist from opposing and making head against those, who would do us mischief, with this confidence and assurance, saith he, that the king of France will govern every one according to justice. Truly, I must tell you, that it was ever my desire to maintain and preserve my liberty. Our country owes but one simple homage to the earl of Toulouse, for making it an earldom. But it owns and acknowledges no other lord and master, but myself. As to the pope, I have never offended him; for he hath never demanded any thing of me, in which, as a prince, I have not obeyed him. He hath nothing to do to meddle with my religion; since every one ought to be free, and use their pleasure in that. My father did always recommend to me that liberty, that continuing in that state and posture, when even the heavens vanished away and were dissolved, I might be able to look up to, and regard them with an eye of confidence and assurance, firmly believing it to be out of their power to do me any harm. This alone it is that troubles me. For with this proviso, that the earl of Toulouse will hold me quit and discharged of the homage, which he pretends to have a right to from me, I am ready to embrace the king, and to serve him in the like quality and condition, so far as may be consistent with my other rights and privileges, which give me a regal and sovereign authority in this country. It is not fear, which makes me stoop to and comply with your desires, and which constrains me to humble my will so far, as coward-like to truckle to your appetite and desires: but being moved and incited by that benign and generous fear of the misery of my subjects, and the total ruin of my country, and out of a desire not to be counted factious, opinative, and the firebrand and incendiary of France, it is that I yield to that extremity. Otherwise I would have stood as a wall impenetrable, and proof against all the assaults of mine enemies. I therefore give you a pledge of my friendship and affection, for the good of the peace in general. Take my castles of Foix, Montgaillard, Montreal, Vicdesos, Lordat, till such times as I have made that submission which you require."

As to the earl of Comminge, and prince of Bearn, it was impossible for them firmly and resolutely to stand in their resistance, being deprived of those two pillars and supports, the earls of Foix and Toulouse. For they were weak both in men and money. Thus you see an end of the Albigenes to all outward appearance, when in the year 1234, there arose a natural son of the earl of Beziers, who took up arms in behalf of the Albigenes, or rather who begged their assistance to revenge the death of his late father.

CHAPTER IX.

The last war of the Albigenes carried on by Trancavel, a natural son of the Earl of Beziers.—
The last expedition levied against the Albigenes.—Peace concluded between Amelin the
legate, and Trancavel.—End of the war.

MATTHEW PARIS, an English historian, saith, that in the year 1234, the war was renewed against the Albigenes; that a great army of the cross came against them; and that they lost above one hundred thousand men at one fatal engagement, with all their prelates that were present thereat, not so much as one escaping.

He must have been misinformed; for the author of the history of Languedoc, who wrote all the passages and transactions of those times, hath made no mention of it; and it is not probable, that he would have forgotten, and passed by with silence, so eminent and signal a victory over the Albigenes, whom he mortally hated. True it is, that about the same time that the earls of Foix, Toulouse, Comminge, and the prince of Bearn, took their part, and were their leaders and generals; Trancavel, a natural son of the late earl of Beziers, did then bear the character of a private person, of little note or power. But when the Albigenes were destitute of all prop or support, there was not wanting those who stirred up and awakened that soldier, telling him, that if he would resent the injuries and outrages done to his late father, unjustly robbed of his possessions, betrayed, imprisoned, and poisoned, they would give him their utmost aid and assistance. He took the field, saying that he would revenge the death of his father, and recover that by the sword, which had been taken from him by violence and injustice. He was assisted by several valiant captains, Oliver de Fumees, Bernard Hugon de Serelongue, Bernard de Villeneuf, Jordan de Satiat, all brave commanders, who had a great many men at their service; and before the enemy took notice of his design, he seized upon the castles of Montreal, Saisac, Montolieu, Limous, and other places.

Peter Melin the pope's legate and the prelate of Toulouse, being very much surprised and astonished to see the party of the Albigenes revived, which they thought was entirely buried and destroyed, had recourse to the usual methods of the pope and his agents, that is, to cause the pardon of sins to be preached to all those who would take upon them the cross, a kind of pay which was of no value, but most current in those days. The archbishop of Narbonne did likewise animate and stir up the people of his diocess, to go and complete the destruction of the few remaining Albigenes.

Those priests came with their troops before the gates of Carcassone. The city received them; but when they come to the borough, the gates were shut against them. Amelin made a speech to those who presented themselves upon the ramparts, telling them, that he was only come for their preservation. They returned him thanks, and to make short with him, they told him, that if he did not instantly retire, they would drive him thence. Just upon the point of their dispute came Trancavel, who set

upon the legate's crusaders with that courage and fury, that he pursued and slew them even to the gates of the city of Carcassone, and the legate had much ado to escape himself: but that which most moved and offended them, was, that the gates of the borough were opened to Trancavel, who lodged himself in the borough, and made that his principal place of retreat, whence he daily annoyed the crusaders of the city, so that they hardly durst go out of the gates. And when he knew of their coming, he went to meet and give them a reception, laying ambushes in their way, and often defeated them before they could join the legate.

This person kept the field until the year 1242; because when crusaders were demanded to go against a bastard of the late earl of Beziers, it was the general opinion, that the forces levied in the province were sufficient for the destruction of so weak and inconsiderable an enemy. But Amelin wrote to the pope, that if he did not in good earnest cause the croisade to be preached in several places of Europe, the papacy was likely to receive such damage and mischief from this last enemy, who had again renewed the party of the Albigenes, and was more subtle and cruel than any of the others, who had hitherto maintained their cause.

Innocent IV. caused the croisade to be published in divers places of Europe. Trancavel being informed that a very great army of crusaders was coming to pour out their fury upon him, finding himself not strong and secure enough in the borough of Carcassone, he retired to Realmont, whither he was followed and besieged by the papists. He made a stout and resolute resistance; and having several times defeated the cross-men, at length Amelin seeing that there was no good to be done with a man, who, when they thought they had him closely and securely blocked up, was several days journey off, raising new recruits, he intreated the earl of Foix to do his best endeavours to bring him to some treaty or composition, which he performed with such advantage and success, that he promised never to take up arms again against the legate or the church of Rome. This is the last attempt which, as we find, the Albigenes ever made, and the last expedition of crusaders levied against them. The persecution against them was afterwards wholly managed and carried on by the monks inquisitors, who kindled the fires more fiercely than ever. Thus taking these poor people single and disarmed, it was utterly impossible for them to hold out or subsist; and if they did at any time assault and set upon the blood-thirsty inquisitors, it was only out of resentment for their cruelty and violence.

CHAPTER X.

Several monks inquisitors, and officers of the Inquisition slain.—Pope Innocent IV. treated Earl Remond very disgracefully.—Remond takes a journey to Rome; goes to Rhodes; and dies at Milan.

In the year 1243, earl Remond having discharged the pecuniary penalties inflicted on him, and being returned to his subjects, several of the country complained unto him of the unjust proceedings of the monks inquisitors, who involved all sorts of persons in their punishments without distinction, either as heretics, or else as the favourers and friends of them,

not being contented and satisfied with proceeding against those who made open profession of the faith of the Albigenses; so that horrid and notorious robberies were committed under colour of the inquisition. This accusation and impeachment of the inquisitors were made before earl Remond, in the presence of five inquisitors, and four officers of the inquisition, William Arnaldi monk inquisitor, two other Jacobin monks; Remond de l'Escrivain archdeacon of Toulouse, the prior of Avignonet of Cluze, and Peter Arnaldi secretary to the inquisition, with three others of Avignonet, in the diocese of Toulouse.

The monks inquisitors would make their reply, and took occasion from this accusation to draw up indictments against those who had impeached them to the prejudice of their honour, uttering threatening expressions against them; which occasioned those who had thus enraged and provoked them, to consider with themselves, that since they must fall into the clutches of the said inquisitors, and be ruined by them, it was better for them to rid themselves of it at once, and they might be a warning to others to act with more prudence and moderation. Thus growing daily more sharp and violent in their words, they fell at length to blows: but the monks inquisitors and the officers of the inquisition came off with the worst of it; for, according to the author of the history of Languedoc, nine of them were slain in the fray, the five monks, and their four officers.

Earl Remond sufficiently made it appear, that he did no ways consent to this riot; for he made a strict and diligent search after the authors of that sedition, and yet notwithstanding all his endeavour, he could not evade the suspicion of it. The same historian tells us, that the heinousness of the fact, constrained the authors of it to take up arms, and stir up a kind of a second war, but no other historian hath made mention of it besides himself. Which shows it to have been but a very inconsiderable commotion. Much about this time came pope Innocent IV. to Lyons. Here he thundered out his anathemas against the murderers, as he named them, and did not look very pleasantly upon earl Remond, whose request he very rudely denied, which was, to procure his dispensation to marry his cousin Beatrix, the daughter of Berenger earl of Provence.*

We are told by the same historian, that in the year 1247, Remond went to Rome, to get leave to inter the bones of his late father in consecrated ground, which was refused him, because he died excommunicated. He likewise saith, that in the year 1246, when earl Remond intended to take his voyage to Rhodes, he died at Milan of a continued fever.

* History of Languedoc, cap. 4, fol. 40, 41.

CHAPTER XL

Alphonsus, brother of King Louis, took possession of the goods of Remond, late Earl of Toulouse. —The persecution continues against the Albigenes, until the Gospel found admittance in France.—Then the greatest part of those places wherein the Albigenes dwelt, readily received the Reformation.

THE change of their ruler altered the condition of the Albigenes; for earl Remond being dead, Alphonsus the brother of king Louis took possession of all the lands, goods, and revenues of the said earl; and all the hatred and ill-will, which the popes and clergy bore to the house of Toulouse did consequently terminate and cease; as to the places which he was obliged by treaty to deliver into their hands, there was no further occasion to insist upon those terms; because Alphonsus, not being suspected of treachery to the pope and church, peaceably enjoyed whatsoever belonged to him. But one good turn requires another: and therefore as by the wars which the popedom had undertaken against the earls of Toulouse, he was put in possession of earl Remond's estate, so was he in point of gratitude obliged to see that the pope was honoured in his dominions. To that end, he redoubled the inquisition, witness the monk Rainerius, who was inquisitor in the year 1250, who hath left us all the form of their proceedings in writing, the copy of which is contained in the *History of the Waldenses*.^a Pope Alexander IV. authorized the said inquisition by letters which we have in our hands.

The continuation of the persecution carried on by the said inquisition, is proved by the constitutions of pope Clement IV. in the year 1264. Likewise in the year 1276, under John XXII. they were persecuted with the utmost rigour and severity, as appears by the letters of the said pope against them.

In the year 1281, under Martin IV. the persecution was again stirred up in the quarters of Albi, for there was then a great number of persons who made profession of the faith of the Albigenes.

EXTRACT OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE CITY OF REALMONT.

To the honour of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Creator of all things visible and invisible, and the glorious Mother of God, who alone hath destroyed all heresies.

“WE, William de Gourdon, captain and president of Carcassone and Beziers, make known to all people, that we strictly order and command, in the name of our most excellent sovereign Philip, by the grace of God, the most serene and illustrious king of France, near the castle of Lombes, in the diocese of Albi, called Realmont, for the promotion and advancement of the Roman faith, and the extirpation of heresy, and for the good and advantage of the lord our king, and his subjects; and to the end, that the holes and hiding places of those who join in belief with, or favour the heretics, should be wholly and at once destroyed in this colony, and that

^a History of Waldenses, lib. 2, chap. 2.

by the commandment and authority of the king; and as for the innumerable offspring of heretics and fugitives, because the perversity of heretics is so wicked and damnable, that the punishment ought not only to be inflicted upon them, but also upon their posterity; we order and command, that the children of heretics, who shall not willingly, and of their own accord, renounce and forsake their error, and return to the purity of the Roman faith, and the unity of the Roman church, shall in the city of Realmont, or the territories thereof, be excluded from all places of honour, and public offices. The same orders shall be likewise observed with respect to the children of fugitives for herey, who shall not before their departure have voluntarily renounced their heretical principles; moreover, those who shall believe, conceal, and favour heretics after they have been openly pronounced and declared such by the inquisition, shall be banished for ever from the city of Realmont, their goods confiscated, and their children wholly excluded from all public honours, dignities and preferments, excepting those that do impeach and discover such heretics, and join in the pursuit and search after them."

This is the last instrument which hath come to our hands, that proves the persecution of the Albigenes. But although it is most certain that they were continually harassed and persecuted by the inquisition, yet could their enemies never so far prevail over them, but that they lay concealed like embers of fire among the ashes, longing and desiring to see that which their posterity enjoyed; the liberty of invoking and serving God in purity, without being forced and compelled to adhere to superstition or idolatry; and so privily instructing their children in the service of God, the fruits of their piety did appear, when it pleased the Lord, afterwards to permit the light of his gospel to shine forth in the midst of the obscure and cloudy darkness of antichrist. Then several of those places, where the faith of the Albigenes had formerly been professed, greedily received the doctrine of the gospel, and especially the city of Realmont, where the preceding thunderbolts were published. Notwithstanding that great interval or space of time, during which they seemed invisible, and did not appear, yet did not the Lord cease to carry on his work, and to show that he can preserve his faithful servants in the midst of the corruptions and confusions of Babylon, as precious stoves in a dunghill, as wheat amongst chaff, and as gold in the fire. And although instructions were not handed down from the father to the son, until the time of the reformation, yet did not God cease to be wonderful in his goodness, in that several of the same places, which had been watered with the first dew of his grace, were plentifully enriched with his heavenly blessings in these latter times. A very proper incitement to spur them on to a double love of the truth, which hath been freely manifested and made known unto them, and to bring forth fruits worthy thereof; as it ought likewise to be matter of extreme sorrow and regret, to those places which have despised and rejected it, that God hath abandoned and given them up to their senses, and left them in that darkness, which they loved, revenging their contempt and ignorance of his word, and suffering those to perish in their error, who have admired and preferred it before the truth.

CHAPTER XII.

Conclusion of this History of the Albigenes.

It is easy to gather, from the contents of this history of the Albigenes, that the people inhabiting the country of Albi, Languedoc, and several other neighbouring places, made profession of the same faith with those, who were called Waldenses, since their enemies themselves have declared and affirmed, that they persecuted them as Waldenses. The chief troubles and afflictions which they suffered and endured, were procured by the priests, whose corruptions and abuses they discovered and cried down, maintaining the gospel in its native purity, in opposition to the pope and the court of Rome, refusing to adhere to, and comply with the prevailing idolatries of their time: but above all, abhorring and detesting the invention of transubstantiation, condemning the title and authority of the popes, as abusive and tyrannical, nothing resembling that humility which becomes true pastors of the church, and carrying in it no likeness or conformity to the doctrine and vocation of the apostles; but is rather a piece of pride and pageantry, very suitable for those who love the world, and perish therewith. By reason of this liberty which they took to correct and reprove those, who thought that the sole right of reproof belonged to themselves, exclusive of all others; those their bitter enemies were moved to charge them with crimes and condemned them as rash and profane laymen, who intruded upon the office of teachers, when they ought rather to have learned in silence. The popes, not being able to win them over to obedience to their injunctions and commands, nor convince them of error by the word of God, persecuted them by the monks inquisitors, who delivered up as many to the secular magistrate, as they could apprehend. But because this way seemed too weak and insufficient to destroy and make an end of them, the popes drew their swords, and armed their cardinals and legates against them, and incited the kings and princes of the earth to those cruel and bloody wars, promising paradise for a recompense to all who would take up arms, and hazard their lives, in fighting *forty* days for their extirpation. Several rulers had the curiosity to inquire into the cause of this irreconcilable hatred of the popes against their subjects, and finding those that were offended at the truth, to be biassed and transported with passion, they maintained their cause for this reason, that when they should be convinced of their error by the word of God, they might give him the glory of it. This defence provoked and enraged the popes, who turned and discharged their wrath against such princes and lords who opposed them, to the utter ruin and destruction of their families. Thence proceeded those cruel and bloody wars, in which a million of men were slain. In the mean time, when the truth seemed to be wholly extinct and buried, and the dragon to have got the victory; God raised up in several places, where his grace had been known and received, several glorious churches in which he was worshipped in purity, in spite of Satan, and all his infernal instruments.

To God therefore, who hath begun to destroy the son of perdition, by the breath of his Spirit; to the Son of God, who hath redeemed us by his precious blood, be all honour and glory for ever.—**AMEN.**

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

THE MEANS BY WHICH THE PAPAL APOSTACY WAS SUSTAINED.

NOTHING can be more delightful to the "servants of iniquity" than the papal system. Heathen and antichristian Rome are exactly assimilated. The former originally was the refuge of outlaws and profligates, and a den of assassins; and the latter is the metropolitan residence of the abandoned of both sexes and the chiefs of all classes of sinners. It was founded on the fratricide of Remus by Romulus; and popery was erected upon the murder of the emperor Mauritius. The usurper Phocas, having butchered the entire imperial family, nominally expiated his atrocious crimes by the enthronement of the "Man of Sin," as a commutation for his regicide, and as the price of the pontifical absolution.

As the Roman apostacy began in bloodshed and violence, so it is indebted for its prolonged existence to that diabolical operation. Like the imposture invented at Mecca, for the Arabian Apollyon employed the sword and military coercion to extend his direful dominions; the Roman pontiff who usurped the highest seat "in the temple of God, as God," introduced the faggot, and kindled one wide-spread fire as the efficient method to reduce all men to his faith, and obedience to his will. Compulsion and cruelty are essential characteristics of the papacy, so that bonds, covenants, treaties, and even oaths, all are phantoms, when Babylonish rage is to be exercised upon a denounced heretic. Persecution in its most savage forms and spirit is the "body and soul, the life and spirit, the strength and aliment", of popery—and the glory and joy of all popes, cardinals, prelates, and massmen, with their monkish confraternities of friars and nuns. So insatiably leech-like is its ravening for blood, that when it cannot get its revengeful and carnivorous appetite, and become "drunk with the blood of the saints, and of the martyrs of Jesus," the priestly worshippers of "the Beast," intoxicated with the wine of the "Mother of Harlots," will go to the blood of their own deluded myrmidons; of which the simultaneous discriminate slaughter of every Frenchman in Sicily, at the vespers, and the butchery of every papist, with the Waldenses, in Beziers; and the burning of Protestants and Romanists in the same fire, by Henry VI are oracular self-evident proofs—whence it is undeniable, that "*he who chooses such a diabolical religion, deserves to be tortured within its grave that it may be his condign punishment, as well as his abhorrent crime.*"

One solution only can be given to the strange inquiry—How men proverbially monstrous in all wickedness, who have no counterparts in the annals of mankind, except Sardanapalus, Caligula, Nero, and Helgabalus, with their compeers; the popes, cardinals, patriarchs, and prelates, those successors of Judas, so long could have been supported? I

reply is this—The universal degeneracy of all orders of the people induced them to “believe the doctrines of devils, to wander after the beast, and to engage in idolatry”—while the easy commutation for their felonies and ungodliness by auricular confession, penance, and absolution, encouraged them to maintain that “all deceivableness of unrighteousness” which sanctified their vicious indulgences in their widest range, and pacified their consciences by the guaranty of pardon, security, and heaven.

It is a most extraordinary character of the entire period between the death of Theodosius and the end of the fifteenth century that all the discordant schemes, conflicting events, and inimical persons, by the unequalled craftiness, and the sleepless exertions of the papal hierarchy, were amalgamated into one resistless machine, the perpetual motions of which invariably promoted but one object, the triumphant death-dealing tyranny of the “Man of Sin, the son of perdition.” Some of the monarchs and princes bowed down to the pope from superstition; others from servility; many from expediency; and the majority of them from terror. But even that transfer of their kingdoms and “power to the beast,” by the potentates of Europe, would have been insufficient to fortify and perpetuate the papal edifice of every diversified “abomination,” which like the “smoke out of the bottomless pit, darkened the sun and the air,” had not the priestly celibacy embodied around the pope, a universally dispersed and innumerable army of “unclean spirits,” friars, monks, and nuns; whose licentiousness and arrogance could not otherwise have been satiated; and had not those “spirits of devils;” Revelation xvi. 12–14, obtained an unlimited sway over all the people, by being the authorized depositories of every individual’s character, business, secrets, and reputation, in consequence of the knowledge acquired at confession!

The history of the popedom during the whole of its destructive predominance, and the condition of every nation subject to its ruthless despotism, especially as contrasted with the annals of the Protestant nations, and in exact proportion as they have discarded all connection with that “mystery of iniquity, and working of Satan,” incontrovertibly demonstrates; truthful as the axioms of geometry—that it is “strong delusion” to expect any amendment in the papacy, or any melioration of the Romish priesthood, or any sterling intellectual and moral improvement of the minions who bow down to the ecclesiastical usurper of Rome as their “Pontifex Maximus,” and “Lord God upon earth,” until the popish *auricular confession* is denounced as merely a cover for shameless impurity, and the Romish priestly celibacy is branded as a public license for sin to those “GENTILES! who walk in the vanity of their mind; having the understanding darkened; being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance which is in them, because of the blindness of their heart,” Ephesians iv. 17–19; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, 1 Timothy, iv. 1–3; and who being past feeling, have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness”—that auricular confession and priestly celibacy, as taught and practised among the papists, from the Vatican to the nun’s cell, and the confessional, are nothing else than all-potent incentives to those “unfruitful works of darkness,” and of “those things which are done by them in secret,” of which “it is a shame to speak.

Moreover, notwithstanding all the corruption which characterized the convents and the nunneries, they maintained their ascendancy over the benighted multitudes; and when we remember the ignorance even of all

the adherents of the monkish institutions, except the few chiefs of the orders, and the comparatively small number of the initiated agents, who secretly propelled the main spring of the machinery, we cannot be surprised, that those who were induced to commingle all that was dignified and delightful in this world, with the pope's passport to heaven, as the only guaranty of joy in the world to come, should have enthusiastically yielded themselves to the support of a religion that admitted every vicious indulgence for money; and which insured an entrance into the kingdom of heaven to all who could purchase the preliminary papal absolution.

The grand buttress however of the western antichristian apostacy consisted in the facility with which the various nations imbibed those "damnable heresies," 2 Peter ii. 1-3, which apparently hallowed their depraved inclinations; and in their enthusiastic attachment to that gorgeous ceremonial which rendered their heathenish idolatrous mummery a sensual gratification. Like their Babylonian ancestors "in the plain of Dura," they worship any pageant exalted before them. "At what time the Chaldeans heard the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music, they fell down and worshipped the image" that had been set up by Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel iii. 1-30. Thus pomp and music infatuated the ignorant modern Babylonians, so that "all ranks and degrees of persons clubbed to support the papistical delusions; and every one contributed all his earnings, to manufacture and adorn, and sustain that GOLDEN CALF!"

Of the four general denominations of the efficacious causes by which "the beast, to whom the dragon gave his power, and his seat, and great authority," Revelation xiii. 2, attained and prolonged his diabolical supremacy, two only need to be mentioned in connection with this development.

TERROR.—The increasing gloom which the papal artificers, combined with the furious enthusiasm of the ecclesiastical Janizaries, diffused among the "ten horns of the beast," Revelation xvii. 12-18; sanctioned the enforcement in practical operation of every absurdity which could degrade and stupify the intellectual faculties. The dread which the Celts, the Goths, the Huns, and the Vandals had been accustomed to feel for the chief arch-juggling Druid was transferred to the triple-crowned wizard of Rome; who at length proclaimed, that all persons who did not wear his yoke forfeited not only all civil rights and immunities, but also all the claims of humanity; whence, during a thousand years, all Europe was incessantly filled with pillage, war, massacre, and desolation, while the whole world lay in wickedness, ignorance, guilt, and wo.

The origin of the extensive and protracted influence of the horrid papal excommunication, and the infernal power associated with it, must be imputed to this corrupt transfer from paganism. "Upon the pretended conversion of the uncultivated nations to the Gospel, those new and ignorant proselytes of northern Europe confounded the excommunication in use among Christians, with their own barbarous practice, which had been adopted by the priests of their imaginary idols; and consequently they believed that the curse of the Druid and the anathema of the massman were similar both in their nature and effect. The Roman pontiffs were too artful not to encourage and countenance that error; and therefore employed every means to gain credit to an opinion so well calculated to gratify their ambition, and to aggrandize the episcopal order. Excommunicated persons indeed, had long been considered in all places, objects of aversion

to God and men; but they were not divested of their civic rights, or of the common privileges of human nature; much less were kings or princes, on account of exclusion from the church, supposed to forfeit, on that account, their official stations and territories. But from the eighth century, in Europe, excommunication dissolved all connections; so that those who were excluded from the communion of the church were degraded to a level with the beasts. Under this horrible sentence, the king, the ruler, the husband, the father, even the man, lost all their privileges, the affections of society, and the claims of nature." What could resist a sentence thus consecrated, and supported by all the numbers, energies and arms of national power and general combination?

It was not the actual miseries which visibly succeeded the sentence of excommunication alone, that debased the mental and corporeal capacities of the people, but also the phantoms promulged respecting the fire of purgatory. Those chained the terrified victims of the antichristian despot in inextricable vassalage. The apprehensions of eternal torment, of that worm which never dieth, were trifling, contrasted with the constant dread of that region of fire which was ever present to their sensibilities and imaginations. The besotted crowds were instructed to believe, that from hell, deliverance at death would assuredly follow, provided they had purchased a sufficiency of prayers from the priests, and had paid the desired price for the meritorious works and intercession of the priests and patron saints: but from the tortures of purgatory it was impossible—said those sorcerers by whom "were all nations deceived"—under any pretext to obtain the smallest deliverance. The "lying wonders" which were invented and which still are displayed to enliven the stinging acuteness of the popular mind on this topic almost defy credibility. The monkish harangues were little more than simulated delineations of that invisible country, accompanied with images and pictures of souls "roasting in purgatory;" and interspersed with unspeakably ridiculous narratives of the most stupid, fictitious miracles, wrought, as they impudently affirmed, by Roman saints and monks to release the sufferers from their agonies. Thus, as the self-deluded multitudes supposed, for there were "like people, like priest;" the reality of that "burning fiery furnace" was evinced, while their own mysterious connection with that tremendous state of wo, and the sovereign powerful influence over all its destinies held by the juggling friars were convincingly and fully developed.

PERSECUTION.—"Persecution is the vital spirit of popery." Although from the exaltation of "the Man of Sin," the witnesses commenced and continued their prophesying in sackcloth, yet the hell-born dogma had not been promulgated as infallible, that the Gospel enacted the torture and death of all persons who rejected "the *LITA*" of popery, 2 Thessalonians ii. 3-12, and the sorceries of apostate Rome, the condemned mystical Babylon, Revelation xvii., and xviii. During several centuries, the blood-thirsty pontifical tools of Phocas, Irene, and their like-minded fellow despots, had been encompassed by Providential restraints, which even the haughty pontiffs did not attempt to demolish. But when the haughty "*HELL-BRAND*" Gregory had contrived to centre in the pope a supremely unlimited, and almost an undisputed prerogative to dethrone emperors, banish kings, crush princes, and degrade all authorities civil and ecclesiastical;—when the hardships of the papal usurpations were more acutely realized, and the odious characteristics of the Roman beast were developed in all their debasing, vindictive, and appalling qualities; a large and extensively diffused

augmentation to the numbers, piety and learning of the opponents of the Romish apostacy almost simultaneously was manifested. It was determined therefore if possible, to crush the impending audacity, which would dare to trample upon the beast's authority.

Two measures were eventually adopted, to silence all present murmurers, and to terrify others from any future commotion. "Christians did not always assume the badge of the cross to annihilate infidels. The madness of bigotry, and the spirit of persecution" produced a croisade for the destruction of the servants of Jesus. In the southern provinces of France, particularly, resided considerable multitudes of persons who had become very obnoxious to the popish church and clergy, on account of their aversion from the prevalent doctrinal errors, and the universal ambition of those who filled the ecclesiastical orders; and at length, they refused to acknowledge as ministers of the holy religion of Immanuel, men totally destitute of humility, meekness, self-denial and philanthropy. Innocent III. Pope in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, alarmed at their principles and opposition to his claims, with that of the subordinate papal adherents, resolved to extirpate them by force, or convert them by intimidation. A croisade was proclaimed, indulgences granted, pardons issued, absolutions distributed, and heaven promised to all who would engage in the execrable design. The Albigenes, Waldenses, and their associates, by whatever denomination they were known, were pursued by their insatiably cruel persecutors, and myriads expired by the swords of those blood-hounds. Their cities were pillaged and razed, their inhabitants were butchered with all the insensibility of the blind zealots who are so benighted as to believe that in martyring those "of whom the world was not worthy," they were really doing God service. The besotted monks were wandering incendiaries, who generally commenced the work of devastation by enkindling the conflagration in which the towns and villages with their inhabitants were consumed. During the infernal fury of those "great tribulations," one million of Christians at least, it is justly calculated, were slaughtered in "the wilderness," whither they "who kept the commandments of God, and who had the testimony of Jesus Christ" had fled for "peace and safety."

But it was discovered that an armed force embodied in military array, was altogether insufficient to extinguish the light which was so rapidly disseminating, and the conviction that was secretly developing its power, that the Roman pontiff was the beast predicted by Daniel and John, and therefore the great antichrist. Armies can depopulate cities and towns; but they cannot enter into that minuteness of scrutiny which investigates every householder's library and heart. A new machine was therefore invented, which should not only coerce the bodies, but also enslave the souls of men. The persons who began to dissent from the Romish superstitions were dispersed in several parts of Europe, and much as they differed from each other on many other points of theology, yet on one topic they were altogether unanimous. They all promulgated "that the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition; and that the dominion which the popes had usurped over christians, and the authority which they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical." Raymond of Toulouse, and other independent nobles, encouraged these dissenters from the church of Rome; until Innocent authorized some of the monkish rabble, among whom was the infamous Dominic, "to extirpate heresy, in all its various forms and modifications, without being at all scrupulous in the use of any methods which might be neces-

sary to effect" that diabolical purpose. Those persons were assisted by that innumerable swarm of vermin, the mendicant friars, who, like the Egyptian frogs, "came into the houses, and bedchambers, and ovens, and kneading troughs" of all the people. To those monks were allowed every possible privilege, to travel according to inclination, to converse with all persons, and to instruct in every place, and by their sanctimonious exterior, they so imposed upon all orders of men, and so highly were they venerated, that to wear a part of a friar's rejected cloak, or to be interred in a mendicant's cemetery, was the highest object of universal solicitude; until their influence became so irresistible, that scarcely a transaction, from the prince's council on national affairs, through every grade of society, even to a beggar's extreme unction, escaped their personal notice and particular interference. Of those every-where present supporters of the Roman pontiff's authority, which they demonstrated against all civil potentates, and against all the inferior orders of the hierarchy, with incredible ardour and obstinacy, and astonishing success, four tribes existed; the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and the Augustinians. Against those friars many persons offered their arguments and their expositions of scripture, but in vain; the pontifical supremacy defied all opposition; and until the Reformation by Luther, they remained uncontested masters of all Europe; desolating this world by their intrigues and ambition, and depopulating heaven by their errors and abominations.

After Dominic had commenced his exterminating system, it was ascertained to be so profitable, that the *Inquisition* became the object of fond attachment. But from the earliest period, the people displayed a formidable opposition to a contrivance which committed the reputation, property, liberty, and life, not only of the father and husband, but also of the mother and wife and children, to the fourth generation, to the jurisdiction of a tribunal, always secret, invariably unjust, and ever murderous. The pontifical supremacy was, notwithstanding, so vast, that it was finally determined, "a council of inquisitors, consisting of one priest, and three laymen," shall be erected in every city. Those "*heresy-hunters*" were bound by oath, "not only to seek for heretics in towns, houses, cellars, and other secret places, but also in fields, woods, and caves." Thus commenced the infernal inquisition, which was instrumental in destroying such myriads of heretics, some by terror, for grace divine alone could withstand the diabolical ingenuity of their torments; and the majority by fire, being transported, it may be evangelically hoped, to that world of joy, of which the Lord of life and glory had said "where I am, there shall my servant be."

The Inquisition, thus sanctioned by all the terrors of the papacy, and by all the arms of the national governors, was eventually established as an infallible judicatory. Of course, its power was resistless, and its cruelties, for it manufactured every possible instrument to torture, most dreadful. Those courts ordinarily comprised three inquisitors: who were absolute judges, from whose decision, no appeal on earth existed; but this, as it precluded all hope, did not torment the *faulsely accused delinquents* with expectation of subsequent deliverance. We may in some measure comprehend the odious nature of this infernal invention, from this summary of its proceedings. The lords of the inquisition directed a class of persons called *Qualificators*, who examined the crimes of their prisoners; with them were united *Familiars*, who were solely occupied in searching for culprits. All complaints were secret, and condemnation almost uniformly succeeded the accusation. The supposed offender was generally seized at

midnight; and all the bonds of relationship, all the claims of humanity expired, when they became the subjects of that infuriated bigotry which swayed that tremendous tribunal. No intimation was ever given of the party who adduced the charge; and a denial insured the highest degree of torture; intended to coerce the individual to acknowledge that guilt, which would then apparently justify the barbarity of those punishments, that followed the definitive judgment to the fire, which those human monsters pronounced.

Wealth, "booty and beauty" constituted the grand recommendations to inquisitorial inspection. Poverty and ugliness had no charms for those voluptuaries; and if ever they formed a part of an "Auto da Fe," the title of their merciless conflagrations and ignominious displays, it was merely a hypocritical mask, to conceal their vast confiscations, and their galaxy of confined female youth; first by fright, induced to submit to the inquisitor's caresses, and then murdered after concupiscence was satiated. If terror, or pain, or mental debility, arising from the agonies which the wretched prisoners experienced, or promises of deliverance and life seduced the miserable creatures into a confession of the criminalities alleged against them; immediately, the suppositious culprits were adjudged, with great ceremony, to be delivered over to Satan, through the medium of previous racking, and subsequent exterior odious disguise, decapitation and fire. No tongue can detail, no mind imagine, and no heart even feel, the tremendous horrors which dwelt within the walls of Dominic.

That despotic and sanguinary tribunal excited the revengeful tempers of many persons, and in some parts of the Beast's dominions it was found impracticable to introduce its abominations. "Conrad, the first German inquisitor, was a victim of that wrath, which his merciless measures" had roused; and the "Lords of the holy Inquisition" often experienced exact retaliation from the resentment of the oppressed multitudes. "But so resolutely determined was the popedom upon universal domination, and so exasperated at the smallest exhibition of resistance to its usurped authority, that no measure was neglected which could enforce its claims, and sanctify its jurisdiction, and establish its power." The mendicant friars, dispersed in every city, town and hamlet, were continually on the alert, to discover heretical and disaffected persons; and assimilated to their master, Satan, they assumed every possible shape to execute their abominable employment. At one period, they were like ravening wolves, prowling into every house, to complete the malignity of that adversary, Abaddon, who "as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." Anon, they were transformed into angels of light, seducing where they could not terrify; and by every artifice endeavoring to persuade persons of their own discontent with the hierarchy, that they might receive some acknowledgment of similarity of feeling and opinion; on which to transmit an accusation to the Dominican demons incarnate, who contrived the compound execrable mysteries, which filled the gloomy vaults of the inquisition, with groans and every mortal wo, and the upper rooms with agony and pollution. So keen were their perceptions, that not only a word, which dishonored the inquisitors or the system, became the signal of proscription; but certain appearances of the countenance were represented as infallible indications of the mind and heart; and he who could not exult in the murder of his father, or child, or brother, or in the rape of his wife, or mother, or sister, was suspected, apprehended, and if not himself transferred as fuel for the combustion, was most assuredly and irreparably ruined, especially

if he was known to be opulent. Many of the civil rulers, in their various countries, permitted the inquisition to erect a tribunal, and to prepare instruments of torture and death, not only independent of the national jurisdiction, but paramount to all law, and whose inconceivable barbarities, the princes of Europe, when they were crowned, solemnly obliged themselves by oath to execute. This constituted a permanent croisade; so that from the commencement of the thirteenth century, until "the ever-blessed Reformation," all the horrors of the first ages were renewed; and the wretched Waldenses, Albigenses, Leonists, Lollards, and the other genuine christians, by whatever epithet distinguished, realized the same fate, from "the Man of Sin," and his subordinate agents, ecclesiastical councils, and "Lords of the Inquisition," which the primitive Christians experienced from the Roman imperial idolaters who issued their blasphemous edicts to exterminate the terrestrial kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

DESTRUCTION OF THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN.

Among the novel disclosures respecting the secrets of the Romish inquisition, probably not one is more authentic and valuable than the recent statement made by Mr. Lehmanowsky, formerly a Polish officer in the army which Napoleon sent to Spain under the command of Marshal Soult. That officer is now a minister of the Gospel residing in the United States; and his narrative so perfectly corroborates the history of the inquisition, by Bower, Gavin, Limborch, Llorente, and the other testimonies upon that subject, that it claims insertion in this form, as elucidating the history of the Albigenses, for whose extermination, that ungodly contrivance was originally instituted. The following detail comprises Mr. Lehmanowsky's description of the "Destruction of one of the Spanish dens of the inquisition at Madrid," which was performed under his own direction and authority.

In 1809 Col. Lehmanowsky was attached to that part of Napoleon's army, which was stationed in Madrid. While in that city, said Col. L., I used to speak freely among the people what I thought of the priests and Jesuits, and of the inquisition. It had been decreed by the emperor Napoleon, that the inquisition and monasteries should be suppressed, but the decree was not executed. Months had passed away, and the prisons of the inquisition had not been opened. One night, about ten or eleven o'clock, as he was walking one of the streets of Madrid, two armed men sprang upon him from an alley, and made a furious attack. He instantly drew his sword, put himself in a posture of defence, and while struggling with them, he saw, at a distance, the lights of the patroles, French soldiers mounted, who carried lanterns, and who rode through the streets of the city at all hours of the night, to preserve order. He called to them in French, and as they hastened to his assistance, the assailants took to their heels and escaped, not however before he saw by their dress that they belonged to the guards of the inquisition.

He went immediately to Marshal Soult, then governor of Madrid, told him what had taken place, and reminded him of the decree to suppress that institution. Marshal Soult replied that he might go and destroy it. Col. L. told him that his regiment, the 9th of the Polish lancers, was not sufficient for such a service, but if he would give him two additional regiments, the 117th, and another, which he named, he would undertake the

work. The 117th regiment was under the command of Col. De Lile, who is now, like Col. L., a minister of the gospel, and pastor of an evangelical church in France. The troops required, were granted, and I proceeded, said Col. L., to the inquisition, which was situated about five miles from the city. It was surrounded with a wall of great strength, and defended by a company of soldiers. When we arrived at the walls, I addressed one of the sentinels, and summoned the fathers to surrender to the imperial army, and open the gates of the inquisition. The sentinel, who was standing on the wall, appeared to enter into conversation for a moment with some one within, at the close of which he presented his musket and shot one of my men. This was a signal of attack, and I ordered my troops to fire upon those who appeared on the walls.

It was soon obvious that it was an unequal warfare. The walls of the inquisition were covered with the soldiers of the holy office; there was also a breast work upon the wall, behind which they kept continually, only as they partially exposed themselves as they discharged their muskets. Our troops were in the open plain, and exposed to a destructive fire. We had no cannon, nor could we scale the walls, and the gates successfully resisted all attempts at forcing them. I could not retire and send for cannon to break through the walls, without giving them time to lay a train for blowing us up. I saw that it was necessary to change the mode of attack, and directed some trees to be cut down and trimmed, to be used as battering-rams. Two of these were taken up by detachments of men, as numerous as could work to advantage, and brought to bear upon the walls with all the power which they could exert, while his troops kept up a fire to protect them from the fire poured upon them from the walls. Presently the walls began to tremble, a breach was made, and the imperial troops rushed into the inquisition. Here we met with an incident, for which nothing but Jesuitical effrontery is equal. The inquisitor general, followed by the father confessors in their priestly robes, all came out of their rooms, as we were making our way into the interior of the inquisition, and with long faces and their arms crossed over their breasts, their fingers resting on their shoulders, as though they had been deaf to all the noise of the attack and defence, and had just learned what was going on; they addressed themselves in the language of rebuke to their own soldiers, saying, "*Why do you fight our friends, the French?*"

Their intention, no doubt, was to make us think that this defence was wholly unauthorized by them, hoping, if they could make us believe that they were friendly, they should have a better opportunity in the confusion of the moment to escape. Their artifice was too shallow, and did not succeed. I caused them to be placed under guard, and all the soldiers of the inquisition to be secured as prisoners. We then proceeded to examine all the rooms of the stately edifice. We passed through room after room, found all perfectly in order, richly furnished, with altars and crucifixes, and wax candles in abundance, but could discover no evidences of iniquity being practised there, nothing of those peculiar features which we expected to find in an inquisition. We found splendid paintings, and a rich and extensive library. Here were beauty and splendor, and the most perfect order on which my eyes had ever rested. The architecture—the proportions were perfect. The ceiling and floors of wood were scoured and highly polished. The marble floors were arranged with a strict regard to order. There was every thing to please the eye and gratify a cultivated

taste: but where were those horrid instruments of torture of which we had been told, and where those dungeons in which human beings were said to be buried alive? We searched in vain. The holy fathers assured us that they had been belied. That we had seen all, and I was prepared to give up the search, convinced that *this* inquisition was different from others of which I had heard.

But Col. De Lile was not so ready as myself to give up the search, and said to me, "Colonel, you are commander to-day, and, as you say, so it must be, but if you will be advised by me, let this marble floor be examined. Let water be brought and poured upon it, and we will watch and see if there is any place through which it passes more freely than others." I replied to him, "do as you please, Colonel," and ordered water to be brought accordingly. The slabs of marble were large and beautifully polished. When the water had been poured over the floor, much to the dissatisfaction of the inquisitors, a careful examination was made of every seam in the floor, to see if the water passed through. Presently Col. De Lile exclaimed that he had found it. By the side of one of these marble slabs the water passed through fast, as though there was an opening beneath. All hands were now at work for further discovery. The officers with their swords, and the soldiers with their bayonets, seeking to clear out the seam and pry up the slab. Others, with the butts of their muskets, striking the slab with all their might to break it, while the priests remonstrated against our desecrating their holy and beautiful house. While thus engaged, a soldier who was striking with the butt of his musket, struck a spring, and the marble slab flew up. Then the faces of the inquisitors grew pale as Belshazzar when the hand-writing appeared on the wall; they trembled all over. Beneath the marble slab, now partly up, there was a stair-case. I stepped to the altar and took from the candlestick one of the candles four feet in length, which was burning, that I might explore the room below. As I was doing this, I was arrested by one of the inquisitors, who laid his hand gently on my arm, and, with a very demure and holy look, said, "My son, you must not take those lights with your bloody hands; they are holy." "Well," I said, "I will take a holy thing to shed light on iniquity; I will bear the responsibility!" I took the candle and proceeded down the stair-case. As we reached the foot of the stairs, we entered a large square room, which was called the Hall of Judgment. In the centre of it was a large block, and a chain fastened to it. On this they had been accustomed to place the accused, chained to his seat. On one side of the room was one elevated seat, called the Throne of Judgment. This the inquisitor general occupied, and on either side were seats less elevated, for the ungodly fathers when engaged in the solemn business of the holy inquisition.

From this room we proceeded to the right, and obtained access to small cells, extending the entire length of the edifice; and here such sights were presented as he hoped never to see again.

Those cells were places of solitary confinement, where the wretched objects of inquisitorial hate were confined year after year, till death released them from their sufferings, and there their bodies were suffered to remain until they were entirely decayed, and the rooms had become fit for others to occupy. To prevent this being offensive to those who occupied the inquisition, there were flues or tubes extending to the open air, sufficiently capacious to carry off the odor. In these cells we found the remains of

some who had paid the debt of nature; some of them had been dead apparently but a short time, while of others nothing remained but their bones, still chained to the floor of their dungeon.

In other cells, we found living sufferers of both sexes—and of every age, from three-score years and ten down to fourteen or fifteen years—all naked as when born into the world! and all in chains! Here were old men and aged women, who had been shut up for many years! Here too were the middle aged, and the young man and the maiden of fourteen years old. The soldiers immediately went to work to release those captives from their chains, and took from their knapsacks their overcoats and other clothing which they gave to cover their nakedness. They were exceedingly anxious to bring them out to the light of day—but Col. L., aware of the danger, had food given them, and then brought out gradually to the light as they were able to bear it.

We then proceeded, said Col. L., to explore another room on the left. Here we found the instruments of torture, of every kind which the ingenuity of men or devils could invent. Col. L. here described four of these horrid instruments. The first was a machine by which the victim was confined, and then, beginning with the fingers, every joint in the hands, arms, and body, were broken or drawn, one after another, until the victim died. The second was a box, in which the head and neck of the victim were so closely confined by a screw, that he could not move in any way. Over the box was a vessel, from which one drop of water a second fell upon the head of the victim—every successive drop falling upon precisely the same place on the head, suspended the circulation in a few moments, and put the sufferer in the most excruciating agony. The third was an infernal machine, laid horizontally, to which the victim was bound, the machine then being placed between two beams, in which were scores of knives so fixed, that, by turning the machine with a crank, the flesh of the sufferer was torn from his limbs all in small pieces. The fourth surpassed the others in fiendish ingenuity. Its exterior was a beautiful woman, or large doll, richly dressed, with arms extended, ready to embrace its victim. Around her feet a semicircle was drawn. The victim who passed over this fatal mark, touched a spring, which caused the diabolical engine to open, its arms clasped him, and a thousand knives cut him into as many pieces in the deadly embrace.

Col. L. said that the sight of those engines of infernal cruelty kindled the rage of the soldiers to fury. They declared that every inquisitor and soldier of the inquisition should be put to the torture. Their rage was ungovernable. Col. L. did not oppose them; they might have turned their arms against him, if he had attempted to arrest their work. They began with the holy fathers. The first they put to death in the machine for breaking the joints. The torture of the inquisitor, put to death by the dropping of water on his head, was most excruciating. The poor man cried out in agony to be taken from the fatal machine. The inquisitor general was brought before the infernal engine called "the Virgin." The soldiers command him to kiss the virgin. He begs to be excused. "No," said they, "you have caused others to kiss her, and now you must do it." They interlocked their bayonets so as to form large forks, and with these pushed him over the deadly circle. The beautiful image instantly prepared for the embrace, clasped him in its arms, and he was cut into innumerable pieces. Col. L. said he witnessed the torture of four of them—

his heart sickened at the awful scene—and he left the soldiers to wreak their vengeance on the last guilty inmate of that prison-house of hell.

In the mean time, it was reported through Madrid, that the prisons of the inquisition were broken open! and multitudes hastened to the fatal spot. And O, what a meeting was there! It was like a resurrection! About a hundred who had been buried for many years, were now restored to life. There were fathers who found their long lost daughters; wives were restored to their husbands, sisters to their brothers, and parents to their children; and there were some who could recognise no friend among the multitude. The scene was such as no tongue can describe.

When the multitude had retired, Col. L. caused the library, paintings, furniture, &c., to be removed, and having sent to the city for a wagon load of powder, he deposited a large quantity in the vaults beneath the building, and placed a slow match in connection with it. All had withdrawn at a distance, and in a few moments there was a most joyful sight to thousands! The walls and turrets of the massive structure rose majestically toward the heavens, impelled by the tremendous explosion—and fell back to the earth an immense heap of ruins. The inquisition was no more!

Who can avoid feeling rapture in the prophetic contemplation, that the period is rapidly approaching when “*Babylon the Great,*” that vast habitation of devils, the hold of every foul spirit, and a “*cage of every unclean and hateful bird,*” Revelation xviii. 2; that seven-hilled metropolis of corruption shall disappear from the world for ever; not like the inquisition near Madrid amid a blaze of gunpowder, but as a millstone cast from the height of heaven into the depth of the ocean to be “*found no more at all;*” amid heaven’s thundering hallelujahs, and earth’s universal responsive and adoring acclamations. Revelation xviii. 20, 24; and xix. 1–6.

Therefore let us not attempt by hypocritical and anti-christian sensibilities to sympathize with that popery which is one entire mass of Satanic depravity! When we oppose the Romish pestilential apostacy, we only contend against a hell-born contrivance which is blasphemy towards God and a curse to the human family; and which having arrogated the divine titles and supremacy, tyrannizes over the bodies and souls, and brutalizes all the faculties of men.

How vast are our obligations to the great head of the church, who has delivered us from the dread of papal excommunication, and the mysterious horrors of that purgatory, which diminished all the energies of mankind, and which peopled the aerial regions and the dormitories of the dead, with the most terrific spectres ever present, and ever inimical!—How superior is our allotment! a crazy enthusiastic monk cannot now subvert the foundations of human society, that a fiend-like despot may be aggrandized to god-like pre-eminence. How enrapturing the thought; that ere long, neither the Russian with his knout, shall trammel man within his superstitious absurdities; nor shall a Turk with his bastinado, bow him to profess the delusions of Mohammed’s apostacy; nor shall a Spanish inquisitor, while he racks life from the heart, extort blasphemy from the mouth! Their arms shall be withered for ever; and the great multitude shall all combine in the extatic chorus, “*Alleluia; for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.*” Amen.

BOOK III.

THE PRECIOUS REMAINS OF THE DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE OF THE OLD
WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES ; AND THEIR NOBLE TESTIMONY AGAINST
THE ROMAN ANTICHRIST.

CHAPTER I.

Ancient Confession of the Faith of the Waldenses, copied out of manuscripts, bearing date, 1120, four hundred years before the time of Luther, and Zwingle, and Calvin, and seventy years before Peter Waldo.

I. *Nos cresen et fermament tenen tot quant se conten en li doze articles del symbolo, &c.* We believe and firmly hold all that which is contained in the twelve articles of the Symbol, which is called the *Apostles' Creed*, accounting for heresy whatsoever is disagreeing, and not consonant to the said twelve articles.

II. We believe that there is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

III. We acknowledge for the holy canonical Scriptures, the books of the Holy Bible. The books of Moses called Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1st Samuel, 2nd of Samuel, 1st of Kings, 2nd Kings, 1st Chronicles, 2nd Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms. The Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes or The Preacher, the Song of Solomon, the Prophecies of Isaiah, and Jeremiah. The Lamentations of Jeremiah. Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zachariah, Malachi.

Here follow the books apochryphal, which are not received of the Hebrews: but we read them, as saith Hierom in his prologue to the proverbs, for the instruction of the people, not to confirm the authority of the doctrine of the church:—2nd Esdras, 3d Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, with the epistle of Jeremiah, Esther from the tenth chapter to the end, the Song of the Three Children in the Furnace, the History of Susanna, the History of the Dragon, 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, 3 Maccabees.

Here follow the books of the New Testament: the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, the first Epistle of Peter, the second Epistle of Peter, the first

Epistle of John, the second Epistle of John, the third Epistle of John, the Epistle of Jude, the Revelations of John.

IV. The books above-said, teach: That there is one God Almighty, all-wise, and all-good, who has made all things by his goodness; for he formed Adam in his own image and likeness; but that by the envy of the devil, and the disobedience of the said Adam, sin has entered into the world, and that we are sinners in Adam, and by Adam.

V. That Christ was promised to our fathers, who received the law; that so knowing by the law their sin, unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ, to satisfy for their sins, and accomplish the law by himself.

VI. That Christ was born in the time appointed by God the Father; that is to say, in the time when all iniquity abounded, and not for the cause of good works, for all were sinners, but that he might show us grace and mercy, as being faithful.

VII. That Christ is our life, truth, peace, and righteousness, as also our pastor, advocate and priest, who died for the salvation of all those that believe, and is risen for our justification.

VIII. In the like manner we firmly hold, that there is no other mediator and advocate with God the Father, save Jesus Christ. And as for the Virgin Mary, that she was holy, humble, and full of grace: and in like manner do we believe concerning all the other saints,—that being in heaven, they wait for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment.

IX. We believe, that after this life, there are only two places, the one for the saved, and the other for the damned, the which two places we call paradise, and hell, absolutely denying the purgatory invented by Antichrist, and forged contrary to the truth.

X. We have always accounted, as unspeakable abominations before God, all those inventions of men, namely, the feasts, and the vigils of saints, and the water which they call holy. As likewise to abstain from flesh upon certain days, and the like, but especially their masses.*

XI. We esteem for an abomination, and as antichristian, all those human inventions, which are a trouble or prejudice to the liberty of the spirit.

XII. We believe, that the sacraments are signs of the holy thing, visible forms of the invisible grace, accounting it good, that the faithful sometimes use the said signs or visible forms. However, we believe and hold,

* The abhorrence that those professors of "pure religion and undefiled," declare against feasts and vigils, must be understood of the multitude of feasts instituted in the honour of a rabble of new saints of very doubtful sanctity; and those celebrated with exceedingly superstitious, and idolatrous rites. The intercession, invocation, adoration, and canonization of saints by the pope, begun in the ages next preceding, did in the twelfth century mightily increase. That they despised the feasts of the saints, was propter multiplicationem festorum, occasioned by the multiplication of those festivals, even then so very burdensome in the Roman church; which is the reason given by Rainerius the inquisitor in his account of those people. Flacius Illyr. in Catal. Test. Lib. 15.

that the above-said faithful may be saved without receiving the signs aforesaid.

XIII. We acknowledge no other sacrament, than baptism and the Lord's supper.

XIV. We ought to honour the secular powers, by subjection, ready obedience, and paying of tribute.

CHAPTER II.

Catechism of the ancient Waldenses, for the instruction of their youth.—In eight parts.

PART I.

MINISTER. *Si tu fosses domanda que si es tu, &c.* If one should demand of you, who are you? What would you answer?

CHILD. A creature of God, reasonable, and mortal.

MIN. Why has God created you?

ANSW. To the end that I might know him, and serve him, and be saved by his grace.

MIN. Wherein consists your salvation?

ANSW. In three substantial virtues, which do necessarily belong to salvation.

MIN. Which are they?

ANSW. Faith, hope, and charity.

MIN. How can you prove that?

ANSW. The apostle writes, I. Cor. xiii. 13. Now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three.

MIN. What is faith?

ANSW. According to the apostle, Heb. xi. 1. It is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen.

MIN. How many sorts of faith are there?

ANSW. There are two sorts, a living and a dead faith.

MIN. What is a living faith?

ANSW. It is that which works by charity.

MIN. What is a dead faith?

ANSW. According to St. James, that faith which is without works is dead. Again, faith is nothing without works. Or a dead faith, is to believe that there is a God, and to believe those things concerning God, and not to believe in him.

PART II.

MIN. What is your faith?

ANSW. The true catholic and apostolic faith.

MIN. What is that?

ANSW. It is that which in the result or symbol of the apostles, is divided into twelve articles.

MIN. What is that?

ANSW. I believe in God the Father, Almighty, &c.

MIN. By what means can you know that you believe in God?

ANSW. By this, that I know and observe the commandments of God.

MIN. How many commandments of God are there?

ANSW. Ten, as is manifest in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

MIN. Which be they?

ANSW. Hear, O Israel, I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have none other Gods before me. Thou shalt not make any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven, &c.

MIN. What is the sum, or drift, of these commandments?

ANSW. It consists in these two great commandments, Thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself.

PART III.

MIN. What is the foundation of these commandments, by which every one may enter into life, and without the which foundation, none can do any thing worthily, or fulfil the commandments?

ANSW. The Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the apostle speaks, 1 Cor. iii. Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

MIN. By what means may a man come to this foundation?

ANSW. By faith, as saith Peter, 1 Peter ii. 6. Behold I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious, and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded. And the Lord saith, he that believeth hath eternal life.

MIN. Whereby canst thou know that thou believest?

ANSW. By this, that I know him to be true God, and true man, who was born, and who hath suffered, &c. for my redemption, justification; and that I love him, and desire to fulfil his commandments.

MIN. By what means may one attain to those essential virtues, faith, hope and charity?

ANSW. By the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

MIN. Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?

ANSW. Yes, I do believe. For the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is one person of the Trinity; and according to the divinity, is equal to the Father and the Son.

MIN. Thou believest God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, thou hast therefore three Gods.

ANSW. I have not three.

MIN. Yea, but thou hast named three.

ANSW. That is by reason of the difference of the persons, not by reason of the essence of the divinity. For although there are three persons, yet, notwithstanding, there is but one essence.

PART IV.

MIN. In what manner dost thou adore and worship that God on whom thou believest?

ANSW. I adore him with the adoration of an inward and outward worship. Outwardly, by the bending of the knee, and lifting up the hands, and bowing the body, by hymns and spiritual songs, by fasting and prayer. But inwardly, by a holy affection, by a will conformable unto all things that are well pleasing unto him. And I serve him by faith, hope, and charity, according to his commandments.

MIN. Dost thou adore and worship any other thing as God?

ANSW. No.

MIN. Why?

ANSW. Because of his commandment, whereby it is strictly commanded, saying, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. And again, I will not give my glory to another. Again, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow before me. And Jesus Christ saith, There shall come the true worshippers, which shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. And the Angel would not be worshipped by St. John, nor St. Peter by Cornelius.

MIN. After what manner prayest thou?

ANSW. I pray rehearsing the prayer given me by the Son of God, saying Our Father which art in heaven, &c.

MIN. What is the other substantial virtue?

ANSW. It is charity.

MIN. What is charity?

ANSW. It is the gift of the Holy Spirit, by which the soul is reformed in the will, being enlightened by faith, whereby I believe all that ought to be believed, and hope all that ought to be hoped.

PART V.

MIN. Dost thou believe in the holy church?

ANSW. No; for it is a creature; but I believe there is one.

MIN. What is that which thou believest concerning the holy church?

ANSW. I say that the church is considered two manner of ways, the one substantially, and the other ministerially. As it is considered substantially, by the holy catholic church is meant all the elect of God, from the beginning of the world to the end, by the grace of God through the merit of Christ, gathered together by the Holy Spirit, and foreordained to eternal life; the number and names of whom are known to him who has elected them: and in this church remain none who are reprobate. But the church as it is considered according to the truth of the ministry, is the company of the ministers of Christ, together with the people committed to their charge, using the ministry by faith, hope and charity.

MIN. Whereby dost thou know the church of Christ?

ANSW. By the ministers, lawfully called, and by the people participating in truth of the ministry.

MIN. By what marks knowest thou the ministers?

ANSW. By the true sense of faith, by sound doctrine, by a life of good example, by the preaching of the gospel, and due administration of the sacraments.

MIN. By what mark knowest thou the false ministers?

ANSW. By their fruits, by their blindness, by their evil works, by their perverse doctrine, and by their undue administration of the sacraments.

MIN. Whereby knowest thou their blindness?

ANSW. When not knowing the truth, which necessarily appertains to salvation, they observe human inventions as ordinances of God; of whom is verified what Isaiah saith, and which is alleged by our Lord Jesus Christ, Matthew xv. This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.

MIN. By what mark knowest thou their evil works?

ANSW. By those manifest sins of which the apostle speaks, Galatians v. 21, saying, That they which do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

MIN. By what marks knowest thou perverse doctrines?

ANSW. When it teacheth contrary to faith and hope; such is idolatry of several sorts, viz. towards a reasonable, sensible, visible, and invisible creature; for, it is the Father alone, with the Son and the Holy Spirit, who ought to be worshipped, and not any creature whatsoever. But on the contrary, they attribute to man, and to the work of his hands, to his word, or to his authority, in such a manner, that men ignorantly believe that God is a debtor to man by their false religion, and satisfying the simony of the priests.

PART VI.

MIN. By what marks is an undue administration of the sacraments known?

ANSW. When the priests not knowing the intention of Christ in the sacrament, say that the grace and truth is included in the external ceremonies, and persuade men to the participation of the sacrament without the truth, and without faith. But the Lord chargeth them that are his, to take heed of such false prophets, saying, Beware of the Pharisees, that is to say, the leaven of their doctrine. Again, Believe them not, neither go after them. And David hates the church or congregation of such persons, saying, I hate the congregation of evil men. And the Lord commands to come out from the midst of such people; Numbers vi. 16. Depart from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in their sins. And the apostle, 2 Corinthians vi. 14, Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers. For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness; and what communion hath light with darkness, and what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you. Again, 2 Thessalonians iii. 12. Now we command you brethren, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly. Again, Revelation xviii. 4. Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.

MIN. By what marks are those people known, who are not in truth within the church?

ANSW. By public sins and an erroneous faith; for we ought to fly from such persons, lest we be defiled by them.

MIN. By what way oughtest thou to communicate with the holy church?

ANSW. I ought to communicate with the church in regard of its substance, by faith and charity, as also by observing the commandments, and by a final perseverance in well doing.

MIN. How many things are there which are ministerial?

ANSW. Two, the word and the sacraments.

MIN. How many sacraments are there?

ANSW. Two: namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

PART VII.

MIN. What is the third virtue necessary to salvation?

ANSW. Hope.

MIN. What is hope?

ANSW. It is a certain expectation of the grace and glory to come.

MIN. By what means do we hope for grace?

ANSW. By the mediator Jesus Christ, of whom John saith, i. 17. Grace comes by Jesus Christ. Again, we hope for his glory, who is full of grace and truth. And we all have received of his fulness.

MIN. What is that grace?

ANSW. It is redemption, remission of sins, justification, adoption, and sanctification.

MIN. By what means do we hope for grace in Christ?

ANSW. By a living faith, and true repentance, saying, Repent ye and believe the Gospel.

MIN. Whence proceedeth this hope?

ANSW. From the gift of God, and the promises of which the apostle mentioneth, He is able to perform whatsoever he promiseth. For he hath promised himself, that whosoever shall know him and repent, and shall hope in him, he will have mercy upon, pardon, and justify, &c.

MIN. What are the things that divert a man from this hope?

ANSW. A dead faith, the seduction of antichrist, to believe in other things beside Christ; in saints, in the power of antichrist; in his authority, words, and benedictions, in sacraments, relics of the dead, purgatory, which are but things forged and contrived; in teaching that faith is obtained by those ways, which are opposite to the truth, and are against the commandments of God, as is idolatry in divers respects; as also by wickedness and simony, &c., forsaking the fountain of living water given by grace, and running to broken cisterns, worshiping, honouring, and serving the creature, by prayers, by fastings, by sacrifices, by donations, by offerings, by pilgrimages, by invocations, &c., relying upon themselves for the acquiring of grace, which none can give, save only God in Christ. In vain do they labour, and lose their money, and their lives. And the truth is, they do not only lose their present life, but also that which is to come; wherefore it is said that the hope of fools shall perish.

PART VIII.

MIN. And what dost thou say of the virgin Mary? For she is full of grace, as the angel testifies, I salute thee full of grace.

ANSW. The blessed virgin was and is full of grace, as much as is necessary for her own particular, but not to communicate to others; for her Son alone is full of grace to bestow on others, as it is said of him, and we have all received of his fulness, grace for grace.

MIN. Believest thou not the communion of saints?

ANSW. I believe that there are two sorts of things wherein the saints communicate; the first substantial, the other ministerial: as to the substantial, they communicate by the Holy Spirit in God through the merit of Jesus Christ; as to the ministerial, or things ecclesiastical, they communicate by the ministry duly performed; namely, by the word, by the sacraments, and by prayer. I believe both the one and the other of these communion of saints. The first only in God, and in Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, by the Holy Spirit, the other in the church of Christ.

MIN. Wherein consists eternal life?

ANSW. In a living and operating faith, and in perseverance in the same. Our Saviour says, John xvii. 3; This is life eternal, to know thee, the only

the God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent: And he that endures to the end shall be saved.*

CHAPTER III.

Chief Exposition of the Waldenses and Albigenses upon the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments.

I. Exposition on the creed, confirming the articles thereof by express passages of Scripture.

Nos deven creyro en Dio Paire tot Puissant, &c.

We must believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, which God is one Trinity, as it is written in the law, Deut. vi. 4: Fear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And the prophet Esay, I am Lord, and there is none other, neither is there any other God than I. And Paul in Ephes. iv: There is one Lord, one God, one faith, one baptism of us all. And John, 1 Epist. v. 7: There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one. And in the gospel by John it is said, xvii. 11: That the Son and the Holy Ghost are one; when our Saviour saith, that they may be one, as we are one. Again, we must believe, that this holy Trinity hath created all things visible, and that he is Lord of all things, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, as it is said in John i. 3: All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made. And in the Revelations iv. 11: Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory; for thou hast created all things, the heaven, the earth, the sea, and the fountains of water. And the prophet David saith, And thou, O Lord, hast founded the earth in the beginning, and the heavens are the works of thy hands. And again, the heavens are framed by the word of the Lord, and all the powers thereof, by the breath of his mouth. All these, and divers other testimonies and reasons drawn from the Scriptures, do affirm, that God created all things out of nothing, whatsoever they be.

Again, we must believe that God the Father hath sent his Son from heaven unto earth; and that for our sakes he hath taken upon him our flesh, for our salvation, as the prophet Esay speaketh, chap. vii. 14. Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be Emanuel, which is, God with us. And the Lord saith in the gospel, that his hath been accomplished, saying, I am come from my Father into the world; and again, I have left the world, and go to my Father. And again, John saith, chap. i. 14: The Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us. And in the 1st epistle of John v. 20: We know that the Son of God is come, and that he hath taken our flesh upon him for us, and is raised again from the dead for us, and hath given us understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life. Galatians iv. 4: When the fulness

* This Catechism in the original language of the Waldenses, about the year 1100, and in a French translation, is found in *Histoire des Vaudois*.—By Jaques Brez, Minister of Middleberg, Holland. Two volumes, Paris, 1796.

of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law: who by the commandment of God the Father, and his own free will, was lifted up upon the altar of the cross, and crucified, and hath redeemed mankind with his own blood; which having accomplished, he arose from the dead the third day, having dispersed in the world a light everlasting, like a new sun; that is, the glory of the resurrection, and heavenly inheritance, which the said Son of God hath promised to give to all those who in faith serve him. For ascending up into heaven, the fortieth day after his resurrection, and the tenth day after his ascension, he sent the Holy Ghost from heaven to comfort his apostles, and to replenish the church with the same spirit. We must believe that the same God hath chosen to himself a glorious church, without spot or wrinkle, or such like thing, as Paul speaketh, to the end, it should be holy and undefiled, according to the commandments of the Almighty: Be ye holy, for I am holy. And in the fifth of Matthew, Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect. For nothing that doth commit abomination, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but only they that are written in the book of life, as it is said in the Revelations.

We must believe the general resurrection, of which our Saviour speaketh in the gospel of John, the hour shall come, when all they that are in their graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that have done evil, to the resurrection of judgment. And Paul saith in the first epistle to the Corinthians, that all shall arise, and all shall be changed. And Job saith, xix. 25, I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another, though my reins be consumed within me.

We must believe the general judgment upon all the children of Adam, as the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament do affirm, as our Saviour promiseth in Matth. xxv. 31: When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them from one another, as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats; and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on his left. And Jude in his epistle, 15: Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all. And the prophet Esay saith, the Lord cometh in judgment with the ancients of his people, and with his young men also. These things are set down in the Old and New Testament; and especially the four evangelists and the prophets witness it in many places.

II. Exposition of the Waldenses and Albigenses, upon the ten commandments of the law of God.

I. *Lo premier Commandement de la ley de Dio esquest. Non aures Dio straing devant mi, Exodus xx.*

Thou shalt have no other Gods but me.

All they that love the creature more than the Creator, observe not this commandment: That which every man honoureth and serveth more than God, that unto him is God. And therefore saith Chrysostom upon Matthew: The evil to which a man is a servant, to him it is a God. So that

if any man shall say, I cannot tell whether I love more or less, God, or the thing which God forbids me to love; let him know, that what a man loves least in a case of necessity, is that which he is most willing to lose; and that which he loves, that he keepeth and preserveth. As it is the manner of merchants to do, if when they are in danger of drowning, they willingly cast their merchandise into the sea, to save their lives, they love their lives better than their merchandise. So think thou with thyself, that if upon any occasion, thou hadst rather lose thy temporal things, or receive any loss or hindrance in them, as in thy money, thy houses, thy cattle, thy wife, thy children, yea, thine own body, than commit any sin, by which thou must lose God, then doubtless thou lovest God more than all the things above mentioned. But on the contrary, if thou hadst rather sin, than lose these temporal things, then certainly thou dost adore and serve these things more than God, and thou art an idolator. And this doth our Saviour affirm in the Gospel; saying, If any man come unto me and hateth not his father and his mother, his wife and children, his brothers and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. All such offend against this commandment.

II. *Tu ne te feras image taillec, &c.*

Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c.

Thou shalt make thee no image, cut out of stone or wood, or any other thing, which may be cut into any figure or picture, or in any other manner whatsoever, that is in heaven above, as the angels, the sun, the moon, the stars; nor in the earth beneath, as men and other creatures, as the Egyptians do: nor in the waters, as the fish; for the Philistines served Dagon, which was an idol, which had a head like a fish: nor under the earth, as the devils, as they of Acheron, who worshipped Beelzebub. Thou shalt not worship them, by doing them outward reverence, nor serve them with inward devotion; neither shalt thou do any work that may tend to the honour and reverence of them. So he manifestly forbiddeth to make any graven image of any thing to the end to serve and adore it. And therefore it is wonderful, that there are some who frame to themselves figures and images, and attribute unto them by their ignorance, and against the commandment of God, the honour and reverence which belongeth to one only God.

OBJEC. But there are some that say, images are laymen's books, who not being able to read in books, may see upon a wall, which they cannot read.

ANS. To whom we may answer; that which the Lord saith to his disciple, Matthew v. Ye are the salt of the earth, the light of the world. For the life and conversation of the pastors ought to be the book of their flocks. And if a man should grant they are books, yet they are false and ill written. For if lay-people shall take example by those images and figures of the lives of saints, it is most certain it is impossible. For the virgin Mary was an example of humility, poverty, and chastity, and they adorn her image with vestments of pride rather than of humility; so that the lay-people do not read in their habits humility, but pride and avarice, if they conform themselves to the said corrupted books, and ill written. For the priests and the people in these days are covetous, proud, and luxurious; and therefore they cause their images to be pictured like themselves. And therefore saith David, Thou thinkest foolishly, that I am like unto thee.

OBJEC. But there are others who say, we worship the visible Images in honour of the invisible God.

ANS. This is false. For if we will truly honour the image of God by doing good unto men, we serve and honour the image of God: for the image of God is in every man: but the resemblance or likeness of God is not in all, but only in those where the mind is pure, and the soul humble. But if we will truly honour God, we shall give place unto the truth; that is to say, we shall do good unto men that are made after the image of God: we do honour to God, when we give meat to those that hunger, drink to those that thirst, and clothes to those that are naked. And therefore, what honour do we give to God, when we serve him in a stock, or a stone? When we adore vain and empty figures, without souls, as if there were some divinity in them, and contemn man, who is the true image of God. Chrysostom upon Matthew saith, that the image of God cannot be painted in gold, but figured in man. The money of Cæsar is gold, but the money of God is man. And therefore if the Jews were commanded under the law, that they should destroy all the figures and images, and addict themselves to one only God; as it is written in the first book of the Kings, but Samuel said to all the house of Israel, If you return to the Lord with all your hearts, and remove from you all your strange gods, and keep you heart unto the Lord, and serve him only, he will deliver you from the hands of the Philistines; much less then ought Christians to depend upon such signs and images, which the Jews did not; but they ought rather to lift up their affections unto Christ, who sitteth at the right hand of God.

III. *Tu ne prendras point le nom du Seigneur ton Dieu en vain, &c.*

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, &c.

In this commandment we are forbidden to swear falsely, vainly, and by custom, as it is written, Leviticus 19. The man that is accustomed to swear shall be filled with iniquity, and the plague shall not depart from his house. An oath confesseth God to know the truth, and it is to confirm a thing doubtful; for an oath is an act of God's service, and therefore they who swear by the elements do sin. This is the reason why Christ Jesus forbiddeth us to swear by any thing, neither by the heaven, nor by the earth, or any thing else: but that our speech be yea, yea; and nay, nay; and whatsoever is otherwise, is sin. And James in the first chapter of his epistle saith; above all things my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath, lest ye fall into condemnation.

IV. *Souviens toi du jour du repos.*

Remember to keep holy the Sabbath Day.

They that will keep and observe the Sabbath of Christians, that is to say, sanctify the day of the Lord, must be careful of four things: the first is, to cease from all earthly and worldly labours: the second, not to sin: the third, not to be idle in regard of good works: the fourth, to do those things that are for the good and benefit of the soul. Of the first it is said; Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do. but the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt do no manner of work. And in Exodus it is said, Keep my Sabbath, for it is holy; and he that polluteth it, shall die the death: and in the book of Numbers we read, that one of the children of Israel being seen to gather sticks upon the Sabbath

day, he was brought unto Moses, who not knowing what course to take therein, the Lord said unto Moses; This man shall die the death, all the people shall stone him with stones, and he shall die. God would that his Sabbath should be kept with such reverence, that the children of Israel durst not gather manna thereon, when it was given them from heaven.

The second thing which we are to observe is, to preserve ourselves from sin, as it is said in Exodus, Remember to sanctify the day of rest; that is, to observe it by keeping thyself carefully from sin. And therefore saith Augustin, It is better to labour and dig the earth upon the Lord's day, than to be drunk or commit any other sins; for sin is a servile work, by which a man serves the devil. Again he saith, That it is better to labour with profit than to range and roam abroad idly. For the day of the Lord was not ordained to the end that a man should cease from worldly good works, and give himself unto sin; but to the end that he should addict himself to spiritual labours, which are better than the worldly, and that he repent himself of those sins he hath committed, the whole Sabbath throughout; for idleness is the schoolmaster of all evil. Seneca saith, It is a sepulchre of a living man.

The fourth thing is, to do that which may be good and profitable to the soul, as to think on God, devoutly pray unto him, diligently to hear his word and commandments, to give thanks unto God, for all his benefits, to instruct the ignorant, to correct the erroneous, and to preserve ourselves from all sin, to the end, that the saying of Esay might be accomplished; Cease to do evil, learn to do well; for rest is not good, if it be not accompanied with good works.

These commandments tell us, how we are to carry ourselves towards our neighbours.

V. *Non sentent tant solament de la reverentia de fora, &c.*

Honour thy father and thy mother, &c.

We are not to understand these words, as if the question were only touching outward reverence, but also concerning matter of complement, and things necessary for them. And therefore we are to do what is enjoined in this commandment, from a sense of that honour which is due unto fathers and mothers: for we receive from them three excellent gifts; that is to say, our being, our nourishment, and instruction, which we are never able fully to recompense. The wise man saith, Honour thy father and forget not the sorrows of thy mother: remember that by them thou hast had thy being, render them a recompense answerable to the benefit they have bestowed upon you: and therefore having regard to that natural being, which we have received from our father and mother, we are to serve them in all humility and reverence, after a threefold manner. First, with all the power of our bodies; we are to support their bodies and yield them the service of our hands, as the wise man speaketh, He that fears God, will honour his father and his mother, and will serve them as his lords, that have begotten him. Again, we must serve our fathers and mothers with all our power, never debating or questioning with them, with hard and bitter speeches, but we must answer them humbly, and hearken lovingly to their reproofs, Proverbs i. 8: My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother. He that shall curse his father or his mother, his lamp shall be put out in the midst of darkness. We must likewise honour them, by administering to them

things necessary to this life. For fathers and mothers have nourished their children with their own flesh, their proper substance, and children nourish their parents with that which is without their flesh, it being impossible they should restore unto them those benefits they have received of them.

Touching the instruction we have received of our parents, we must obey them in whatsoever shall tend to our salvation, and to a good end. Ephesians vi. 1: Children obey your parents in the Lord for this is right. Of which obedience Christ hath given us an example, as it is in Luke ii. And he went down with them, and was obedient to his father and mother. And therefore honour first thy Father that hath created thee, then thy father that hath begotten thee, and then thy mother that hath borne thee, to the end, that thy days may be prolonged on the earth, and that persevering in that which is good, thou mayst pass out of this world to an everlasting inheritance.

VI. *En aquest commandement es desfen du specialment l'homicidi, &c.*

Thou shalt not kill.

Murder is especially forbidden in this commandment, but more generally to hurt our neighbour in any manner whatsoever, as with words, detractions, injuries or deeds, as to strike our neighbour. Of the first sort it is said; Matthew v. 22, Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of judgment. And James saith, i. 20, The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. Paul saith, Ephesians iv. Let not the sun go down upon thine anger. He that is angry with his brother without a cause, is worthy of judgment, but not he that is angry upon just occasion. For if a man should not be angry sometimes, the doctrine were not profitable, neither would the judgment be discerned, nor sin punished. And therefore just anger is the mother of discipline, and they that in such a case are not angry sin. For that patience that is without reason, is the seed of vices; it nourisheth negligence, it suffereth not only the bad to swerve, but the good too; for when evil is corrected, it vanisheth. So that it is plain that anger is sometimes good when it is for the love of righteousness, or when a man is angry with his own sins or the sins of another man. Thus was Christ angry with the Pharisees. The other sort of anger is wicked, which proceedeth out of a desire of revenge, which is forbidden. Vengeance belongs unto me, saith the Lord, and I will revenge.

VII. *Lequal commandement defend tota non licita cubititia, &c.*

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

This commandment forbids all unlawful lust and pollution of the flesh, as it is said in Matthew v. He that looketh on a woman and lusteth after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And in Ephesians v. it is said, This you know, that no whoremonger or unclean person nor covetous man, shall inherit the kingdom of God. Cor. vi. 9, Be not deceived, neither fornicators nor unclean persons, shall inherit the kingdom of Heaven. Chapter v. If any man that is called a brother be a fornicator or covetous, &c. eat not with such a one. Now as there is a corporal whoredom, so there is a spiritual, that is to say, when a man separateth himself from God.

VIII. *En aquest commandement es deffendu total ment furt et fraud de cosas stragnas, &c.*

Thou shalt not steal.

In this commandment we are forbid all manner of theft, and all unlawful means to get unto ourselves the goods of another by fraud or avarice, injury or violence; for they are not only thieves that take the goods of another, but they that command them, that receive thieves into their houses, and that buy stolen goods, and make profit of them wittingly. All they that do such things, and shall consent thereunto, shall suffer equal punishment. Or if thou find anything, and restore it not, thou hast robbed thy neighbour; for thou art bound to make restitution of that thou hast found. They that deprive their subjects of their goods and commodities, as lords used to do, imposing unjust charges and taxations, overburthening the poor by their wicked inventions, and if they refuse to do it, they imprison them and many times torment them even unto death, and so take from them their goods unjustly, they are thieves. Of these the prophet Isaiah speaketh, i. 23; Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves, and follow after reward. They are also thieves who detain the wages of the labourer, by fraud. Of such it is said in Leviticus xix., The wages of him that is hired, shall not abide with thee all night until the morning. And as James speaketh, chapter v., Ye that have heaped treasure together for the last days behold the hire of the labourers which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped, have entered into the ears of the Lord of Hosts. They play the thieves who injure the commonwealth, as coiners; as also those who do it in their weights, number, value, and generally all such as falsify their weights and measures, and divers merchandise. These are all called robbers of the common good, and such, according to the law, are to be put to death in boiling oil. They are thieves that labour to get by fraud, that deceive men in their wares and merchandises, selling bad for good. Also gamesters, who invite others to gaining, who play out of avarice, the root of all evil, rapine, lying, vain and idle speeches, oaths, blasphemies against God, ill example, the loss of time. Thus, by playing, a man winds himself unjustly into the goods of another man.

IX. *En aquest commandement non es solament deffendu la mesogna, ma tota offensa, &c.*

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour, &c.

In this commandment we are not only forbidden to lie, but all offences that may be done unto our neighbours, by false or feigned words or works. For all such as love lying are the children of the devil; as also they that impeach the honour of their neighbour by lying, or bear false witness for the wicked. He that beareth false witness, saith Augustin, wrongs these three; first, God, whose presence is contemned; secondly, the judge, who is deceived by him that lieth; and thirdly, he wrongs the innocent party, who is oppressed by his false witness. All detractors sin against this commandment. A detractor or slanderer is compared to an open sepulchre, as David speaketh, Their mouth, it is an open sepulchre. There is no grave so loathsome unto God, as the mouth of a slanderer. And this was that, that made St. Ambrose to say that a thief is more to be borne with, than a detractor; for the one robbeth a man of his corporal substance only, the other, of his good name. The slanderer deserveth to be hated

of God and man. The stroke of the whip maketh marks in the flesh, but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones.

X. *En quest commandement es defendua la cubititia de tui li ben, &c.*

Thou shalt not covet.

In this commandment is forbidden the covetous desire of all goods, that is, of wife, servants, fields, vineyards, houses, &c. As also, the concupiscent of the eyes, and of the flesh. The lust of the flesh is like a running water, but the lust of the eyes is like earth, by reason of our earthly affections. And as of water and earth there is made a material dirt, so of concupiscent is made the spiritual dirt of the soul, which maketh a man odious unto God; hence ariseth the pride of life, which like a violent wind disquieteth the soul, and turneth this earthly lamp into dust.

Aquesti son li dies commandement de la Ley, &c.

These are the ten commandments of the law, whereof the first concern our duty towards God, the latter towards our neighbour. And whosoever will be saved must keep those commandments. Many excellent blessings are promised to those that keep those commandments, and to those that transgress them, many grievous and horrible maledictions; as Deut. xxviii. If we truly acknowledge our sins, we know that we are far from God. For salvation is far from sinners, and the knowledge of sin bringeth us to repentance; for no man can repent, that knoweth not his sin. The first degree to salvation is the knowledge of sin; and therefore acknowledging our fault, we approach with confidence to the throne of the grace of God and confess our sins; for he is faithful and just to pardon our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity, and to bring us to the life of grace. Amen.

III. An exposition of the Waldenses and Albigenses on the Lord's prayer.

Augustin being requested by a spiritual daughter of his, to teach her to pray, said; multitudes of words are not necessary in prayer. But to pray much is to be fervent in prayer. And therefore to be long in prayer is to present things necessary in superfluous words. To pray much is to solicit that we pray for with a seemingly decency, and affection of heart, which is better by tears than by words, because God, who seeth the secrets of our hearts, is more moved by a deep groan or sigh, with plaints and tears that come from the heart, than by a thousand words. But many there are in these days that resemble the pagans, to whom Christ would not have his disciples to be like; for they think and believe that they shall be the rather heard for their many words in their prayers; whereby it comes to pass that they lose much time under the pretence of prayer. Job saith, and besides experience makes it good, that a man is never in the same estate in this life, but he is now disposed to do one thing, and presently to do another. And therefore there is no man that can keep his mind, his spirit, bent attentive to prayer, a whole day or a whole night together, except God give the special assistance of his grace. And if a man hath not his heart settled upon that which he speaketh, he loseth his time, because he prays in vain, and his soul is troubled, and his mind wandering another way. And therefore God hath appointed to his servants other exercises, virtuous, spiritual and corporal, wherein a man may ordinarily exercise himself, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, either for themselves, or

for their neighbours, having their hearts lifted up unto God, with all their power, in such sort, that they may not be idle; and therefore that man that lives well, according to the will of God, and the doctrine of his saints, prayeth always, for every good work is a prayer unto God. And as for this thou readest, know that all the prayers of the Old and New Testament do agree with this, and that no prayer can be pleasing unto God that hath not a reference some way or other unto this. And therefore a Christian ought to apply himself to understand and to learn this prayer, which Christ himself hath taught with his own mouth.

Now it is necessary that he that is heard of God, be agreeable unto him, and know those benefits he hath received from him. For ingratitude is a wind that drieth up the fountain of the mercy and compassion of our God. And therefore if thou wilt pray, and ask anything at God's hands, think with thyself before thou ask, what and how great benefits thou hast received from him. And if thou canst not call them all to mind, yet at the least beg that grace, that thou mayest be bold to call him Father. And think and know in how divers a manner he is thy Father; for he is the Father of all creatures in general; for he hath created them all. He is a Father by distribution; for he hath ordained them all, and disposed them all in his due place, as being very good. By preservation; for he hath preserved all creatures, that they fail not in their kind, among which his creatures, thou art one. And besides, he is the Father of mankind by redemption; for he hath bought him with the precious blood of his Son, the Lamb without spot. By instruction; for he hath taught him by his prophets, his Son, and by his apostles and doctors, and that in divers manners, the way to return into paradise, from whence we were driven by the sin of our first father, Adam. By chastisement; for he chastiseth and correcteth us in this life divers ways, to the end, we may return to him, and not be condemned eternally in another life.

I. *Lo teo Nom fia sanctifica.*

Glalowed be thy name.

Thy name, amiable to Christians and formidable to the Jews, to pagans and to the wicked. Of this name saith the prophet, O Lord, thy name is admirable and wonderful. Our Father which art in heaven, we humbly beseech thee that thy name which is holy, be sanctified in us, by purity of heart, by the contempt of the flesh and the world; and that by an assured perseverance of thy love, we may be holy, as thy name is holy, which we bear, and by which we are called Christians; for which cause, let it be, and always dwell in us, that we may addict ourselves to holiness and righteousness.

II. *Lo teo Regne vegne.*

Thy kingdom come.

You must understand that God the Father hath two kingdoms, the one of glory, life eternal, the other of grace, the life Christian. And these two kingdoms are joined together in such manner, that betwixt them there is no middle, but the point of death. But according to the order of divine justice, the kingdom of grace is before the kingdom of glory. And therefore they that live in the kingdom of grace, by which we are to pass, if we will enter the kingdom of glory, without doubt, they shall reign in the kingdom of glory, and no man can reign there by any other means. And

therefore Christ our Lord saith unto his disciples, Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof; that is, the kingdom of grace and virtue; that is, of faith, hope and charity. But forasmuch as you cannot perform this of yourselves without the heavenly grace, beg it at God's hands, saying, O our Father which art in heaven, Thy kingdom come; that is to say, the love of virtue and the hatred of the world.

III. *La tua voluntas fiat, inimici eius fiat in celis fiat in terra.*

Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.

A man cannot effect, desire or do any better thing in this life, than to endeavour with all his wit and understanding, and with all his heart to do the will of God, as the angels do it in heaven. Now to do the will of God, is to renounce himself; that is to say, his own proper will, and to dispose and employ that which is in his own soul and heart, or that is without him in things temporal, according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the gospel of Christ Jesus, and to be well content with whatsoever it shall please God to do and permit, both in adversity and prosperity. Many there are who think they are to be excused because they know not the will of God; but these men deceive themselves: for the will of God is written, and plainly manifested and proved by the word of God, which they will not read or understand. And therefore saith the apostle, Romans xii. 2, Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable and perfect will of God. And again, This is the will of God, even your sanctification. There is no work which is little, if it be done with a willing and fervent affection. And our Saviour teaches his disciples, both by words and examples, that the will of God must be done, not theirs; saying, I am come into the world, not to do my will, but to do the will of my Father who hath sent me. Again, being near his passion, and seeing the torments of death which he was to endure, as he was man, he cried out, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; but yet not my will, but thy will be done. To be brief, we must thus pray in all our affairs; O our Father which art in heaven, Thy will be done in us, of us, and by us in earth, as it is done by the angels in heaven, without idleness continually, without fault uprightly, without human desire, doing that which is good, leading a virtuous and pure life, obeying our superiors, and contemning the world.

IV. *Dona nos lo nostre pan quotidian enchoi.*

Give us this day our daily bread.

We may here understand two kinds of bread, corporal and spiritual. By corporal bread we are to understand our meats, and drinks, and clothings, and all things necessary for the body, without which we cannot live naturally. The spiritual bread is the word of God, the body of Christ, without which the soul cannot live. And of this bread Christ spake unto his disciples; Whosoever shall eat of this bread shall live eternally. And therefore it is the duty of every man to ask in all humility this bread at God's hands, who can give it him, saying, O our Father, do us the grace and favour that we may obtain, by our just labour, the bread that is necessary for our bodies, and to use it with sobriety and measure, yielding Thee always thanks and praises, and that we may charitably bestow some part of what we gain to the poor. Moreover, we beseech Thee, that thou wilt be

pleased so to deal with us, that we may use this bread with sobriety, to thy glory, and the good both of body and soul. For the prophet Ezekiel saith, chap. xix. 49, That fulness of bread, and abundance of bread, was the cause of the iniquities and abominations of Sodom, which were so great in the sight of God, that he sent down fire and brimstone to consume them. Whereupon, a certain learned father saith, that costly apparel, superfluity in diet, play, idleness, or sleep, fatten the body, nourish luxury, weaken the spirit, and lead the soul unto death; but a spare diet, labour, short sleep, poor garments, purify the soul, tame and subdue the body, mortify the lusts of the flesh, and comfort the spirit.

The spiritual bread is the word of God. Of this bread the prophet speaketh, Thy bread quickeneth me; and Christ saith in the gospel, Verily, I say unto you, that the hour cometh when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear him shall live. And this is found true by this experience, that is, that many being dead in their sins, hearing the preaching of the word of God, have been quickened and raised by the said word of God, and betaken themselves to true repentance which giveth life. This bread of the word illuminateth the soul, according to that of David, Psalms. cxix. 130, The entrance of thy word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple; that is to say, to the humble, to the end they may know what to believe and to do, what to fear, to fly, to love, to hope. This bread delighteth the soul more than honey or the honey-comb. And therefore saith the spouse, Cant. ii. 11, Let me hear thy voice, for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely. There is another spiritual bread; and that is the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. In the sacrament, they that receive it worthily, receive not only grace, but Christ the Son of God spiritually, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom.

V. *Pardonna a nos li nostre debit a pecca coma nos pardonnen a li nostra debitor o offenda dors.*

Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us.

It should not seem or be grievous to any man, to forgive his neighbour those offences he hath committed against him. For, if all the offences which have been or can be committed against any man in the world, were put into a balance, they would not weigh so much, being put all together, as the least offence committed against God; but the pride of man will not suffer men to think hereof, neither to pardon their neighbours, nor receive their pardon from God. But a good Christian suffereth, and gently pardoneth, beseeching God that he may not make requital according to the evil, his debtors, or such as have offended against him, deserve; and that he would give them grace to know their fault, and also true repentance, to the end they may not be damned. And the wrongs done unto him, he accounteth as dreams, in such manner, that he thinks not of repaying them according to their merits, nor desires to revenge himself, but to do them service, and to converse with them as before; yea, and with greater love than if they were brethren. And therefore he that out of the cruelty of his heart, will by no means forgive his enemy or debtor, cannot hope for pardon at God's hand, but rather eternal damnation; for the spirit of God has spoken it, and it is true; He shall have judgment without mercy, that is not merciful to others. The affection and the will that thou hast to-

wards thy debtor, is the same which God hath in his place and rank, and thou canst hope for no other.

VI. *Non nos amenar en tentation.*

And lead us not into temptation.

We are not to pray unto God, not to suffer us to be tempted: for the apostle Paul saith, None shall be crowned, but he that fighteth against the world, the flesh and the devil. And James saith, That he is blessed, that endureth temptation. For when he has passed his trial he shall receive a crown of life. And no man can resist the power of the devil, without the grace of God. We must therefore pray with all humility and devotion, and continual requests unto our heavenly Father, that we fall not into temptations, but so as that combating with them, we may get the victory, and the crown, by, and through his grace, which he hath prepared to give unto us. We are not to believe, that he doth sooner hear, or more willingly, the devil than the Christian; and according to that which the apostle Paul saith, God is faithful, who suffereth us not to be tempted above our power.

VIII. *Mas desliora nos del mal, &c.*

But deliver us from evil, &c.

That is to say, deliver us from a wicked will to sin; from the temporal and eternal pains of the devil, that we may be delivered from his infinite toils and trumperies. AMEN. This last word noteth unto us the fervent desire of him that prayeth, that that thing may be granted unto him that he asketh. And this word Amen, is as much as if he should say so be it, and it may be put after all our petitions.

IV. The doctrine of the Waldenses and Albigenses concerning the sacraments.

Sacrament second lo dire de Sanct Augustin, &c.

A sacrament, according to the saying of Augustin, in his Book of the city of God, is an invisible grace, represented by a visible thing. Or a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing. There is a great difference betwixt the sacrament, and the cause of the sacrament, even as much as between the sign and the thing signified. For the cause of the sacrament is the divine grace, and the merit of Jesus Christ crucified, who is the raising of those that are falling. This cause of the sacrament, is powerfully, essentially, and authoritatively in God, and is in Jesus Christ meritoriously. For by the cruel passion and effusion of his blood, he hath obtained grace and righteousness unto all the faithful. But the thing itself of the sacrament, is in the soul of the faithful, by participation, as Paul speaketh; We have been made partakers with Christ. It is in the word of the gospel, by annunciation, or manifestation. In the sacraments, sacramentally. For the Lord Jesus hath lent, or given these helps of the outward sacraments, to the end, the ministers, instructing in the faith, should so accommodate themselves to human weakness, as that they might better edify the people, by the word of the gospel.

There are two sacraments, the one of water, the other of nourishment; that is to say, bread and wine.

The first is called Baptism; in our language, the washing with water, either with the river, or the fountain; and it must be administered, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to the end,

that first by means of the grace of God the Father, beholding his Son, and by the participation of Jesus Christ, who hath bought us, and by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which imprinteth a lively faith in our hearts, the sins of those that are baptized, are pardoned, and they received into grace, and afterwards having persevered therein, are saved in Jesus Christ.

The baptism wherewith we are baptized, is the same wherewith it pleased our Saviour himself to be baptized, to fulfil all righteousness, as it was his will to be circumcised, and wherewith he commanded his apostles to be baptized.

The things that are not necessary in baptism, are the exorcisms, the breathings, the signs of the cross upon the infant, either on the breast, or the forehead, the salt put into the mouth, the spittle into the ears and nostrils, the unction of the breast, the monk's cowl, the anointing of the chrism upon the head, and divers the like things, consecrated by the prelate; as also the putting the taper in his hands, clothing it with a white vestment, the blessing of the water, the dipping of it thrice in the water. All these things used in the administration of the sacrament, are not necessary, they neither being of the substance, nor requisite in the sacrament of baptism; from which things, many take an occasion of error and superstition, rather than edification to salvation.

Now this baptism is visible and material, which maketh the party neither good nor evil, as it appeareth in the Scripture, by Simon Magus, and Paul. And whereas baptism is administered in a full congregation of the faithful, it is to the end, that he that is received into the church, should be reputed and held of all, for a Christian brother, and that all the congregation might pray for him that he may be a Christian in heart, as he is outwardly esteemed to be a Christian. And for this cause it is, that we present our children in baptism; which they ought to do, to whom the children are nearest, as their parents, and they to whom God hath given this charity.

The Supper of the Lord Jesus Christ.

As baptism, which is taken visibly, is an enrollment into the number of faithful Christians, which carrieth in itself a protestation and promise to follow Christ Jesus, and to keep his holy ordinances, and to live according to his holy gospel: so the holy supper and communion of our blessed Saviour, the breaking of bread, and the giving of thanks, is a visible communion made with the members of Jesus Christ. For they that take, and break one and the same bread, are one and the same body, that is to say, the body of Jesus Christ; and they are members one of another, ingrafted and planted in him, to whom they protest and promise, to persevere in his service to their lives' end, never departing from the faith of the gospel, and the union which they have all promised by Jesus Christ. And therefore as all the members are nourished with one and the same viands, and all the faithful take one and the same spiritual bread, of the word of life; of the gospel of salvation; so they all live by one and the same spirit, and one and the same faith.

This sacrament of the communion of the body and blood of Christ, is called in Greek, Eucharistia; that is to say, good grace: of this Matthew testifieth in chapter xxvi., saying; Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, take, eat, this is my body. And Luke, chapter xxiii., This is my body which is given for you, this do

in remembrance of me. Likewise he took the cup, and blessed it, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you.

This sacrament was instituted by divine ordinance, perfectly to signify unto us, the spiritual nourishment of man in God; by means whereof the spiritual life is preserved, and without which it decayeth. The truth itself saying; If you eat not the flesh of the Son of man, nor drink his blood, there shall be no life in you. Concerning which sacrament, we must hold that which followeth, by the testimony of Scripture; that is, we must confess simply and in purity of heart, that the bread which Christ took at his last supper, which he blessed, broke, and gave his disciples to eat, that in the taking thereof, by the ministry of his faithful pastors, he hath left a remembrance of his passion, which in its own nature is true bread, and that by this pronoun, *this*, is demonstrated, this sacramental proposition; This is my body; not understanding these words identically, of a numeral identity, but sacramentally, really, and truly, but not measurably. The same body of Christ sitting in heaven at the right hand of his Father, unto whom every faithful receiver must lift up the eyes of his understanding, having his heart elevated on high, and so feed on him spiritually and sacramentally, by an assured faith. The same we are to understand of the sacrament of the cup.

Augustin saith, That the eating and drinking of this sacrament, must be understood spiritually. For Christ saith, The words that I speak, are spirit and life. Jerom saith; The flesh of Christ is to be understood after a twofold manner, either spiritually, of which Christ saith, John vi. 55, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. Or it is to be understood of that flesh which was crucified and buried. Of the spiritual eating, Christ saith; He that shall eat my flesh, and drink my blood, is in me, and I in him. There is also a twofold manner of eating, one sacramental, and so both good and bad do eat; the other spiritual, and so the good only do eat. Therefore saith Augustin, what is it to eat Christ? It is not only to receive his body in the sacrament, for many do eat him unworthily, who will not dwell in him, nor have him to dwell in them; but he eats him spiritually, that continueth in the truth of Christ. To eat the sacramental bread, is to eat the body of Christ in a figure, Jesus Christ himself saying, nevertheless, as oft as you do this, you shall do it in remembrance of me. For if this eating were not figure, Christ should be always bound to such a thing, for it is necessary the spiritual eating should be continual: as Augustin speaketh; He that eateth Christ in truth, is he that believeth in him: for Christ saith, that to eat him, is to dwell in him: in the celebration of this sacrament prayer is profitable, and the preaching of the word in the vulgar tongue, such as may edify, and is agreeable to the evangelical law, to the end, that peace and charity might increase amongst the people; but other things that are in use in these days in the church of Rome, and with those that are members thereof, beloug not at all to the sacrament.

CHAPTER IV.

Ancient confession of sins, commonly used among the Albigenses and Waldenses. Translated out of their own language.

O Dio de li Rey et signor de li Segnor, yo me confesso alucar yo soy a quel peccador que lay mot offendu, &c.

O God, King of kings, and Lord of lords, I make my confession unto thee, for I am a sinner which have grievously offended thee by my ingratitude. Excuse myself I cannot, for thou hast showed me both what is good and evil. I have understood thy power, I have not been ignorant of thy wisdom, I have known thy justice, and tasted of thy goodness. And yet notwithstanding all the evil that I do, proceeds from my own naughtiness; Lord, pardon me, and give me repentance; for I have slighted thee by my great presumption, and have not believed thy wisdom, nor thy commandments, but have transgressed the same, for which I am heartily sorry. I have not feared thy justice nor thy judgments, but have committed many evils from the very beginning of my life; neither have I had that love to thy goodness, which I ought to have had, and as I was commanded; but I have too much complied with the devil, through mine own perverseness. I have delighted in pride rather than in humility. If thou dost not pardon me, I am utterly undone, so much is covetousness rooted in my heart, so much do I love avarice, and seek after applause, and bear so little love to those who have obliged me by their kindness. I say, if thou dost not pardon me, my soul must needs go down to perdition. Anger likewise reigns in my heart, and envy gnaws upon me, for I have no charity at all; Lord, pardon me for thy goodness' sake. I am rash, slow to do good, but bold and industrious to do evil. Lord, grant of thy grace, that I may not be numbered among the wicked. I have not returned thee thanks as I ought, and as thou hast commanded, for the good which thou hast out of love given and bestowed upon me; yea, I have been disobedient through my naughtiness. Lord, pardon me, for I have not served thee, but on the contrary, I have offended thee. I have too much served mine own body, and mine own will, in many vain thoughts and wicked desires, wherein I have taken pleasure. I have blinded myself, and I have had many evil thoughts against thee, and have hunted after many things contrary to thy will. Have pity on me, and give me humility. I have cast mine eyes upon vain delights, and have seldom lifted them towards thy face. I have lent an ear to empty sounds, yea, and to many evil speakings; but to hear and to understand thy laws and statutes have been grievous and irksome to me. I have committed great faults as to my understanding, having taken more pleasure in the noisome sink of sin and evil, than in divine sweetness, and heavenly honour; having worshipped sin and taken more contentment therein, whereby I have committed many evils, and left undone much good: I have endeavoured to conceal my own guilt, and lay it upon another. I have not been moderate as I ought to have been in my eating and drinking. I have often recompensed violence for violence, and therein taken immoderate pleasure; both my body and my mind are wounded. I have stretched forth my hands to take hold on vanity, and most perversely laboured to gain

another's goods, and to smite my neighbour and do him an unkindness; yea, my heart hath been delighted in these things that I have mentioned, and much more in very many foolish and unprofitable objects: Lord, pardon me, and give me chastity. I have evilly employed the time, which thou hast given me, in vanity, and the days of my youth in pleasures. I have turned aside into by-paths, and by my lightness given an ill example to others. I find in myself no good, but much evil. I have displeased thee by my naughtiness, and have condemned mine own soul, and have slandered my neighbour. Lord, preserve me from condemnation. I have loved my neighbour, only because of my temporal interest and advantage. I have not behaved myself faithfully in matters of giving and receiving, but have had respect to persons, according to my affection. I have too much loved the one and hated the other. I have rejoiced at the prosperity of the good, and been too much delighted with the adversity of the wicked. And over and above all the evils which I have committed from the time past, to this present moment, I have not had a repentance or a remorse proportionable to the offence. I have oftentimes by my transgression returned to the same sin, which I had confessed, for which I am exceedingly grieved. Lord God, thou knowest that I have not confessed, and that there are yet many evils in me, which I have not reckoned, but thou knowest the evil thoughts and all the evil words, and all the perverse actions which I have been guilty of: Lord, pardon me, and give me space to repent in this present life, and grant me of thy grace, that for the future I may hate those evil things, and commit them no more; as likewise that I may love that which is good and preserve it in my heart. That I may love thee above all things, and that I may fear thee in such a manner that at the day of my death, I may have done that which is acceptable unto thee. And give me such a firm hope concerning the day of judgment, that I may not fear the devil, nor any other thing that may affright me; but that I may be received at thy right hand without spot or blemish. Lord, accomplish all this according to thine own good pleasure, for Christ's sake. AMEN.

CHAPTER V.

Opinion of the Waldenses and Albigenses concerning Marriage.

MARRIAGE is holy, being instituted of God in the beginning of the world. And therefore it is an honourable thing when it is kept as it ought, in all purity, and when the husband, who is the head of the wife, loves her, and keeps her, and carrieth himself honestly towards her, being faithful and true to her: and that the woman for her part, who is made to be a help to man, be subject to her husband, obey him in whatsoever is good, and honouring him as God hath commanded her, taking care of his household affairs, keeping herself not only from ill-doing, but from all appearance of evil, continuing faithful unto him, and both of them persevering in doing that which is good, according to the will of God, taking pains together, to get their living by honest and lawful means, wronging no man, and instructing those children which God hath given them, in the fear and doctrine of the Lord, and to live as our Lord hath commanded them.

Prayer and fasting is profitable, when there is question of the celebra-

tion of matrimony, and the reasons, and instruction, and advertisements touching the same. But the imposition of hands, and the ligatures made with the priest's stole, and other things commonly observed therein, by custom, without the express word, are not of the substance, nor necessarily required in marriage.

As touching the degrees prohibited, and other things that are to be observed in matter of matrimony, we shall speak when we come to the discipline.

CHAPTER VI.

Instructions of the Waldenses and Albigenses respecting the visitation of the sick.

El besogna que aquel que porta la Parola de Dio lo nostre Signor en tota deligenza, &c.

It is necessary that he that is the messenger of the word of God, should invite and draw every one to our Lord and Saviour, with all labour and diligence, both by the good example of his life, and the truth of his doctrine. And it is not sufficient that he teach in the congregation, but also in their houses, and all other places, as Christ and his apostles have done before him, comforting the afflicted, and especially those that are sick. He must admonish them, touching the great bounty and mercy of God, showing that there can proceed nothing but what is good from him that is the fountain of all goodness; and that he who is Almighty is our merciful father, more careful of us than ever father or mother are of their children; telling them that though a mother may forget her child, and the nurse him to whom she hath given suck, and which she hath borne in her womb; yet notwithstanding our Heavenly Father will not forget us, doing all things for our benefit, and sending all things for our greater good; so that if it were more expedient for us to enjoy our health, we should have it. And therefore we are to submit our wills to his will, and our lives to his conduct and direction, and assuredly believe that he loveth us, and out of his love chastiseth us. Neither must we respect the grief and poverty we endure, nor think that God hateth us, and casts us off; but rather we must think that we are the more in his grace and favour, nothing regarding those that flourish in the world, and have here their consolation, but looking upon Christ Jesus, more beloved of his Father than any other; who is the true Son of God, and yet hath been more afflicted than we all, and more tormented than any other. For not only that bitter passion which he suffered, was very hard and grievous to him, but much more in regard, that in the midst of his torment, every one cried out against him like angry dogs, belching out many villainous speeches, doing against him the worst they could, in such sort, that he was constrained to cry out in his torments, My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me? and finding the hour of his passion to draw near, he found himself heavy unto the death and prayed unto his Father that that cup might pass from him; insomuch that he did sweat water and blood, because of that great heaviness and anguish of heart which he should endure in this cruel death.

And therefore the sick man must consider with himself, that he is not so

ill-handled, nor so grievously tormented as his Saviour was, when he suffered for us; for which he is to yield thanks unto God, that it hath pleased him to deliver us, and to give this good Saviour unto the death for us, begging mercy and favour at his hands, in the name of Jesus. And it is necessary that we have withal this perfect confidence and assurance, that our Father will forgive us for his goodness sake. For he is full of mercy, slow to anger, ready to forgive.

And therefore the sick party must recommend and commit himself wholly unto the mercy of his Lord, to do with him as shall seem good in his eyes, and to dispose of him, body and soul, according to his good will and pleasure. Also it will be necessary to admonish the sick person to do unto his neighbour, as he would have his neighbour do unto him; not wronging any man, and to take such order with all that are his, that he may leave them in peace, that there may not be any suits or contentions amongst them after his death.

He must be exhorted to hope for salvation in Jesus Christ, and not in any other, or by any other thing, acknowledging himself a miserable sinner, to the end he may ask pardon of God, finding himself to be in such a manner culpable, that he deserveth of himself eternal death. And if the sick party should be stricken with a fear of the judgment of God, and his anger against sin and sinners, he must put him in mind of those comfortable promises which our Saviour hath made to all those that come unto him, and from the bottom of their heart call upon him; and how God the Father hath promised pardon, whensoever we shall ask it in the name of his Son, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. These are the things wherein the true preacher of the word ought faithfully to employ himself to conduct the party visited to his Saviour.

And when he is departing this life, he must give heart and courage to the survivors, by godly exhortations, to the end they may be comforted to praise God, and to conform themselves to his holy will. And whereas in former times it hath been the custom and manner to cause the poor and disconsolate widow to spend much money, having lost her husband, upon singers and ringers, eaters and drinkers, whilst she sits weeping and fasting, wronging thereby her fatherless children; to the end, that one loss be not added to another, it is our duty, taking pity on them, to aid them with our counsel, and with our goods, according to that ability that God hath bestowed on us, taking care that the children be well instructed, to the end, that living like Christians, according to the will of God, they may labour to get their living, as God hath ordained and commanded.

CONCLUSION OF THE DOCTRINAL PART.

By that which is contained in this book, and what hath been faithfully gathered out of the books of the Waldenses left unto us, it appeareth that the doctrine which they maintain in these days, who make profession of reformation, hath been maintained by them, many ages before they that are enemies thereto would take notice of it, there being nothing in all that is delivered, that doth either repugn the word of God, or is not altogether conformable to that which is taught in the reformed churches. For the Waldenses and Albigenes have known the necessity of instructing their children, by making use of such familiar catechisms as have been practised in the primitive church. They have confessed their sins to one only God, with terms of true humility, proofs of zeal, and a holy confidence in the

mercy of God, by his Son and our Saviour, Jesus Christ. They have acknowledged the law of God for the only rule of their obedience, and confessing themselves to fall far short of that perfection, which ought to be in us, to appear unblameable before the face of God, from their imperfection they have taken occasion to have recourse to the only true righteousness of the Son of God, our Redeemer, the law being as a looking-glass to make them know their stains and blemishes, and to send them to Christ Jesus, the true laver or washing-pool. They have called upon God in their necessities, by and through one only Jesus Christ our Saviour. They have received the sacraments with faith and repentance, and without alteration. They have entered the state of matrimony as ordained by God, holy and honourable: and finally, they have not been ignorant with what charity they were to comfort, and to visit, and to exhort their sick, and such as are in any adversity. And what hath there been in all these, that for these things they should be condemned to death as heretics? especially seeing that with the goodness and purity of their doctrine they have lived religiously under a holy discipline.—“Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.” Luke xxi. 23.

CHAPTER VII.

The discipline under which the Waldenses and Albigenses lived. Extracted out of divers authentic manuscripts: written in their own language several hundreds of years before Luther and Calvin.

ARTICLE I.—CONCERNING DISCIPLINE.

DISCIPLINE contains in itself all moral doctrine, according to the institution of Christ and his apostles, showing after what manner every one ought to live in his vocation by faith, and to walk worthily in true holiness and righteousness. There are many instructions in the book of God touching this discipline, showing not only how every man ought to live in his own particular estate, of what age or condition soever he be; but also what must be that union, content, and bond of love, in the communion of the faithful. And therefore if any man desire the knowledge of these things, let him read what the apostle hath said in his Epistles, and he shall find it there at large set down; and especially in what manner every one is bound to keep himself in unity, and to walk in such sort, that he be not a scandal, and an occasion of falling to his neighbour, by wicked words and actions; and in what manner he is bound, not only to fly from what is evil, but also the occasions of evil; and whensoever any man hath failed therein, how he may be reformed, and come to amendment of life.

By many such general instructions, the reclaimed people, newly brought unto the faith, must be taught, to the end, that they may walk worthily in the house of the Lord, and that they make not his house a den of thieves, by their profane, wicked conversation and toleration of evil.

II.—PASTORS.

All they that are to be received as pastors among us, while they are yet with their own people, they are to intreat ours, that they would be pleased to receive them to the ministry, and to pray unto God, that they

may be made worthy of so great an office: and this they are to do, thereby to give a proof and evidence of their humility.

We also appoint them their lectures, and set them their task, causing them to learn by heart all the chapters of St. Matthew and St. John, and all the Epistles that are canonical, a good part of the writings of Solomon, David, and the prophets.

And afterwards having produced good testimonials, and being well approved for their sufficiency, they are received with imposition of hands into the office of teachers.

He that is admitted in the last place, shall not do any thing without the leave and allowance of him that was admitted before him: and also, he that is first, shall do nothing without the leave of his associate, to the end, that all things with us may be done in order.

Diet and apparel is given unto us freely, and by way of alms, and that with good sufficiency, by those good people whom we teach.

Among other powers and abilities which God hath given to his servants, he hath given authority to choose leaders to rule the people, and to ordain elders in their charges, according to the diversity of the work, in the unity of Christ, which is proved by the saying of the apostle, in the first chapter of his Epistle to Titus: "For this cause have I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I have appointed thee." When any one of us, the aforesaid pastors, falls into any gross sins, he is both excommunicated, and prohibited to preach.

III.—INSTRUCTION OF YOUTH.

Children born of carnal parents, must be made spiritual towards God, by discipline and instruction, as it is said in Ecclus. xxx. "He that loveth his son, causeth him oft to feel the rod, that he may have joy of him in the end, and that he knock not at the door of his neighbour. He that chastiseth his son, shall have joy in him, and shall rejoice of him among his acquaintance. He that teacheth his son, grieveth his enemy, and before his enemy he shall rejoice of him. Though his father die, yet he is as if he were not dead; for he hath left one behind him that is like unto himself: Whilst he lived, he saw and rejoiced in him; and when he died, he was not sorrowful; for he left behind him one that will uphold his house against his enemies, and one that shall requite kindness to his friends." Instruct thy son in the fear of the Lord, and in the ways of God's laws, and in the faith. Despair not of thy child when he is unwilling to receive correction, or if he prove not speedily good; for the labourer gathereth not the fruits of the earth as soon as it is sown; but he attends a fitting time.

A man must also have a careful eye over his daughters. Hast thou daughters? Keep them within, and see they wander not. For Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, was corrupted by being seen of strangers.

IV.—CONCERNING THE ELDERS, THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALMS, AND ECCLESIASTICAL ASSEMBLIES.

We choose amongst the people rulers, and elders, according to the diversity of their employment, in the unity of Christ. According to that of the apostle in his first Epistle to Titus; "I have left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders

in every city, as I have appointed thee." The money that is given for the relief of the people, is by us carried to the aforesaid assembly, and is there delivered for the common use, in the presence of all, and afterwards taken by those that are in authority; and part of that money is given to those that are to travel any long journeys, to employ as they shall think fit, and part unto the poor.

Our pastors do call assemblies once every year, to determine of all affairs in a general synod.

V.—ECCLESIASTICAL CORRECTION.

Corrections are to be used, to retain men in awe, to the end, that they that are not faithful, may be punished and separated either for their wicked life, or erroneous belief, or their want of charity, or any of those evils, which may be possibly all found together in one particular person. Now that it is necessary to use such corrections, the Lord Jesus Christ teacheth us, saying; "If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him betwixt thee and himself; and if he repent, forgive him," Luke xvii. The apostle confirmeth the same, saying to the Galatians, "If a man be taken in any sin, you that are spiritual, instruct such an one in the spirit of meekness."

But forasmuch as all receive not those corrections in love, our Lord teacheth our spiritual guides what course they should take in this case, saying, "But if he hearken not unto thee, take with thee one or two; for in the mouth of two or three, shall every word be established." Our Lord's meaning is, if the fault be not public, and known to many. But not so if the sin be manifest and made known to every one: for in such a case, the chastisement must be made manifest too. The apostle telleth us as much in the first of Tim. v. 20. "Them that sin, rebuke before all, that others may fear."

VI.—EXCOMMUNICATION.

But when such will not amend their lives by any of those admonitions, nor leave their wicked ways, Christ teacheth us what we are to do against such: "If they will not hearken thereunto, tell the church," that is to say, the guides, whereby the church is ruled and preserved, that he may be punished, especially for contumacy; this the apostle confirmeth, 1 Cor. v. 3, 11. "I verily was absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ. If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, I say, eat not with any that is such a one, but put away that wicked person from amongst you. If there be any one that will not obey our word, mark that man by an epistle, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed; yet count him not an enemy, but admonish him as a brother;" as our Saviour saith, "let him be unto thee as a pagan, or a publican;" that is to say, let him be deprived of all aid of the church, and of the ministry, and the fellowship and union of the church.

VII.—MARRIAGE.

Marriages are to be made according to the decrees permitted by God, but not according to those he hath forbidden; but we are to make no scruple of conscience of those of the pope, though a man hath paid him no

money for a dispensation. For that which God hath not forbidden, may be done without the pope. The band of holy matrimony must not be made without the consent of the parents of both parties; for children belong to their parents.

VIII.—EXCESS AND DISORDERS WHICH ARE COMMONLY COMMITTED IN TAVERNS.

A tavern is the fountain of sin, the school of the devil; it works wonders fitting the place. It is the manner of God, to show his power in the church, and to work miracles, that is to say, to give sight to the blind, to make the lame go, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear; but the devil doth quite the contrary to all this in a tavern: for when a drunkard goeth to a tavern, he goeth uprightly; but when he cometh forth, he cannot go at all, and he hath lost his sight, his hearing, and speech. The lectures that are read in this school of the devil are, gluttonies, oaths, perjuries, lyings, and blasphemies, and divers other villanies. For in a tavern are quarrels, slanders, contentions, murders; and tavern-keepers that suffer them, are partakers of their sins, and that wickedness they commit. For certainly if any should offer to speak as reproachfully of their parents, as they suffer men to speak of God, and the glorious virgin, and the saints in paradise, and all for a little gain, by the sale of their wine, they would never suffer them so quietly to abide in their houses. And therefore it is said in Ecclesiasticus, "that the tavern-keeper shall not be freed from sin."

XI.—DANCING.

A dance is the devil's procession, and he that entereth into a dance, entereth into his possession. The devil is the guide, the middle, and the end of the dance. As many paces as a man maketh in dancing, so many paces doth he make towards hell. A man sinneth in dancing divers ways, as in his pace, for all his steps are numbered; in his touch, his ornaments; in his hearing, sight, speech, and other vanities. And therefore we will prove first by the Scripture, and afterwards by divers other reasons, how wicked a thing it is to dance. The first testimony that we will produce, is that which we read in the gospel, Mark vi. It pleased Herod so well, that it cost John the Baptist his life. The second is in Exodus xxxii. When Moses coming near to the congregation, saw the calf and the dancing, "He cast the tables from him, and brake them at the foot of the mountain," and afterwards it cost three and twenty thousand their lives. Besides, the ornaments which women wear in their dances, are as so many crowns, signifying their several victories, which the devil hath gotten against the children of God. For the devil hath not only one sword in the dance, but as many as there are beautiful and well adorned persons in the dance. For the words of a woman are a glittering sword. And therefore that place is much to be feared, where the enemy hath so many swords, since that one only sword of his may be feared. Again, the devil in this place, strikes with a sharpened sword; for the women come not willingly to the dance, except they are painted and adorned; the which painting and ornament is a grindstone, upon which the devil sharpeneth his sword. They that deck and adorn their daughters, are like those that put dry wood to the fire, to the end, that it may burn the better: for such women kindle the fire of luxury in the hearts of men; as Sampson's foxes fired the Philistines' corn, so these women have fire in their faces, and in their ges-

tures and actions, their glances and wanton words, by which they consume the goods of men. The devil in the dance useth the strongest armour that he hath, for his most powerful arms are women, which is made plain to us, in that the devil made choice of the woman to deceive the first man; so did Balaam, that the children of Israel might be rejected. By a woman he made Sampson, David, and Absalom to sin. The devil tempteth men by women, three manner of ways; by the touch, by the eye, and by the ear: by these three means he tempteth foolish men to dancings, by touching their hands, beholding their beauty, and hearing their songs and music. Again, they that dance, break that promise and agreement which they have made with God in baptism, when their godfathers promised for them, that they shall renounce the devil and all his works; for dancing is the pomp of the devil, and he that danceth, maintaineth his pomp, and singeth his mass. For the woman that singeth in the dance, is the prioress of the devil; and those that answer, are the clerks; and the beholders, are the parishoners; and the music, are the bells; and the fiddlers, the ministers of the devil. For, as when hogs are strayed, if the hog-herd calls, all assemble themselves together: so the devil causeth one woman to sing in the dance, or to play upon some instrument, and immediately all the dancers gather together. Again, in a dance, a man breaks the Ten Commandments of God. As first, "Thou shalt have no other gods but me," &c. For in dancing, a man serves that person whom he most desires to serve. And therefore saith Jerom, "every man's god is that he serves and loves best." He sins against the second commandment, when he makes an idol of that he loves. Against the third, in that oaths are frequent amongst dancers. Against the fourth, for by dancing the Sabbath day is profaned. Against the fifth, for in the dance, the parents are many times dishonoured, when many bargains and compacts are made, without their counsel and advice. Against the sixth, a man kills in dancing: for every one that standeth to please another, he killeth the soul, as often as he persuadeth to lust. Against the seventh, for the party that danceth, be it male or female, committeth adultery with the party they lust after; "For he that looketh on a woman, and lusteth after her, hath already committed adultery in his heart." Against the eighth commandment, a man sinneth in dancing, when he withdraweth the heart of another from God. Against the ninth, when in dancing he speaks falsely against the truth. Against the tenth, when women affect the ornaments of others, and men covet the wives, daughters, and servants of their neighbours.

A man may prove how great an evil dancing is, by the multitude of sins that accompany those that dance; for they dance without measure or number. And therefore saith Augustin, the miserable dancer knows not, that as many paces as he makes in dancing, so many leaps he makes to hell. They sin in their ornaments after a five-fold manner. First, by being proud thereof. Secondly, by inflaming the hearts of those that behold them. Thirdly, when they make those ashamed that have not the like ornaments, giving them occasion to covet the like. Fourthly, by making women importunate, in demanding the like ornaments of their husbands. Fifthly, when they cannot obtain them of their husbands, they seek to get them elsewhere by sin. They sin by singing and playing on instruments; for their songs bewitch the hearts of those that hear them, with temporal delight, forgetting God, uttering nothing in their songs but lies and vanities: and the very motion of the body which is used in dancing, gives testimony enough of evil.

Thus you see, that dancing is the devil's procession, and he that entereth into a dance, enters into the devil's possession. Of dancing, the devil is the guide, the middle, and the end; and he that entereth a good and a wise man into the dance, cometh forth a corrupt and wicked man. Sarah, that holy woman, was none of those.

X.—AFTER WHAT MANNER A MAN MUST CONVERSE WITH THOSE THAT ARE WITHOUT.

Not to love the world. To fly evil company. If it be possible, to have peace with all. Not to contend in judgment. Not to revenge. To love our enemies. To be willing to suffer labours, slanders, threats, contempts, injuries, and all manner of torments, for the truth. To possess our weapons in peace. Not to be coupled in one yoke with infidels. Not to communicate with the wicked in their evil ways, and especially with those that smell of idolatry, referring all service thereunto, and so of other things.

XI.—IN WHAT MANNER THE FAITHFUL OUGHT TO RULE THEIR BODIES.

Not to serve the mortal desires of the flesh. To keep their members, that they be not members of iniquity. To rule their outward senses. To subject the body to the soul. To mortify their members. To fly idleness. To observe a sobriety and measure in their eating and drinking, in their words, and the cares of this life. To do the works of mercy. To live a moral life by faith. To fight against the desires. To mortify the works of the flesh. To give themselves in due time to the exercise of religion. To examine diligently the conscience. To purge, and amend, and pacify the spirit.

CHAPTER VIII.

Treatise on the Old Waldenses and Albigenses, concerning Antichrist, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments.

I.—ANTICHRIST.

This book of Antichrist is an old manuscript, wherein there are many sermons of the pastors, dated 1220, and therefore written before Waldo, and about the time of Peter Bruis, who taught in Languedoc, where he was burnt at St. Giles, before Waldo departed from Lyons. This treatise was afterwards preserved by the Waldenses of the Alps.

I. ANTICHRIST is a falsehood, worthy of eternal damnation, covered with an outward appearance of the truth, and the righteousness of Christ and his spouse, opposite to the way of truth, righteousness, faith, hope, and charity, as likewise to the moral life; and also the ministerial verity of the church, administered by the false apostles, and obstinately defended by both powers, ecclesiastical and secular: or antichrist is a delusion, which hides the truths necessary to salvation, both in things substantial and ministerial: or it is a fraudulent contradiction to Christ and his spouse, and every faithful member thereof. It is not any special person ordained in any degree, or office, or ministry; but it is that falsehood itself, which opposeth itself against the truth, which covereth and adorneth itself with a pretence of beauty and piety, not suitable to the church of Christ, as by

the names, and offices, and scriptures and sacraments, and divers other things, may appear. That iniquity that is after this manner, with all the ministers thereof, great and small, with all those that follow them with a wicked heart, and hoodwinked eyes; this congregation I say, thus taken all together, is called antichrist, or Babylon, or the fourth beast, or the whore, or the man of sin, or the son of perdition.

His ministers are called false prophets, lying teachers, the ministers of darkness, the spirit of error, the apocalyptical whore, the mother of fornication, clouds without water, trees without leaves, dead, and twice rooted up, waves of a troublesome sea, wandering stars, Balaamites and Egyptians.

He is called antichrist, because being covered and adorned under the colour of Christ, and of the church, and the faithful members thereof, he oppugneth the salvation purchased by Christ, and truly administered in the church of Christ, whereof the faithful are partakers by faith, hope, and charity. Thus he contradicteth the truth by the wisdom of the world, by false religion, by counterfeited holiness, by ecclesiastical power, secular tyranny, riches, honours, dignities and the delights and delicacies of the world.

And therefore let every one take notice thereof, that antichrist could not come in any wise, but all these things above mentioned must needs meet together, to make a complete hypocrisy and falsehood; that is to say, the worldly wise, the religious orders, pharisees, ministers, doctors, the secular power, with the people of the world joined together. And thus all of them together make up the man of sin and error complete; for notwithstanding antichrist was long since conceived in the apostles' times, yet he was then in his infancy, and wanted members both inward and outward. And therefore he was the more easily known and destroyed, and excommunicated, as being but rude and raw, and as yet wanting utterance. For he was then destitute of rational, definitive, decretive, or determinative wisdom; he wanted as yet those hypocritical ministers, and human ordinances, and the outward show of those religious orders. And therefore, though he were fallen away into that error and sin, yet he had then wherewith to cover his villany, or the shame of his errors, or of that sin, having yet none of those riches nor endowments, whereby to allure to himself any minister for his service, or to be enabled to multiply, preserve, or defend his adherents; for he wanted the secular strength and power, and could not force, nor compel any from the truth unto falsehood. And because he wanted many things yet, therefore he could not defile nor scandalize any by his deceits; and thus being so weak and tender, he could obtain no place in the church. But growing up in his members, that is to say, in his blind and dissembling ministers, and in worldly subjects, he at length became a complete man, grew up to his full age, to wit, then when the lovers of the world, both in church and state, blind in faith, did multiply in the church, and get all the power into their hands. And so it came to that pass, that as evil as they were, they would be sought unto, and honoured in spiritual matters, covering their authority, malice, and sins; for which end they made use of the worldly wise, and of their pharisees, in manner aforesaid. For it is a great wickedness to cover and colour iniquity, worthy of excommunication, and go about to establish one's self by such means, as cannot be attributed to men, but belongs to God alone, and to Jesus Christ as mediator. And for men to deprive God of such and such things, by fraud and usurpation, and to arrogate the same

unto themselves, and their works, appears to be the greatest felony; as when one doth attribute to himself the power of regeneration, of pardoning sins, of dispensing the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and to represent Christ, and such like matters: and in all these things, to cover themselves with the cloak of authority and the word, thereby deceiving silly people, who follow the world in such things that are of the world, separating themselves from God and the true faith, and from the reformation of the Holy Spirit, withdrawing themselves from true repentance, pious practice, and perseverance in goodness, and turning their backs upon charity, patience, poverty, and humility; and that which is worst of all, they forsake the true hope, and rely on all evil, and on the vain hope of the world, serving all those ceremonies instrumental hereunto, and deceitfully causing the people to commit idolatry, with all the idols of the world, under the name of saints and relics, and their worship; inasmuch that the people perniciously erring from the way of truth, and being persuaded they serve God, and do well, are stirred up to hate, and to be enraged against those that love the truth, even to murder so many of them; so that according to the apostle, we may truly say, this is that man of sin complete, that lifts up himself against all that is called God, or worshipped, and that setteth himself in opposition against all truth, sitting down in the temple of God; that is in his church, and showing forth himself as if he were God, being come with all manner of deceivableness for those that perish. And since he is truly come, he must no longer be looked for, for he is grown old already by God's permission; nay, he begins even to decay, and his power and authority is abated; for the Lord doth already kill the wicked one, by the spirit of his mouth; by divers persons of good dispositions, sending abroad a power contrary to his, and those that love him, and which disturbeth his place and his possessions, and puts division into that city of Babylon, wherein the whole generation of iniquity doth prevail and reign.

2. WHAT ARE THE WORKS OF ANTICHRIST?—The first work of antichrist is, to take away the truth, and to change it into falsehood, error, and heresy. The second work of antichrist is, to cover falsehood over with a semblance of truth, and to assert and maintain lies by the name of faith and graces, and to dispense falsehood intermingled with spiritual things unto the people under his subjection, either by the means of his ministers, or by the ministry, or any other ways relating to the church. Now it is certain, these two ways of proceeding do contain so perfect and complete a wickedness, the like no tyrant, and no power in the world, were ever able to compass since the creation, until the time of antichrist. And Christ had never any enemy yet like this, so able to pervert the way of truth into falsehood, and falsehood into truth, and who in like manner did pervert the professors of the one or the other, viz. of truth, and of falsehood; insomuch that the holy mother the church, with her true children, is altogether trodden under foot, especially in the truth, and in what concerneth the true worship, in the truth, and in the ministry, and the exercise thereof, and the children partaking thereof, which causeth her to weep bitterly, in the language and complaint of Jeremiah, saying, "Ah! how desolate art thou, O city of the heathen people, and uncircumcised? she is become a widow;" namely, being destitute of the truth of her bridegroom; lady of people, by reason of the subjection to errors, and to sin; princess of provinces, by partaking with the world, and the things that are in the world. Weep, and look but abroad a little, and thou shalt find those things now accomplished at this time; for the holy church is accounted a

synagogue of miscreants, and the congregation of the wicked is esteemed the mother of them that rightly believe in the word. Falsehood is preached up for truth, iniquity for righteousness; injustice passeth for justice, error for faith, sin for virtue, and lies for verity.

3. **WHAT ARE THE WORKS THAT PROCEED FROM THESE FIRST WORKS?**—

These: the first is, that it perverts the service of Latreia; that is, the worship properly due to God alone, by giving it to antichrist himself, and his works, to the poor creature, reasonable, or unreasonable, sensible, or senseless; to the reasonable, as to man, male or female, saints deceased; and unto images, carcasses, and relics. His works are the sacraments, especially the sacrament of the eucharist, which he adareth as God, and as Jesus Christ, together with the things blessed and consecrated by him, and prohibits the worshipping of God alone.

The second work of antichrist is, that he robs and bereaves Christ of his merits, together with all the sufficiency of grace, of justification, of regeneration, remission of sins, sanctification, confirmation, and spiritual nourishment; and imputes and attributes the same to his own authority, to a form of words, to his own works; unto saints, and their intercession, and unto the fire of purgatory; and separates the people from Christ, and leads them away to the things aforesaid, that they may not seek those of Christ, nor by Christ, but only in the works of their own hands, and not by a lively faith in God, nor in Jesus Christ, nor in the Holy Spirit, but by the will and pleasure, and by the works of antichrist, according as he preacheth, that all salvation consists in his works.

The third work of antichrist consists in this, that the attributes of regeneration of the Holy Spirit unto the dead outward work, baptizing children in that faith, and teaching, that thereby baptism and regeneration must be had, and therein he confers and bestows orders and other sacraments, and groundeth therein all his Christianity, which is against the Holy Spirit.

The fourth work of antichrist is, that he hath constituted and placed all religion and holiness in going to the mass, and hath patched together all manner of ceremonies, some Jewish, some heathenish, and some Christian; and leading the congregations thereunto, and the people to hear the same, doth thereby deprive them of the sacramental and spiritual manducation, and seduceth them from the true religion, and from the commandments of God, and withdraws them from the works of compassion, by his offerings; and by such a mass, hath he settled the people in vain hopes.

The fifth work of antichrist is, that he doth all his works so as to be seen, that he may glut himself with his insatiable avarice, that he may set all things to sale, and do nothing without simony.

The sixth work of antichrist is, that he allows of manifest sins, without any ecclesiastical censure, and doth not excommunicate the impenitent.

The seventh work of antichrist is, that he doth not govern nor maintain his unity by the Holy Spirit, but by secular power, and maketh use thereof to effect spiritual matters.

The eighth work of antichrist is, that he hates, and persecutes, and searches after, and despoils and destroys the members of Christ.

These things are in a manner, the principal works which he commits against the truth, they being otherwise numberless, and past writing down. It sufficeth for the present to have observed the most general, and those whereby this iniquity lies most covered and concealed.

First and chiefly, he makes use of an outward confession of the faith;

and it is that whereof the apostle speaketh, "For they confess in words that they have known God, but by their deeds, they deny him."

Secondly, he covers his iniquity by the length or succession of time, and allegeth, that he is maintained by certain wise and learned men, and by religious orders of certain votaries of single life, men and women, virgins and widows; and besides, by numberless people, of whom it is said in the Revelations, "That power is given him over every tribe, language, and nation, and all that dwell on earth shall worship him."

In the third place, he covers his iniquity by the spiritual authority of the apostles; against which the apostle speaketh expressly, "We are able to do nothing against the truth, and there is no power given us for destruction."

Fourthly, by many miracles here and there, according to that of the apostle, "Whose coming is according to the working of Satan, by all manner of miracles, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness."

Fifthly, by an outward holiness, by prayers, fastings, watchings, and alms-deeds, against which the apostle testifies, saying, "Having a show of godliness, but having denied the power thereof."

Sixthly, he covers his iniquity by certain sayings of Christ, and by the writings of the ancients, and by councils, which they observe so far forth only as they do not destroy (and overthrow) their wicked life and pleasure.

Seventhly, by the administration of the sacraments, in which they lay open the universality of their errors.

Eighthly, by correction (or discipline) and mere verbal preachings against vices; for they say, and do not.

Ninthly, by the virtuous lives of some, who seemingly live so, but especially of such as really live so among them. For the elect of God, which desire and do that which is good, are detained there, as in Babylon; and are like unto gold, wherewith the wicked antichrist doth cover his vanity, not suffering them to serve God alone, nor to put all their hope in Christ alone, nor to embrace the true religion.

These things, and many others, are, as it were, a cloak and garment wherewith antichrist doth cover his lying wickedness, that he may not be rejected as a pagan, or infidel, and under which he can go on to act his villanies boldly, and like the whore; "the whore of Babylon." Now it is evident, as well in the Old, as in the New Testament, that a Christian stands bound, by express command given him, to separate himself from antichrist. For the Lord saith, Isa. lii. 11, 12. "Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing, go ye out of the midst of her, be ye clean, that bear the vessels of the Lord. For ye shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight," &c. And Jer. l. 8. "Remove out of the midst of Babylon, and go forth out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be as the he-goats before the flocks. For lo, I will raise and cause to come up against Babylon, an assembly of great nations from the north country, and they shall set themselves in array against her, from thence she shall be taken." In the 16th chapter of Numbers, ver. 21. "Separate yourselves from among this congregation, that I may consume them in a moment." And again, ver. 6. "Depart, I pray you, from the tabernacle of the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins." In Leviticus xx. 24, 25, 27. "I am the Lord your God, which have separated you from other people. Ye shall therefore put difference between clean beasts and unclean, and between

unclean fowls and clean : and ye shall not make yourselves abominable by beast, or by fowl, or by any manner of living thing that creepeth on the ground, which I have separated from you as unclean." Again, in Exod. chap. xxxiv. 12. "Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee." And a little further, ver. 15. "Make no covenant with the inhabitants of the land, lest they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice. Nor shalt thou take thee a wife from among their daughters, lest they having played the harlot;" that is to say, committed idolatry, "they cause thy children to go a whoring likewise after their gods." Levit. xv. 31. And therefore "ye shall teach your children, and bid them beware of their uncleanness, and that they may not die in them, having polluted my sanctuary." Ezek. ii. "But the heart that walks on offending, and in its offences, I will render their way upon their head, saith the Lord." Deut. xx. "When thou shalt enter into the land, which the Lord thy God shall give thee, take heed thou do not according to the abominations of those people; for the Lord abhorreth all those things: and by reason of such sins, he will blot them out. When thou shalt enter their land, thou shalt be clean, and without spot with thy God. Those people whose land thou goest to possess, hearken to the soothsayers and diviners; but thy God hath disposed otherwise in thy behalf." Now it is manifest in the New Testament, John xii. That the Lord is come, and hath suffered death, that he might gather together the children of God; and by reason of this truth of unity, and separation from others, it is that he saith in St. Matthew, chap. x. "For I am come to separate a man from his father, and set the daughter against the mother, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law; and they of a man's household, shall be his enemies." And he hath commanded this separation, saying, "Whosoever doth not forsake his father and his mother," &c. And again, "Beware of false prophets, which come unto you in sheep's clothing." Again, "Beware of the leaven of the pharisees; and take heed lest any seduce you; for many shall come in my name, and seduce many. And then if any tell you, behold, Christ is here or there, believe them not, and walk not after them." And in the Revelations, he warneth by his own voice, and chargeth his to go out of Babylon, saying, "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, O my people, come forth out of her, and be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive none of the plagues: for her sins are come up into heaven, and the Lord remembereth her iniquity." The apostle saith the same, "Join not yourselves under one yoke with the unbelievers; for what participation hath righteousness with iniquity, or what fellowship is there between light and darkness, or what communion hath Christ with the devil, or what part hath the faithful with the infidel, or what agreement is there of the temple of God with idols? And therefore go forth from the midst of them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing, and I will rescue you, and be instead of a father to you, and you shall be as sons and daughters to me, saith the Lord, the Almighty." Again, Eph. v. "Do not partake with them, for ye were in the way of darkness, but now ye are in the light of the Lord." Again, 1 Cor. x. "I would not have you become the companions of the devil. Ye cannot participate of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils." So 2 Thess. iii. "O brethren, we declare unto you, in the name of our Lord

Jesus Christ, that you beware of every brother walking dishonestly, and not according to the customs which you received from us. For ye know after what manner ye ought to be followers of us." And again, a little after he saith; "If there be any that obey not our word, (set down in this Epistle,) have ye nothing to do with him, that he may be ashamed." Again, Ephes. v. "Have no communion with the works of darkness, which are unfruitful." And 2 Tim. iii. "Be it known unto you, that in the latter day, there will be troublesome times." And afterwards, "Having a show of piety, but denying the power thereof, turn thyself away from such." By what hath been said hitherto, it appears clearly, what is the wickedness of antichrist, and his perverseness. Also the Lord commands our separating from him, and joining ourselves with the holy city Jerusalem. Therefore knowing such things, the Lord having revealed them to us by his servants, and believing this revelation, according to the holy Scriptures, and being admonished by the commandments of the Lord, we do both inwardly and outwardly depart from antichrist; because we know him to be the same: and we keep company and unity one with another, freely and uprightly, having no other intent and purpose, but purely and singly to please the Lord, and be saved. And by the Lord's help, we join ourselves to the truth of Christ, and his spouse, how small soever she appear, as far forth as our understanding is able to comprehend. And therefore we thought good to set down here for what causes we departed, and what kind of congregation we have, to the end, that if the Lord be pleased to impart the knowledge of the same truth unto others, those that receive it, may love it altogether with us. And if peradventure, they be not sufficiently enlightened, they may receive help by the ministry, and be sprinkled by the Lord. If some one have more abundantly received, and in a higher measure, we desire the more humbly to be taught, and to learn better of him, and to amend our defects. Now then the causes of our separation are these ensuing.

Be it known to every one in general, and in particular, that the cause of our separation is this; namely, for the real truth's sake of our faith, and by reason of our inward knowledge of the only true God, and the unity of the divine essence in three persons; which knowledge flesh and blood doth not afford; and for the befitting service due to that only God; for the love of him above all things; for sanctification, and for his honour above all things, and above every name; for the living hope through Christ in God; for regeneration, and the inward renewing by faith, hope, and charity; for the merit of Jesus Christ, with all the sufficiency of his grace and righteousness; for the communion of saints; for the remission of sins; for a holy conversation; and for a faithful accomplishment of all the commandments in the faith of Christ; for true repentance; for final perseverance, and life everlasting.

The ministerial truths are these: the outward congregating of the pastors, with the people, in convenient place, and time, to instruct them in the truth by the ministry, leading, establishing, and maintaining the church in the truth aforesaid. The said good ministers press faith and a good life, and are exemplary for manners and obedience, and watchfully follow the example and work of the Lord towards the flock.

The things which the ministers are obliged to do for the service of the people are these: the preaching of the word of the gospel; the sacraments joined to the word, which do certify what the intent and meaning thereof

is, and confirm the hope in Christ, unto the faithful; the ministerial communion hath all things by the essential truth. And all other ministerial things may be reduced to the aforesaid. But as to the particular truths, some of them are essentially necessary to man's salvation, other some conditionally. They are contained in the twelve articles of the Christian faith, and in divers passages of the apostles. As for antichrist, he hath reigned a good while already in the church by God's permission.

The errors and impurities of antichrist, forbidden by the Lord, are these, viz. a various and endless idolatry, against the express command of God and Christ. Divine worship offered not to the Creator, but to the creature, visible and invisible, corporal and spiritual, rational and sensible, natural and artificial, under the name of Christ, or saints, male and female, and of relics and authorities. Unto which creatures they offer the service or worship of faith, and hope, works, prayers, pilgrimages, and alms, oblations, and sacrifices of great price. And those creatures, they serve, honour, and adore several ways, by songs and hymns, speeches, and solemnities, and celebrations of masses, vespers fitted unto the same, by certain hours, vigils, feast-days, thereby to obtain grace, which is essentially in God alone, and meritoriously in Christ, and is to be obtained by faith alone through the Holy Spirit.

And indeed there is nothing else that causeth idolatry, but the false opinions of grace, truth, authority, invocation, intercession, which this antichrist hath deprived God of, to attribute the same to these ceremonies, authorities, the works of a man's own hands, to saints, and to purgatory. And this iniquity of antichrist is directly against the first article of faith, and against the first commandment of the law.

So also the excessive love of the world, that is in antichrist, is that whence springs such a world of sin and mischief in the church, as well in them that govern, as in them that officiate in the same; who sin without control. They are against the truth of faith, and against the knowledge of God the Father. Witness St. John, saying, "He that sinneth, knoweth not, nor seeth God: for if any love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." The second iniquity of antichrist lies in the hope which he giveth of pardon, grace, justification, truth, and life everlasting, as things not to be sought and had in Christ, nor in God by Christ, but in men, either living, or already deceased; in human authorities, in ecclesiastical ceremonies, in benedictions, sacrifices, prayers, and such other things as were before mentioned; not by a true and lively faith, which worketh repentance by love, and causeth one to depart from evil, and give himself up to God. Again, antichrist teacheth not to settle a firm hope in those things, viz. regeneration, spiritual confirmation, or communion, remission of sins, sanctification of eternal life; but to hope through the sacraments, or by means of his wretched simony, wherewith the people are greatly abused; insomuch, that putting all things to sale, he invented a number of ordinances, old and new, to get moneys; giving way that if any do but such and such a thing, he shall get grace and life. And this twofold iniquity is properly called in the Scriptures, adultery and fornication; and therefore such ministers as lead the simple people into those errors, are called the whore of the Revelation. And this iniquity is against the second article, and again, against the second and third commandment of the law.

The third iniquity of antichrist consists in this: that he hath invented,

besides the matters aforesaid, certain false religious orders and rules of monasteries, putting men in hope of acquiring grace, by building certain churches; as also, because they do therein often and devoutly hear mass, receive the sacraments, make confession to the priest, (though seldom with contrition,) observe his fasts, and empty their purse for him, and be a professed member of the church of Rome; or if he hath dedicated or vowed himself to be of such an order, cap or frock; all which he doth press as duties contrary to all truth. And this iniquity of antichrist is directly against the eighth article of the creed, "I believe in the Holy Ghost."

The fourth iniquity of antichrist is, notwithstanding his being the fourth beast described by Daniel, and the whore of the Revelation, he nevertheless adorns himself with the authority, power, dignity, ministry, offices, and the Scripture, and makes himself equal with the true and holy mother the church, wherein salvation is to be had ministerially, and no where else; wherein is found the truth of life, and doctrine, and of the sacraments, and subjects. For if he should not cover himself in this manner, his ministers being such notorious sinners, he would soon be abandoned by all: for kings and princes supposing him to be like, or equal to the true and holy mother the church, they loved him, and endued him against the commandment of God. And this iniquity of the ministers, subjects, and ordained persons, given up to error and sin, is against the ninth article, "I believe a holy church."

In the second place, those that being partakers of the outward ceremonies, instituted only by human inventions, do believe and hope to partake of the reality of pastoral cures and offices, if they be but shaved or shorn like lambs, and anointed or daubed like walls, and made holy by touching the mass book; and by taking the chalice into their hands, they proclaim and publish, that they are ordained lawful priests to all intents. In like manner, (as is said before) the people subject to them, communicating with them by words, signs, and other outward exercises, they conceive that they partake of the truth thereon depending. And this is against the other part of the ninth article, "I believe the communion of saints." But it behoves us to depart from the wicked communion of the monks, by whom carnal men were easily drawn away, they, through covetousness, making them to trust in things of naught, be they never so riotous and wretched, provided only they give liberally unto them, and then say, such men are made partakers of their poverty and chastity.

The fifth iniquity of antichrist consists in this: that he doth feign and promise remission of sins unto sinners, not unto the truly contrite, but such as are wilfully persevering in their evil practices: in the first place, he doth promise them forgiveness of their sins, for their auricular confessions' sake, and human absolution, and for their pilgrimages; and this he doth out of covetousness. And this iniquity is against the eleventh article of the faith, "I believe the remission of sins." For the same is in God authoritatively, and in Christ ministerially, through faith, repentance, charity, and obedience to the word, and in man by participation.

The sixth iniquity lies herein, that to the very end of their lives they go on, hoping and trusting thus in the forementioned iniquities and coverings, especially till they come to the extreme unction, and their invented purgatory; insomuch, that the ignorant and rude multitude do persevere in their error, they being taught and made to believe, that they are absolved of their sins, though they never freely depart from them, so as to hope for

forgiveness of sins, and life everlasting. And this iniquity is directly against the eleventh and twelfth articles of the faith.*

II.—THE PURGATORY DREAM.

The purgatory dream, which many priests and monks hold forth and teach as an article of faith, with many lies asserting, is this; that after this life, since the ascension of Christ into heaven, the souls, especially of such as are to be saved, not having satisfied in this life for their sins, departing their bodies, must endure very sensible pains, and be thoroughly purged after this life in purgatory; and that being purged they come forth thence, some sooner, some later, and other some not till doomsday, and others readily and long before it; in commiseration of which souls, every faithful man may and ought to help them, even after this life, by the bond of charity, through prayers, fasts, alms, masses. And in this purgatory's behalf many have, to glut their avarice, invented abundance of uncertain

* The controversy which has been produced by the Oxford Pseudo-Protestants through the "Tracts for the Times," included the vital question whether the system of the papacy, in its dogmas, ceremonies, tyranny, and practices, is not the apostolically predicted "Mystery of Iniquity and working of Satan." That comprehended our investigation into the origin, principles, and antiquity of the Christians among the European Alps; who deny that they are Protestants, although they admit the doctrines of the Reformers of the sixteenth century; for they allege, that they never were in communion with Rome, as slaves of its usurped ecclesiastical jurisdiction! The decisive point is this—if the Waldenses and Albigenses were true Christians then the popedom is the great antichristian "Man of sin and son of perdition"—on the contrary, if the papacy be the true church of Christ, then all who reject its rule and superstitions are anathema!

Mr. Faber undertook an elaborate research into the History and Theology of those ancient Christian dwellers among the South-eastern Alps, and in his "Inquiry," page 370—384, he thus expresses his judgment concerning the "Treatise on Antichrist." "Internal evidence brings out a very strong presumption, that the treatise was written in the course of the twelfth age, and from its leading dogma, that the Roman church is the Apocalyptic harlot. I deem it to be the production of Valdo, shortly after the conversion of that eminent Reformer; whose zeal in communicating the New Testament in the vulgar tongue would be very likely to produce such a work as the Treatise upon Antichrist.

From the passage respecting the adoration of the mass-wafer, it appears that the idolatrous worship of the eucharist had been fully established when the treatise on Antichrist was written. Of the unspeakable infatuation respecting the bread used in the celebration of the mass one instance may suffice. The old historian William of Mulnesburg, who lived about the year 1100, professed his full belief that the elements, after the priestly declaration, were the true body and blood of the Saviour; and he says, that he was thereto induced, both by the authority of the church and by many newly displayed miracles. Of which he certifies the following concerning a little Jew boy.

The Jewish lad entering into a mass-house, with a Christian boy, beheld upon the altar a child torn limb from limb, and thus severally divided to the people. Having told the story to his parents, in a rage they threw him on a burning pile. There he lay for some hours unhurt, until he was drawn out by the Christians. When asked how he escaped the effects of the fire, he replied, "that the beautiful woman whom I beheld sitting on a throne, and whose son was divided to the people, alway stood at my right hand, turning aside with her robe, the fire and smoke." This legendary fragment, detailed by William as an indubitable matter of fact, with implicit credulity and full approbation, could never have been constructed, save on the basis of the admitted dogmas of the eleventh century; and therefore the "Treatise on Antichrist" may be referred justly to the periods of its date, about the middle of the twelfth century.

things which they have taught and preached, saying, that those souls are tormented in the said purgatory, some up to the very neck, some to their middle, and some by their finger; and that sometimes they sit and eat together at table, and make good cheer, especially on the day of All Souls, when the people do offer largely to the priests upon their sepulchres; and sometimes, say they, they are picking crumbs under the rich men's tables. By means of which, and many other lies, their avarice and simony is increased and multiplied to a great height. There are cloisters raised, temples costly built and endowed, altars reared up and multiplied without measure, and a world of monks and canons, who have invented many things more, whereby to relieve and release those poor souls, making a mere mockery of the word of God. And the people are grievously cheated and abused about the matter of their souls, and their substance, they being made to put their trust in such uncertain things, whilst the faithful must heal themselves; for if once they refuse to teach the said purgatory as an article of faith, they are forthwith most cruelly condemned to death, and martyred.

And therefore we stand engaged to speak of this purgatory, and to hold forth what we conceive of it.

First then we say, that the souls of those which are to be saved, must finally be purged of all their uncleanness, according to God's ordinance, declared Rev. xxi. No unclean thing, giving itself up to abomination and lying, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now we do hold that faith, and the Scriptures, do promise us many and sundry ways of purging and cleansing those that are in this present life of all their sins. But St. Peter shows, Acts xv. that the heart is purged by faith, and that faith is sufficient to cleanse evil, without any other outward means. As it is made plain by the thief's case on the right hand of Christ, who believing and sincerely acknowledging his sins, became worthy of paradise: the other way of purging the spouse of Christ, is by repentance, spoken of, Isaiah i. The Lord commanding there, "Wash yourselves, cleanse yourselves, remove the evil out of your thoughts from before mine eyes, desist from doing perverse things." And afterwards, "Though your sins are like scarlet, they shall be made as white as snow; though they were as crimson, they shall be as white as wool." In which place the Lord presents himself to the truly penitent in manner aforesaid, and those that were guilty of sin, shall be made as white as snow. There yet is another way of purging sin, mentioned by St. Matthew chap. iii. where it is said, "He hath his fan in his hand, and will purge his threshing floor clean, and gather his grain into his barn." Which passage Chrysostom applies to the church present in this life, and the tribulations thereof. And not only by tribulations, but by himself also doth the Lord here in this life cleanse his spouse and threshing floor; as St. Paul saith, Christ loved the church, and gave up himself for it, to hallow it, cleansing it by the washing of water, by the word of life, to make it unto himself a glorious church, having neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing, but to be holy and unblamable. Where the apostle shows, that Christ so loved his church, that he would not cleanse it by any other washing, but only by his own blood; and that doubtless not so, as that it should be any ways insufficient, but effectually, in such sort, that there remains no uncleanness at all; he having so glorified her, that she hath no spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing remaining upon her, but is made holy and undefiled. And this testimony of the washing of the spouse of Christ in his blood, is not only rendered here on earth, but testimony is also given in heaven by those

which obtained this effectual washing, it being said of them in the Revelation, these are they that came out of great tribulation, and washed their garments, and whitened them in the blood of the Lamb; and therefore they are before the seat of the Lamb, and serve him. And thus you see how many ways may be taken forth by faith out of the Scriptures, to show that those that sojourn in this life, are purged of their sins here before they leave it.

We hold in the third place, that it would be far safer for every one so to live in this present life, that he should not need any purging afterwards. For it is much better to do well in this life, than to hope for uncertain help after it. And it is the far surer way, instead of what good others will do us after our death, to do the same ourselves whilst we are yet alive, it being a happier thing for a man to depart hence in a free condition, than to seek for liberty after he shall be fettered.

Besides what hath been said, we maintain, that it cannot be made out by any express passage of the holy Scriptures, without wresting them, that it hath been held by common consent, that the faithful ought to believe of necessity, and publicly to profess, as an article of faith, that there should be such a place as purgatory, after this life, to be entered into for sins, after the ascension of Christ, by such souls especially as, being otherwise to be saved, shall not have made satisfaction in this life for their sins committed; where they should endure most sensible pains, being once departed their bodies, and to be cleansed, and that thence some should come forth again sooner, some later, some at doomsday, and others before. And as to the first part, viz. Scripture proofs, there is none at all to be found throughout the Bible for it; let us peruse the whole law of God, we shall not meet with any one passage obliging or binding a Christian necessarily to believe, as an article of faith, that after this life, there should be such a place as purgatory, as some aver. There is not one place in all the holy Scriptures to show it, neither can there be any evidence produced, that here ever entered any one soul in such a purgatory, and came out again from thence. And therefore it is a thing not to be credited or believed: nor proof whereof St. Augustine, in the book which he entitled, "*Mille Verba*," writes thus: we believe by faithful, universal, and by Divine authority, that the kingdom of heaven is the first place whereinto baptism is received. The second is that, where the excommunicated and stranger from Christ shall suffer everlasting torments. As for a third, we know none such at all, and find nothing certified of it in the holy Scriptures.

Again, in the same book, upon this passage, [shall not enter into the kingdom of God,] he writes thus: "O brethren, let none deceive himself, for there are but two places, the third is not at all; for he that is not found worthy to reign with Christ, doubtless must perish with Satan." To this purpose St. Chrysostom on the twentieth chapter of St. Matthew, where it is said, "That the kingdom of heaven is like unto a house-keeper," speaks in this manner: "This house-keeper is Christ, to whom heaven and earth is a house, as it were, and the families are the terrestrial and celestial creatures: in this house he hath built three chambers, hell, heaven, and earth. The militant or combating party, are those which inhabit the earth; those that are overcome, go down to hell; but they that have overcome, enter heaven." Let us take heed, saith he, we that are in the middle region, that we descend not after them which are in hell, but rather that we may mount up to them that are above in heaven.

It is plain by these authorities, that there are but two certain places,

after Christ's ascension into heaven, whither the souls do go, departing from their bodies, and that there is no third place at all, and none to be found any where in the holy Scriptures.

And therefore no express mention at all being made throughout the law of God, of any such place as purgatory; and the apostles having not left us any instructions at all about the same, and the primitive church also governed according to the gospel, and by the apostles themselves, having not left any ordinance or commandment behind them about it: and seeing Pope Pelagius was the first who, five hundred and eight years after Christ, began to make this institution, that remembrance should be made of the dead in the mass; it follows, there being no one express proof for it in the law of God, that it is needless to believe the said purgatory as an article of faith, and that there should be such a thing after this life.

But whence is it then (one might wonder) that people now-a-days are so much taken with this opinion of assisting the dead, seeing that in all the Scriptures there is nothing taught concerning it, except it be in the Book of Maccabees, which doth not belong to the Old Testament, nor is canonical; and that neither Christ nor any of the apostles, nor any of the saints next succeeding or living after them, taught any to pray for the dead; but were all of them very careful to teach, that the people that lived unblamably should be holy. Therefore, in answer to his query, we say, that the first and principal cause thereof, is the deceit and craft of the priests, proceeding from their greedy avarice, who did not teach nor instruct the people as the prophets and apostles of Christ did, to live well, but only to offer roundly, and to put their trust and hope of deliverance and salvation upon purgatory.

III.—THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

Now we shall speak also something of the invocation of saints, concerning which, some of our masters and their adherents preach and keep a stir, to publish it as an article of faith, saying, that the saints departed, and being possessed of the heavenly country, ought to be prayed unto by us, in such a manner as the priests used to do, and other people by their instruction, enjoining them many other things to further and facilitate their invocation; by which invocation, authorizing and magnifying it, the people believe carnally, and err greatly; conceiving, that as it is practised in the courts of earthly kings, that being provoked or wroth, some about them, not being in the like passion, do intercede for others, and mitigate their displeasure; so it must needs be also with God himself; that is to say, that the saints deceased must pacify God's anger, when it is kindled against a sinner.

But we ought to believe no such matter; for if that were true, there would be no true conformity between the will of the saints, and that of God. For it would have an appearance, as if the saints were not moved with indignation against him, that provokes God to indignation.

And secondly, by this magnifying of, and praying to the saints, the people fall away into idolatry, putting more trust in the saints, than in God himself, and serving them with more affection than the only God; which they do effectually make appear by the adorning their altars most preciously, by their loudest peals of ringing and singing, their multiplicity of lights and candles, and other solemnities about them; by all which, the simple people conceive no otherwise of them, than that the saints are

more merciful than God himself, as being able to deliver from damnation, by their intercession to God, those whom God had already condemned. Besides, to maintain this the better, the silly people are taught, that the said saints love to have gifts and presents offered them, and that they are delighted to hear their praises, and that they intercede most for those that offer praise, and honour them most: all which are things to be carefully banned, and had in abomination.

This sort of invocation it is that we are now to treat of, and to make known our opinion concerning this invocation of saints. And first, we will declare what invocation is. Now invocation is an earnest desire of all the mind and soul, addressed to the only God, by voice in prayer. Secondly, we hold that Christ-man, is mediator between God and man, and our advocate towards God the Father, having made satisfaction for our sins, 1 Tim. ii. 4. Approaching unto God of himself, ever living to intercede for us. "No man comes to the Father, but by him: And whatsoever (saith he himself) ye shall ask of the Father in my name, I will do. Who giveth abundantly to all that ask him, and upbraideth no man." He is our advocate towards God our Father, and he forgives our sins. The truth is, he presents himself in some sort to us, before we stir ourselves. He standeth at the gate, and knocketh, that we should open unto him; and to obstruct all means and occasions of idolatry, he sitteth at the right hand of the Father in heaven, and wills, that every faithful soul shall mind him only, and have an eye and recourse to him alone; for all the care and thought of the faithful should be bent to Christ, with all the heart and affections, imitating him that is above. In which regard alone it is said; If ye be risen with Christ, then seek those things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God. He is the gate, whosoever entereth by him, shall be saved. No man cometh to the Father, (saith he) but by me." In the third place, we hold that the saints are not set before us, to adore them, but to imitate their examples, as St. Paul saith, "Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ; and take heed to them that walk, as we have us for an example." St. Peter would not suffer himself to be worshipped by Cornelius, nor the angel by St. John the Evangelist. And therefore doth St. Augustine write thus in his Book of True Religion: Do not, (saith he there) O religious people, give yourselves to worship the dead; for, if they lived holily, they were not such as used to seek or desire those honours, to be worshipped by us. By him that illuminates them, they rejoice that we are made partakers with them. And therefore we should honour them by imitation, not worship them by religion." All this being set down for our foundation, we say, that no man whatsoever, born of a woman, but Christ, ought to be adored, and none other is the certain and true advocate between God and man, nor intercessor for our sins towards God the Father, but he alone. And there is no need at all, that such religious addresses should be made to the saints deceased, by the living. He, viz. Christ alone hath that prerogative, to obtain whatsoever he requests in behalf of mankind, whom he hath reconciled by his death. He is the only and sole mediator between God and man, the advocate and intercessor towards God the Father for sinners, and so sufficient, that God the Father denies nothing to any one, which he prays and sues for in his name. For being near unto God, and living of himself, he prayeth continually for us. "For it became us to have such an high priest, that was holy, guiltless, blameless, separated from sinners, and exalted above the heavens." The first-born, who being above all men, should

have power and authority to sanctify others, and to pray and intercede for them. St. Augustine writes concerning Christ on Psalms lxxiv. saying; "Thou art the sacrificer, thou art the sacrifice, thou art he that offers, and the offering itself. Jesus entered not into places made with hands, which were figures of the true ones, but he is entered into heaven, to appear there in our behalf before the face of God."

And it is of him that St. John saith, "We have an advocate with the Father, viz. Jesus Christ the righteous." And St. Paul saith, "That Jesus, who died for us, did also rise for us, and sitteth on the right hand of God, praying for us."

Therefore it were but a foolish part to seek for any other intercessor; for Christ is always living, and maketh continual intercession for us, to God the Father, and is ever ready to succour them that love him. And therefore keeping close to what he said, and is said of him, to what purpose should we address ourselves to any other saint, as mediator? Seeing he is himself far more loving, and far more ready to succour us, than any of them; considering withal, that the spirit of him that prayeth, must needs be distracted and strayed; through the multitude of saints to be prayed unto, so that the affection must needs abate, and grow remiss towards Christ, it being divided among so many. If there are many that think the addressing of one's prayer to one alone, making him the sole intercessor, proves more beneficial in spiritual matters; yet doubtless, the church would advance and improve much more, if she acknowledged no such multitude of intercessors, newly invented.—It were great folly indeed, to abandon the fountain of living waters, and go to the rivulets, that are nothing nigh so clear and ready at hand. Thus then it is evident, that there is nothing attainable at God's hand, but by Christ the mediator. That it were far more expedient to adore Christ alone, he being absolutely the best and kindest mediator and intercessor, in all kind of extremities. 3. That keeping to his word, we need not make our addresses to any other saints for intercessors, forasmuch as he is much more ready to help us than any other saint, as being ordained by God for that very purpose, viz. That our addresses and intercession should be made by him, that is more merciful than any of the rest; for he knows, for whom it is fittest to intercede, he having shed his blood for them, which he can never forget; they are written on his hands, and on his breast. 4. That it would be folly to seek for another intercessor. 5. That in the primitive church, men addressed their prayers to this single person, as mediator, for spiritual help. 6. That the church did then profit and increase more than now she doth, since they found so many intercessors, which are but as so many clouds without water, obscuring Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, who is the true intercessor; for many waiting for spiritual aid, found themselves mistaken, through their vain hope. For as God is just, and we are unjust, and insufficient for ourselves, he it is that pardoneth our sins, both past and present; for he hath given himself for our redemption; that is to say, he was the oblation, whereby our pardon was procured. God sent his Son to be the forgiver of our sins; he is the remedy against sin, to keep us from falling into despair. We must have recourse to Christ our advocate, who perpetually pleads our cause, interceding the Father in our behalf, being not only our advocate, but our judge also; for the Father hath given up all judgment to the Son; and therefore the penitent have great hope, being sure to have him for their judge; that is, their advocate. This faith is grounded in Christ, as upon a corner stone, whereon the saints always

safely reposed, and which was held sufficient, until the man of sin had power to introduce this new intercession of saints, which faith all the saints had, whilst they were here, and they confess to this day, that they are not saved by the oblation and intercession of any other God, and that they arrived to the heavenly kingdom, according to that of the Revelations, chap. v. 9. "O Lord, thou art worthy to receive the book, and to undo the seal thereof, and to open the same. Thou that hast been slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thine own blood, out of all tribes and languages, and hast made us kings and princes unto our God." Lo, how their humility and their acknowledgment resounds on earth still, they leaving such record behind them, that they entered now where they are, by no other means, but by his blood, and confess to have received by him all their bliss and happiness there, and whatsoever they enjoyed during their abode here. In a word, that they received no kind of good at any time, but by our good mediator and intercessor Jesus Christ.

IV.—ROMISH SACRAMENTS.

1. BAPTISM.—That which is of no necessity in the administration of baptism, is the exorcism, the breathing on, the sign of the cross upon the infant's breast and forehead, the salt which they put into his mouth, the spittle put to his ears and nose, the anointing of his breast, the capouch, the unction of the crown of his head, and all the rest of those things consecrated by the bishop, putting wax in their hands, arraying them in white, blessing the water, plunging the infant three times, seeking for god-fathers: all these things, commonly practised about the administration of the sacraments, are needless, as being not at all of the substance of, nor requisite in the sacrament of baptism: these things giving occasion unto many, that they rather fall into error and superstition, than they should be edified by them to salvation; which made some doctors profess, that there was no virtue nor benefit to be had in them.

2. THE LORD'S SUPPER.—The manducation (or eating) of the spiritual bread, is the eating of Christ's body figuratively, Christ having said, "Whosoever ye do this, do it in remembrance of me:" for, if it had not been a figurative eating, Christ had hereby obliged himself to be eaten continually; for we stand in a manner always in need of feeding on him spiritually, according as St. Augustine saith; "He truly eateth Christ, that believeth on him." And Christ saith, that to eat him, is to abide in him. In the administration of the sacrament, these things are profitable; prayer, charity, the preaching of the holy Scriptures in a known tongue, for edification, and whatsoever else is instituted as tending thereto, according to the law of the gospel, for the increase of peace and charity among the people: but as for other things, besides the consecration of the eucharist, such as are those which the priests act in the mass, or the clergy chant in the choir, from the beginning to the end, and the ornaments of the priests, such as the Romish church and her adherents now make use of, they are not of necessity to this holy supper.

3. MARRIAGES AND ORDERS.—Concerning marriage, it is necessary to make use of prayer, of fasting, and due admonitions, instructions, and warnings about it; but the coupling of the hands, and tying of the robe, and such other ceremonies, as are in common use at the celebration of it, and of human custom, besides the express Scripture, are not of the substance, nor at all requisite to marriage.

As touching orders, we ought to hold, that order is called the power which God gives to man, duly to administer and dispense unto the church, the word and sacraments. But we find nothing in the Scriptures, touching such orders as they pretend, but only the custom of the church. And all these testimonial letters, the anointing of the hands, the giving of the girdle, and putting the lamp into their hand, and the rest usually observed in this case, besides the express Scripture, is not of the substance, nor any requisite necessary unto order.

4. **CHRISM OR CONFIRMATION.**—Now to speak of the chrism, which they also call a sacrament, having no ground at all in Scripture to this purpose; that first, it must be consecrated by a bishop, and compounded of oil-olive, and of balm, to be applied to the person baptized, upon the forehead, with the sign of the cross, and with these words, [I sign thee with the sign of the cross,] and confirm thee by the sign, of salvation, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and the Holy Ghost; which is performed by imposing of hands, and with a white attire fastened to the head; this is that which they call the sacrament of confirmation, which we find not instituted either by Christ or his apostles. For Christ, the pattern of all his church, was not confirmed in his person, and he doth not require that there should be any such unction in baptism, but only pure water. Therefore such sacrament is not found needful to salvation, whereby God is blasphemed, and which was introduced by the devil's instigation, to seduce the people, and to deprive them of the faith of the church, and that by such means they might be induced the more to believe the ceremonies, and the necessity of the bishops.

5. **EXTREME UNCTION.**—The seventh sacrament of the church of Rome, is the extreme unction of the sick, which they go about to prove, by the saying of the apostle St. James. There is no ground to show, that Christ, or his apostles, did institute any such thing. For, if this bodily unction were a sacrament, as they would make us believe, Christ or his apostles would not have passed over in silence the evidence of the putting the same in use: upon the deliberate consideration whereof, we dare not presume to hold, or profess it as an article of faith, that this sacrament was instituted by Christ, or any of his apostles.

6. **FASTING.**—It follows now to say something of fasting, which is twofold, bodily and spiritual. The spiritual is, to abstain from sin; the bodily is, to abstain from meat. But the Christian is at liberty to eat at all times, as also to fast at any time, provided he doth not observe the fast superstitiously, and does it in virtue of abstinence.

Some fasts ought not to be kept, nor commended by the faithful, but rather to be abhorred and eschewed: such are the fasts of the scribes and of the pharisees, and those instituted by antichrist, favouring of idolatry; the fasts of heretics and superstitious people, observed by enchanter, sorcerers; and the fasts dedicated unto creatures, and not to the Creator, which have no ground in the law of God. Those fasts are inordinate, which are kept by feeding only on rarer, costlier, and choicer meats; such as all manner of sea-fish, figs, raisins, and almonds, of which the poor are deprived, and with which the rich abound, whilst alms are withdrawn from the poor; whereas, if they fasted so as to eat afterwards, more common and less chargeable meat, they would be able to provide the better, both for their own families and for the poor: so then it being plain, that fasting consists not in the abstaining from any bodily meat as unclean; because "all things are clean to them that are clean; and nothing is to be refused,

being taken with thanksgiving, thoroughly sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer;" it followeth, that all these Rôkish fasts are to be detested and rejected by the faithful; and of such things they ought to be guiltless, and to remain unspotted.

CHAPTER IX.

A Treatise of Tribulations.

"MANY are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord will deliver them out of all;" and St. Paul saith, that "through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God;" and whosoever has not his share of persecutions, shall not be partaker of the consolations. Our blessed Saviour saith in the gospel, "Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you;" and St. Augustine saith, "The more thine enemy hurta thee, the more thou oughtest to love him, for, in so doing thou shalt inherit eternal life." For, the wicked, even when he seeks to do thee harm, his conscience accuses him before the action, so that all the evil and mischief he deviseth against thee, returns upon his own head. And if a thief robs thee, and takes away thy estate from thee, he hath the greater loss of the two, for alas, he loseth his own soul. Those which see with the eyes of the heart, they both know and fear the damnation of their souls. There are many men who are quick-sighted enough to discern gold and silver, but have no eyes to discern the damnation of their own souls. The Lord comforts the righteous when he bids them, "not to fear those who can kill the body only, but cannot hurt the soul." Our adversaries are doubtless bereaved of sense, who neither see nor know themselves, but do just like a madman, who having a naked sword in his hand, first cuts off the lap of his neighbour's garment, and then sheaths it in his own bowels. For as the coat is the vesture of the body, so is the body properly the vesture of the soul. And if a just man endureth persecution in this world for the love of God, his reward shall be eternal life in that which is to come. Consider what the Lord suffered for thee, and how loth thou wouldst be to suffer (wert thou able) for his sake, what he has sustained for thee. Thou wouldst be loth to hang on such a cross, as that on which the Lord was hung, and crucified for thy sins. Think not that thine enemy has any power over thee, but what God gives him; do not therefore so much mind what power God gives wicked men, as what reward he has promised to give thee. "O beloved, we now see that we are the children of God, although it doth not yet appear what we shall be hereafter: we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him, for we shall behold him as he is." Christ is our life, strive then to imitate Christ. Christ came into the world to suffer martyrdom, and was afterwards exalted. Christ suffered death for us, and rose again, as thou expectest to do; and if the work frighten thee, look upon the recompense which God promises to give thee. How dost thou think to obtain the joys of heaven without labour and travail, seeing thou canst not have any earthly joy without some pain? All that will live godly in Jesus Christ must suffer persecution, and shall be both despised and vilified, as if they were madmen or fools. That man or woman hath no desire to be a member of Christ's body, that is not willing to suffer that which God himself hath

endured. He that will not bear the yoke in this world, shall never come where God is. Pray not then only for thine enemy, who persecutes thee, but even for all those which love the world; for therefore are they wicked, because they love the world, and think to find life and prosperity, whereas on the contrary death and destruction waits for them. Therefore are the works of the righteous reprehended; to the end they may be approved of, for if thou sufferest for thy good works, thy reward is not at all thereby lessened, but rather augmented. But if when thou art rebuked for doing good, thou dost thereupon desist, thou thereby makest it appear that thy doing good was merely to have praise of the world. He that begins to do well, that so he may get praise of the world, quickly gives it over when once persecution comes. How canst thou keep God's commandments, if thou hast no enemies? For the Lord saith in the gospel, "Love your enemies." By this it may be understood, that it is necessary there should be some wicked persons among the righteous; for as fire is a means to try and refine gold from the dross, so likewise wicked men serve to try and prove the righteous. Good men are compared to pure gold, and the wicked to stubble; therefore if thou art wicked, thou shalt surely be burnt like the stubble, and shalt become as smoke; as the prophet speaks; "The fire shall devour the bands of wicked men." St. Paul tells us, that "he accounts not all the sufferings of this present world worthy to be compared with the glory which is to come, and which shall be revealed in us." And St. Augustine, speaking of this glory which shall be revealed, says, that "the righteous are the children of God, and shall be like unto the angels in glory." Therefore let now the world be never so mad, and never so enraged against us, and defame us with their tongues; let the ungodly now pursue us with naked swords in their hands, let them now breathe out all the evil they can against us; since that all the hurt they can do us, is but little in comparison of the reward which God has laid up for us. He that kills thy body, is not able to kill thy soul, but rather serves as an instrument to increase thy reward; pray therefore for him, that so thy reward be not the less. We ought, for the love of God, to despise whatsoever seems to delight us most, yea not only that which affords us delight, but likewise that which may terrify and affright, as prison, bonds, poverty, hunger, cold, sword, and even death itself: thou must, I say, despise and lightly esteem all these; and if thou art able to overcome all, then thou hast God to be thy reward. Think how great would be thy fear, wert thou shut up close in prison. Why then livest thou wickedly, knowing that for so doing thou must be one day a close prisoner in hell? He that can kill thy body, cannot kill thy soul; but thou mayest soon kill thine own soul with thy tongue, for the tongue that speaks lies is said to kill the soul. Let us consider then what things we ought, and what things we ought not to fear. He is worthy to be counted a madman that fears a prison in this world, which soon hath an end, and in the mean time dreads not to go to hell, where he must suffer perpetual imprisonment. That man is void of reason, that fears the kings, princes, and prelates of this world, and yet dreads not to fall into the clutches of the devils in hell. I say, he's a very madman who fears the death of this world, which is but transitory, and does not tremble at the very thoughts of death infernal, which lasteth for ever. Who would ever purchase so long a death, for so short a life? So long a mourning, for so short a mirth? So long and so great a darkness, for so small and short a light? For so short a laughter, such bitter weepings and wailings as the wicked shall suffer in the world to

come? (of which our Saviour speaks, when he saith, "Wo unto you that laugh, for ye shall weep and lament,") such ugly filthiness, for so poor and mean beauty? Such great weakness and infirmities for so small a strength? Such terrors and dreadful affrightments, for so little security as the world affords? St. Austin says, "It is but a vain fear to be afraid to lose temporal things, and not to fear to lose the heavenly; to be afraid to lose the company of father and mother, and not to fear losing the blessed presence of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ; to be fearful to lose the company of brothers and sisters, and not to fear losing the blessed fraternity of angels;" of which brotherhood, St. John speaks in the Revelations, when he would have worshipped the angel, who forbid him, saying, "Take heed thou do it not, for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren also which have the testimony of Jesus Christ; worship God." Therefore thou that fearest death, love thy life, the Holy Spirit is thy life. If thou sinnest, thou canst not please God. None but the righteous alone can be said to do so, not the wicked. A child, when he is born into the world, weeps before he laughs, the tears that come from him, bearing witness that he enters into misery as soon as he begins to breathe; so that the child may well be said to be a prophet of his own misery. While a good man lives, he must suffer persecution, for the wicked do always persecute the just, if not always with the sword, stones, or other weapons, yet they do it with their bad lives and wicked works. Wherefore St. Peter praiseth Lot's conversation, because he "suffered tribulation among wicked men;" or, as St. Paul calls it, "Perils among false brethren." All other afflictions and persecutions in this world may possibly cease, but that wherewith the ungodly do persecute the righteous will never cease; and if thou dost not believe this to be a truth, do but once begin to do well, and thou shalt quickly see how the wicked will persecute thee. The wise man tells us, that the friends of God ought to have three sorts of patience; the first whereof consists in suffering patiently all the evils that are both done, and said against them. The second, in the patient bearing their own infirmities, and whatever tribulations it pleases God to inflict on them in this world. And the third, in resisting the devil, who always strives to turn them aside from doing good works. Now no man must expect to receive a crown, that hath not fought faithfully for it; and where the greatest combat is, there is the greatest reward, and the most noble crown (as the wise man speaks.) I speak to you according to the patience of God. For he that is most patient in adversities, and under the persecutions of wicked men, shall have the greater recompense; as those grapes yield the most wine, which are the most pressed and bruised; or as the olive, when it is most squeezed, the skins all slip aside, and the oil remains pure and clear; or as the wheat when it is well threshed and beaten, is thereby separated from the chaff. Therefore if thou wouldst be good, whilst thou livest in this world, patiently suffer the wicked to converse with thee. And Solomon says, "The true patient man hopes to converse with the angels." The true patient man is never in wrath. It is most certain, that God loves them that hate the world for his sake; therefore ought the righteous man to rejoice in his pains, labours, poverty, and sufferings, of what kind soever they be, knowing that God has promised to give him eternal life. But on the contrary, the wicked ought to weep and mourn even in the midst of all his jollity, delights, and riches, as knowing that for all the joys, pleasures, and wealth, which he enjoys here below, God hath reserved for him the wrath to come. That man or woman appeaseth God's anger, who bears with patience all the wrongs that are done unto them. *St. Sixtus*

says, "Thou oughtest not to lay hands upon thine own life, but if another seeks to kill thee be not displeased at it; and if the wicked annoy thee, remember that God is with thee." And golden mouthed St. John saith, "If Christ be with me, who shall be against me?" Although all the waves of the sea should rise, and all the princes of the world were bent against me, they are but as the sand, and weaker than the dust. I do not say this, as having confidence in mine own strength; but I trust in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his commandments, which I bear in my heart, and in my hands, that is to say, in my works, the which make me strong. Suppose all the waves of the sea should rise up against me, and all the princes of the world were bent to ruin me, they were not all of them able to hurt or subdue me. Whatsoever is found on the earth, or in the sea, cannot hurt a good man, if he himself become not his own executioner. God's friends have sometimes been beaten and oppressed in several kinds; some of them have died by the sword, as St. John the Baptist, who was beheaded in a prison by king Herod, because he reprehended him for the sin of luxury. St. Laurence was roasted alive. St. James the son of Zebedee was beheaded in Joppa. St. James the son of Alpheus, as he was preaching in Jerusalem, the son of a bishop knocked him down dead with a pole. St. Bartholomew was beaten with rods, and was afterwards flayed alive. St. Peter was crucified, his head downwards, and his feet upwards. St. Andrew was crucified on a cross. St. Matthew was shot to death with arrows. St. Paul was taken and cruelly beaten, and afterwards lost his head. Our blessed Saviour humbled himself so far for man's sake, as to come down from heaven, and enter into the virgin's womb; he who was God blessed for ever, and king over the angels, became a mortal man for our sakes, was put into a manger, and wrapt in swaddling clothes; he was carried away into Egypt for fear of Herod, that sought to kill him; he was wearied and tired with travelling, tempted of the devil, suffered hunger and thirst for our sakes: he was called a madman, and one possessed with the devil, by the Jews, and the son of a carpenter: he suffered for our sakes all that a man could possibly, sin only excepted; and finally, he was betrayed by one of his disciples, as a murderer and an excommunicated person; he was by them sold for our sakes: he was condemned, buffeted, and despised: he was crowned with thorns, and thrust through with a spear in his side: and this he did to redeem us from death by the effusion of his own blood. Even he himself, who was holy, pure, and without sin, was delivered, not by force, but of his own will and consent. St. Stephen was stoned to death, Isaiah the prophet was sawn asunder, Jeremiah was stoned to death, Daniel was cast into the lion's den, the three children, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, were thrown into the burning fiery furnace; several other men and women lost their limbs, and obtained the victory, receiving the reward of their travails, and are crowned in heaven. And as the wise man says, let us look upon the life of those holy martyrs, both men and women, which yielded themselves to be put to death, giving up their bodies to be martyred: and let us not think they would thus have suffered their bodies to be put to death, and torments, if they had not been truly persuaded, that from this momentary life, they were to pass to a life which is eternal. St. Austin says, that "in celebrating the joyful remembrance of the saints, we ought not to pray to God for them, but rather for ourselves, to the end he would grant unto us, that we may follow the same paths which they traced out to us, and that we may sit in the kingdom of heaven as they do." Therefore are the lives of the saints written, to the end that we may take example by them, and imitate the same.

CHAPTER X.

The Noble Lesson.

Translated from an authentic manuscript in the original Waldensian language, dated in the year 1100, which was in the public Library of the University of Cambridge.* Fragments of La "Nobla Leycon," in the old Waldensian and the French languages, are found in the *Histoire des Vaudois*, by Bazz.

"O Frayre entende una nobla Leycon!"

I, O BRETHREN, attend to this excellent lesson:

We should often watch and pray, for we see this world is near to a close.

We should be very careful to do good works, seeing that the end of this world is at hand.

One thousand and one hundred years are now completed, since it was written, "It is the last time."

We should desire little, for we are now at the remnant.

Daily we see the signs in the increase of evil, and decrease of good. These are the perils, which the Scriptures mention: and the same recorded in the gospels, and confirmed in St. Paul's writings. No man living can know the hour of his death: therefore we ought to fear the more, because we are not sure, whether we shall die to-day or to-morrow. But when the day of judgment comes, every one will receive his full payment: both those that have done evil, and those that have done good. For the Scriptures say, and we should believe them, that all men must pass by two roads: the good will go to glory, and the wicked to torments. But he that does not believe these parting ways, should examine the Scriptures from the beginning; and there he will find, if he have understanding, that from the time when Adam was formed, few are the saved, in proportion to the others.

But whoever wishes to do well must begin by the love of God.

He should likewise call on his glorious Son, the dear child of the blessed virgin Mary;

And on the Holy Spirit, who shows us the right way.

These three are the Holy Trinity, and the one God, to whom prayer is due; and he is all-powerful—all-wise—and all-good.

We should often beg, and pray that he would strengthen us to fight against our enemies (the world, the devil, and the flesh,) so that we may overcome them before we die:

And that he would, in his goodness, give us wisdom to know the way of life, and to keep pure the soul, that he gave us; yea, both soul and body in all charity, so as to love the Holy Trinity, and our neighbour, as God has commanded:

* In the year 1658, Samuel Moreland, whom Oliver Cromwell had sent as ambassador to the Duke of Savoy on behalf of the persecuted Waldenses, carried from Piedmont to Britain several ancient manuscripts, which were represented to be works of the primitive Christians among the Cottian Alps. These he deposited in the university library at Cambridge, whence most of them have since disappeared.—*Faber's Inquiry*, 369, 370.

Not only those, who do us good, but those who injure us.

And we should ask for a steadfast hope in the King of heaven, that at the end he may receive us into his glorious mansion.

This is hard to be received by the wicked, who love gold and silver; despise the promises of God; keep none of his laws and commandments; nor suffer the good to keep them, but hinder them according to their power.

II. How came evil to enter into mankind?

Because Adam sinned at the beginning, by eating of the forbidden apple, and, the grain of the evil seed taking root in others, he thus brought death on himself, and all his posterity.

Well may we say this was a bitter morsel.

But Christ has redeemed the good by his sufferings.

Alas! we find in this lesson, that Adam believed not in God his creator; and now we see men grown worse, forsaking God, the almighty Father, and trusting in idols to their own destruction:

Which were forbidden by the law from the beginning; viz. the law of nature, (common to all men) written in the heart of the man first formed; God giving him a free power to do either good or evil; though he forbade the evil, and commanded the good.

And you may clearly see, that this was ill observed, for we have all left the good, and done the evil; as Cain the eldest child of Adam, did; who killed his brother Abel without any cause; except that he was good, and put his trust in the Lord, and not in any creature.

Here we may take an example from the law of nature, which we have broken, and transgressed, by sinning against the Creator, and injuring the creature.

This was a noble law, that God gave us, and wrote in the heart of every man, that he might read and keep it, and learn righteousness; love God in his heart above all creatures, and fear and serve him without reserve.

This law is therefore, not found in the holy Scriptures.

Also, that he should be true to his marriage bond; that excellent compact, and be at peace with his brethren, and love all other people.

Moreover, that he should hate pride, and love humility; and do unto others, as he would be done by; and, if he did the contrary, that he should be punished.

Few there were, who observed this law; and the greater part broke it, forsaking the Lord, and dishonouring him.

They believed the devil, and his temptation:

Loving this world too much, and heaven too little;

And served the body, more than the soul.

Therefore we find, that many perished.

III. Here every one may be reprov'd, who says, that God did not make man to allow him to perish.

But let each take heed, that it happens not to him, as it did to them: for the deluge came, and destroyed the wicked:

Nevertheless God caused an ark to be made, in which he saved the good.

So many were the wicked, and so few the good, that of all the world only eight persons were saved.

IV. Let us all be hereby admonished to avoid evil, and to repent: for Jesus Christ has said, and St. Luke has written, that all, who do not, shall perish.

To those, who escaped, God promised, that the world should never more perish by water; and they believed him, and multiplied.

But the favours which God bestowed on them, they soon forgot, having little faith, and great fear; so that they did not fully believe the word of the Lord, and dreaded the waters again troubling the world.

They therefore talked of building a tower, where they might take refuge: and they began it (as it is recorded):

And they said they would make it large and high,—so lofty, that the top should reach heaven:

But this they could not accomplish; for it displeased God, and he made his displeasure known to them.

That great city was called Babel, but now Confusion, on account of its sad condition.

There was then but one language among men.

And that they might not understand one another, God parted and confounded them, that they might not finish what they had begun: and languages were thus spread through the world.

After this they sinned grievously, forsaking the law of nature; for the Scriptures affirm, and it may be easily proved, that five cities, which committed wickedness, were destroyed by a judgment of fire and brimstone from God.

He destroyed the sinners, but delivered the righteous, viz. Lot and his family, which the angel brought out, four in number; but one was punished, and that was his wife, because she disobeyed the command:

A notable example this, for the whole world to take heed to what God forbids.

V. In those days lived Abram, a man who pleased God, and begat a patriarch, of whom came the Jews, a noble race, fearing the Lord.

They dwelt in Egypt among wicked people, who oppressed and afflicted them a long time.

But when they cried unto the Lord, he sent them Moses, who set his people free, and destroyed the other nations.

They passed through the Red Sea, as through a dry and pleasant place; but their enemies, who pursued them, all perished in the waters.

Many other wonders did God show to his people; feeding them forty years in the wilderness, and giving them the law graven and excellently arranged on two tables of stone, which he sent by Moses.

This taught them, that there is a Lord over all, whom they were bound to believe, and love with all their heart; and also to fear, and serve to the end of their lives.

Likewise, that every one should love his neighbour as himself;

That they should give counsel to widows, and maintain the fatherless; shelter the poor, and clothe the naked; feed the hungry, and guide the traveller; and, in short, carefully observe his law; God promising to those who kept it, the kingdom of heaven.

He forbid the worship of idols, manslaughter, adultery, and all kinds of uncleanness; lying, perjury, and false witness; usury, rapine, and evil coveting; as also avarice, and all manner of wickedness.

To the good he promised life, but threatened death to the wicked.

Then were they clothed with pride; but those that sinned, and did wickedly, died, and were destroyed without mercy.

For the Scripture says (and it is plain enough) that thirty thousand were left in the wilderness; and thirty thousand, and more, (as the law saith) were destroyed by the sword, fire, and serpents.

And many others perished in another way, the earth opening, and Hell receiving them.

And here we have matter for reproving ourselves very seasonably.

But those which pleased the Lord inherited the land of promise.

Now there were in those days many worthies: as David and Solomon, the kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and many others, who fought for the faith, and defended it.

But there was only one people chosen by God out of all the world:

And many were their enemies round about, who persecuted them.

VI. This lesson affords us much instruction:

When they kept the law, and the commandments, God fought for them against the other nations.

But when they sinned, and committed wickedness, they died; were destroyed, and made prisoners by other nations.

This people prospered so much, and became so rich, that they kicked against the Lord.

Wherefore we find in this lesson, that the king of Babylon put them in prison; where they were distressed, and afflicted a long time.

Then they cried to the Lord with a repentant heart, and he restored them to Jernsalem.

But there were few that were obedient, and kept his law, and feared to offend the king.

Indeed, there were some of them full of deceit and falsehood, and these were the pharisees, and others acquainted with the Scriptures:

Who kept the law (as plainly appears) only to be seen by men, and to be held in greater respect.

But that honour, soon comes to nothing, is of little value.

Then were the saints,—the just and the good,—persecuted.

And they prayed to the Lord with cries and tears, that he would come down upon earth, and save the world:

For all mankind were in the road to destruction.

Then God sent the angel to the noble virgin of the royal family.

And he sweetly saluted her, (for he came by command) and then said unto her,

Fear not, Mary, for the Holy Ghost shall overshadow thee, and thou shalt bear a Son, whom thou shalt call Jesus: he shall save his people from their sins.

Nine months did the glorious virgin bear him: but that she might not be made a public example, Joseph married her.

The virgin was pure, and so was Joseph:

And this we must believe, because the Gospel declares it.

When the infant was born, he was laid in a manger, wrapped in clothes, and meanly lodged.

This is a reproof to the covetous, and misers, who never cease to heap up riches.

Now there were many wonderful things done, when the Lord was born: God sent the angel to make it known to the shepherds:

A star appeared to the three wise men in the east:

Glory was given to God in heaven, and peace on earth to the good.

Afterwards the child suffered persecution:

Nevertheless he grew in favour, and in stature; and likewise in Divine wisdom, in which he was taught.

And he chose the twelve apostles, who were rightly so named ;
And he was pleased to change the law, which he before gave :
He did not so change it, as to do it away altogether, but renewed it, that
it might be better kept.

He himself was baptized, that he might give salvation to us.

And he commanded the apostles to baptize the nations.

For then began the renewal.

VII. The old law forbad fornication, and adultery ; but the new forbids
looking at a woman to lust after her.

The old law allowed of breaking the marriage ties, and permitted divorces
by a writing ; but the new says, thou shalt not marry her that is put away ;
and what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

The old law cursed the barren womb ; but the new recommends us to
keep ourselves chaste.

The old law only forbad perjury ; but the new says, swear not at all,—
and let your conversation be only yes and no.

The old law commanded fighting against enemies, and returning evil for
evil : but the new says, avenge not yourselves, but leave your revenge to
the King of heaven, and let those, who injure you, live peaceably, and
you shall find pardon from the heavenly King.

The old law said you shall love your friends, and hate your enemy ; the
new says, you shall no more do so, but you shall love your enemies, and
do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute you, and
seek occasion against you, that you may be the children of your Father
which is in heaven.

The old law said, punish those who do you evil ; but the new says, for-
give all sorts of persons, and you will have forgiveness of your Almighty
Father ; but if you will not forgive, you shall not be saved.

No one should kill, or hate one another ; much less should we mock
the simple, or the poor.

Neither should we despise the foreigner, or stranger ; for in this world
we are all pilgrims.

And we are all brethren, and ought to serve God.

This is the new law, which Jesus Christ says we ought to keep.

VIII. And he called his apostles, and commanded them to go through-
out the world, to make disciples of all nations :

To preach to Jews and Greeks, and every human being.

He gave them power over serpents ; also to cast out devils, heal the
sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, and to do to others, as he had done
to them :

He bid them not to possess gold or silver, but to be content with food
and clothing :

To love one another, and be at peace.

He promised the kingdom of heaven to them, and to those, who are
poor in spirit :

And he, who knew the spiritually poor, said, he would soon number
them.

Then he told them what should come to pass :

How he must die, and afterwards rise again :

And he foretold the signs, and wonders, which must happen before the
end.

He spoke many excellent parables to them, and to the people, which
were written afterwards in the New Testament.

But if we will love Christ, and know his doctrine, we must watch, and read the Scriptures:

Where we shall find, when we read, that Christ was persecuted only for doing good.

He raised the dead by divine power ;

He made the blind to see, who never had before seen ;

He cleansed the lepers, and made the deaf to hear ;

He cast out devils, and worked many more miracles.

And the more good he did, the more he was persecuted.

His persecutors were the pharisees ;—the followers of Herod, the king, and those of the priesthood ;

For they all envied him, because the people went after him, and believed in him, and his commandments.

They formed a design to put him to a most cruel death,

And spoke to Judas, and made an agreement with him, to deliver him up for thirty pieces of silver.

Now Judas, being a covetous man, betrayed him, and gave up his Master to those wicked people.

The Jews were the occasion of his being crucified, and having his feet, and his hands pierced with nails.

A crown of thorns was set on his head, and they reproached him much, and blasphemed him.

And when he said he was thirsty, they gave him gall and vinegar to drink.

The torture was so sharp and painful, that his soul separated from his body, to procure salvation for sinners.

The body remained hanging upon the cross between two thieves.

Four wounds were inflicted on him ; besides other blows.

They then gave him the fifth, to finish him.

For one of the soldiers came, and pierced his side ;

And immediately there flowed out blood and water together.

Then all the apostles fled, but one returned,

And stood there with two women near the cross.

All were in great grief, particularly the mother,

When she saw her Son dead, and naked, fastened to the cross.

He was buried by the good, and guarded by the wicked.

He rose from the grave on the third day ; and raised to life many of his saints.

And he appeared to his disciples, as he had foretold them.

Then they rejoiced greatly, when they saw the Lord.

And they were comforted, for before they were in great fear.

And he conversed with them till the day of the ascension.

When our Saviour went up into glory, saying to his apostles, and all his other followers, that he would be with them to the end of the world.

IX.—He remembered them at the feast of Pentecost ;

And sent them the Holy Ghost, who is the Comforter :

Who taught the apostles heavenly doctrine ;

And made them understand languages, and the holy Scriptures ;

Then they remembered what he had said.

And they proclaimed without fear the doctrine of Christ, preaching to Jews and Greeks, and working many miracles.

And they baptized the believers in the name of Jesus Christ.

Then there became a people of new converts,

And they were called Christians, because they trusted in Christ.

But we find in the Scriptures, that the Jews and Saracens persecuted them grievously.

Yet the Apostles were so strong in the fear of the Lord, and likewise the men, and women, who were with them,

That they did not leave off speaking, and doing for all that,
Whatever might come of it, so that they might win Jesus Christ.

Great were their torments, according to what is written;

And only, because they taught the doctrine of Jesus Christ.

But as for their persecutors, we need not so much wonder;

For they had not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ;

Like those, who now-a-days seek occasion to persecute so much;

These ought indeed to be Christians, but have a poor claim to the name.

But in this respect they are to be blamed, that they persecute and imprison the good:

Yet it is no where found, that the saints ever persecuted, or put any in prison.

Now after the apostles, there were certain teachers, who showed the way of Jesus Christ our Saviour;

And some of these are found even at this present time, but they are known to very few.

They have a great desire to point out the way of Jesus Christ:

But are so persecuted, that they can do but little.

So blinded by error are the false Christians: and especially the pastors;

For they persecute, and kill those, who are better than themselves,

And let those live quietly, who are false, and deceivers.

But by this we may know, that they are not good shepherds:

For they love not the sheep, except for their fleeces.

Nevertheless the Scripture says, and we may read it,

That if any one love the good, he must needs love and fear God, and Jesus Christ.

Such a one will never curse, swear, or lie.

He will not commit adultery, kill, or cheat his neighbour:

Neither will he take revenge of his enemies.

Now such a one is called a *Waldense*, and said to be deserving of punishment.

And they find occasion, by lies and deceit, to take from him what he has earned by fair dealing.

However, he who is thus persecuted for the fear of the Lord, comforts himself greatly by this,—that the kingdom of heaven shall be given to him at the end of the world.

Then he will have great glory for all his dishonour.

But in this their malice is very evident:

For he who curses, lies, swears, often lays out his money at usury, kills, fornicates, and takes revenge of those who injure him;

He, they say, is to be considered a good, and honest man.

But let them take heed, that they be not deceived at last.

X.—When the mortal disease comes, and death seizes on one of them, and makes him almost speechless;

Then he calls for a priest to confess to him.

But according to the Bible, he has delayed this too long:

For that commands, and teaches us to repent in good time, and not to put it off to the last:

secluded Vallenses from the primitive church, who received it catechumenically from generation to generation."

From the passage in the "Noble Lesson" that refers particularly to the persecutions and trials which the old Waldenses were called to endure, Mr. Faber has derived a luminous illustration of their earlier condition and history. It is too valuable to be omitted.—"Respecting the persecutions undergone by the Piedmontese Vaudois anterior to the time of their countryman Peter, we know little or nothing. Their long seclusion in the fastnesses of the Alps, where like the beleaguered woman in the apocalypse, to whom their descendants were fond of comparing them, they had a place in the wilderness prepared of God for their nourishment both spiritual and temporal, precluded much knowledge of them, save among their immediate Italian neighbours. But from the language of Claude, and of Atto, and of Damian, and of Rodolph of Tindon, it is evident that they were held in abhorrence as inveterate heretics; and the concurring statement of the Noble Lesson shows, that although at the end of the eleventh century, they might not have been called upon to seal their faith with their blood; yet were they exposed to those minor persecutions of rapine, and pillage, and fraudulent calumny, which impoverished and harassed them, and deprived them of their lawful and hard-earned substance.

"The very sort of persecution here mentioned forms another part of the internal evidence, that the Noble Lesson was written in the year 1100.—Had the poem been written *after* the time when Peter began his ministration, persecution of a worse kind than that of plunder and imprisonment would assuredly have been mentioned; for so violently were the French Vaudois and their founder harried by the archbishop and the priests of Lyons, that those who could escape, were fain to disperse themselves through all parts of France and Italy. But any persecution of this sort is not specified in the Noble Lesson. On the contrary, imprisonment and loss of goods alone, not torture and loss of life, are specified as the trial to which the Vaudois were exposed. Hence, I have no hesitation in subscribing to the opinion of Raynonard, respecting the age of the Noble Lesson—"La date de l'an 1100, qu' on lit dans ce poeme, merite toute confiance.—The date of the year 1100, which we read in the poem, deserves entire confidence."

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HISTORY

OF THE

TEN PERSECUTIONS OF THE VAUDOIS,

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE

OLD WALDENSES

INHABITING THE

VALLEYS OF THE ALPS.

PHILADELPHIA:
GRIFFITH & SIMON, 114 NORTH THIRD STREET.

1870



PREFACE.

IN the History of the Old Waldenses, it was observed, that from the inadvertency of protestant writers, as well as from the malice of the Roman party, and their inquisitors, that the churches of Milan, and the Subalpine Waldenses, were supposed to be derived from Peter Waldo; as if it were he that first founded them; but the contrary has been most clearly demonstrated by Allix, in his History of the Ancient Church of Piedmont, and in his history also of the Albigenses. He proves beyond all exception, that the Waldenses separated themselves from Rome, or rather it may be said, *Rome degenerating gradually departed from them*, long before Valdo of Lyons; and that the name of Valdenses, or Vaudois, was given them from the place of their abode, which the inhabitants called les Vaus de Lucerne and Angrogne, whence came the latin name Vallenses, which was afterwards changed into Valdenses, when the design was laid to make the world believe that Valdo was their first founder.

The summary account of this matter is as follows. The thing which is affirmed is this—That the Christian religion, which was planted in Italy by Paul, has ever since been retained in the primitive purity of its fundamental doctrine and divine worship, in the churches of Piedmont to this day. For the proof of this assertion, I must acquaint you, that though many of their ancient records, and other authentic manuscripts, were destroyed by popish persecutors in the years 1655, and 1656; yet a great number no less authentic, divers of which are to be seen in the foregoing history

of the Old Waldenses, were most wonderfully preserved, and give a full and clear testimony to this truth. Besides, we have the concurrent testimonies of the most eminent popish authors, who were the bitterest adversaries of these churches, and which is almost marvellous, by a strange over-ruling Providence, unwittingly confessed in many places of their writings, this antiquity, for the concealing of which, and to make the world disbelieve it, those very books were purposely written and designed. Rainerius acknowledges, "that among all the sects which are, or ever were, none have been more pernicious to Rome than that of the Leonists; and among other causes he gives this as the first, that it is the most ancient of all; since some affirm, that it has continued from the time of Sylvester, or from the times of the Apostles,"*

It is a truth generally received by all those who profess to be versed in ecclesiastical history, that before the year 1800, the differences between the Roman and the Reformed Christian Churches, were not publicly established by any general councils or decrees in any part of Italy. As for the first five hundred years after Christ, there cannot so much as one sentence be produced out of any one father and council, for the papists against the protestants. In the next century, the year 606, Boniface III., Bishop of Rome, with the consent and approbation of the usurper, traitor, and murderer, Phocas the emperor, took upon him the title of universal bishop, in which he was confirmed by a council held at Rome the year following. After this, corruptions and heresies rapidly crept into the Church of Rome, which were still opposed by some writers of the western churches, both in that, and the eighth century; about the end of which in the year 794, the emperor Charles the Great having called a council at Frankfort, with the western

* Rainerius contra Waldenses, cap. 4. et. ed. Gresseri, Ingolstadt, 1613: 48.

churches jointly endeavored to have drawn Pope Adrian and the Church of Rome, out of that gulph of superstition and idolatry, into which they were fallen, by persuading them to embrace the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. But that design proving ineffectual, Louis the emperor, son and successor to Charles, undertook and prosecuted the same in the ninth century; and in order thereunto, among other things, he preferred to the Archbishopric of Turin, of which the valleys of Piedmont are part, Claudius chief chancellor to Charles the Great, and one of the most renowned men of his age, as well for piety and learning, in the year 815. But that good man finding that he could not resist that mighty torrent of superstitious and idolatrous blasphemies, which were taught and practised at Rome, endeavoured to keep his own diocese from being infected with them, and to this end he told his people; "that they ought not to run to Rome for pardon of their sins, nor have recourse to the saints or their relics; that the church is not founded upon Peter, much less upon the Pope, but upon the doctrine of the Apostles; that they ought not to worship images, nor have them in their churches." A grand adversary of his, also confesses; "that Claudius and his disciples and successors were people of good lives and principles, and that nothing could be objected against them, but that they did not obey the ecclesiastical traditions." Rainerius saith, whereas all other sects render themselves horrible, by reason of their blasphemies against God, this hath a great appearance of piety, inasmuch as they live justly before men, they believe aright concerning God in all things, and hold all the articles of the creed; there is however one thing against them, that they blaspheme the church of Rome, and hereby they easily gain credit among the people." Another popish writer who was very famous in his time, in a book published in the year 1610, with approbation and privilege, saith: "that the aforesaid doctrine continued throughout the ninth and tenth

centuries." In another book, printed at Turin in the year 1649, dedicated to the Duke of Savoy, speaking of the doctrine which the churches of the valleys then held, he saith: "it is the same which Claudius Archbishop of Turin, (and consequently of the valleys, being within that diocese,) maintained in the ninth century."*

Thus you see the constant and uninterrupted succession of the doctrine of those churches from the times of the Apostles, to that of Claudius, and so through the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, till some of Waldo's disciples came into these valleys, which was in the twelfth century, where they have professed and taught the same ever since. I need not prove the continued succession of this doctrine in those churches, from the twelfth century till now, because all popish writers do unanimously confess it; but seeing divers of them have had the impudence to tell the world, that the Waldenses, as they call them, who escaped the massacre in France, in the twelfth century, and came thence into the valleys of Piedmont, were the first founders of that religion, which the inhabitants there now own and profess; I cannot but answer such writers, that it is not at all probable that those people, who knew that the seat of their grand adversary was in Italy, could have been so void of all sense and common prudence, as to have undertaken so long and tedious a journey over the Alps, had they not been well assured before hand, that the natives of those valleys had professed the same religion with them, and would receive them and embrace them as brethren. In the preface of a French Bible, which those inhabitants caused to be printed at their own charge, in the year 1535, they say; "that they had always fully enjoyed that heavenly

* *Jonas Auriacensis adversus Claudii Tauronensis Apologeticum*, in *Bib. Pat. in Ed. Par.* Tom. IV. p. 688. *Rainerius contra Waldenses*, cap. 4. *Samuel de Corsani Trionfale. Coni.* 1410. *Morland*, p. 19.

truth contained in the Holy Scriptures, ever since they were enriched with the same, by the Apostles themselves.*

Thus you have a brief account of the apostolic and primitive antiquity of the churches of the valleys ; and as to the purity, wherein they continued the same apostolical doctrine, the reader may find it deduced with great diligence by Allix through every century, even those of the middle ages, when it was most corrupted throughout christendom ; which is also learnedly defended by the same author from the imputation of Manicheism, and other heresies, where-with the adversaries endeavoured to load them.

As to the purity of their manners and conversations, not to repeat the testimonies of the piety, probity, and learning of the Waldenses, given by several of their adversaries themselves, as Jacobus de Reberia, Rainerius a Jacobine monk, Claude de Seissel, Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Baronius, Lewis XII., of France, and Thuanus ; I refer the reader to Perrin's History of the Old Waldenses, Chap. V. But I add here another most signal one of Rainerius because not before mentioned ; " these heretics, says he, may be known both by their manners, and by their words ; for in their manners they are composed and modest. They show no pride in their garb, being therein neither costly nor sordid. They avoid merchandise and trade for fear of lies, oaths and cousenage, but live only by their labour and handicraft ; and even their teachers and artificers. They heap not up riches, but are content with necessaries. And these Leonists are singularly chaste ; whereas elsewhere he says, all others but they, are incestuous. They are also temperate both in eating and drinking. They frequent not taverns, neither dancings, nor other vanities. They refrain from anger, and they always are at work, and both learn of, and teach one another. They are also to be known by their

* See Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont, p. 11.

speech, in which they are wary and modest, and take special care to abstain from scurrility and detraction, from levity of expression, and from lying and swearing. What can be greater than such a character, and that from so bitter an adversary?"*

Dr. Thore, though of the Roman communion, is so just to them, that after he had with wonderful eloquence described their poverty, and the meanness of their habitations, he gives the account of their religion, manners, and frugality, and particularly of their religious regard to their sovereign, in such words as one would think should make them extremely beloved, and not so horribly persecuted, by their princes, as they have constantly been: His words are these; *his opibus beati*, etc. "These people not unhappy with so mean a substance, being equal to one another in poverty, have no beggars amongst them; and contented with one another's acquaintance, they seek but little friendship, and no affinity with strangers. Nay, though they are in such poverty, or rather misery and squalidness, as has been spoken of, and such as is very horrid, and mere deformity to the eye; yet this is admirable in them, that they are by no means uncivilized in their manners; for there is not one amongst them, but can read, and they can write also tolerably well. They are skilled in French, so far as to understand their bibles, and sing their psalms; nor can you easily find among them so much as a child, whom if you question concerning the faith which they profess, cannot expeditely, and memoriter, give a reason of the hope that is in him. Which understanding in religion is common to them with other of their brethren of the valleys. Their tribute they pay most religiously, and that next to their duty to God, is a principal article in their confession; insomuch, that if they are hindered to convey it to the court by any civil disturbances in the State, notwithstanding such obstruction, they

* *Rainerius contra Waldenses*, c. 7.

both gather it, and lay it aside, and after the peace, are solicitously careful to pay it to the prince's collectors."* Such was their piety, such was their loyalty, witness even a Romanist; and should not this people be rather dear to, than persecuted by, their princes?

Notwithstanding as Allix expresses it, "scarcely is there a church to be found in the world, that ever had the advantage of having borne the cross of Christ, as the church of the valleys of Piedmont. Never did the Church of Rome give more incontestible evidence of her own antichristianism, than by her insatiable thirst after the blood of those christians who renounced her communion these six hundred years last past. To allay which, she has made the blood of those poor innocents to run down every where like rivers, exterminating by fire and by sword, those who were not moved by the empty noise of her anathemas: so that for so great an interval of time, the Waldenses have always been in the condition of sheep led to the slaughter, by their continual and uninterrupted martyrdom, and adorning the religion of our Saviour, which the Church of Rome did no longer profess, but in a mode and way adapted to her corrupt worldly interests, and to the design which she had of making it a stalking horse, to the pomp, lordliness, and tyranny of her Pope and clergy."†

I know that the Church of Rome as looked upon them as a people abandoned by God, in that he has permitted them to be so often and so horribly ravaged by their enemies. But that also was the fate of the Primitive Church. And it was no small pleasure to me, in laying together the materials of this history, to find, that those Vaudois, come the nearest to them of any Christians in their outward

* Thuan. Hist. Lib. 27.

† Account of the History of the Vaudois.
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condition; as well as in their persecutions. If these papists would only make due reflections upon what they know of the primitive church, and consider, what is predicted of the state of the true church of God in future ages, they would have quite other sentiments, than to think them abandoned, because of their unparalleled calamities. For is there any thing more evidently predicted in scripture, than that the state of the church was to be militant; and that particularly under the anti-christian domination, it should suffer a long and dismal oppression, grievous harassings, and frequent persecutions, and even an extermination in some places, so as to be forced to take her flight into the closest coverts? What else can mean those words of John, Revelation xii. 6. That the "woman should fly into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared of God, and that there she should be fed a thousand two hundred and threescore days," which, in the prophetic style, mean twelve hundred and sixty years; "and that there she should prophecy the whole term in sackcloth?" Revelation xi. 3. The wilderness doth most aptly denote the chief place of her residence, and close retirement in the middle ages especially; and her being in sackcloth, the sadness of her heart, her outward poverty, and her sad condition during that time. But the god of this world hath so blinded their eyes, that they cannot see the light.

It would indeed have been an amazement to me, but that they lock up the scriptures from themselves as well as others, that so many learned men among them should not see the true church described in these words. For the same reason I should be still more amazed, that they should make prosperity a note of the true church, when, on the contrary, the word of God makes that very thing so clear a mark of the false one. So that when "she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, and hath said in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow"—

she would do well to consider this in time, "lest her plagues come upon her in one day, death, and mourning, and famine, and she be utterly burnt with fire: for strong is the Lord who judgeth her." Revelation xviii. 7, 8.

It now only remains, that I give some account of the several books comprised in this third part, or history of the Vaudois. My design in the whole martyrological history was, to collect such of the more valuable among the smaller pieces already printed, and to dispose them in such order, as will make up a regular history of such matters. And my design in making up the history thus, was not only because I would have others authority answerable for the whole; but indeed, to preserve those pieces, which I esteemed too valuable to be lost, from that fate which is incident to pamphlets more than any other writings; but especially to preserve them from the practices of the enemy, who make it their care to smother and suppress, as much as they can, these accounts as soon as they come forth, that protestants may be kept in deep ignorance of the hellish cruelties and barbarities of their anti-christian church; and this their policy seems to have been practised upon this very history of the Vaudois, as it was published by Mr. Boyer.

As to the second, third and fourth chapters concerning the original of the Vaudois, the purity of their religion, and their ecclesiastical government and manners, I have given the account just as I found it in Boyer, judging what is farther requisite to be known on these heads, may be seen in the foregoing history of Perrin. In the succeeding chapters from six to twelve, I have given the history of their several persecutions, more appositely under the character of inquisitions, crusades, and massacres, and have taken in several enlargements from Leger.

The eighth and ninth persecutions of the Vaudois are by

Boyer, and the account of the tenth persecution was but printed at Oxford, an authority with reference to that and other parts of their history, sufficient to stop the mouths of cavillers.

The account of their wonderful return and establishment in their own country, after a total extermination, as was thought, is given from Boyer, with additions from the late history of their re-entry by their pastor Henri Arnaud.

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BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS.

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BOOK II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TENTH PERSECUTION OF THE VAUDOIS, BY LOUIS XIV. KING OF FRANCE, AND VICTOR AMADEUS II. DUKE OF SAVOY; WITH THE PERPIDIOUS TREACHERIES OF THEIR ENEMIES, WHICH WAS THE CAUSE OF THE RUIN AND DISPERSION OF THOSE POOR CHURCHES.

I. Wherein is recapitulated their former history; and showing withal, the antiquity of the Vaudois, their original, rights, and conditional submission to the Dukes of Savoy, with the merits of their services; and justifying their conduct, with reference to their defence in the preceding, and the following massacres and wars.—II. An entire history both as to its preparations and executions, of the tenth and last Persecution of the Vaudois, in 1688, by the French king, and the Duke of Savoy.—III. Containing the just diffidence of a part of the Vaudois, which was the cause of their preservation; their

courage and firm resolution to defend themselves, which procured them a safe retreat out of the Duke's dominions, with letters of safe conduct.—IV. Of the ill-treatment of the Vaudois, that had laid down their arms upon the security of the public faith, with a relation of those cruelties that were exercised on them in prisons; and at last of their enlargement, at the clemency of the Swiss Cantons.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR WONDERSFUL RETURN AND ESTABLISHMENT IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

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HISTORY
OF THE
VAUDOIS.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS INHABITING THE VALLEYS OF THE ALPS,
BROUGHT DOWN FROM THE PRIMITIVE, TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

The Introduction, showing the true Original of the Vaudois, the purity of their Religion, and their Ecclesiastical Government and Manners.

As to the general idea of those two great witnesses to the truth of Christianity, the Vaudois and Albigeois; Mr. Perrin in his work has already given us a general view of the afflicted state of both those sister churches in the middle ages, and of their several dispersions through all the parts of Europe. My endeavours in the remaining parts of this history shall be spent in an account of their original, their religion, their government and manners, and their terrible conflicts and sufferings, so as to show them to have endured under the second beast, the Roman antichrist, ten persecutions, as to some of them not less great than the other ten, which the primitive Christians before them had undergone under the first beast, the pagan powers.

CHAPTER II.

The Original of the Vaudois.

ONE cannot read the history of the Vaudois, without admiring the wonders God Almighty has done from time to time for their preservation and deliverance. Which are so great and so many, that we should not easily believe them, if they were not attested by eye-witnesses of indubitable credit.

They are called Vaudois, not that they descended of Peter Valdo of Lyons, but because they are original inhabitants of the valleys. For the word Vaudois or Valdenses comes from the word *val*, which signifies a valley. So the protestants of Bohemia were at first called Picards, because they came out of Picardy, the place of their ancient habitation. The Taborites were likewise so called from the city of Tabor, the place of their ordinary residence; and the Albigenses were so called, because they inhabited the city of Albi, which was full of protestants, against whom his crusade, impiously called a "holy war," the pope declared to destroy them. From the Vaudois of Piedmont are descended the Vaudois of Provence, where some of them took up their habitation, and sowed their doctrine, and from Provence they spread themselves into Languedoc, where they made a wonderful progress.

This shows that the Vaudois of Piedmont, did not derive themselves from Peter Waldo; for after Waldo or Waldo was driven out of Lyons by the archbishop, according to the order he received from the pope, he did not retire into Piedmont, but into Flanders, where he sowed the doctrine of the gospel, which spread itself into Picardy, which joins to Flanders. These poor people being persecuted by the king of France, retired into Bohemia, and for that reason were called Picards, because they came out of Picardy. D'Aubigne in his Universal History says, that those of the remnant of Waldo, who fled into Picardy, did so increase and multiply, that to root them out, or at least to weaken them, Philip Augustus, king of France, destroyed three hundred gentlemen's houses.

It is proved by authentic records and acts, that the Vaudois of Piedmont, had protested against the errors of the church of Rome seventy years before Waldo appeared in the world. For Waldo did not begin to preach against the Roman court till the year 1175, but the Vaudois in their own language, produce divers acts and monuments of affairs relating to the reformation done in the year 1100, and others in the year 1120, seventy or seventy-five years before Waldo. These acts were saved from the flames in that lamentable massacre, committed upon these poor people, in the year 1655, and the originals were put into the hands of Mr. Moreland, the English ambassador, and after sent to be kept in the university of Cambridge. Copies of them are in the general history of the churches of the Vaudois, written by J. Leger, minister of the Valleys; and it is not to be doubted, but that the Vaudois of Piedmont, had more ancient acts and records of their doctrine, which were buried in the ruins of their churches, by their enemies. In this book we shall only speak of the Vaudois of Piedmont.*

* Those precious remains of the old Waldenses; containing their doctrine, worship, and discipline, and the controversy they had with, and the confession they exhibited against the antichrist of Rome. All these from Leger and Moreland, with those collected by Perrin, are combined in the preceding book.

CHAPTER III.

Religion of the Vaudois of Piedmont.

THE Vaudois, or the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, received the doctrine of the gospel, in the times of the apostles, either from the apostles themselves, or by those who immediately succeeded them.

Paul being carried prisoner to Rome, in the reign of Nero, sojourned there two years, during which space he had the liberty to go round the city, from house to house, dragging a chain after him, which was the badge of a criminal prisoner; and in the capital city, mistress of the world, he preached the gospel of Christ, and laid the foundation of a flourishing church; to which he wrote from Corinth, after his departure, that excellent Epistle of Paul to the Romans. During his imprisonment, he wrote many other learned Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians: his fame and doctrine sounded high in the court of the emperor, as is clear from the Epistle that he then wrote from Rome to the Philippians, where he says, Phil. i. 12 and 13, that what happened to him there proved the great advancement of the gospel, so that his bonds in Christ were become famous through all the Prætorium, which (as every body knows) was the court of the emperor, and all other places of Rome.

This great apostle having gained many disciples in this famous city, God made them instruments of planting the Christian religion in Italy, and in Piedmont, which is a part of Italy. For the history of the church tells us, that those whom God had illuminated with his holy doctrine, burnt with a desire of imparting the saving grace, of which they participated, to others.

If it be true also that Paul performed his voyage into Spain, as he designed, Rom. xv. 24, he took Rome in his way; and it is not to be doubted, but that if he went by land he passed through Piedmont, for it is in the direct way from Rome to Spain. And if he went by sea, it was necessary, that in going from Corinth to Spain, he should pass by Italy; but he was at Corinth when he wrote that he had a desire to go into Spain. If he had passed through Piedmont, as in all appearance he did, it is certain he preached there, for he preached wherever he came.

Since the valleys of Piedmont were enlightened with the bright rays of the gospel, the inhabitants of these countries have conserved the purity of the Christian religion without any mixture of human traditions; they never had any images or altars in their churches; they never invoked angels or saints, never believed a purgatory; they never acknowledged other mediator than Jesus Christ, nor other merit than that of his death: they never owned the doctrine of the mass, of auricular confession, of abstinence from certain sorts of meat, of the celibacy of priests, of the doctrine of transubstantiation; but always held the holy Scriptures to be the perpetual rule of faith, and would never receive or believe any thing but what they taught; and their doctrine was always the same it is now. This is proved clearly from the acts that were preserved from the flames that reduced their churches and houses into ashes; among the which, there is one written in their vulgar tongue, in the year 1100, called the Noble Lesson, because it gives the rules of holy living and good works.

besides a Catechism of the same year, where, in question and answer, are taught the principal mysteries of the Christian religion, according to the word of God, without any mixture of traditions; besides an explication of the Lord's prayer, in the year 1120, and an explication of the apostles' creed, with several passages of the holy Scripture explaining every article; to which is joined an explication of the ten commandments in short; also a little book entitled, *A Treatise of Antichrist*.

Those three acts were made in the year 1120, and the last of these treatises shows that all these are antichrists that teach doctrines contrary to the word of God. They confute the doctrines of prayers for the dead, purgatory, auricular confession, abstinence from flesh, and reject all traditions that are not in the word of God, and are not conformable to it.

When these acts were made the Christian doctrine was not corrupted every where, for there were then many persons in France, Germany, and England, who wrote against the errors which were by Rome and her doctors introduced into the church. If the purity of Christian religion had not been conserved in these valleys of Piedmont, from the time of the apostles, till the beginning of the eleventh age, in which these acts were made, how had it been possible for them to have made so many famous acts, in which the purity of the Christian religion is so clearly taught? if they had before received the errors of Rome, by whom, and when were these errors purged out of the churches of Piedmont? Who was the reformer? Where are the acts that speak of this reformation, that they may be produced? If there be none, then there was never any reform, and by a clear consequence the Christian religion has remained from the time that the Vaudois received it, such as is contained in those acts, till the time that the acts were made.

About two hundred years before the acts were made, lived Claudius of Turin, bishop of that city and the valleys, who wrote sharply against the errors of the church of Rome. This bishop condemned the invocation of saints, the worshipping of images, of relics, and the cross: he maintained the doctrine of St. Augustine concerning grace, and by consequence he rejected the merit of good works; he taught that the salvation of mankind doth wholly depend upon the merits and death of Christ; he condemned likewise pilgrimages made to Rome, which the monks brought into request. His whole diocese, according to the writings of a learned man,^b followed exactly his doctrine, the sheep lovingly following the shepherd. The doctrine of transubstantiation was not in his time received in France, except in some few bishoprics; the greatest stream of writers opposed it; they received the communion under both kinds; they did not adore the sacrament; they read the holy Scriptures, and taught them to their children; they made no direct prayers to saints, as they have done since; they attributed all to the grace and mercy of God.

The Christian religion being pure in Piedmont at this time, as it appears by the writings of Claudius of Turin; there is no doubt to be made of its conserving itself so till the twelfth century, in which those acts, of which we have spoken, were made. So we cannot learn from any historian that those valleys were either before or after the time of this great bishop reformed; and we see clearly by indubitable acts, that two hundred

^b Allin's remarks upon the ecclesiastical history of the ancient churches of Piedmont.

years after, the same religion was in its purity, without the alloy of human traditions and ceremonies; and the greatest enemies of the Vaudois, for all their boasting, are not able to show the contrary.

But above all, the purity of their religion appeared by that excellent profession of their faith made the year 1120, more than fifty years before Waldo of Lyons.*

It is now five hundred and seventy years since this confession of faith was made by the churches of Piedmont, at which time all other churches were corrupted, by the mixture of human doctrine and pagan ceremonies; the world at that time being overspread with an Egyptian darkness, and so the authors of both religions agree, in calling that age, the dark age.

This confession of faith being drawn from the writings of the holy apostles, and in every respect conformable to their doctrine, it follows, by a necessary consequence, that the religion of the Vaudois is the true and pure religion of the apostles, and that they have always kept it pure from the first receiving of it till the beginning of the twelfth century, and from thence till these times, since they now profess the same faith, and teach the same doctrine that was contained in that famous confession. All other churches, both of the east and west, being infected with diverse heresies, Satan, to hinder the advancement of the reign of Jesus Christ, has from time to time stirred up false teachers, who have sown their cursed seed in the field of our Lord, and by their false doctrine, varnished over with a seeming piety, have corrupted the doctrine of the gospel: this is what our Saviour foretold, saying to his disciples, that false Christs and false prophets would arise, and would do signs and wonders to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect; &c. St. Peter (2 Ep. chap. ii. v. 1, 2, 3.) prophesied the same thing, there have been false prophets among the people, as likewise there will be among you false teachers, who shall privately introduce sects of perdition, and shall deny the Lord who hath redeemed them, bringing upon them sudden perdition, and many shall follow them, whereby the ways of truth shall be blasphemed: but O the wonderful works of God! who has conserved by his wise Providence, the purity of his religion in the valleys of Piedmont, from the time of the apostles, to our time, by a singular effect of his goodness towards these poor people of the valleys, and has hindered Satan's false doctors and teachers from sowing the cockle of their poisonous doctrine in the mystical field of his church. Notwithstanding all their crafty endeavours, God, in spite of the devil and all his works, has kept among these mountains and deserts the bright light of his gospel, and has never suffered the candle to be extinguished. The great wonders that God has done from time to time, to keep his bright lamp always shining clear to these happy countries, makes it evident, that this is the place which God has prepared to keep and defend his church in, against the furious attacks of the infernal dragon, who gave his power and throne to the beast, to make war against the saints, and to vanquish them. For this is the true desert, whither the woman (Apoc. xii. 6.) clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, crowned with twelve stars, made her retreat, where God has prepared her a place, where she might be nourished one thousand two hundred and sixty prophetic days, which make one thousand two hundred and sixty years; where God Almighty has kept her safe against all the storms

* Ancient confession of the faith of the Waldenses, in the fifth book of Perrin's History.

raised by Satan without any effect, till the year 1686, the term of the prophecy of the eleventh chapter of the Revelations was accomplished; and it was then that the beast which rose out of the deeps, vanquished them and killed them. In another place we shall speak of these two witnesses, where we shall show when it was that these poor people were driven out of their country, and when and how it was, that they were re-established by the Duke of Savoy, their sovereign prince.

The Vaudois, in the second article of their faith, hold the holy Scripture for the rule of faith, and teach that nothing is to be believed as an article of faith, that they do not prove by clear proofs of Scripture; and so in the tenth and eleventh articles they reject all human traditions as abominations, acknowledge only two sacraments, viz. baptism and the eucharist. In the thirteenth article they give us a scantling of their doctrine, where they say thus: the sacraments, according to St. Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, is an invisible grace represented by a visible thing; and they say there is a great deal of difference between the sign and the thing signified. The first sacrament is called baptism, viz. a washing or sprinkling of water, which must be administered in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

In the Book of Antichrist, written in 1120, it is also said those things which are not necessary in the administration of baptism, are exorcisms, insufflations; the sign of the cross upon the head and breast of the infant, salt which is put in the child's mouth, spittle into the ears and nose, the chrismatical unction upon the head, and all such like things consecrated by the bishops: they likewise teach that it is unnecessary to put a lighted torch in the child's hand, or after baptism to put on it a white garment, or to have god-fathers and god-mothers. All these things done in the administration of the sacraments, they say, are not of the substance of baptism, and by consequence unnecessary.

Furthermore, they say of the supper of our Lord, in the same book of antichrist; as baptism, which is taken visibly, and visibly administered, is as it were, an enrolling one in the company of the faithful, and obliges them to follow Jesus Christ, and observe his commandments, and to live up to the rules of the gospel; so likewise the holy supper and the holy communion of our Saviour, the breaking the bread, and the giving of thanks, is a visible communion performed by the members of Jesus Christ. For those that take and break the same bread, are one body, and members one of another, planted in him, to whom they protest, and promise to persevere in his service even to the end, without leaving the faith of the gospel, or the union that they have all promised to God, and through and by Jesus Christ.

In the same book of antichrist, the eating of the sacramental bread is the eating of the body of Christ in figure only, "as often as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me:" for if it were not a spiritual eating, Christ would be obliged to be eaten continually; and he in truth eats Christ, who believes in him; and Christ says, that to eat him is to dwell in him.

From whence it follows, that the Vaudois did not believe transubstantiation, nor the oral and corporal eating of the body of Christ; but that the signs in the supper of our Lord remained the same in substance as before they were applied to this holy use; and that, as often as they received these visible signs by their mouth, they received, by faith, the virtue and efficacy of the body of Jesus Christ, broken, upon the cross, signified by the breaking of bread; and of his blood that was spilt, signified and

represented by the pouring of the wine into the cup: and that by this action, they celebrated the memory of the death of Christ, and obeyed his commandment, "do this in remembrance of me:" words that St. Paul explains in this manner, "as often as you shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you declare and commemorate the death of the Lord till he come."

If the Vaudois have conserved the purity of the Christian religion, from the time of the apostles till the beginning of the twelfth century,⁴ we have made appear by their confession of faith made at the beginning of that time: they have not kept it less pure from that time till our days, as we shall prove by another confession of faith, which they made in the year 1655; after the massacre, which all christendom has heard spoken of with horror and detestation, and of which we shall speak hereafter.

A SHORT CONFESSION OF THE FAITH OF THE CHURCHES OF PIEDMONT, PUBLISHED WITH THEIR MANIFESTO, AFTER THE DREADFUL MASSACRES IN THE YEAR 1655.

Article I. We believe first, that there is but one only God, who is a spiritual essence, eternal, infinite, all mercy, all wisdom, all justice; in a word, every way perfect; and that in his infinite and pure essence there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. That this God has manifested himself to men, by his glorious works, as well by his creation, as his continual Providence, and by his word revealed at first by his oracles in divers manners; afterwards reduced by writing into books, which we call the holy Scriptures.

III. That these holy Scriptures ought to be received, as we receive them, for divine and canonical, viz. for the rule of our faith, and the directions of our life, as they are contained in the books of the Old and New Testament: and that in the Old Testament there are only the following books to be received as of divine revelation, and which God only approved of and committed to the church of the Jews, viz. the five Books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the 1st and 2d of Samuel, the 1st and 2d of Kings, the 1st and 2d of Chronicles, the 1st of Esdras, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the four greater prophets, and the twelve lesser. The books of the New Testament are, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, two Epistles to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, one to the Ephesians, one to the Philippians, one to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, 1st to Timothy, 2d to Timothy, one to Titus, one to Philemon, one to the Hebrews, one of St. James, one of St. Peter, three of St. John, one of St. Jude, the Apocalypse, or the Revelation of St. John.

IV. That we acknowledge the divinity of these sacred books, not only by the testimony of the church, but principally by the eternal and indubitable truth of the doctrine contained in them, and for the excellent and divine majesty of them, and by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which makes us receive with reverence the testimony which the church gives of

⁴ Ancient Confession of Faith of the Waldenses, Book v. Perrin's History.

them, which opens our eyes to discover the rays of celestial light which shone in these sacred books, which rectifies our understanding to discern and rightly taste the divine things contained in them.

V. That God has made all things of nothing by his free will, and by the infinite power of his word.

VI. That he guides and governs all things by his Providence, ordering all things that happen to the world, without being the author or cause of evil that the creatures do; so that he is wholly without blame, and evil can in no manner be imputed to him.

VII. That the angels having been created pure and holy, some of them fell into sin, and irreparable perdition, but others persevered by an effect of the divine goodness, which assisted them, and confirmed them in grace.

VIII. That man who was created pure, holy, and after the image of God, by his own fault deprived himself of this happy state, giving his assent to the subtle and pernicious discourse of the devil.

IX. That man has lost by his transgression the justice and holiness he received, incurring the indignation of God, death and captivity under the power of him who hath the empire of death, viz. the devil, to that degree, that his free-will is become a servant and slave of sin; that so by nature all men, as well Jews as Gentiles, are children of wrath, dead in their sins, and by consequence incapable of having any good motion towards their salvation, nor to frame a good thought without grace, all their imaginations and thoughts being always evil.

X. That all the posterity of Adam were made guilty by his disobedience, infected with the same corruption, and fallen into the same calamity, even young children from the womb of their mother; which is termed original sin.

XI. That God withdrew out of this corruption and condemnation the persons that he has chosen by his mercy, in Jesus Christ his Son, leaving others by an irrefragable justice of his liberty.

XII. That Jesus Christ being ordained of God, in his eternal decree, to be the only Saviour, and the only head of his body, which is his church, he has redeemed it with his own blood, in fulness of time, and communicates to it all his benefits and favours by the gospel.

XIII. That there are two natures in Jesus, the divine and human, truly in one person, without confusion, without division, without separation, without change, each nature keeping its distinct property; and that Jesus Christ is true God and man.

XIV. That God has so loved the world, that he has given his only Son to save us by his most perfect obedience, particularly by that he suffered the cursed death of the cross, and by the victories he gained over the devil, sin and death.

XV. That Jesus Christ having made an entire expiation of our sins, by a most perfect sacrifice of himself upon the cross, it neither can, nor ought to be reiterated, upon any pretence whatsoever.

XVI. That Jesus Christ having fully reconciled us to God, by his blood

shed upon the cross; it is by this merit only, and not by our works, that we are absolved and justified before him.

XVII. That we have a union with Jesus Christ, and communion of his benefits by faith, which are promised us by his holy gospel.

XVIII. That this faith comes from the gracious and efficacious operations of the Holy Ghost, which illuminates our souls, and enables them to rely upon the mercy of God, to be applied by the merits of Jesus Christ.

XIX. That Jesus Christ is our only and true mediator, not only as to redemption, but also as to intercession; and that by his merits and mediation we have access to the Father, to invoke him with a holy confidence of being heard, without need of having recourse to any other intercessor than him.

XX. That as God doth promise regeneration in Jesus Christ, those that are united to him by a lively faith, should apply themselves with all their heart to do good works.

XXI. That good works are so necessary to the faithful, that they cannot come to the kingdom of heaven, without doing them. So that we must walk in the ways of justice and righteousness, fly all vices, and exercise ourselves in all Christian virtues, using fasting, and all other means that may conduce to so holy an end.

XXII. That though we cannot merit any thing by our good works, our Saviour will notwithstanding recompense them with eternal life, by a merciful continuation of his grace, and in virtue of an immovable constancy of his grace and promises.

XXIII. That those who possess eternal life for their faith and good works, must be considered as saints, and glorified and praised for their virtues; imitated in all their excellent actions: but not adored or invoked, for no address of prayer must be made to any but God alone, through Jesus Christ.

XXIV. That God has gathered together a church in this world, for the salvation of mankind, but she has but one head and foundation, which is Jesus Christ.

XXV. That this church is the company of the faithful, who being elected by God, before the foundation of the world, and called by a holy vocation, are united together to follow the word of God, believing that which he teaches, and living in his fear.

XXVI. That this church cannot fail, or be quite destroyed, but that it will always remain.

XXVII. That every body must be a member of that church, and keep in her communion.

XXVIII. That God doth not only instruct us by his word, but that besides he has instituted sacraments to be joined to his word, as the means to unite us to Christ, and to communicate to us his benefits, and that there are but two common to all the members of the church under the New Testament, *viz.* baptism and the supper of our Lord.

XXIX. That he has instituted the sacrament of baptism for a testimony

of our adoption; and that we are washed from our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, and renewed in sanctity of life.

XXX. That he has instituted that of the Eucharist, or of his holy supper, for the nourishment of our souls, to the end, that by a true and lively faith, by the incomprehensible virtue of the Holy Ghost, eating effectively his flesh, and drinking his blood, and uniting us most inseparably to Christ, in him, and by him, we may have eternal life.

XXXI. That it is necessary that the church have pastors, well instructed and of good life, instituted by them that have the right to do it, as well to preach the word of God, as to administer the sacraments, and watch over the flock of Christ, following the rules of a good and holy discipline conjointly with the elders and deacons, according to the practice of the ancient church.

XXXII. That God has established kings and magistrates for the government of his people, and they ought to be subject and obedient to them in virtue of the said order, not only for anger, but for conscience, in all things that are conformable to the word of God, who is the King of kings and Lord of lords.

XXXIII. That we must receive the creed of the apostles, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, as fundamental parts of our belief, and of our devotions.

We can likewise make it appear, even by evidence drawn out of the books of the adversaries of the Vaudois, that their doctrine is the same as is represented in this confession, and that it has always been so: those that have a mind to see those testimonies, may find them in the general history, by Leger.

The Vaudois having conserved from father to son, the purity of the doctrine of the apostles, from the time they received it, down to our days, and made a constant profession publicly of this celestial doctrine, they are by consequence the true successors of the apostles.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Churches of the Vaudois, of Piedmont, and the manners of the Vaudois.

But if they have succeeded the apostles, as to their doctrine, they likewise succeeded them as to the order and government of the church. In the primitive church, Acts xx., the apostles established for the government of it, elders, Ephes. iv. 11, and deacons, as we may learn, as well from the Acts of the Apostles as from their Epistles, Tit. i. 5, 6. The pastors are likewise called bishops and elders. 1 Tim. iii. They are called pastors, because they are to feed the flock of Christ, which are his sheep, with the good word of God; they are called bishops, which signifies inspectors or watchers, because they are to watch and take care of the flock which is committed to their charge; they are called elders, because they ought to be sage and prudent, and edify those that are committed to

them by their good life and conduct ; and so there were two sorts of elders in the primitive church, the one laboured in the government of the church only, and the other, besides the care they had of the affairs of the church, took also pains in preaching and explaining the word, 1 Tim. v. 17. The deacons had the care of the poor, and pastors, elders, and deacons altogether had the government of the church. This is the discipline that the churches of Piedmont have always kept, for in their ancient manuscripts it is said, the churches there have always had pastors, elders and deacons to govern them, as they had till the year 1686, when they were dispersed. The pastors employed themselves to instruct and exhort the people to live well and holily ; and the pastors, elders and deacons altogether watched over their flock, to banish all vice and scandal. It was requisite that the governors of the church should be of a good life and holy conversation, to edify others by their good example. There were schools kept to train up youth in piety : there was likewise a particular school to instruct those that aspired to the ministry, where was taught divinity. They made the young scholars learn by heart all the chapters of the gospels according to St. Matthew, and St. John, and all the canonical epistles, and a good part of the writings of Solomon, David, and the prophets. There came to this school young men out of Bohemia, and other places where the people of God dwelt and retained the profession of the ancient verity, to be instructed in the ministry.

The Vaudois were not only pure, as to their doctrine, but likewise as to their manners ; even their adversaries witness the same. Reynerus Sacco, who was one of the first inquisitors, employed by Rome against those of the valleys, speaks thus of them in his relation which he made of them to the court of Rome.

After he had told that court that the sect of the Vaudois was the eldest that had ever been, beginning in the time of the apostles, or at least of Sylvester ; he adds touching their manners, that whereas all other sects did strike the hearers with horror of their many blasphemies against God, that this of the valleys made great demonstration of piety, for they live justly in the face of the world : and in chap. vii. of his book, he says the Vaudois are chaste. The president Du Thou, commonly called Thuanus, in chap. xxvii. of his history, not only relates from their confession that the Vaudois observe the ten commandments of the law, which gives the rule of living holily and piously ; that they give no entertainment to any sort of vices in their assemblies, that they hate and detest all sorts of unlawful oaths, perjuries, wicked imprecations, quarrels, seditions, debauches, drunkenness, whoring, enchantments, sacrileges, theft, usury, witchcraft, and the like ; but gives afterwards of his own accord that noble character of them, in words that deserve to be written in letters of gold.^a

^a In tanta tenuitate, imo miseria ac pœdore degentibus, quæ et horrida ac deformi specie præ se ferant, est quod mirensis, quod non incultis omnino moribus sunt ; nam nemo epud eos nescit litteras, et scribere commode sciunt, lingeamque Gallicam callent, quatenus Biblia intelligere, et Psalmos canere possint ; nec quenquam temere inter eos puerum reperias, qui interrogatus fidei quam profitentur, non expedit ac memoriter rationem reddat, quod illis cum cæteris convallensibus commune est. Tributum religiose pendent, idque secundum Dei in ipsorum Fidei Confessionibus præcipuum est. Quod si bellis civilibus prohibeantur, illud nihilominus coactum seponunt, et cum per pacem licet, coactoribus regibus studiose exolveri curant.

And Claudius de Seissel, Archbishop of Turin, in the book he wrote against the Vaudois, in the year 1500, confesses in formal terms, that as to their life and manners, they live in the world without reproach, observing with all their power the commandments of God. We could allege many other authorities given by the bitterest enemies of the Vaudois, of their good life and conversation.

CHAPTER V.

Of the great calm the Vaudois Churches enjoyed for many ages, and of the first Persecution which succeeded it, by way of Inquisition, from the year 1198, to the year 1400.

WE cannot find in the ecclesiastical histories that the Vaudois, or Christians of the valleys of Piedmont, were persecuted under the reigns of Nero, Domitian, or any other of the pagan emperors, who so cruelly persecuted the Christians; it is therefore probable, that during these cruel persecutions, many faithful Christians retired into these valleys to escape persecution, and to save themselves from the bloody hands of those cruel butchers. As we saw in France, during the last persecution, that many of the reformed religion fled into the woods and mountains, and hid themselves in caverns and rocks, to save themselves from the hands of the cruel and pitiless dragoons, and to avoid, by their flight, the danger of renouncing their religion: so the church, which is represented by the woman, is at the same time, Rev. xii. described flying into the wilderness from the fury of the dragon. And is there a more dreadful wilderness than the mountains of the Alps, which are covered with snow eight or nine months of the year, amongst which are these valleys? It is said, that in the desert the woman had a place prepared of God for her, where she might be nourished one thousand two hundred and sixty days; and the valleys, have they not been the place which God has prepared to keep his church safe in, since the true church has always been conserved here from the time of the apostles, even to our days, without any interruption or want of succession? so that while the whole world ran after the beast, only the inhabitants of these valleys followed Jesus Christ, and walked according to the truth of the gospel. This was the true land of Goshen, which only was enlightened with celestial light, whilst the new Egypt was all covered with the thick and palpable darkness of ignorance and error; and accordingly they had for their arms a torch lighted surrounded with thick darkness, with this inscription, *Lux lucet in Tenebris*.

Thus far from Boyer, and it is thought a very just remark; but whereas he next tells us that these churches of the valleys have enjoyed a continual peace, and perfect repose, from the beginning of the first age that the papal empire began to erect its throne, till towards the end of the fifteenth age, viz. till the year 1487, that Pope Innocent the VIII. made, as they call it, a holy war upon them, to destroy them; I must crave leave to put in my exceptions, so as to date their first formal persecution some centuries higher, that is, from about the year 1198; from which time till 1440, they suffered very grievously by papal bulls and anathemas, and the executions by virtue of them, from the inquisitors commissioned and employed by the popes to harass and exterminate them, of which the reader has

already had some account in Perrin's first book, in the first and second chapters. To which I shall here add a more ample account from Leger's General history of the Vaudois, book ii. chap. ii. And surely the series of sufferings they underwent from papal inquisitions may very well be taken into the number of their persecutions, since as Leger observes, if he should undertake to give a full and particular account of all the persecutions which the people of the valleys have suffered until the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century, we should find them nothing but a continual execution. Indeed this being so signal a method of persecution, so very vexatious, tyrannical, and cruel, and running on concurrently with the others of crusades and massacres; I presume it may be of use to give a larger account thereof, which the reader may be pleased to have as it is described by that excellent historian.

It is true, says Leger, that the little flocks of Jesus Christ, in the valleys of Piedmont, and the neighbouring ones; by reason of the small communication which they have with the rest of the world, because of the remoteness of their habitations, dwelling in the valleys among the Alps, and upon the tops of the mountains, and for other reasons, have had some respite for the space of several hundred years, and have also enjoyed some tranquillity after the almost general dispersion of the Vaudois of Lyons, and other parts and places of France; or at least that they have not for some time been harassed with persecution, unless it were some few particular persons, who, travelling far from their habitations, did from time to time fall into the hands of the inquisitors. But so soon as the second Apocalyptic beast had sufficiently strengthened his seat of iniquity, and had fully fortified himself in the power of the first beast, which it was to usurp, according to the prophecy of St. John; and so soon as it went about to compel the people "to drink the cup of its whoredom," these good Nathaniels, who could never be induced to do it, did not for that reason fail to become the objects of its hatred, and to be at length exposed to the fury of the dragon, who came forth out of the pit of destruction. Yet still did they not fall immediately to fire and sword, and massacres; for as the beast mentioned in the Revelations hath the voice of the dragon, it hath likewise the horns of the lamb; his emissaries, although devouring wolves, were nevertheless first to appear in sheep's clothing, according to the prediction of Jesus Christ in the gospel, to endeavour by mildness, flattery, and fair promises, to ensnare the souls of the simple. But this method not meeting with success, the aforesaid beast, as it hath the voice of the dragon, it was in the next place, to send forth the thunders of its vatican before it did proceed to further violence, and employ its utmost might and power, to exterminate and destroy them; its excommunications and anathemas being notwithstanding commonly accompanied with terrible decrees, bulls, patents, orders, and arrogant injunctions, as well as pathetic exhortations addressed to the kings, princes, and potentates of the earth, to oblige them to make use of all manner of means and artifices to drive those poor faithful either into apostacy, or else into such a terrible condition, that there should remain no hopes for them, but the extremity of despair. Moreover, they caused them to be cast out from the society of the rest of mankind, depriving them of all commerce; proclaiming and crying them down every where, not only as persons altogether unworthy of the least office or dignity, but also of all manner of negotiation; nay, which is more, not worthy to be buried among Christians; they also confiscated their goods, demolished their houses, cut down their

trees, and as much as in them lay, ravished and robbed them of their dear children. For as it was by such excommunications, orders, and decrees, that Alexander III. ruined and dispersed the poor Vaudois of Lyons about the year 1180; it was thought fit, by the prudence of the council *de propaganda fide et extirpandis hæreticis*, to try a second time, whether the same remedies, or rather the same poison, would have power enough upon their brethren, before they dyed the earth with blood of those innocents; not failing to intermix them with a great many instructions full of falsehood and cruelty, to the end, that those poor faithful might never find any security in the world without casting themselves into the bosom of the church of Rome; indeed we find a great many commands and injunctions, as rude and unmannerly as they were arrogant and urgent, which the sovereign pontiff laid even upon kings, princes, and potentates, and all sorts of magistrates, to give exact information of all the Vaudois that were found in their kingdoms, principalities, lands, and jurisdictions, to deliver them up into the hands of the inquisitors; even so far as to give express orders for that purpose every where to shut the cities, to the end, that not one of them might escape, assigning the third part of their goods to those who should give notice of the place of their habitation, and condemning to unheard of penalties all sorts of persons, of what quality or condition whatsoever, who should undertake to afford them in any manner, either directly or indirectly, counsel, aid, or refuge, or even who knowing the place of their retreat, should not give speedy notice of it, that those who out of an appetite of gain, and desire to enjoy and possess their spoils could not be induced to make themselves the instruments of their ruin, might at least be moved thereto by the apprehension of punishment. But at length, when these expedients were looked upon to be too mild and moderate, or at least did not expedite and hasten on the total execution of these undertakings; since this sort of persecution seemed only to encourage them the more, so that they did increase in the midst of torments and sufferings, as saffron does under hail, visibly multiplying, as if the ashes of those who were thus martyred, with the design to strike a terror into the minds of others, had been the divine seed which sprang up, and yielded increase a hundred fold. Their pastors on the other hand never ceasing to instruct, comfort, and encourage them, and to preach with their usual zeal, that the pope was antichrist, the host an idol, purgatory a fable, as Reynerus the inquisitor doth still charge them in the book which hath been often already quoted. Pope Innocent, the successor of Celestin, about the year 1198, resolved to take a more sure and expeditious course for their utter ruin and extirpation, root and branch, by ordaining inquisitors, on whom he conferred an entire, absolute, nay and sovereign authority; 1. To try them. 2. To deliver them up to the secular power, and cause them to be put to death without mercy: a damnable expedient, by which within a little time they filled christendom with horrid and lamentable spectacles of unheard of, and more than barbarous cruelty. And because the power of these inquisitors was so general, as we learn by the bulls with which they were fortified, as well as by their practices; and because also they were in such credit and esteem with the people, as to be able to gather them together by the sound of a bell, when, and as often as they pleased; and which is much more strange, they could proceed even against the bishops, who they thought had let slip the last opportunity of apprehending and putting any of those pretended heretics to death, and because they had power to imprison them themselves, and punish

them at their discretion, there was not any extremity to which they did not proceed, no one daring to make the least opposition or resistance against them.

All manner of accusations were valid against these poor people, a murderer, a common strumpet, and every infamous person, was a witness more than sufficient to take away the goods and life of a poor Vaudois, without even (a horrid thing) so much as holding it necessary to confront the witnesses, nor to form the inquests, nor make examinations: nay, it was enough if a stranger had given in a bill, though it were not signed at all, or at least in an unknown and unintelligible manner.—If any one of the Vaudois had some small matter of goods and possession, there needed no more to convict him of heresy, and his goods never failed to be the means of his death, since they became the prize and reward of the accuser. No advocate durst undertake the defence of their cause, nor notary receive any act in their favour, lest he should render himself suspected of heresy, and be himself condemned as a heretic. He who was once entangled in the snares of this inquisition, was certain never to get out of it again; or if he was set at liberty, it was only quickly to be seized anew by those who having played with him as a cat does with a mouse, did at length crush his bones, and make him his prey. And as if it had been too little to take away their life; we can still produce several of the sentences which these bloody inquisitors pronounced even against the carcasses and the bones of the poor Vaudois already rotten, having caused several of them to be disinterred twenty-five and thirty years after their death, and burnt them in public places, only to have some colour and pretence to confiscate their goods, which their children (in such case) though become papists, did not dare to possess any longer, to avoid the suspicion of heresy.

And to keep the people in greater fear and terror, it was the custom of these *good fathers* to lead some of these poor captives in triumph in all the processions which they made, compelling some to whip themselves, and others to wear red garments with great crosses, taking the name of Benedictines converted, that it might be believed by this means, that they were convinced in their consciences of the heresy of which they had been accused, and did acknowledge that they were justly chastised for the faults which they had committed; and others again were obliged to walk in their shirts barefoot and bareheaded, with a rope about their neck and boughs in their hands. In this miserable condition were all sorts of persons, of what rank or quality soever, forced to show themselves, to the great astonishment of the spectators. They still were not permitted to enter into the churches whilst the service was saying; and which is no less cruel, several of them were condemned to go on pilgrimage to the holy land; which journey they were to make at their own expense and charges, and this precisely within the time which was prescribed them; during which, the inquisitors themselves, the priests, and other good brethren, villanously abused their wives; of which, several instances might be produced. Besides all these practices, the inquisitors had also secret instructions, and exact formularies of the stratagems which they were to make use of in all their proceedings, as may be seen in the rules and maxims taken from the archbishopric of Ambrun,* which the divine Providence hath put into our

* These rules may be seen in Ferris's History.

hands, which show in what manner the children of darkness did first forge the instruments of the ruin of the poor Vaudois, before they went about the execution of their pernicious design.

Such were the rules and instructions which those children of hell had to follow, and which they have put in practice ever since the eleventh century, especially until the year 1228, during which time, they apprehended so great a number of Vaudois in divers places of Europe, especially in Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc, that the archbishops of Arles and Narbonne, who met at Avignon in the same year 1228, moved with compassion towards those poor miserable objects, told the inquisitors, that it was impossible for them to provide stone and mortar to build prisons enough to contain so great a number of captives, insomuch that they desired them to desist from seizing any more, till such times as they had acquainted the pope with it, and learned his holiness' pleasure in this matter.

But if I should undertake, says Leger, to give a full and particular account of all the persecutions which this people of the valleys have suffered by the aforesaid method, ever since the eleventh, until the end of the thirteenth century, I should be led into a needless prolixity, since we find therein nothing but a continual execution of it; besides, says he, the public have already an account of it by Monsieur Vignaus, an ancient barb, or minister of the valley of Lucerne, in his *Memoirs of the Vaudois*, by the Sieur Peter Gilles, in the fourth chapter of his *Ecclesiastical History*; and by the Sieur Paul Perrin, in book ii. of his *History of the Vaudois*, chap. iii.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Second Persecution of the Vaudois by sudden and surprising Massacres, from the year 1400, till 1487, in order to exterminate them.

THE first persecution of the Vaudois was, as you have now been told, by papal anathemas and bulls, and by the vexatious harassings and cruel executions of the inquisitors. The next method wherein they were attacked was, by the sudden irruptions and surprises of their bigoted neighbours, stirred up by the bloody inquisitors, whereby they endeavoured all at once to destroy them. For those holy fathers of the inquisition finding it too tedious a way, could it be effectual, to extinguish those heretics, as they called them, by single persecutions, at length wrought up the laity also of their church, to an utter hatred of, and to have a bitter zeal against these holy men; so that about the year 1400, finding themselves in a condition to bring on a massacre, they thought fit to try their strength this way. And hereby they caused a dreadful desolation in the valley of Pragela, the poor people of this valley being assaulted unawares by their evil neighbours, the papists of the valleys of Oulz, Susa, Sesane, &c., just in the season of Lent, in the year aforesaid, and this after so furious and cruel a manner, that these poor creatures were forced to fly with a lamentable precipitation, carrying their aged and sick persons, and young children upon their backs, and to betake themselves to a high neighbouring mountain, which hath ever since been called *Albergan*, from the Italian word

abergo, which signifies retreat or refuge, because this poor people retired thither at that time.

But this terrible and amazing flight could not be performed with so much diligence, but that these assassins and murderers seized upon a great number of these poor and faithful people, made a cruel slaughter and butchery of them; besides, that they carried several of them away prisoners; and again those poor souls of them that made their escape, being overtaken by the night upon the mountains, and in the midst of the snow, now wandering up and down in a miserable condition, tormented with hunger and cold, several had their hands and feet frozen, and some were found dead and stiff in the snow. Amongst others, fifty poor little infants were found frozen, some in their cradles, and others in the arms of their mothers, who were dead as well as they. This is not to be passed over, but must needs be reckoned in the number of their persecutions. The inhabitants of the valleys looking upon it as the most violent of those which their fathers related to them.

From that time forward the archbishop and the inquisitors of Turin, have never ceased to employ all their craft and power against the poor Vaudois of the other valleys of Piedmont, bordering upon that of Pragela aforesaid, and belonging to the same diocese: they induced some of those who fell into their hands, and had too great a value for their lives, to promise to change their religion to save them; but these new converts having not long continued in their apostacy, because of the remorse and continual trouble of their conscience; for fear of miserably falling a second time into the paws of those lions, fled some of them into Provence, and others into Calabria, which no sooner came to the ears of John Campesio, Archbishop of Turin, and of Andre de Aqua pendente, but they published most severe bulls, dated November 28th, 1475, both against them, and against all those of their faith. In pursuance of which, several of them were seized and cruelly martyred almost in all the cities and burroughs of Piedmont, insomuch that Jordan Tertian, a barb, or excellent pastor, was burnt alive at Suse, Hypolite Rousser at Turin, where Hugo Campo de Fenestrelles was also martyred, who was fastened alive to a stake, and in that condition had his belly ripped open, and his entrails plucked out.

CHAPTER VII.

The Third Persecution of the Vaudois, of Piedmont, in way of Crusades, made against them by Innocent VIII. in the year 1487, and their condition from that time till the year 1535.

A LITTLE while after, the pope seeing that these particular persecutions, had not all the success that he expected from them; and whereas he had promised to himself, that if a cruel and severe punishment were inflicted upon a good number of these Vaudois, it would strike such terror into the minds of all the others, that they would easily be brought to renounce their pretended heresy; but on the contrary, finding they were so far from that, that they did always testify a greater constancy, he resolved to proceed to more general violence.

To this purpose he made Albertus de Capitaneis, Archdeacon of Cremona, his legate and commissary general in this enterprise, and did amply

furnish him with bulls and patents,^a addressed to all the dukes, princes, and potentates, in whose jurisdiction there were found any Vaudois; exhorting and expressly enjoining them to assist the aforesaid legate with all the necessary forces to exterminate as many of the Vaudois, as should be found within their territories.

This papal commissary assisted with the forces of the French king, the Duke of Savoy, and all the neighbouring princes and potentates, which he was pleased to command, did after a strange manner harass and persecute the poor Vaudois in divers places; but especially in the valley of Piedmont, as a place which was in a special manner recommended to him, it lying in Italy, and the nearest to Rome. He went against them with an army composed of eighteen thousand men, besides an incredible multitude of volunteers out of Piedmont, being induced thereunto by the pope's promise of a full and entire indulgence and remission of their sins; as also from the hopes they should have the pillage of these valleys, and the confiscated goods of those who should be dispossessed.

This army was divided into several squadrons, with a design to surprize them with more success and facility in several places at once; and accordingly he attacked them therewith in divers places unawares, and that with an enraged and bitter fury. But though the Vaudois were few in number in respect of their enemies, and by no means experienced in warlike affairs, yet they sustained with invincible firmness, the dangerous efforts of their enraged adversaries; so that they were, contrary to all hopes and human likelihood, almost miraculously dispersed and almost entirely defeated; the divine Providence having shown itself in the succour and defence of his poor, who faithful, invoked his aid, by striking a panic fear into the breasts of their persecutors.^b

The broken remains of their army, which stayed on the frontiers, durst attack them no more amongst the rocks, but contented themselves almost a whole year, to make excursions upon them; and this they did sometimes on one side, and sometimes on another, to the great damage and detriment of these poor Vaudois, who by this means were perplexed with continual alarms, and hindered from cultivating their lands, from which they drew subsistence for themselves and their families, being forced to do it frequently with their arms in their hand. Howsoever, this cruel and bloody army was at length reduced to such a condition, that it could not any longer do them much mischief; so that Philip VII. Duke of Savoy, and Prince of Piedmont, then reigning, was obliged to put an end to so pernicious and fatal a war to his subjects, and so little honourable to himself. And God also did so mollify his heart towards this poor people, that as a

^a Such as have the curiosity to see this bull may find it at length in Leger's History of the Vaudois, book ii. chap. ii. And remarkable enough it is, as well for the extraordinariness of its matter, and arrogancy of its style, as for the dismal effects of it; since according to the computation of Leger, there were 800,000 Vaudois, with the like professors of true religion, in the valleys of Languedoc and Provence, and the several parts of Europe, martyred in consequence thereof without mercy. Dominick himself was canonized for labouring in the execution thereof. Here also may be found the same Albertus de Capitaneis his Origo Waldensium, with his processes made against them.

^b Perrin specifies the places, Angrogne, Lucern, La Perouse, St. Martin, Praviglerme, Boilet, and Prageia. He also mentions the causes and concomitants of their successful repulse.

testimony of his regret, for having been obliged to undertake it against them, he openly declared, and often repeated it, that he had none so good, so faithful, and so obedient subjects as these Vaudois, and that he would not for the time to come, suffer them to be so cruelly used and treated by force of arms. And as to what had passed, he ordered *pro forma*, that twelve of them should come to Pignerol, where at that time he kept his court, to ask his pardon for having presumed to take up arms against his servants; which they did; and his highness having very kindly and humanely received them, did at the same time grant to them a general act of grace, for all that had been transacted during the war, acknowledging withal, that he had received very wrong information, as to what related both to their persons and religion. He likewise desired to see some of their children, to satisfy himself of the truth of what he had been persuaded to believe, that they were extremely monstrous, having but one eye in the middle of their forehead, four rows of teeth, all hairy, and several other such like things. The deputies of the Vaudois sent immediately to Angrogne for a dozen of their children, attended with their own mothers; this prince having beheld them with admiration, as finding them well shaped, and of a very agreeable physiognomy, taking delight also in hearing their pretty jargon, could not but express his great displeasure at the imprudence of the impostors, who had presumed to impose upon him the belief of such notorious lies and falsehoods.

Wherefore he did not only confirm their privileges and immunities to these poor Vaudois, but also graciously promised them that he would so order it, that they should not be molested for the future; and this without doubt was the sincere resolution of this prince at that time, though at length the importunity of the inquisitors, together with their pious frauds, again obtained his permission to seize several of them with the assistance of the secular power; for the inquisitors established by the pope, being frustrated in their expectation of prevailing against the Vaudois by an open war, took other measures to destroy them. For when they went out of their country, making use of the secular power, they seized them, and put them in prison, and then kept some of them till they perished, and others they condemned to death.

They did also by their insinuations stir up Margaret de Foix, lady of the marquisate of Saluces, cruelly to persecute the poor faithful of Pravigleim, until they were forced to forsake their houses, goods, and all things, and to fly for safety into the valley of Lucerne, robbed of every thing but their souls; where for the space of five whole years they did not cease to supplicate their most serene prince the Duke of Savoy, that he would permit them to return in peace to their dear country, and that the usurpers of their goods might be obliged to restore them; but all this without any effect, by reason of the great resistance of the pope, the clergy, and especially of the inquisition. At last seeing all prayers, all supplications and submissions served to no purpose, and being reduced to the last extremity of despair, they resolved at length to take up arms, and repossess themselves of their goods by force; and this with so much the more confidence, because it was not by any order of their sovereign lady, that they had been so cruelly driven from them. In short, they fell so suddenly and unawares upon the usurpers of their houses with such success, and that attended with so particular a blessing from heaven, that they drove them all out; and struck such a fear into them, that for a hundred years after this

exploit those of Saluces continued to enjoy both their country and liberty of conscience.

Hitherto Leger supplies us with the history of the persecuted Vaudois in this period; by which it appears with what malice the antichrist of Rome acted against them, by inciting their own and the neighbouring powers to massacre them, by surprising them with sudden irruptions of armed forces sent to exterminate them, when they could work up the zeal of such princes against them; and when they found these princes and their forces tired with slaughter, by the vigilancy of the inquisitors continually laying snares to destroy them. But one of the most beautiful parts of their story within this and the beginning of the next period, remains to be related from the foregoing history, that of Perrin, book ii. wherein is to be seen, that notwithstanding all that their enemies could do by massacres and inquisitions to destroy these magnanimous heroes in the cause of God, or to discourage or suppress them; they resolved more openly to profess their faith, both pastors and people, without regard to any persecutions which might happen to befall them on that account; to which purpose they sent deputies into Germany, to make report of their faith to Oecolampadius and Bucer, heads of the reformation; who finding the soundness of the same, and their firmness in the profession thereof, did much encourage them, not only to persist therein, but to cause it to be preached in the ears, and to the knowledge of every one, leaving the event of things to God, to dispose whatsoever it might please him should befall them in promoting his glory, and advancing his kingdom. Upon this they drew up their confession in form as may be seen in Perrin, and making open profession of it, and thereupon the popish superstitions vanishing, as darkness before the light, the priests became enraged anew against them, and stirred another persecution against them; the account of which follows.

CHAPTER VIII.

Fourth Persecution of the Vaudois of Piedmont, under Charles I. Duke of Savoy, and Francis I. King of France, by way of Massacre, and of other their Sufferings between the years 1535, and 1600.

IN the year 1534, Charles Duke of Savoy, and prince of Piedmont, was so importuned by the archbishop and inquisitor of Turin, to permit his subjects of the religion of the Vaudois, to be delivered over to the secular power, that he deputed the noble Pataleon Bressour, lord of the community of Rocheplatte, for the execution of this fatal design.

This gentleman, who had no less zeal for the catholic faith, than credit and courage to promote it, and withal, being extremely desirous to show himself worthy of the trust and confidence, which had been placed in him; did not fail to watch his opportunity in the year 1535, to march unawares into the valleys, attended with five hundred men, chosen out of all the troops of the duke, and fit for the execution; and when the Vaudois thought themselves secure, having not the least suspicion of their enemies' intention, he suddenly attacked them, surprising, killing, and massacring all that came in his way, without sparing age or sex, which caused a great consternation in these valleys. Nevertheless, these poor people resuming

their innate courage, did in the night following rally themselves so well, that the next morning, when he thought to continue his butchery all along the valley of Lucerne, some blocked up his way on the rear, whilst others charged him so briskly and courageously on the front and flank, that several of those assassins fell on the carriages, and others were very glad to save their lives by leaving both their spoil and prisoners behind them.

When his highness saw that the skin of one of those Vaudois, was purchased at the expense of fifteen or twenty of his good catholic subjects, he thought not fit to persecute them with force of arms, but resolved rather to proceed to ruin and destroy them by more secret and covert ways, as the most fatal means. After this manner, several by degrees fell into those fatal snares, and became the prey of robbers, who, after they had extorted large sums of money from them under pretence of their ransom, never failed afterwards to put them to death, and with exquisite torments too. But all these torments could not move them from a constant profession of the truth to their last gasp, although they were sure to be despatched by their executioners, and to have their sufferings moreover heightened to the utmost extremity.

Witness Catalan Girard of St. John, in the valley of Lucerne, who being condemned to be burnt at Reul, a city in Piedmont, when he stood upon the pile, had the courage to desire two stones, and as it is reported by his own executioners, holding them in his hands, he loudly uttered these following expressions:—"You wretched persecutors do think entirely to extirpate and destroy our poor churches by this means, but know that it will be as impossible for you to obtain your ends, as it is for me to chew and digest these stones." And indeed, notwithstanding such long and rude persecutions, both general and particular, the church of Piedmont, and in the neighbouring valleys, and other places which had received the same doctrine, did so multiply and increase at that time, that George Morel in his memoirs, 1530, doth affirm that there were then above 800,000 persons of the Vaudois religion.

Some here end their account of the fourth persecution of these people under the Duke of Savoy, and make the following one, under the French king, a distinct one; and this it is presumed because under two distinct powers. But here, besides that they are contiguous, without giving any breathing to the persecuted; it may be usefully observed, that such are the maxims of the Romish court, (and we feel the force of the same maxims to this day) that however the princes of their religion come to be at war one with another in pursuit of their ambition, and upon reasons of state, the Romish clergy being one body, and having the consciences of all equally under their conduct, they often, too often, so direct princes, at the greatest variance as to other matters, so as to make them heartily to join in the persecution of the truth, and in promoting the interest of that church. And therefore since the inquisitors did influence both those princes, at war one with another, the Duke of Savoy and the French king, to persecute religion, so that where the one left off the other began, I shall join the account of the sufferings of the poor Vaudois under both, so as to make it but one continued persecution and massacre.

To proceed then, the Duke of Savoy being dispossessed of his dominions by Francis I.; he and Pope Paul III. in the year 1536, instigated the parliament of Turin, to proceed against these Vaudois as against pernicious heretics. In pursuance of which, this parliament caused them

great vexations, imitating in that the other parliaments of France, so that they were constrained to have recourse to the king himself, by a most humble petition, hoping to obtain some favour from this their new lord and master, and so much the more, because it is the custom among princes to pretend to a great kindness and tenderness for their new subjects, to engage them the more in their service.

But notwithstanding all this, their condition became worse, because the king commanded them to live in obedience to the Romish laws, telling them, that if they should refuse to pay obedience to this his order, he would not fail to have them punished as obstinate and contumacious heretics; adding withal, "that he did not cause them to be burnt in France to support them among the Alps."

The parliament of Turin being still more encouraged by this his severe answer, commanded these poor people of the valleys instantly to send away all their barbes and ministers, and in their room to receive such priests as should be sent them to celebrate the mass there; to which the poor Vaudois replied, that it was impossible for them to obey orders which were so contrary to the word of God; that they were willing to render to Cæsar that which was Cæsar's, as they had always done; but that they would not upon that account fail to render to God the things which were God's; and that in such a case they were resolved, according to the example of the holy apostles, to obey God rather than men, and to adhere to his holy word, rather than to the tradition of the popes.

But the king having at the same time several irons in the fire, the parliament did not think it convenient to enter upon an open war against them in such a juncture, contenting themselves with giving orders to the judges and magistrates, vigorously to assist the monks and the inquisitors, and to burn as many of those wretched Vaudois as they were able to apprehend. Hereupon several of the faithful were miserably butchered and put to death by this means, all suffering and dying with a wonderful constancy. Most admirable and surprising was that of Bartholomew Hector especially, who was publicly burnt at Turin, in the castle yard, in the year 1555, who by his edifying death drew a flood of tears from a multitude, even of popish spectators, and extorted out of the mouths of others, great murmurings and bitter invectives against the cruelty of the inquisitors and monks.

Nevertheless, the parliament of Turin sent into the valleys the president of St. Julian, with the collateral *de ecclesia*, to push forward the persecution against the Vaudois. To this purpose they brought to the borough of Perouse an edict from the king, where they caused it to be published; which was to this effect, that all the inhabitants of that valley upon pain of death, should resolve within three days to go to mass. Which being done, they went next to the city of Pignerol, where they summoned a great number of those poor people to appear before them. Those who obeyed, of whom we might give a list, and write the history, were it not too tedious, met with very ill treatment, and against those who refused to appear, they thundered out the sentence of death and confiscation of their goods. But I cannot omit the notable success of the judicious proceedings of a certain poor labourer: these commissioners having ordered him to bring a little infant of his to have it rebaptized, he instantly desired them to permit him to address himself in prayer to God before he answered them; and after he had made an end of his prayer, he addressed himself to the president with a steady resolution, and told him; "My lord, I am well

contented to let you rebaptize my child, but it is upon condition, that you would be pleased, by a writing signed by your own hand, to discharge me before God of the sin which you shall cause me to commit, taking it upon your posterity, to answer for it one day before God, and to suffer in your body and soul, the punishment which you shall have caused me to deserve." The president being astonished at the wonderful boldness and assurance with which this peasant pronounced these words, made him this faint and cold reply, "I have sins enough of my own to answer for, without taking upon myself the burden of thine; get thee immediately out of my sight." Thus was this poor man dismissed and sent away, and was never more disturbed afterwards. This president and his collateral seeing that notwithstanding the publication of the king's orders, and the fulfilment of all their sentences, they could not shake the constancy of those poor people; who on the one hand testifying their inviolable obedience and fidelity to the king's service, on the other protested that they were ready to obey his commands in changing their religion, provided they could show them by the word of God, that they were in an error. They thought it expedient to try if they could draw them to their party by the eloquent harangues and sermons of some able monks, whom they sent for into the valleys for that purpose.

Those monks being come, the aforesaid commissioners went with them to Angrogne, whither they arrived just at sermon time, with a design to get up into the pulpit, so soon as the minister was come down; but since they could neither there nor elsewhere, ever find any one that would give them the hearing, they together with the president and collateral returned to Turin. During the long abode which they made in the valleys, where they had dived into all things, they discovered so great a union, and firm resolution among all the people, that they very earnestly represented to the parliament, the great danger of driving those Vaudois to the last extremity of despair; concluding that it was necessary to leave that affair to the king himself, who alone was able to exterminate and destroy that race of people; and that they must send to his majesty all the information requisite and necessary to that purpose, leaving the care of so difficult and dangerous an undertaking to his wisdom and prudence. But as it often happens, that courts do make but a very slow progress in affairs of such importance, it was a full year before the Vaudois received any further alarm. But then the same president returned into Angrogne with new orders from his majesty, inflicting the penalty of death and confiscation of goods upon every one who should refuse to go to mass. But he was answered as before, that it was better to obey God than men; beseeching him by the compassion of God, "that since they were constant in their fidelity and obedience to the king, and unblameable in their life and conversation; and since as to matters of religion, they all adored the same Saviour Jesus Christ, had the same law, the same baptism, and the same hope as his majesty, and the said president; and since both Jews and Turks, professed blasphemers, and sworn enemies to Christianity, were tolerated in Piedmont, they might be suffered to live in the enjoyment of their religion, which they affirmed to be the same as was taught by Jesus Christ, and the holy apostles, professing that they were ready to renounce it, if by the holy Scriptures they could convince them to the contrary."

This answer so enraged the parliament of Turin against them, that without further delay, they imprisoned all those who, according to the diversity of their employments, and little dreaming of any mischief, were found

scattered about in divers parts and places of Piedmont, and in the valleys: among which number was unhappily found the excellent Monsieur Jeffery Veraille, minister of Angrogne, who in the year 1557, was publicly burnt in the castle yard of Turin, loudly singing forth the praises of God in the midst of the flames, to his last gasp. He was the son of one Jeffery Veraille of the city of Busque in Piedmont, who in the year 1488, had been a leader of the butcherly troops, who being gathered together in a formidable body fell upon these poor Vaudois of the valleys. His eldest son was made a monk in the year 1520, and was at length, in conjunction with the famous Bernardo Ochino of Siene, the founder of the order of Capuchins, and ten other associates, appointed a grand missionary against the Vaudois, as being a person who was endowed with a rare and admirable eloquence, from which they promised to themselves wonders; but the more he laboured to convert these pretended heretics, the more was he touched with reasons to the contrary, until at length he gave glory to God, and like another Paul, preached that faith, which he had once persecuted, until at length he sealed it with his blood.

Moreover, it is worthy to be recorded here, that Nicholas Sartoris, a native of Quyer in Piedmont, and student in divinity at Geneva, (where he was maintained by the charity of the lords of the republic of Berne, who as well as their good allies of Zurich and Basle still continue to allot pensions for some scholars designed for the holy ministry, for the service of the churches belonging to the valleys.) He, I say, being desirous to visit his dear native country, and going thither by the valley of Aust, was there seized, and apprehended upon suspicion of heresy; and being examined about his birth, his studies and design, ingenuously confessed the whole. The canton of Berne, whose pupil he was, being informed of his apprehension, and not doubting of the issue, in vain made great intercessions for his deliverance; I say in vain, for so soon as they saw that they could not entice him by promises, terrify him by threats, nor any ways move him by the rack, they caused him publicly to be burnt alive in the episcopal city of the said valley, the 4th of May, 1557.*

* Within this period, namely, in the year 1545, happened the memorable massacre of the inhabitants of Merindoles and Chabiers, a branch of the Waldensian church; which being so extraordinary an instance of Romish cruelty, and not mentioned by Leger, I thought once to supply that defect out of Sleidan's Sixteenth Book of the History of the Reformation. But since the reader will find in Perrin's History of the Waldenses some account of this massacre, where he not only calls it the most exorbitant, cruel, barbarous, and inhuman that was ever pronounced by any parliament, but gives us also a short, yet a very tragical description of it; but especially, since it is so largely treated of by Fox in the second volume of the Book of Martyrs, I shall refer the reader to them, and proceed to the persecution of the Vaudois in the next period.

CHAPTER IX.

The Fifth Persecution of the Vaudois of Piedmont by War and Massacres, from the year 1559, and of their sufferings till 1580.

PERSECUTION began now to thicken upon the poor Vaudois apace, so that no sooner was one massacreing war ended against them, but another was begun; besides that the blood-bounds of the inquisition never ceased hunting them out in order to destroy them. Nor was it by themselves alone, they were content to act their violences against them; but incessantly they stirred up the princes, whom they had at their beck, to devour them. Accordingly no sooner had Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and successor of Charles, recovered his estates by the general peace, in the year 1559, but he was spurred on by the monks and regulars of Pignerol, to condemn the Vaudois to be burnt; and to have their goods confiscated, and given for a recompense to the instruments of their ruin.

These poor people seeing themselves upon the brink of ruin and desolation, after their recourse to him, who has the hearts of kings in his hands, by their prayers, fastings, and humiliations, went and cast themselves at the feet of the Duke of Savoy, their prince, and presented a humble petition to him, tending to this, that he would let them live and enjoy a free exercise of religion, and presented another giving an account of their religion; they presented another of the same tenor to the dutchess his wife, who had a great share in the knowledge of the truth, and who always had a great tenderness for them; but it was all to no purpose, the pope and the King of Spain, to whom the Duke of Savoy was extremely obliged, because they had contributed their utmost endeavours to re-establish him in his dominions, soliciting this prince very pressingly to destroy the Vaudois; who, contrary to his own interests, was easily persuaded at the desire of the monks, who continually solicited him to make war upon them.

While in the interim they endeavoured to sweeten their prince, and by their humble requests to turn off the storm which threatened them; the soldiers of the neighbouring towns surprised the borough of St. German, by the assistance of the darkness of the night. The protestants of this place, in so dangerous a conjuncture, thought of nothing but saving their persons. The greatest part in their shirts ran to the neighbouring mountains, except twenty-five, who being in the houses that were farthest off, were by consequence the farthest from this retreat. These seeing they had not time to fly, cast themselves upon their knees, and making a short but ardent prayer to God in sight of their enemies, went to attack them with that courage and resolution, that they put them all to flight, a great many were killed upon the spot, and God striking the rest with fear, a great many, through their hasty flight, fell into the river of Cluson, and there miserably perished.

The Duke of Savoy, assisted by the Pope, Spain, and France, raised a powerful army against the Vaudois, and made the Count de la Trinita general of it, who seeing this people weakened and shaken with so many furious shocks of wars and persecutions, did not doubt of bringing his designs speedily to an end, and to extirpate the Vaudois root and branch. He had recourse to politics and stratagems, before he would make use of

open force; in short, he sent for the ministers and guides of the churches, he exhorted them to lay down their arms, and to bring them to him. On the one side, he represented them the dangers they were ready to be precipitated into, if they did not submit themselves to the will of their prince, seeing the great forces which he had to compel them, which it was impossible for them to withstand: that the Pope, the King of Spain, the King of France, had engaged the duke in this war, and lent him their troops. that the general peace being made, they would employ all their forces to destroy them, if they would not submit and obey. On the other hand, he made them specious and advantageous propositions; giving them hopes, that if they would submit to the will of their prince, they should enjoy peace, and live in liberty with all their ancient rights and privileges. Many were shaken and frightened by the treacherous discourse of this lord, who seeing them divided, some being willing to submit, to save their lives and fortunes, to the will of their prince, others being of a different sentiment, because of the dangerous consequences they foresaw this submission might draw after it. In this dubious estate of their affairs, he took his opportunity, he laid ambushes for them in several places, and having surprised them in small parties, he made a cruel butchery without any resistance, exercising all sorts of cruelties against these innocent lambs, who were betrayed by trusting to his sugared words.

This barbarous treachery cast these people into an inexpressible consternation; but three hundred of those that escaped from the massacre, being assembled together by the favour of the night, and being strengthened by little and little by their brethren, who were diffident of the count's promises, and had saved themselves in the mountains; with this little troop of the Vaudois, God did such wonders, which almost seem incredible, if we had not seen what their successors have done in the wars of the years 1655 and 1664, and in their last war, when seven or eight hundred of the Vaudois crossed all Savoy, which was then all in arms; and forced several passes kept by the regular troops of France and Savoy, and in spite of their enemies entered into their own country, and there have endured fifteen or sixteen bloody fights, which fully persuades us that God is with this people, and fought for them, and with them; without whose wonderful help it was impossible they should have performed such extraordinary exploits.

The day after this treachery, the Count de la Trinita employed his army from morning till night, in ransacking all the places of the valley of Lucerne, of which he had made himself master; after which he marched with seven or eight thousand selected men as high as Angrogne, towards the place called the Meadow of the Tower, where the greatest part of the families of these poor Vaudois were retired, as to the strongest sanctuary or asylum they could find in all the valley of Lucerne. He attacked them in this place by three several ways, and gave them no time of respite for four days; one assault was no sooner repulsed, but he gave another with fresh troops, without gaining any advantage. In these assaults he lost two colonels, eight captains, and seven or eight hundred soldiers.

The fifth day being absolutely bent to carry the post, he made use of Spanish troops which were fresh, and as yet had never been engaged: the Spanish soldiers seeing that they advanced nothing, and that they fell like hail, mutinied against their officers, who were obstinate to continue the attack. The Vaudois having observed the confusion that their enemies were in, fell upon them with so much courage and bravery, that they put

the whole army to the rout, which was struck with so great a fear, that many of them threw themselves off the rocks into the river of Angrogne, and were drowned in its whirlpools. Moreover, they pursued their enemies the space of two leagues, and killed a great number of them.

To show that France aided the Duke of Savoy in the war he had begun against the Vaudois, D'Aubigni reports in his general history, that this prince having desired the King of France to lend him Monsieur de Mau-giron, with ten companies of foot, and Monsieur de la Motte Condren, with other troops, all composed of picked and expert soldiers, he says it was granted him, and that the troops were joined to the army of Count de la Trinita: but the Vaudois in sight of this army re-enforced with troops from France, confiding in the aid of heaven, went to force the fortress of the borough of Villar, in the middle of the valley of Lucerne, that the duke a little while before had built to cut his pass from the enemy.

The Count de la Trinita being strengthened by the troops from France, and some fresh ones sent by the duke, attempted several times to attack them; but in every one of them they were repulsed with considerable loss; sometimes they lost nine hundred men, when the Vaudois lost not above fifteen. The army of the duke being extremely weakened, what by continual losses, what by desertion of soldiers, who seeing they got nothing but blows in this war, deserted in great numbers; the duke, solicited by the dutchess, who, as we said, had knowledge of the truth, and had a great deal of tenderness for the Vaudois, gave them peace with the free exercise of their religion, by his letters patent, dated at Cavor, the 15th of June, 1561. By virtue of which also their goods were restored to them, the prisoners released, and those that were condemned to the galleys for their religion were set at liberty, and they were re-established in all their rights and privileges.

In the year 1565, four years after this edict was published, at the earnest desire of the pope, a new order was proclaimed through all the valleys, that all the subjects of the Duke of Savoy, who within ten days after all the publication of the order did not declare before some of their magistrates, that they would go to mass, should within two months depart out of the estates of the said duke; and at the same time the magistrates received an express order, to make an exact list of all those who would not obey the said order, and send it immediately to his highness.

The protestant princes of Germany were extremely sensible of this new vexation, and made by their letters a great complaint to the duke, of the bad treatment of the Vaudois, to the prejudice, and contrary to the tenor of his letters patent, and desired him to remedy it for the future, that they might enjoy the benefit of his generous grant. The prince palatine sent one of his principal counsellors in an embassy to procure peace to those poor people. Margerite also of France, wife of the duke, who was a pious and virtuous princess, and who was very tender of the Vaudois, sweetened as much as she could the anger of her husband, who by false reports of the enemies of the gospel, was much irritated against them.

The day of St. Bartholomew, in the year 1572, there being made a most cruel massacre of the protestants at Paris, and in several other places of the kingdom of France; Castrocara, governor of the valleys, threatened to do as much to the Vaudois of Piedmont; but whether it was, that the Duke of Savoy did not approve of the cruel butchery that was made of the protestants of France, or whether at the earnest solicitations of his

dutchess, who, as much as possible, with her natural sweetness, gained and wrought upon him to show mercy and clemency to the Vaudois; he put forth a manifesto, and declared to all his subjects of the valleys, who for fear of the governor were fled, that they might return without any fear or danger to their own habitations. He gave them likewise an order, that they might receive their brethren of France, assuring them that they might live very securely there, and he kept his word; for even to his death, which happened the 13th of August, 1580, they were not molested, but enjoyed a quiet repose. Indeed, in that dutchess, they always had a most safe port and haven, where the poor protestants ever found a sure safeguard and protection, in the midst of the greatest and most dangerous storms and tempests.

But soon after the fatal death of this virtuous princess, which happened on the 10th day of October, in the year 1574; the popish party like lions let loose, violently fell upon these poor sheep, and took all occasions and opportunities to devour and destroy them; which they had certainly effected, had not divine Providence intervened, and raised up other great persons of the religion, who interposed and stood in the gap, and did both by their pathetic remonstrances and earnest entreaties and supplications, persuade his highness to put a stop to, and suppress that fury: upon which they again enjoyed a truce, which lasted for four years, namely, until the death of the said Prince Emanuel Philibert, which happened upon the 13th day of August, 1580.

CHAPTER X.

The Sixth Persecution of the Vaudois, partly by the Massacring Wars of their Princes, as in the Marquisate of Saluzzo: but chiefly by the vexation of the Inquisition, from the year 1580 to the year 1650.

In this long period of seventy years it may be seen, that the Vaudois enjoyed a long respite, if we consider them only as more than usually free from the ravages of war; but if we view their sufferings under the Inquisition, we shall find them never free from either open violence, or secret mischiefs.

I shall give an account of these their sufferings of both sorts, referring the reader for some particulars, because I would be as little guilty of repetition as may be to Mr. Perrin. But as to the persecution of the inhabitants of Saluzzes, I shall give it at large out of Leger, their story being very remarkable and edifying.

Prince Emanuel Philibert dying in August 1580; immediately after his death Charles Emanuel, his son, invaded the marquisate of Saluces, and Monsieur de l'Esdiiguers in the name of the king, and by way of retaliation, seized upon the valleys of Piedmont, after which he retired for some time to Grenoble. Immediately after his departure, it was rumoured and reported abroad, that his highness had resolved to take this occasion to extirpate all the protestant churches of the valleys, under a pretence, that they had taken an oath of fidelity to the King of France. This was a pretence which seemed very plausible to those who did not consider that

they had been forced to do so by the powerful arms of that great conqueror, against whom their prince could afford them no assistance; and that having sent their deputies to him, when they found themselves ready to fall a victim to the arms of France, and to be very shortly obliged to take that oath, if he did not find out some way or means to relieve and defend them, he returned this answer, "agree as well as you can for yourselves, only preserve me your heart." But the thing being proposed in the council of Savoy, it pleased God so to dispose the hearts of the majority of those who were to give in their votes upon this occasion, that they utterly disliked and rejected that proposition, and gave such powerful and unanswerable reasons to the contrary, that they at length carried the cause: some time after this, the duke retook the fort of Mireboub, which is situated towards the hill of the cross, and doth entirely divide the passage of France on that side on which the valley of Lucerne lies, and determined to go thither in person. The protestants of this valley did not fail to take this opportunity to meet him at Villaro, on purpose to assure him of their inviolable fidelity and allegiance, and to beg the continuance of his favour and protection; which they did in the presence of a great many of his courtiers of prime rank and nobility; before whom he made them the following answer:

"Be but faithful to me, and I shall be sure to be a good prince, nay, a father unto you; and as to the liberty of your conscience, and the exercise of your religion, I shall be so far from innovating any thing in those liberties in which you have lived unto this present, that if any offer to molest you, have but recourse to me, and I shall effectually relieve and protect you."

I do really believe that that prince then spoke the real sentiments of his soul; and not merely to flatter and deceive those poor people with vain hopes and expectations, which might only serve to disengage them the more easily from France. But be that as it will, these solemn promises, made after so seemingly cordial and obliging a manner afforded those poor people very much comfort and satisfaction. Nevertheless their mortal and irreconcilable enemies, who would have thought themselves guilty of an unpardonable sin, if they had suffered them to enjoy a perfect and entire peace and tranquillity (and who imagined that they did not merit at the hands of God when they persecuted them) did not only delay to put new irons in the fire, and to contrive new stratagems whereby to effect their utter destruction, never more suffering them from thenceforward, till the year 1603, to enjoy the least truce or relaxation; and never ceasing to torment them, sometimes in one place and manner, and sometimes in another; more especially by forcing the heads of their country into banishment, by confiscating their goods, by inquisition, &c. until the year 1602, at which time all the masters of the families in the valley of Lucerne, both natives and strangers, who professed the protestant religion, received a general summons to make their personal appearance before the Seigneur Comte Charles de Lucerna the governor Ponte, and Archbishop Broglia: which when they did, they were at first most powerfully exhorted, entreated, and conjured by all the charming and alluring persuasions in the world, to go to mass; and particularly by giving them great assurances, that if they would please their prince in this matter, they should enjoy, both them and their posterity, much greater privileges and advantages than the rest of his subjects, and should be always esteemed and looked upon

his hearty friends: but because they refused to go to mass, they were instantly commanded utterly and speedily to forsake their houses, goods, and country, without hopes of ever returning thither any more: such terrible and surprising menaces as these, did shake the constancy of some, who at that juncture promised to go to mass, although at length, by the grace of God, they imitated Peter, no less in his repentance than they did in his fall.

From Lucerne, where this comte, archbishop, and governor had met with such a courageous repulse, they removed to Bubbiana, where they found all the protestants in general so stiff and constant in their religion, that they could not move the least of them a hair's breadth, neither in that city, nor in the whole commonality throughout.

Upon this, they resolved to summons the chief of them to make their personal appearance before his highness at Turin, supposing that his presence, together with a word or two from his mouth, would have more effect upon their minds, than all their promises and threatenings. The persons who were thus summoned, were Mr. Valentine and Matthew Boules his brother, with one Pietro Moresc, and Samuel Falc, whom they resolved to bring in separately and singly before his highness; the first was Mr. Valentine, to whom the duke spake as follow: "That his desire being to see all his subjects profess the same religion with him, and knowing also how much the said Valentine was able to contribute thereunto, because of his great reputation amongst those of his party, he had sent for him to exhort him to embrace the catholic and apostolic Roman religion, which he (who was his prince) did profess, and afterwards to induce his protestant neighbours by his exhortation and example to do the same; and in so doing, besides the spiritual profit he should reap thereby, he should also receive such rewards, that he should know and perceive he had done his prince no small or inconsiderable service."

To all which Mr. Valentine replied:

"That he did entreat his highness to assure himself, that, next to the service of God, he desired nothing more than to obey and please his highness, in whose service he would willingly employ and venture his person and his goods, according to his duty, whenever there should be any occasion. But as for his religion, which he knew to be true, and established by the word of God himself, he could not renounce it without disobeying God, and wounding his conscience in such a manner, that he could never enjoy any comfort in his soul afterwards. And therefore he humbly desired his highness to be satisfied with such things as he could do with a safe conscience, and so leave him in the liberty of his religion, which he valued more than his life."

Whereupon the prince replied:

"That he also was careful for his own soul, and that he was likewise persuaded, that his religion was likewise the true religion, otherwise he would neither follow it, nor induce any other to embrace the same."

And after a further discourse concerning this matter, he concluded with these words.

"M'Haureste veramente fatto gran piacere di dar luogo alle mie remonstranze; magia che perniente non vi volete acconsentire, je non voglio violentare la coscienza d'alcuno;" that is, you may be certain, that you

would very much please and satisfy me by yielding to my remonstrances; but since nothing in the whole world can prevail upon you to comply therewith, I will offer no violence to your conscience.

Thus did he suffer him to return in peace; but the just and equitable proceedings towards him, was the cause why it was thought good not to bring the others before him, much less would they suffer them to have any discourse with the said Mr. Valentine, or his brother Boulle, to inform themselves of the success of his appearance: instead of that, they devised to put in practice a cursed pious fraud, which did not fail of success. So soon as the said Boulle was departed, they strongly persuaded the rest that he was turned a Roman catholic, and that after his example, all the Vaudois of the city or borough of Bubbiana, had promised to go to mass: great illuminations were made in token of joy for the same, and there were not wanting spreaders of stories, and false reports for that purpose, who did so successfully instil the belief of it into Maresco, Bolla, and Faber, that they revolted indeed; in consequence of which all those of the religion belonging to the said place, who refused to do the like were cruelly expelled and driven into banishment.

During all the remaining part of the reign of that Duke Charles Emanuel, there was not a year passed over their heads, but the monks both openly and secretly devised an infinite number of subtle and hellish stratagems, and put in practice strange acts of cruelty and violence. In the execution of which they were upheld and supported by the gentlemen and magistrates of the places, to harass and afflict those poor Vaudois, of which we may see an account in the history by Gilles. And notwithstanding that both the Duke and Prince Vittorio Amedeo, his son, had for some time afforded them great hopes, and confirmed them in the same, even by solemn promises which he sometimes made to the deputies of the valleys, thereby to assure them of his protection, and that he would maintain them in the enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges; notwithstanding this, I say, the pope, his clergy, and the inquisition did so order the matter, that they always hindered those poor people from enjoying the effect of those princes' clemency and goodness. If at any time they had recourse to their prince to obtain the liberty of those whom the inquisitors or bishops had cast into the dungeons, his answer was; "that was a business with which he had nothing to do to intermeddle:" of which we find such an authentic proof in the year 1603, in the decree of 29. liv. art. 5., that it is impossible after that to make any further doubt of the truth of it. His highness being then petitioned by the valleys to set some persons at liberty who were imprisoned, for having a second time embraced that religion, which the violence of persecution, and their own frailty, had at first caused them to renounce and abjure; he makes them this answer, "none *coeo ch' aspette a S. A.*" That is, it is a business that doth not belong to his highness. And art. 7. where we find the valleys entreating for the deliverance of poor Copin, who was imprisoned by the Bishop of Ast; the answer is, that his highness will write to the Bishop of Ast about it. But poor Copin was notwithstanding that most cruelly martyred. This considered, one cannot observe how miraculously the Lord did keep and preserve those tender lambs, and innocent doves, in the midst of so many wolves and ravenous birds of prey, without most devoutly and religiously adoring the wise and admirable Providence of our God; as indeed we shall find more especial reason so to do, if we read the history of the massacres carried on in the year 1655.

But before proceeding to that, I must give the reader a short description of the marquisate of Saluces, adjoining to the valleys, whose churches have ever made one and the same body with those; and of the notable persecutions which they suffered. And indeed they were no sooner made subject to the government of Savoy, when they were given by Henry the Great, of glorious memory, to Charles Emanuel, in exchange for la Bresse, and the county of Gex, in the year 1595, but they were forced to feed upon the bread of affliction, and to drink gall and vinegar. It is true, they had been often molested and disturbed, when they were under the jurisdiction of the kings of France, until the year 1588, but never after so constant and cruel a manner: so that they found, by fatal experience, that if under the former of those governments they had been whipped with scourges, under the second they were lashed with scorpions, and bruised with bars of iron.

The marquisate of Saluces lies on the south side of the valleys of Piedmont, containing in it several fair and great cities, boroughs, and villages, extremely fertile in all sorts of fruits. Its more northern, and consequently coldest valley, is that of Po, so called, because it is traversed by that famous river called Po, [which is the Eridanus cornatus of which Virgil speaks] taking its rise and source from mount Visole, which separates the valley of Lucerne from that of Po on the north side.

In this valley of Po among others were those ancient churches of the Waldenses, namely, Pravielm, Biolets, and Bietome, who have there always and constantly preserved and retained the apostolical religion in its truth and purity. The profession of the same truth was likewise received, and constantly entertained in several other places, there being hardly any, I will not say cities only, but even boroughs and villages, which were without those Vaudois, but several, where there was not so much as one papist.

Among all those churches, that of Dronier was always the most considerable and flourishing, the which in the year 1561, being as yet under the government of France, and understanding that the public exercise of the reformed religion was by virtue of an edict of January, tolerated throughout the whole kingdom, did by their friends obtain letters of the king's council to Sieur Louis of Birague, governor of that country, in the absence of the Duke of Nevers, whereby he was ordered to grant to the petitioners a convenient place for the public exercise of their religion. But soon after the importunity and malice of their enemies was so great, that they found out the means to have those letters revoked; which forced them to send as deputy into France, Sieur Francis Galattee, one of their ministers, together with some others, to obtain, if possible, their ancient rights and privileges. But this journey being made in the time of the first troubles of France, although they were backed with the intercession of several great persons, they could never obtain any thing else, but fair promises, which put all the churches of that marquisate into a great consternation. Under which they found mighty supports, consolations, and encouragements, by several letters sent to them from their brethren of the churches of France, but especially those of Lyons, Grenoble, and Nismes, which did not a little serve to strengthen and confirm them in the constant profession of the truth, which they had hitherto so gloriously defended; so that God gave them the grace to stand firm and immovable, notwithstanding all the subtlety and rage of their enemies, who had so far prevailed by their impostures as to obtain the revocation of the ancient

privileges of those churches, so that they did not desist from the usage of them, as much as possibly they could, although they durst not in several places, preach openly in the public assemblies.

Moreover, for the greater security of their ministers in the places that were more dangerous, they never exposed but one of them at a time, who visited several towns, boroughs, and villages, and performed their offices and exercises with as much secrecy as possibly they could; whilst those who dwelt in those places did from time to time go to Praviilelm, a very private place, and remote from all the papists, where they might without danger hear the word preached, and partake of the holy sacraments. In that place also it was, that they held their congregation or synod on the 2d day of June, in the year 1577. They held a second on the 24th day of October at Dronier, in the palace of the Lord of Montauraux, who favoured and sided with them.

The aforesaid Sieur Galatte was pastor to the faithful of Saluces, Savillam, Carmagnole, Levaldis, and Villefalet; Monsieur Second Masseran, of those of Verzol, Alpease, and Castilloles; Monsieur Francois Truchi, pastor of the church of Dronier; Andre Lancianois, of those of Saint Damian, Palliar, and Cartignan; Peter Gelido of Aceil; Sieur Jaques Hoard, of St. Michel Pras and Chanues; Sieur Francis Soulf, of Praviilelm; Mr. Bertrand Jordan, of Biolets and Bietone; and N. N. pastor of the churches of Demont and Festcone.

Now the gospel at this time made very considerable progress at Verzol, and in almost all the remarkable towns in the marquisate and other neighbouring places. The church of Aceil, the highest of the upmost Val de Mairi, was extraordinarily peopled, as well as that of Praviilelm, and enjoyed more liberty than the others, by reason of its remote situation. Nevertheless, its enemies perceiving the great progress that it made, and that the protestant religion for the most part daily increased and spread itself in those places, did not fail to redouble their efforts and diligence, not only to prevent its further progress and advancement, but also to dissipate, disperse, divide, confound, in a word, to banish and ruin those who made profession of it; and to this purpose they made use,

I. Of several famous Nicodemites, the chief of which was one Baronius, who made his abode at Val Grana, and was a great temporizer, who suited himself according to the several changes and vicissitudes of the times. Whenever the church enjoyed but the least calm or serenity he never failed to write with much freedom, zeal, and fervency, against the abuses of the church of Rome: but in the time of persecution, he sided with both parties, was neither cold nor hot, dissembled with the papists, and employed all his eloquence to persuade those of the reformed religion, that they might with a safe conscience dissemble and play the hypocrite, and pretend to be good Roman catholics, when it was thereby to save their goods and lives. Now as this was a man not only of knowledge, but also of great authority, who in the opinion of the world passed for a good man, and withal being very eloquent, he did not fail to be unhappily followed by several persons of note and distinction: and among the rest, by a certain lord of Valgrane, and Cervingale, called Maximilian de Saluces, who at length suffered this Baronius to use his name, to give the greater weight and authority to his writings against the ministers, reproaching and reviling them because they would not consent in the least to his dissimulation. By this pernicious proceeding of theirs, they drove several pastors

and several churches into very great difficulties and extremities, and quite overthrew a neighbouring church, namely, that of Carail.

This lord was a man of some learning, and one that was very well acquainted with the truth, but he could not resolve to take up the cross of Christ and follow him, and therefore he was easily inclined to play the hypocrite, as Baronius did, and condemn those who openly opposed the papists.

The Sieur Gelido, minister of Aceil, vigorously confuted all the writings of these pretended Nicodemites; as likewise did the Sieur Truchi, minister of the church of Dronier, and several other ministers of the neighbouring churches, plainly and clearly proving both by the holy Scriptures, and by the practice of the primitive church, that all such hypocritical dissimulations and prevarications were an abomination to God, and very scandalous and pernicious to his true disciples.

The other instruments which the arch-enemy to the salvation of men made use of to hinder the progress of the gospel, were the Roman catholics themselves, and their fiery proselytes and devotees, who would with all their hearts have done by this poor people (if God had not limited their power) as their brethren in iniquity had done by their neighbours in the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, that is, banish, imprison, and put to death, and confiscate all their goods; if the king had not by an express edict, granted and confirmed to his subjects of the marquisate of Saluces, the liberty of living peaceably in their habitations, promising not to disturb and molest them for their said religion; yet after such a manner, that he suffered them to meet in small private assemblies, where the pastors instructed, comforted, and encouraged those poor people, baptized their children, and administered the holy supper.

Nevertheless, those subtle enemies contrived how to rob them of this only comfort and satisfaction, continually labouring to deprive them of all their ministers in general; imagining, that if they could but once find out any means to extirpate them, those poor people remaining destitute of instruction and comfort would be the more easily conquered and made their prey. To this purpose they got by surprise an edict of the 19th of October, in the year 1567, in the name of the Duke of Nevers, lieutenant general of the king on this side the mountains; by which it was enjoined to all those of the religion inhabiting, or otherwise residing within his jurisdiction, that were not the king's natural subjects, to depart, together with their families, within three days after the publication of the said edict, and never to return thither again either to inhabit, pass, or abide, without a passport, upon pain of death and confiscation of their goods.

And because the greatest number of the said good ministers were natives of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, and other neighbouring places, which then were under the jurisdiction of the Duke of Savoy, they were all constrained by that edict either to leave the marquisate, or expose themselves to the penalties therein specified, or else endeavour to obtain a passport (which they did several times unsuccessfully attempt to do) upon which they were in such straits and perplexities as no one can imagine. Those good pastors thought themselves bound in conscience not to desert and abandon their flock in such a manner: and not being able to comfort them with their presence, without exposing both them and themselves to inevitable ruin and destruction, it gave them great trouble and dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, all things considered, they endeavoured to persist in the execution of their charge, notwithstanding that two of them,

namely, the *Sieur Francois Truchi*, a native of *Sental* in *Piedmont*, and the *Sieur Francois Soul*, a native of *Cuni*, were immediately seized and cast into prison at *Salutres*, where they were confined for the space of four years, four months, and some days, the poor people not being able to procure their deliverance, notwithstanding their continual solicitations to that purpose, which those poor churches perceiving, they were resolved at last to send their supplications to the king by *Monsieur Galatee*, one of their ministers, and another to accompany him, who set out from the *marquisate* on the 27th day of *June*, in the year 1571, and went directly to *Rochel*, to beg the intercession of the *Queen of Navarre*, who was there at that time, and also of several other princes and great lords; some of which were so transported with zeal, that they themselves would undertake to introduce *Monsieur Galatee* into the presence of the king, and be the solicitors of his good cause. After a long negotiation, they at length obtained patents from the king, signed by himself and his secretaries *Neuville* and *Laumeny*, dated the 14th of *October*, 1571, by which it was granted that the poor prisoners should be set at liberty: but the chancellor *Rene de Birago*, who was brother in law to the governor of the *marquisate*, made so many scruples and difficulties to sign it, that the said deputies were forced to wait several months before they could obtain it; the chancellor always alleging, that he must of necessity first speak with the king, who was then in *Britagne*, before he could confirm the said patents by applying his seal thereto; so that although the *admiral de Coligny* employed his utmost diligence and endeavours to have them despatched, yet was it impossible to do any thing therein. The king being at length returned, and the chancellor having spoke with him, he was by express orders from his majesty obliged to sign the said patents, and send them speedily to *Birago*, who by this means was forced to set those poor prisoners at liberty.

A little time after the *Sieur Galatee* arrived at the valleys, being overjoyed not only for the deliverance and enlargement of the prisoners, which he had obtained, but also for the great hopes that he had conceived of a future and lasting peace, founded upon the smooth words and kind treatment which he had received from his majesty: to which the marriage, that he was to make between his own sister and the *King of Navarre*, who was a professor of the reformed religion, did not give a little shadow and colour.

But alas, this joy was but very short, and their fine hopes quickly blasted, for they lasted not in the valleys and the *marquisate* any longer than from the month of *May*, in the year 1572, until the beginning of *September* in the same year, at which time there arrived the dismal news of the dreadful massacres that were executed at *Bartholomew-tide*, in which, by the blackest of all treacheries that was ever heard of, so many innocent persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions, were cruelly cut off and destroyed, which was likewise practised in several other places of *France*; and their terror was the greater, because at the same time came letters from the king to the governor *Birague*, by which he was ordered to take care, that at the arrival of the news of what happened at *Paris*, those of there formed religion under his government, should make no outbreak, referring him for the rest of his will and pleasure to the instructions which he should find annexed to the said letter; the contents of which were among other things, that he was to put to death all the chief of the protestants, within the

limits of his jurisdiction, and those especially, whose names he should find in the list, that should be presented to him by the bearer.

Birague having received this command, together with the said list or catalogue, was very much troubled, and immediately called the council together, to whom he communicated the king's orders. Some were of opinion that they ought to be executed without delay; but the others, among whom was the archdeacon of Salusse, considering that the king not many months before, had by his express patents set at liberty the ministers who were imprisoned, and had absolutely commanded not to molest or disturb the protestants for the sake of their religion, but to afford them the same gentle and candid treatment that his Roman subjects had; and that those poor people had done nothing, since that time, which might afford the least handle and pretence for such a treatment; gathering from thence, that such surprising resolutions of his majesty were owing to some false reports that he had received. These things considered, they were of opinion, that it would be sufficient only to secure the persons who were specified in the list, and defer the execution for awhile, till such times as they had informed the king, that they were persons of honour, faithful to his majesty, living peaceably with their neighbours; and in a word, such as (excepting the matter of their religion) were altogether without reproach and blameless; and if in case his majesty were resolved to have them put to death, there would be yet time enough to execute his will and pleasure.

This advice was approved of, and followed by Birague, in consequence of which, some of those who were mentioned in the list were apprehended, and the rest made their escape, flying whither they could. In the mean time he despatched a messenger to the king, to acquaint him with what he had done, waiting his pleasure and resolution. This message met another at Lyons, whom the king had sent to Birague, to advertise him, that in case his former order were not already put in execution, he should wholly desist from the same, and only have a special care, that those of the religion, did not make any insurrection within his government, nor attempt to recover the public exercise of their religion.

Birague having published the new orders that he had received from his master, several of those who had fled out of the marquisate, returned and took possession of their houses and goods: for although they continued to prohibit them the public exercise of their religion, yet was it a very great comfort to obtain some security and assurance of their lives and goods; and as to the exercises of their religion they might continue to perform them in private, as before that time they were often forced to do.

Thus you see in a summary manner the condition of the evangelical churches in the marquisate of Saluces, during the time that they continued under the jurisdiction of the kings of France; that is, until the year 1578, at which time the Duke of Savoy took possession of it. But alas, he suffered them for a very little while to enjoy some quiet and tranquillity, for he very shortly after attempted to ruin them by piecemeal, beginning first with the principal members of the church of Dronier, whom he summoned to appear before him at Turin, and upon whom he did so far prevail, by the charms of his promises, and the fear of his threatenings, as to induce some of them to promise to go to mass; by this means making a very fatal breach in that church, which notwithstanding, did not wholly lose its courage, although its adversaries were by this success encouraged to redouble their temptations of this kind, and although

it gave occasion to their prince to endeavour to shake the constancy of others by the following letter, faithfully translated from the Italian, and dated from Turin, the 27th day of March, in the year 1597.

A LETTER OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY TO THE VAUDOIS OF THE MARQUISATE OF SALUCES.

WELL beloved, it being our desire that all our subjects in the marquisate of Saluces should live in obedience and subjection to our holy mother the Roman catholic and apostolic church; and knowing how much our exhortations have prevailed upon others, and hoping that they will induce you to adhere to the truth; we thought upon these grounds to write you this letter, to the end, that laying aside your heretical obstinacy, you may embrace the true religion, both out of respect to God's glory and love to yourselves; in which religion, we for our parts are resolved to live and die, hoping that you will follow our good example, which will no doubt lead you to eternal life. Only resolve with yourselves to do this, and we shall remember it to your advantage, as the Lord de la Mente will more particularly satisfy you on our part, to whom we refer ourselves in this regard, praying the Lord to assist you by his grace.

(Signed.)

CHARLES EMANUEL.

And a little lower,

RIPPA.

The churches of the marquisate having received this letter, returned an answer to the prince in a large letter in form of a request, consisting of two branches or parts.

In the first, they returned his highness thanks, for that he had till then suffered them peaceably to enjoy their religion; and that in the same manner as he had found them in the year 1588, when he took possession of the marquisate. In the next place, they most humbly and earnestly entreated him to continue to them the said benefit, as also to grant unto them his protection, against the vexations of the clergy; forasmuch as they knew that their religion was founded upon the holy Scriptures, according to which they ordered their life and conversation, in such a manner, that none could have any just occasion to be offended at them; and considering, that the very Jews, and other enemies to the name of Christ our only Redeemer, were suffered to live in peace, in the possession of their goods, and the exercise of their religion, they had that confidence in the clemency and equity of his highness, that he would not suffer true Christians, faithful to God and their prince, and living without scandal or offence, to be treated with more rigor than such blasphemers were.

After this answer, they were left for awhile in quiet: in the mean time, the prince undertook a voyage into France, which was followed with a war in Savoy. During these troubles, they had not much leisure to molest them. But the peace being concluded, and the Duke of Savoy finding himself to be absolute master of the marquisate, by means of the exchange made for La-Bresse, gave himself no rest, till such times as he had completed the destruction of the poor churches of the said marquisate. To that end, instead of smooth words, flatteries, and fair promises, by which he formerly endeavoured to allure them, he sent them the following edict, which he caused to be published three several times together, throughout all that country, about the end of June, 1601.

A CRUEL EDICT.

THAT they should every one declare to his ordinary magistrate, within fifteen days following, whether he would renounce his religion and go to mass, or no; in which case they were promised not only to be suffered to abide and remain peaceably in their houses, and the enjoyment of their goods, but also several other rights and privileges: but if on the other side, they were stubbornly resolved to persist in their religion, they were absolutely enjoined to depart out of his highness' dominions within the space of two months after the publication of this edict, and never to return thither any more, upon pain of death, and the confiscation of all their goods.

This surprising and unexpected edict, we may readily believe, cast those poor people into great perplexity and consternation. And this so much the more, because it was about the beginning of winter, when they saw themselves likely to be driven into so fatal a banishment and dispersion; wherefore, without losing time, they immediately despatched deputies to his highness, to endeavour to obtain, if not an entire revocation, yet at least some moderation of the said edict; of which they conceived so much the greater hopes, because several great lords did strongly persuade them, that they would obtain and compass their end; which did them a very great prejudice, because most of them trusting to this broken reed, suffered the said prefixed term of two months insensibly to expire, without setting their affairs in order, and resolving in good earnest upon their retreat: whereupon they were so much the more astonished and surprised, when but a few days before the expiration of the said term, all hopes of moderation and mercy were utterly taken away.

But to let that pass, several there were, who prepared themselves for their departure, some leaving their goods to their friends and popish relations that they had in that country; others leaving them entirely to the discretion of their enemies, excepting some few only that they could carry away with them to supply their present necessities. But during these two months, those who were resolved to depart, in case there were no other remedy, were continually set upon by their friends and relations, who endeavoured by all means possible to divert them from their intention; especially when they were constrained to present themselves before the magistrate, and give in their answer in writing, as they were obliged to do in public before several priests, monks, and great lords, who employed all their eloquence, to shake the constancy of those poor people.

Amongst others, a certain monk of the order of Capuchins, Philip Riband by name, who some time before had practised the same artifices against the Vaudois in the valley of Perouse, and was then employed in the marquisate, was extremely diligent, running from place to place, to make as many proselytes as he could, not omitting any subtlety or sophistry to ensnare those who by reason of the infirmity of their age, and weakness of their sex, or the want of all things, seemed the most ductile and likely to be wrought upon; causing them to be brought before the magistrate separately one after another, to the end, that the constancy of some might not serve for an encouragement to others: husbands and fathers were very hardly suffered to declare for their wives and children; and by all these means they did perplex these poor people after such a manner, that instead of showing any great courage and constancy in the midst of

so many storms and tempests, it was very difficult to escape without making shipwreck of their faith; and this so much the more, when they came so far as to forbid all of them to hinder or divert one another from renouncing their religion to embrace the mass; insomuch, that it was enough to take away the life of a poor father, if any one would but depose, that he exhorted his children to constancy: nevertheless, it pleased the Lord to fortify this people with so great a resolution to continue in the profession of the truth, even unto death, that the greatest part of them did go forth without carrying any thing with them, as Providence guided them, they knew not where. Some crossed the Alps, and went into France or Geneva, and others retired into the neighbouring valleys of Piedmont, where the liberty of the reformed religion was still continued, and where they did for awhile after enjoy some tranquillity, notwithstanding the edict which the clergy had extorted from the prince, which imported that they should depart his highness' dominions.

Now in the beginning of this persecution, the adversaries of these good people, fearing lest despair might put them upon some resolution, which might be hurtful to them, caused a report to be given out among the churches of the mountains, that although the terms of the edict were general, and without exception; nevertheless, the design of the prince therein was only to banish and dislodge all those who inhabited in the lower plain, and other great cities; but as to those who inhabited near or among the mountains, or in the villages, they might be assured of living in peace and quiet.

This treachery was the cause why there was not at first such a union among those poor people as they could have desired; but however, the cheat being at length discovered, it occasioned a more close and firm union amongst them; which they did not long delay to make; for they quickly saw that they spared the inhabitants of the mountains, no more than they had done those of the plain, excepting only the church of Praviilelm, and the parts thereabouts, which they did not touch nor molest, insomuch, that they flattered and deceived themselves with this imagination, in which the monks and lords of the places likewise endeavoured to confirm them; namely, that regard would be had to the ancientness of their possession. And that which very much contributed to settle them in this delusion was, that the inhabitants of those places were not summoned to make any declaration before the magistrate, as was enjoined by the edict, and which all the rest had been obliged to do; neither was any mention made to them of retiring, no more than if they had been formally excepted in the edict. Neither were they at all troubled or molested, until all those residing in other places, who had resolved upon a constant perseverance in the profession of their religion, had wholly quitted the province, and fled into other parts.

But at length they were given seriously to understand, that because they had not obeyed the edict, they had incurred and made themselves obnoxious to the penalties therein specified and contained. Whereupon some among the papists themselves having very secretly advised them to take care of themselves, they besought the syndicks of the said commonalty, of which they were members, who were Roman catholics, to intercede for them, offering the reasons for which they conceived themselves not to have been comprehended in the edict, and that therefore they had only offended through ignorance. These syndicks (whether deceitful or in good earnest, God only knows) made several journeys with a design to moderate these

things, but they always brought back such bad news to these poor people, and such harsh and severe orders, that they were forced suddenly to betake themselves to the mountains, leaving only their wives and children for the defence of their houses, and to the mercy of the enemy, between hope and despair, very well seeing that by taking them along with them into the mountains, they would expose them to certain death.

Among those men, there were two hundred of them that were armed, and retired into the Chastellenie de Chateau Dauphin : but before their departure, they gave their neighbouring papists to understand, that being forced to save themselves by retreat from the unjust violence of the persecution, which they suffered merely upon the account of their religion, and not being able to take their families along with them, without exposing them to death by famine and cold, they entreated, that they might recommend them to their care, promising to return them the good or evil, that they should receive at their hands. Upon this the papists, either out of fear of those reduced to despair, whom they had not the courage to pursue into the woods, and who out of those woods might at every turn make sallies upon them ; or whether it were for some other reasons and considerations, did so far prevail by their intercessions, as at length to obtain leave for them to return to their houses and goods, where they dwelt for several years after, but destitute of ministers.

During this persecution, the Sieur Dominique Vigneaux, a minister in the valley of Lucerna, and one of the church's most considerable pillars, adorned with several rare and excellent qualities, wrote several fine and consolatory letters, both to those poor afflicted people, to encourage them to constancy, as also to several popish lords and persons of quality, to entreat them to take pity on them, more particularly to the Lord de la Mante, who was then governor of the marquisate, with whom he had some familiarity and acquaintance.

Thus were some relics and remains of the churches of the poor Wal-denses preserved in the more mountainous parts of the marquisate until the year 1633, but without pastors, or spiritual food for their poor souls, excepting some few ministers, who were from time to time sent to them incognito from the valley of Lucerne, who in small and very private assemblies did instruct, comfort, and encourage, as much as possible, these poor faithful, and baptized their children. Yet could not this be done every where without exposing both the minister and all his auditors to inevitable ruin ; insomuch, that in the year 1633, when they completed their destruction, several of their children were baptized in the said valley of Lucerne, at 18 and 20 years of age.

It was on the 21st day of September, in the year 1633, that the fatal edict was published, which completed the extirpation and destruction of the churches of the marquisate of Saluces. In this edict, the prince, after having declared that the princes, ordained by God to govern the people, are bound and obliged rigorously to punish all those who depart from their holy mother the church, closing their eyes, and stubbornly persisting in their errors, as some (saith he) belonging to Paisane, Pravilleim, Bioleta, Bietonets, and Croesio, in our marquisate of Saluces, have done, contrary to the order of his highness my lord and father now in glory, whereby they have incurred my anger and indignation. He further adds, that being willing to make use of his clemency, he allows them the space of two months to return into the bosom of the church, upon pain of death, and confiscation of their goods, &c. And this edict was executed with so

much rigor, that ever since that time there hath remained neither root nor branch of the church of the Waldenses in all the marquisate.

CHAPTER XI.

The Seventh Persecution of the Vaudois, by the subtle Artifices, and diabolical Practices of the New Council de Propaganda Fide et Extirpandis Hæreticis, established at Turin, 1650.

In the foregoing persecutions of the Vaudois, carried on whether by the massacring wars of their princes, or by the continual executions of the inquisitors, we have Satan and his antichrist represented to us as a roaring lion. But those bloody methods not proving effectual to the extirpation of this pretended heresy, we have them next practising the subtleties of the serpent: in which methods they were equally vexatious and more pernicious than the former; besides it was this council that contrived and brought on the succeeding, and these the most tragical massacres of any that they yet endured.

But before I proceed to declare the mischievous intrigues, for the ruin of the Vaudois, of this famous council, or congregation, as it is called, give me leave to premise something of the original and constitution thereof, particularly as it was settled in the dominions of France and Savoy. It was first constituted by Clement VIII. in the first year of his pontificate, viz. 1592. This pope seeing the protestant religion gaining ground, and the Roman power declining in most parts of Europe, and particularly, to be in great danger in France, should so warlike a prince as Henry IV., then a protestant, obtain a peaceable enjoyment of that throne, he not only excommunicated that prince, but formed a holy league, as they call it, between the kings and princes of the Roman communion, to extirpate the protestants every where, into which many of them entered. Moreover, it was then agreed at Rome, with the emperor's approbation, that Jesuits should be settled and maintained in all the cities of the empire, by whose contrivances, the way might be prepared for persecution: thus was this satanical project laid by the antichrist of Rome, and to conduct the whole affair, a double senate, council or congregation, was there constituted, of which one is styled the congregation for the propagation of the faith, the other, the congregation of the holy league; the former to pervert, the latter to extirpate heretics. In each of these there were nine cardinals, and as many counsellors, who were to meet once every week, and were to do nothing else, but contrive the most effectual methods to root out protestantism. Thus it stood for some time, till the great jubilee in the year 1650. And then it was that the Council de Propaganda Fide et Extirpandis Hæreticis, which had for a long time held its sessions at Rome, concluded to erect subordinate councils of the same name and nature, who might jointly labour with more diligence and industry, than ever, to exterminate all Christians, who refuse to submit to the pope, and whom he is pleased to call heretics. And moreover, it is to be noted, that in the subordination of councils, those of the lesser towns and cities are subject to those of the greater, and these again to the capital or metropolitan city, and these lastly, to that of Rome. And as several councils of this nature

were immediately erected in the most considerable towns and cities of France, and especially in the metropolitan cities where the parliaments and the courts of justice were made up of half papists and half protestants; so if any protestant states, and ours especially, fancy themselves to have been free from such blessed inmates or familiars near their courts and councils, they must be such as have neither knowledge in former histories, nor have made their observations upon latter transactions; nor do they know the vastness of their estates here in England, to the value, as I am credibly informed, of near one hundred thousand pounds per annum. And how that out of such a fund, there are no designs, which so wise a body cannot effect, to the ruin of a protestant, and the promoting the interest of the holy church.

But to return to the constitution of this diabolical council, for there is one subdivision of it yet to mention, the most mysterious of all others, and of such malignant influence, as to drive its venom into particular families, and into the greatest privacies. It is described by Leger, particularly with respect to France and Savoy.

As Satan, says he, like the old ape, seems to redouble his subtlety and malice as he grows old, so they contrived in the capital cities and seats of parliament, to add to the council of men, another of women. The former was composed of the chief presidents, counsellors, lords of note, and some ecclesiastics; and the latter of the greatest and most eminent ladies, who likewise do very often stand in need of a plenary and full indulgence and remission of all their sins, which they enjoy from the very first moment that they become members of this congregation or society. These ladies divide the cities and towns amongst them into four quarters; they labour continually in works of envy and malice, to find out means to torment the poor protestants, both by wholesale and retail, seducing and perverting the simple women, servants, and children, by their flattery and fair promises, and bringing evil and mischief upon those who will neither regard nor hearken to them.

They have their spies every where, who give them information of all the protestant families, in which there is some difference and contention, and then it is, that they take opportunity by the forelock, and do what they can to blow up the coals of dissension and division, to set the husband against the wife, and the wife against her husband, the child against its parent, &c., promising, and really giving them great advantages, if they will promise to go to mass; but if they cannot effect this at the first attack, they then endeavour, by their great promises of favour and assistance, which they secretly make to both parties, to engage them in a lawsuit against one another: and if they do but once take hold of them by this handle, they can never rid themselves of it again, till they are either ruined, or have apostatized.

They are acquainted with the merchant, who hath met with misfortunes and losses in his business, the gentleman who hath gamed away, or wasted his estate, and with all the families in general, who fall into want and poverty. And as we see by the testimonies of several sorcerers and witches, then it was, when they were in despair, that the devil appeared to them, and seduced them by his fair and deceitful promises; so these ladies do never fail at such times to present themselves with their *dabo tibi*, to those afflicted and almost despairing persons.

The very prisons themselves are not free from their intrusions, and even thence do they take the criminals who give themselves up to them, and comply with their desires. And because they stood in need of great sums of money to set all their engines at work, and to gratify those who sell their souls for a morsel of bread; among other methods and contrivances which they have, this is one which they publicly practised, viz. that every one of them must duly go about their quarters twice a week, and not fail to visit all the good families, shops, taverns, gaming houses, &c., asking alms for the propagation of the holy faith, and the extirpation of heresy.

And when any persons of note and quality came into an inn, from whom they believe they may get some money, they never fail to pay him their respects with an open purse in their hands. And it often falls out that persons of note, though protestants, do contribute as well as papists, for fear of spoiling and ruining their affairs. They commonly meet in the cities twice a week, to give an account of what they have done, and to take their measures, and consult about their future enterprises: and if it be a thing which requires the assistance of the secular power, and some acts of parliament to carry it on, they very rarely fail of obtaining whatsoever they desire, and very often procure such provisions and decrees, which very plainly show, that the zeal of their husbands can deny them nothing.

The business of the council of men, is not to go about to make collections, nor to trouble themselves to draw over a few simple women, children, and servants, but to form greater designs, and to endeavour to put them into execution. And some of these, especially those which paved the way, to the bringing upon these innocent lambs that horrible massacre and desolation of 1655, I shall here recount. Before this council for propagation and extirpation had been thoroughly formed in 1650, the priests and monks employed by the Romish clergy had used many arts insensibly and gradually to ruin and exterminate them. As 1st. By raising and loading them continually with all manner of crimes, to render them odious in the eyes of the world, and especially of their princes. 2d. Not only by setting them at variance and law with one another, and promising both parties their aid and assistance, but menacing the ministers that should bring them to agreement. 3d. By proposing among them advantageous matches, and so contriving them, that the papist should bring over the protestant. 4th. By perverting those who for any scandal or delinquency were under discipline. 5th. By showing mercy to all sorts of criminals, and even sorcerers and witches; and moreover, rewarding the worst of criminals apostatizing to themselves, with real or sham conveyances of estates. 6th. By obliging the protestants to pay the share of taxes incumbent upon the apostates. 7th. By establishing those, the most troublesome, insidious, and dangerous of all men, the missionaries of the society for the propagation in all the valleys, so as to erect monasteries, as so many citadels in the midst of them, where these hellish incendiaries might be more ready at hand to contrive the machines and instruments, whereby to ruin the faithful. 8th. By encouraging, authorizing, and rewarding villains for their false testimonies. 9th. By appointing those monks to be collectors of the taxes, who were to lay double and treble loads upon the Vaudois protestants. 10th. By not only ravishing or kidnapping their children from them; but buying the souls of the indigent for bread; and in favour of the apostates, exempting them from all taxes. These and the like were the artifices of the priests and monks, agents to the council at Rome, as

is represented at large by Leger as above, before the congregation itself came to be fully modelled and settled in the particular kingdoms and states under the papal direction, and particularly in Savoy, as it was in 1650. But when this congregation came to be established, and the secret was found out, of incorporating and engaging into the society persons of the first quality, nay even princes themselves, with lords and ladies of the court, as well as the ecclesiastics, and this by rewarding them with prebends and preferments in the pope's disposal, then was the total extermination of these poor people vigorously set about in methods more directly tending to their total ruin; namely, by such as ripened in a short time, to the surprising them with the most bloody and inhuman massacres which afterward follow; the most considerable of which destructive artifices, immediately preceding the horrid massacre of 1655, I shall briefly relate.

And first, it may be reckoned as a most pernicious machine to ruin or pervert these people, the setting up of usurers in the valleys of Lucerne, Perouse, and St. Martin, under the specious name of Monte di Pieta. The fathers Capuchins, being the worthy directors of this bank, they had great magazines of corn to lend upon good security, to all those who wanted it; and several of those poor people were the more constrained to take it from their hands, because there was at that time a great scarcity. This Monte di Pieta did lend not only money to those that wanted it, but it also furnished them with all sorts of stuff and merchandise, but the whole at most excessive interest.

When the time was elapsed when those poor people were either to redeem or lose their pawns, or else to pay their obligations, (for the directors of this Monte d' Impieta, very well knew to whom they might safely lend,) and if it happened that there were some who could not discharge their debts just at the time appointed, and desired some little delay, they found no manner of mercy, unless they would promise to go to mass; in which case they did not only forgive them their debt, but likewise offer them a great quantity of corn, and a certain sum of money besides, gratis, and an exemption from all manner of charges, imposts, and taxes for the space of five years, nay, to redouble it, and perpetuate it in favour of those who should testify the greatest zeal for the Roman catholic faith.

Another artifice of this execrable society, was by continual innovations upon the rights of this people confirmed to them by edicts and patents, and by the strange insolencies of the monks lately granted among them, to provoke these people, or at least some particular persons of them, to make some commotion, which might afford some plausible colour and pretence to solicit the prince to conclude upon the destruction and desolation of all the valleys. And herein they had like to have played their game but too well, by working up the passions of an indiscreet woman, and two rash young men, to put fire to a nest of monks, who were continually at mischief; for notwithstanding all the remonstrances of these poor people, utterly disavowing the action, and requesting the offenders might be punished, nothing less would serve the Council of the Propagation, but the total destruction of the whole community. And the prince attempted it, and had succeeded, but for the courage and conduct of these brave people, and their ministers.

This not succeeding, they bethought themselves of an abominable stratagem, to destroy them all at once, and cut their throats, by the King of France's army, that was then in Italy, and was commanded by the Marshal de St. Grance, in the year 1653. The king having assigned for the winter quarters of his army the provinces of Delphinat, Provence, Languedoc, and Burgundy; these provinces offered to the marshal very considerable sums to exempt them from the quartering of soldiers; and he was the more contented with it, because the Dutchess of Savoy proposed to quarter a part of the army in Savoy, for a share of the money proffered. The bargain being struck, the marshal marched his army towards the valleys, which was the place that the dutchess had assigned for their winter quarters. In the mean time, although the Council of the Propagation knew all well of the bargain made between the dutchess and the marshal, they ordered the Capuchins, and some gentlemen of the valleys, and even some of the chief ministers of the court, to persuade the Vaudois, and make them believe that it was not the intention of the dutchess that those strangers should quarter there; and by their artificial discourse, full of malice and fraud, they stirred up the Vaudois to take up arms, and oppose the army of the king, which was already entered into the valley of Lucerne, and in a condition to force these poor people to receive them, threatening nothing but fire and sword. And this had been done, if a minister of the gospel had not gone and cast himself at the feet of the marshal, and discovered to him the diabolical malice of their enemies, and desiring him to show one billet for quartering, he assured him, that as soon as the billet of the dutchess should be shown about, he was certain that all the inhabitants of the valleys would submit without the least resistance: to which proposition the marshal accorded, and at the same time sent to Turin to have the billet for quartering of soldiers, as the minister desired, and it coming in a short time, the Vaudois submitted without the least difficulty. We must consider that the army of the king was very powerful, and made up of expert troops, and that the marshal was fully resolved to gain the great sum of money that he was to draw from the aforesaid provinces, and to have his bargain to the full of the dutchess; and that the Vaudois that were in arms, had let his army enter into the valley of Lucerne, without any opposition; and that they were not prepared for a long defence, neither had entrenched themselves in their usual fastnesses, and so it is not to be doubted, but that they must have been conquered by the French, who being enraged at their boldness, and the contempt of their great army, would have put all to the sword, without distinction of sex or age; if God had not made use of the zeal and prudence of this minister to frustrate the designs and crafty contrivances of those enemies of God, and his church.

Another wicked stratagem of the Dutchess of Savoy and her son Charles Emanuel II. for the destruction of the Vaudois of Piedmont, was by establishing the Irish there, that were driven out of their country. To understand which we must know, that in the year 1655, the Dutchess of Savoy, and her son the duke, being solicited by the court of Rome, and the Council of Propagation, to destroy the protestants of the valleys, and to establish in their places the Irish, who served the King of France in his royal army in Italy, and were driven out of their country by Cromwell; these Irish were of the number of those that had played such pranks in Ireland, against the poor protestants, in the year 1642, and the last that had laid down their

arms in that kingdom, after the death of King Charles I. To give these valleys to the Irish, the protestants, who were the true and natural inhabitants of these valleys, were all to be extirpated, for so it was resolved in the Council of the Propagation, and after in the duke's, which was for the greater part composed of the former.

To effect this wicked design, they must make use of some specious pretence; they could not make their pretence to be the affair of the house of the Capuchins of Villar, which some protestants, privately pushed on by their enemies the papists, had burnt to the ground; for this affair had been accommodated many years, and the accomplices severely punished. They took therefore another way; they obtained from the duke a commission, by Gastaldo his counsellor in his chamber of accounts, to drive out all the protestants that were in the valleys of Lucerne, Lucernette, St. John, de la Tour, de Bubbian, de Fenil, de Campligon, de Briguieras, and of St. Secundus. The commission was despatched the 13th of January, 1655, and the 25th day of the same month Gastaldo gave orders, and a strict command to all the protestants of the aforesaid places, to abandon them, and to retire with their families, within three days after the publication, into places which his royal highness did tolerate, (which are Bobi, Villar, Angrogne, Roras, and the country of the Bonnets,) under the pain of death, and confiscation of all their goods, if they found them in the aforesaid limits, if within twenty days they do not make it appear to us, that they are become Roman catholics, or that they have sold their goods to catholics.

Those that gave this pernicious counsel to the duke, knew that the protestants were, time out of mind, established there, even before the Dukes of Savoy were princes of Piedmont: and that the predecessors of Charles Emanuel II., who had given this commission to Gastaldo, had maintained them by divers declarations and grants. But they believed that the Vaudois, who were well established in those places that they were commanded to quit, would not obey the unjust command of Gastaldo, and that so they would take their disobedience for a pretence to destroy them; or if they obeyed, and could not be destroyed or chased out of the rest of the valleys, the places they should quit, would be enough to receive the Irish, who being a people that had been long trained up in the wars, would be a bridle upon the Vaudois, and put them upon an impossibility of ever recovering their former habitations.

Although the protestants well knew the injustice of this order, and that they had sufficient reason not to obey it, nevertheless, to take away all pretence from their enemies of rendering them odious to their prince, and to make them pass for rebels; they quitted the places named by Gastaldo, and retired into those assigned in the proclamation; after which they ordered deputies to go to the duke, and cast themselves at his feet, and by a most humble petition, which they presented him, to supplicate him with a most profound respect, to revoke the orders given to Gastaldo, as being contrary to their privileges, and the grants: but their request was not answered.

The Vaudois seeing their enemies had no compassion of these miseries, had recourse to her royal highness his mother, to whom they presented a petition full of respect and submission. This princess sent them back to the Council of the Propagation, their sworn enemies, and most cruel persecutors; and this council sent them back to the Marquis de Pianesse,

who long before had received orders to go and massacre them, as the event made most evidently appear, under the following persecution.

CHAPTER XII.

The Eighth Persecution of the Vaudois of Piedmont by the Dutchess of Savoy, and Charles Emanuel, her Son, by way of treachery, Massacre, and War, from the year 1655 till 1662.

AFTER such mighty preparations made by the united councils of the wisest heads, both at Rome and in the Duke of Savoy's court, utterly to exterminate these poor distressed people; no wonder there should follow such massacres in the valleys as had never been known before, and these carried on with the addition of such treacheries, as none but the synagogue of Satan abandoned to all iniquity, could have been guilty of. Accordingly it happened so that this persecution of Vaudois, in the year 1655, will be found one of the most bloody and villanous that is to be seen in the annals of history. I shall not give it at large, as related by Moreland and Leger, because that would be to make a volume of this one period; but shall rather content myself here to give an abstract of what is by them related with greater circumstance. To proceed then :

While the Vaudois laboured by their humble supplications and submissions to sweeten the spirit of their prince, and to incline him to maintain their rights and privileges, having done nothing that could forfeit them; their enemies laboured with the duke, with all their power, to destroy them. They raised for this purpose an army of fifteen thousand men, formed of all the troops of the duke, of four regiments of French, of one regiment of Germans, and twelve hundred of the Irish, and they were all old troops; Prince Thomas also, who then commanded the army of the king in Italy, sent to the duke, his nephew, four of the best regiments of the army, with the Irish; and the Duke of Bavaria, his brother-in-law, sent him one of his best regiments. The army was ready the 15th of April, 1655, and in a condition to execute their wicked design against these innocent people, who seeing the enemies' army approach their valleys, began to stand upon their guard.

In the interim, the Marquis of Pianesse, who commanded the army, amusing their deputies at Turin, till they were marched near the valleys, and ready to enter them, the 16th he departed incognito, and gave orders before his departure, to stop the deputies, till they had received advice, that he with his army was entered the valleys; which would have been executed, if a person of quality, who did not approve the perfidiousness and treachery that was made use of to destroy these poor people, had not whispered them in the ear to be gone quickly. The marquis is in the valleys; in short, he got into the valley of Lucerne the day after his departure, which was the 17th of the month of April; the 18th, the army foraged and sacked all the communities and neighbourhood of St. John, and de la Tour, without any resistance. The 18th also, the army went about to force the Vaudois that were retired into the places limited, by the order of Gastaldo; these, after they had implored the aid and assistance

of the God of battle, defended themselves courageously against all this great army which attacked them, in four several places; then they repulsed them vigorously, and after having killed a great number of their enemies, put them to the rout, though they were a hundred against one. This was the entrance upon this fearful tragedy, which for the more distinct apprehension of it, I shall represent under several sections, as follows.

SECTION I.

The abominable means, that the Marquis of Pianesse made use of, to surprize the Vaudois of Piedmont, and to enter into the Valleys, and of the cruel Massacre he made of these poor innocents, after the entry, in the year 1655.

THE Marquis of Pianesse, seeing that he could not destroy the Vaudois by force of arms, had recourse to a most strange and detestable piece of perfidiousness, which Satan had suggested to him: he sent a trumpeter to them, to tell them that they should send their deputies, and hear from his mouth the will and pleasure of his royal highness; that all was for their good and advantage, and that they might come with a full assurance. The Vaudois desiring nothing more than peace, were presently taken in this gin the marquis had laid for them; they sent away their deputies with the trumpeter, and were received with all demonstrations of kindness: Monsieur de Pianesse entertained them splendidly at dinner, made a thousand protestations of amity, and most endearing caresses, but this was all to surprize them, and betray them, as Judas did, with a kiss.

After he had cast a mist before their eyes, by his protestations and deceitful caresses full of snares, he told them he had nothing to do but with the inhabitants of those places forbid by the order of Gastaldo, but as for other places, they had nothing to fear, if they would only, in sign of obedience and fidelity, receive and quarter for two or three days, in every one of their communities, a regiment of foot, and two troops of horse. The deputies, who believed the protestations of the marquis were sincere, and far from all treachery and perfidiousness; when they returned to those that had deputed them, they so strongly persuaded them to do what the Marquis of Pianesse had counselled them, that there were none of the communities that were not disposed to receive them, which they did without any opposition or resistance.

The regiments of foot, and the troops of horse, which they had agreed to receive, were no sooner entered and quartered in the several communities, but they seized on all the passes, and were followed by all the rest of the army. They were desired to quarter in the towns and villages below, as being more commodious for them, being offered to be furnished with all things necessary, but they marched on as long as the day would permit, even to the highest places that were inhabited. One part of the army mounted upon the common road to Angrogne, another part upon that of Villar and Bobi, and the third part of the army possessed themselves of the Meadow of Tour, which was the strongest place of Angrogne, which sometimes served as it were for a fortress for the Vaudois, and in marching, they set fire on every place, and killed all they met in the way. This strange and barbarous proceeding discovered their treachery; every one

fled to save their lives, and the greatest part of the men, by the favour of the night, got to the mountains, and saved part of their families from these cruel massacres, and sliding down the other side of the mountain, they gained the valley of Perouse, a part of the King of France's territories. This army besprinkled with the blood of the saints, found the houses of Angrogne, and the goods as well of the natural inhabitants, of those that were fled from other places, from which they had been chased by the ordinance of Gastaldo, but they found but few inhabitants, except it was of women, children, old and sick people.

The enemies of the Vaudois having by this treachery and perfidiousness, made themselves masters of all the valleys, even of the strongest places, which would have served them as so many fortresses against their persecutors, stayed two days without exercising their rage and projected cruelty; feigning they would do nothing but refresh themselves in their quarters, in the mean time they strongly persuaded those that remained, to recall those that fled, assuring them they should have no harm done them, and there were some of them that through their too great credulity, cast themselves into the snares which they had happily escaped.

The third day the signal being given from the hill of the town, which is called Castelas, all the innocent creatures that were found in their power were killed in the most cruel manner imaginable. They did not kill them as sheep prepared for the butchery, or as enemies vanquished, that were to be cut off without quarter; but in a manner more cruel and more barbarous. The infants were pulled violently from the breast of their mothers, and dashed against the rocks and walls by these most cruel barbarians, upon which their brains were plastered; or else one soldier took one of these innocents by one leg, and another by the other, and so rent them most miserably asunder, and sometimes they dashed the brains of one child against the other, and after killed their mothers.

The sick, as well women as children, were either burnt in their houses, or cut in pieces, or tied naked with their heads between their legs, and thrown down the rocks, or tumbled down the mountains.

The women and their daughters were violated and stuffed with pebbles, and their mouth and ears with powder, and afterwards fire was given to the train; and by these sort of diabolical mines, they were miserably blown up. Others were empaled alive, and in this dismal posture planted upon the highways, all naked, and some of them had their heads, arms, and breasts cut off, which these barbarians fricasseed and eat. *Oh the brave stomachs of popish cannibals!*

As to the men which were neither old nor sick, that fell into the hands of these cruel butchers, some of them were flayed alive, others, after they had cut off the privy members, they cut off their heads, and put their members in their mouths. Some were cut all in pieces limb from limb, as you cut flesh in the shambles; and those that did signalize themselves most in this sort of cruelty were the Irish, who had been used to such sort of massacres in their own country, in 1642.

After this great massacre of the poor Vaudois that fell into their power, the next day they went a hunting after those that had escaped them, of which a great number were wandering in the woods, and among the high mountains covered with snow, or hid in the caverns and holes of the rocks, not being able to save themselves, partly because of the great quantity of snow, and partly because of their weakness, being unable to make their escape, because the enemy had seized upon all the passes.

This murdering army having finished the massacre of all the protestants they could find in the valleys, or that were wandering in the woods and mountains, or hid in the caverns and holes of the rocks, they set fire on all combustible things, and quickly reduced all their houses and churches into ashes. Nothing was preserved but the town and church of Villar; which is in the centre of the valley of Lucerne, and some houses in the plain for quarters of the Irish, to whom the Duke of Savoy gave this country.

The Vaudois, some of them being cruelly massacred, others made prisoners, and the rest driven out of their country, the enemies being totally possessed of the valleys, and being made masters of all, they established the Irish there, which being a far greater number than the Vaudois that had escaped out of the massacre, there was no appearance that those poor people could ever re-enter and establish themselves in their country. But God, to whom nothing is impossible, took their cause in hand, and (besides, that he touched the hearts of the protestant states and princes, to afford them charitable assistance) gave them strength and courage, fought for them, and made them with a handful obtain great and miraculous victories over their enemies; and by these signal victories, and solicitations of protestant princes, they were re-established in their lost country, and continued there till the year 1686, in despite of all the artifices of their enemies, as will appear in the sequel of this story.

But to proceed; after the cruel massacre, of which we have spoken, there was a bloody war between the Vaudois and the murderers; the Vaudois driving them out of their country; in which one may visibly see that the God of battle fought for them, and with them, by the glorious advantages they every day got upon their enemies. The first battle they fought was at Roras, a little community consisting of twenty-five families, and which was far distant from the rest. Here Count Christopher, who was lord of the place, and a member of the Council of Propagating the Faith, being very far from preserving his vassals, as his interest and duty obliged him, violently carried on with a false zeal, did all he could to destroy them, and employed to that end force and treachery; for, contrary to the solemn parole that he had given them on the Marquis of Pianesse's behalf, that they should be left in quiet, the same day that was designed for the cruel butchery of the Vaudois, he sent four or five hundred soldiers to Roras, to treat the inhabitants of that small place in the same manner that all the rest of the valleys were treated; and to surprise them the better, he showed them a secret way, that the soldiers might march with more expedition; which shows that there is no crime, nor wickedness, of which a blind zeal is not capable. Captain Janaval, who fled into Roras with his family, perceived afar off the enemy; he had then not with him above five or six country peasants; with this little company expecting to meet the enemy at an advantageous pass, they killed six of them upon the spot, and the other being sorely frightened, fled in great confusion, thinking the Vaudois were more in number than they were, and in flying they lost fifty-four of their companions.

The Marquis of Pianesse, who commanded the enemy's army, hearing of the ill success of his affairs at Roras, the better to lull them in a secure sleep, and surprise them, he sent them word, that the soldiers that went to attack them, were only rogues and vagabonds, and none of his troops, highly protesting that he knew nothing of the design, and that he would have been extremely pleased if they had cut them in pieces; notwith-

standing, the day following, after he had sent these specious protestations, he detached six hundred select soldiers, who should go and set upon Roras in three several places, and exactly follow the orders he had given; Captain Janaval having discovered them with his little company, which was now composed of about eighteen men, of which twelve were armed with fuses, and pistols, and fauchons, six others with slings only and stones, divided them into three little bands, and placed them in ambuscade, in an advantageous post; and they charged so home their enemies, that they seeing themselves attacked with so much courage by those they went to surprise, they betook themselves to their heels, leaving dead upon the spot sixty of their men.

This second bad success did not, however, make the general give over the enterprise, but as treachery and perfiduousness had success in other valleys, so he was resolved to have recourse to the same. He sent to Roras Count Christopher, who was lord of the place, to tell them, that what was done was grounded upon a false report, but being better informed by the said count, and at his entreaty, he would for the future let them live in perfect quiet, thinking thus to surprise them, by this cunning artifice and treachery of their own lord and master; for the day after he sent a detachment of nine hundred picked men to fall upon those of Roras, in several places at once; but Janaval with his seventeen peasants being got before them to the passes, when they came, fell upon them with so much courage, that he quite routed them, killing a great number in the field, and in the pursuit.

The marquis being ready to burst with despite and rage, for this third ill success of his troops, rallied together all the forces he could conveniently, that were in the valleys, to go and cut the throats of those poor innocent lambs, in this little community; and the army consisted of about eight thousand effective men, which were at the rendezvous ordered by the general. Captain Mario, a valiant soldier, and a great murderer, led the troops that came from Bagnols, and came first with a considerable body of men, and thought himself strong enough to make himself master of Roras; and without expecting the other troops, he divided his into two parts, and fell upon the Vaudois in the front, and the rear, but the Vaudois having gained the top of an eminence, that was above the highest troops of their enemies, so that they could not be attacked but in the front; from this place they made so vigorous a defence, that at last they disordered their enemies, and put them to flight, having left sixty-five of their companions dead upon the place, besides those that were wounded, drowned, and killed in the pursuit. Captain Mario in flying fell into a whirlpool, where without doubt he had been drowned, if two or three of his soldiers, that were expert in swimming, had not drawn him out. He was brought back to Lucerne in his shirt, without either hat or shoes, and was presently seized with a dreadful malady, during which he suffered horrible torments, which made him a hundred times cry out, that he felt the fire of hell in his bowels, for the houses, churches, and persons he had burnt in the valley of Lucerne. He died in these torments, and in this estate he went to give an account of his wickedness before the sovereign Judge of the world.

After so long a fight, and so glorious a deliverance, Janaval with his little troop being retreated to the eminence of a little hill, that they might there refresh themselves; they had no sooner begun to eat, than they saw another body of the army, which came by the way of Villar, and were

climbing up the mountains to surprise them in the rear. As soon as they saw the enemy, they presently quitted their dinners, and put themselves in a posture of defence, in the most advantageous place; and he that commanded in chief the enemies, made a small detachment to take a view of the Vaudois, who came very near them, thinking they might be some of their own gang. The Vaudois discharged so home and thick upon them, that every one killed one or more, which caused so great a terror and confusion among them that remained that they fled in great disorder, and spread the terror and dread of the Vaudois so among the soldiers of that great body, that they all immediately betook themselves to their heels, believing the Vaudois were considerable in number, whereas they were but eighteen. Janaval with his little troop pursued and killed a great many of them, after which he gave thanks to God for so glorious a deliverance, as he was always accustomed to do, when he gained any victory over the enemy.

Three days after these two battles, the Marquis of Pianesse fuming and storming, biting his nails for anger and madness at the pitiful success of all his designs; he sent an express, by a letter, to the people of Roras, by which he commanded them, on behalf of the duke, that they should all within twenty-four hours go to mass, under pain of death, seeing, their houses were reduced to ashes, and their trees cut down.

To this letter they answered, that they had rather suffer a thousand deaths than go to mass, since it could never be clearly proved that either Christ or his apostles ever did celebrate it; that if after burning their houses, they were resolved to cut down their wood, they had a Father in heaven who would tenderly provide for them.

After these menaces, the marquis mustered his army together, composed of ten thousand men, of which eight thousand were old troops and two thousand were of the country peasants of Piedmont, which he listed in the neighbouring communities. He divided his army into three bodies, of which, one had orders to attack the Vaudois on Villar side, another on the side of Bagnols, and the third on the side of Lucerne: Janaval with his little troop went before the body of the army which first presented themselves, and fought valiantly, and with incredible success, having killed many of the enemies; but when he saw the other two bodies had gained the post where several poor families were fled for refuge, and that he could not succour them, he saved himself with his seventeen country peasants, and his son of eight years of age, whom he carried upon his shoulders, and retired into the valley of Queiras, in the territories of the French king.

The obstinacy of the enemies of the Vaudois, in their resolution of destroying the small town of Roras, after so many unsuccessful attacks, shows to all the world the violent passion that a false zeal can produce in the hearts of those who persecute the truth of the gospel. Those that are animated with a true zeal never violate their promises nor oaths made to their enemies; but those that are pushed on by a false zeal keep neither their promise nor oath, they regard nothing but satiating their malice, and contenting their brutal and blind passion. To destroy twenty-four poor families of the Vaudois, they were not content to make use of force, but they must add to it treachery and perfidiousness; they promise and swear they would let them live in quiet, as well on behalf of the duke, as of the general of the army; and the day following they command their troops to cut their throats, and not being able with five hundred men to destroy them, they sent six hundred, and afterwards nine hundred, afterwards eight thousand, and afterwards ten thousand; and that which is remark-

able is, that neither the shame of being repulsed so often, nor the loss of so many hundred of their companions, made them give over their design.

The undaunted courage with which Captain Janaval and his little company sustained the shock, and repulsed the violent attacks of his enemies, and the wonderful victories he gained, shows to the whole world, that the God of battle was on his side. For otherwise how was it possible? for in the first rencounter with seven men only, to put to flight five hundred; and in the other battles, with seventeen or eighteen men, of which six were only armed with slings and stones, to rout sometimes six hundred, then nine hundred, and after some thousands; if God had not been with them, and given them courage and strength, how could it have been done? And on the contrary side, if he had not taken courage from their enemies, and put confusion and terror in their hearts, from whence followed their destruction, and most shameful flight? In short, how was it possible that Janaval and his little handful, after so many dangerous fights, should save themselves, not one of them being killed, or so much as wounded, although they were attacked in the front and in the rear by their enemies, if God had not covered them with his shield, and defended them from their enemies; so that miracles are not yet ceased.

The enemy's army having made themselves masters of Roras, executed the same cruelties towards the families of this little place, as they had done towards those of the other valleys, putting all to fire and sword, without sparing age or sex; but the general was enraged, that with so puissant an army he could only triumph over women and children, and old decrepid men, neither Janaval, nor any of his company falling into his hands. The wife and daughters of Janaval were carried prisoners, they were kept alive to make him lay down his arms, threatening to burn his wife and daughters if he continued in his rebellion, for so they called his just defence.

All the valleys and their dependencies being in the hands of their enemies; it seemed as if these poor people should for ever be exiled from their country, but God, who would preserve the light of his word, in these mountains and valleys, hastened to restore them: the massacre of the valleys was upon the 24th of April, but the taking and massacre of Roras was not till the beginning of May. Captain Janaval, after having refreshed himself at Queiras some days, mustering some of his brethren in suffering, who had made their escape, returned into the valleys with some provisions, and came and posted himself upon the mountain called Palea de Jainet, from whence with his company he departed the 22d of the same month of May, with a design to go to Lucernette, which is a village between the towns of Lucerne and Bobiane, to surprise some cattle, to live upon, and to take some prisoners, to cause them to restore his wife and daughters by way of exchange: but his enterprise had not the success he desired, for that place was full of soldiers. He returned to his post, and having understood that Captain Jayer with all those he could muster, that had escaped the massacre, and were fled into the valleys of Pierouse and Pragela, in the territories of France, had possessed himself of the valley of Lucerne, on Angrogne side; he prayed him by letters to assign him the time, and place, that he might join him, which they did the 27th of the aforesaid month of May.

SECTION II.

Of the conjunction of Jayer and Janaval, Captains of the Vaudois; and the wonderful exploits they did in the Valleys.

THESE two captains were no sooner joined, but they undertook the enterprise of seizing upon the town of Gersiliane, which was garrisoned by their enemies, which they found extremely well fortified. The alarm being given the enemy, which were very numerous in the neighbouring places, as well horse as foot, they having notice by the ringing of the bell, run to the succour of the town, and surrounded the Vaudois, who fighting courageously, retreated from the middle of their enemies, and in their retreat, they took from a village that was near the town, six pair of oxen, and a good quantity of other cattle, and took some prisoners, with the loss of only one man.

The 28th of May, they came very early in the morning, near the town of St. Secundus, to surprise it; and after having spent some time in prayer, according to their custom, and encouraged one another, they attacked it with so much vigour and dexterity, that they made themselves masters of it.

The garrison, that was made up of Irish and Piedmontese, they put all to the sword; they burned the town and the churches in revenge of what had been done to their houses and temples, and having carried away seven bells, and all the cattle, they retreated: in taking this town, they killed eight hundred Irish, and six hundred and fifty Piedmontese. The Vaudois had only seven men killed, and six wounded very slightly, though the Vaudois were not above six hundred men, and their enemies were at least one thousand five hundred, well entrenched and fortified.

The 2d of June, the Vaudois went to burn the forage and horses upon the plain of Briqueras, and retreating by the way of St. John, they were encountered by the enemy, whom they charged so briskly in three several places, that they put them to flight, leaving one hundred and fifty dead upon the spot, besides those that were prisoners and wounded. In this rencounter there was but one of the Vaudois killed, and two wounded.

Some days after the battle of St. John, the enemy sent a convoy to the fort of Mirebouc, conducted by three hundred men; it is situated above in the valley of Lucerne. Captain Janaval met them by chance in a straight place upon the road, he having then only eight soldiers with him; he stopped them five or six hours, and killed and wounded a great number of them, without the loss of a man.

After these glorious exploits, Janaval having re-enforced himself, retired again to the mountain called Palea de Jaimet, and sent a message from thence to Tour and Bobi, who had revolted to escape the cruelty and barbarity of the enemy, and were retired to the town of Villar; that if within twenty-four hours they did not join him, he would treat them as apostates and traitors to their country: they presently came with a great deal of joy, seeing some hopes of their liberty, being very penitent for their former want of courage and confidence in God.

The captains, Jayer and Janaval being joined the second time, resolved to fall upon the town of Tour, where was the strongest garrison of the

enemy; who having some intelligence of their coming, put themselves betimes in a posture of defence, and killed the first Vaudois that appeared upon the bridge before the gate of the town: in short, they made a great sally upon the assailants, who received their enemies with so much courage, that they covered the earth with their dead bodies. The battle continued till night, the Vaudois entrenched themselves upon a little eminence of a hill they had gained, from whence the enemy could not force them, though they were a far greater number, and were re-enforced with some troops that came from Lucerne to their assistance; and about the beginning of the night, the enemy retired into the town, without being able to carry off their dead, which were more than three hundred. This happy success gave so much courage to the Vaudois, that the morrow following they went and posted themselves before the gates of the town, and their enemies durst not sally out upon them.

After the attack of Tour, the Vaudois retreated into a place of Angrogne called Verne. There in a council of war, they resolved to send four hundred and fifty men, which made up the three-fourth parts of their little army, to assault the community of Crusol, whose inhabitants had done them much mischief in the time of the massacre. At the first noise of their approach, those of Crusol retired into a great cave, which was in a neighbouring mountain, and the Vaudois being not able to force them out from thence, contented themselves to take away four hundred cows and oxen, six hundred sheep and goats, and whatsoever booty they could meet with, among which they met with good store of their own goods that had been taken from them in the massacre.

While the four hundred and fifty Vaudois were on their march for the expedition of Crusol, the Papists of St. Secundus, Lucerne, Tour, and Briqueras, burned some houses that remained in Rocheplate, and from thence they went to Angrogne, to surprise the little garrison that was left there to defend that post, under the command of the Captains Laurence and Benet. They discovered their enemies as they approached them, with design to fall upon them in several places at once. This obliged the little garrison to divide their small number into two little bodies, of which the one presently gained the top of a mountain, and the other kept a little below upon a small hill. In conclusion, they placed seventeen men in ambuscade in an advantageous place, where the enemies were to join; and these men rushing out upon them on a sudden, and killing seven of them, so daunted the rest, that they retreated without daring to attempt any thing further.

After his return from Crusol, Captain Jayer went to the valley of Pragelas, to sell a part of his booty, but not returning at the day appointed, Captain Janaval with three hundred men, that he had with him, undertook to force the town of Lucerne. He came before it early in the morning the 6th of June, and as soon as he came there, he turned out of its course, the channel that brought water to the town, and broke their bridge, which was but a musket-shot off the town, to hinder succours from coming in; after which he attacked it, and defeated two corps de guard: but the night before, Maroles, who was governor of it, being entered into it with a new regiment, it was not possible for him with so small a company to make himself master of it; so he contented himself with what he had done, and retreated without any loss.

The 15th of June, being in Angrogne with three hundred men, which he commanded, he was sharply set upon by the enemies' army, consisting

of three thousand men, which was divided into four bodies, of which one was to gain the top of a hill, the other was to attack him on the right, another on the left, and the fourth in the front. The trumpet which was to give the signal to the enemies to fall all at once upon the Vaudois, having sounded a little sooner than it should have done, gave time to Captain Janaval, to post himself upon an advantageous neighbouring hill, where with the assistance of God, whom he invoked, he resisted from morning, till two hours after noon, all the attacks of the enemy, and after having killed a great number of them, they took their heels, and fled in great confusion, Janaval pursuing them even below Angrogne, and killing many of them in the flight. The enemies confess, that on this occasion they lost five hundred men, and had a great many more wounded; of the Vaudois, there was but one killed, and two wounded.

Immediately after the battle, Captain Mayer came with his little troop, which gave such courage to Janaval and his, that although they were extremely fatigued with fighting all the day, without taking any refreshment; having remarked that the enemies seemed to doubt of nothing, and only thought of dividing themselves, that every one might retire to his own quarter, they unanimously resolved to attack them, and fell upon them with so much courage, Mayer on the one side, and Janaval on the other, that they quite routed them, and killed above an hundred, among whom were three officers of note: but by a great misfortune, for the Vaudois, Captain Janaval at the end of the fight was shot with a musket bullet, which entering in at his breast, went out at his back betwixt his shoulders, which put him in such a condition, that it was thought he would have died immediately. He had notwithstanding the judgment to desire Captain Mayer to enterprise no more that night, because his soldiers could do no more, and he himself gave advice in what he thought was necessary to be done. He was carried to Pinache, and about the end of July he was perfectly cured of his wounds.

The enemies of the Vaudois, not being able to withstand the Vaudois in the mountains, they made use of a traitor, to draw Captain Mayer down to the plain. This perfidious wretch, after the battle, of which we have spoken, came to seek out the captain, and told him, that there were no troops on Orsacy side, where he might have a considerable booty, and repay the enemies in their own coin, without danger, in burning their houses and cabins. He took with him one hundred and fifty soldiers of this little army, and set some cabins on fire near Orsacy, and took some booty, but in such places where the cavalry could have no advantage. The traitor, who led him out to slaughter, told him that a little lower there were some cabins, and good store of cattle, which would cost him nothing but taking, and persuaded him to go thither; and he no sooner came to the place where he led him, than he was surrounded with a squadron of Savoyards, which defeated him with forty soldiers that had followed him. Seeing himself betrayed, he killed the traitor with his own hand, and three captains of horse; his son also, and his soldiers sold their lives dear, but having to do with so many enemies, they were all cut in pieces, except one, who saved himself in a morass.

The death of Captain Mayer, and the wounding of Captain Janaval, which was believed mortal, happening the same day, caused a great consternation among the Vaudois: but notwithstanding they took fresh courage, and under the conduct of Captain Laurence, and a brother of Captain Mayer, who succeeded him, under his command, they mustered upon the

mountain of Vauchere, where they resolved to meet their enemies that were coming to assault them, and they fell upon them with that resolution, courage and dexterity, that they put them to flight in a very great disorder, after having left more than two hundred of their companions dead upon the place, among whom was a lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Bavaria, and several officers of note, besides the wounded and prisoners. The Vaudois lost in this fight, only Captain Bertin, and a common soldier; and that which is most to be admired is, that they were but five hundred and fifty men, and their enemies six thousand, according to the report of the prisoners. And this is particularly remarkable, and full of admiration, that as soon as Captain Bertin was killed, his son and heir, out of his filial piety, having carried off the body of his father, presently placed himself at the head of his father's company, and began his charge with these words, "Take heart, my brethren, for though my father be dead, our celestial Father can give me the same courage and conduct as by his grace, he has filled me with the same zeal."

The day following, the Vaudois were in continual skirmishes with their enemies at Tour and Taileret, where many of their enemies were killed and wounded, and the Vaudois had but one soldier slightly wounded.

Their enemies knowing, that all the protestant princes would interest themselves in the affairs of the Vaudois, they re-enforced their army with new troops, to do the utmost to destroy the Vaudois, before the ambassadors of England and Holland should arrive at the court of Savoy: therefore the 11th of July, all the army of the enemies came to attack them upon the mountain of Vauchere, where the Vaudois were posted before. Colonel Andrion of Geneva, and John Leger, minister, were newly arrived in these valleys; and they observing the Vaudois had made their lodgments too far asunder, that they might the better make use of the shelter of some stables that were in that place, they exhorted them, for the better avoiding of surprises, to assemble altogether in one place of the mountain, where they had made some barricadoes, the better to defend themselves, but it was impossible to oblige them to it. The day following, which was the day of the attack, they sent four soldiers two hours before day, to observe the enemy, of which were two who made a halt near the church of Angrogne: they spoke Piedmontese, which was the reason that they took them to be some of their own; but a little after, they stealing away, when with great precipitation they took the way of the mountain, they shot after them, which served the Vaudois for an alarm, and at the same time, they put themselves in a posture of defence. The enemy divided themselves into four bodies, to fall upon the Vaudois in four several places, as presently after they did; the battle was sharp, and lasted about six hours, the enemy being strong refreshed themselves, and encouraged one another. They had now made themselves masters of the first barricado, and cried, victory: but the Vaudois that were retreated into the last retrenchment, after a short but ardent prayer to God, sallied out, and fell upon them with so much fury, that they obliged them to retreat, which they did without any disorder. Colonel Andrion would not permit a pursuit, for fear of the enemy's horse that was below. In this fight, the enemy lost about four hundred men, among whom were many officers of note, and one hundred and eighty soldiers of the regiment of Bavaria: the Vaudois had only some few soldiers slightly wounded.

After this battle, the enemy having lost all hopes of reaping the corn

of Angrogne, as they had done of the plain, enterprised the burning of it; but the Vaudois came in so quickly upon them, that they obliged them to quit their design; for after having killed about a dozen of them, they fell upon the rest, and put them to flight, of which a number, to be the more nimble, threw away their arms to save their lives. Captain Bertin pursued them to Tour, and killed and wounded a great many of them; he killed likewise the sentinel, and four soldiers that appeared upon the ramparts of the fort, and struck the enemy with so great a terror, that they vowed afterwards, that if he had followed his blow, he might have made himself master of the place.

Among all the battles that we have spoken of, it appeared visibly, that God had declared himself the protector and defender of the Vaudois; otherwise, how was it possible, that a handful of men, of little or no experience in war, should have been able to resist, much less to gain, so many victories over their enemies, which were expert and tried soldiers, as we have seen they have done to the 15th of July, when they fought alone, without the aid or assistance of any foreign help; and that which is considerable, they had to do with their prince, whom the emissaries of the pope had armed against them, only in hatred of their religion. Their prince was assisted by the King of France, and the Duke of Bavaria, of which the one was his brother-in-law, and the other his cousin german. The Vaudois were not the hundredth part of his subjects and estates: the prince and all his other subjects were armed against them, and notwithstanding they gained no advantage, but on the contrary, were foiled, and in most occasions most shamefully put to flight.

The protestants of France hearing of the cruel massacre that was committed upon their brethren of Piedmont, made extraordinary prayers to God for them, and large collections to assist those that had escaped. Some provinces celebrated a fast for them, and that of Sevenne celebrated one by order of the synod, assembled at Sale, in the month of June, 1655. Upon the news that was divulged, that those that had escaped the massacre had re-entered the valley, and defended themselves there courageously; many officers and soldiers of Sevenne, and the lower Languedoc, went to the succour of their brethren, who in little companies, by several ways, got into the valleys; and so the army of the Vaudois, that had not been till the 14th or 15th of July, above six hundred men, consisted of one thousand eight hundred, the 17th or 18th of July. The Lord of Combies, of the city of Anduse in Sevenne, was of the number of those that went to succour their brethren; and because he had had considerable employ in the armies of the King of France, he was by general consent chosen general of the army. After the example of those of the lower Languedoc and Savenne, many soldiers out of the Delphinat came and joined them in the valleys.

The army being two-thirds stronger than it was, it was resolved in a council of war, to go and force the town and fort of Tour. They departed at night, the 18th of July, for this expedition, and arrived the day following, before day, within a mile of Tour, where they halted till day break, and then Monsieur Combies sent some to view the fortifications of the fort, and those that were sent, made a report to the general, that the place was impregnable against a greater army, upon which, Monsieur Combies ordered to sound a retreat, being apprehensive of ill success in his first design.

But Captain Bertin, who was of a contrary opinion, would not retreat

with his company, but desperately assaulted the town. He was soon followed by the rest of the Vaudois, and some two or three Frenchmen. This captain, who was a townsman of Tour, knew all the weak places about it, and presently broke through the wall, near the convent of Capuchins, and before the enemy took the alarm, made himself master of the borough, and of the convent, which he burnt down to the ground. And there is no doubt that if all the army of the Vaudois had followed Captain Bertin, they had taken the fort, notwithstanding the succours, that Maroles, governor of Lucerne, brought, as soon as he had news of the attempt. Monsieur Combies having seen what Captain Bertin had done, was much concerned that he had sounded a retreat.

And here ends the war of the year 1655, which was followed by a cruel massacre that was made of the Vaudois, in the month of April, in the same year. But before we speak of peace, it is necessary that we make some reflections upon this war.

SECTION III.

Reflections upon the War in the year 1655, and of the ensuing Peace made at Pignerol, by the Mediation of the Ambassador of France, and the Ambassadors of the Protestant Cantons.

It is certain that the Duke of Savoy had no better nor more faithful subjects than the Vaudois, who always followed their prince, as well in his wars abroad as at home. They never took up arms, but when he would force their consciences, and deprive them of the free exercise of their religion. This appears in this, that every time that war was made upon them, they were commanded first to renounce their religion, and go to mass, but all those that obeyed, enjoyed several privileges and immunities, without any disturbance. And all the crimes for which the Vaudois were so severely handled was, because they would not abandon their religion, which they had received from father to son, from the time of the apostles, and was in every thing conformable to their doctrine.

Those that escaped out of the massacre, seem to have had just reason to take up arms, since the enemies had unjustly murdered the fathers and mothers of some, the wives and children of others; and the remainder, who had lost their brothers and sisters, had met with the same fate, had they fallen into the hands of these cruel butchers. So much blood unjustly spilt, cried to heaven for vengeance, and God made use of the hands of those that escaped to revenge it, as the event showed by the victories they gained over their murderers, and by the great slaughter they made of them, though they were inferior in number; and that which is more, they were driven from their own houses, goods, and country, against the laws of nature and nations, which order, that every one enjoy his own in quiet, if he has committed no crimes, that make him unworthy of it. Now these poor people had committed no crime, they were of the religion they professed, before the dukes of Savoy had any thing to do with Piedmont, and besides, it was confirmed to them by divers grants and privileges.

If God had not been willing to re-establish them in their country, would

he have given them courage to return without being recalled by their prince, after having been driven out by a cruel massacre and a puissant army? When Captain Janaval returned home, which was about fifteen or twenty days after he was driven from Roras, he had but about two hundred men, and they had established in the valleys one thousand two hundred Irish, all soldiers; there were besides these, three thousand men of the old troops of the Duke of Savoy, and all the inhabitants were papists, so that there were more than a hundred against one. But notwithstanding their enemies were in so great a number, and were masters of the country; yet Janaval returned, and not barely content to make excursions, he carried away a good booty from Lucernette, which was a place full of the enemy, and situate between the towns of Lucerne and Bobiane, where the duke had strong garrisons. If God had not given the Vaudois courage, how would they have undertaken the enterprise of St. Secundus, where there were eight hundred Irish, and six hundred and fifty Piedmontese in garrison, strongly fortified and intrenched, and they were not above five hundred? How could so small a number have forced the town, if God had not been with them, and fought for them, and delivered these murderers of their brethren into their hands, to revenge the blood they had so inhumanly and without cause spilt?

Although this war continued but three months, it was nevertheless very bloody, for the enemies of the Vaudois lost in the several encounters and battles we have spoken of, more than four thousand men, of which the greatest part were the murderers, who were sent to God in a short time, to give an account of their barbarities and cruelties towards these poor innocents. The Vaudois, during the whole war, lost not above ninety-five men, reckoning in this number, the forty who were cruelly and treacherously killed with Captain Jayer, which we mentioned above.

And this is very remarkable, that the enemies of the Vaudois never had any advantage over them, but by their treachery and perfidiousness, in violating the public faith and treaties; but when they were upon their guard, and fought for the maintenance of their religion, they were always victorious over their enemies; and as they maintained the celestial verity contained in the holy Scriptures, so heaven took them under its protection, and defended their cause; God covered them with his buckler wherever they went, and fought for them, giving them courage, and striking their enemies with confusion and terror; otherwise they had never gained so many victories over their enemies, who, were oftentimes more than a hundred to one.

The Duke of Savoy, seeing that neither the massacre he had made of the Vaudois, nor the war that had followed the massacre, had answered his designs, and the confederates' expectation, was desirous of a peace, and was very willing to be solicited by the protestant princes and states to condescend to it; for it was probable, if he had continued the war three months more, he would have been obliged to ask it of those he had been so unjust to. His army was very much weakened, and that of the Vaudois was very well re-enforced. Of the one thousand two hundred Irish, which in the beginning of the war were planted there, eight hundred were cut off at St. Secundus, and the rest either perished of distempers, or in other battles that they fought afterwards. The French troops were retreated, and the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Bavaria, and many of his best officers, and more than two hundred common soldiers, were killed in this war; and besides all this, he had lost more than three thousand of his

own troops. The army of the Vaudois, when the peace was made, consisted of one thousand eight hundred men, and increased every day. Also many famous officers and protestant soldiers out of France, joining them in this holy war : and if the Vaudois, when they were but between five and six hundred, always were victorious over their enemies, and in spite of all their opposition, had recovered all they had lost ; it might reasonably be hoped, that in three months more they might have quite destroyed the enemy's army, or at least, have driven them out of the valleys.

The ambassadors of the protestant cantons had been a good while at Turin to assist these poor people, and offered their mediation for a lasting peace ; but the duke excused himself, saying, that he had long ago referred that affair to the King of France, and that he durst not take it out of the hands of so great a king ; and that which obliged the duke to speak so, was, that he knew the King of France was perfectly linked to him by interest, and that he had lent him his troops, and being the umpire between him and the Vaudois, he would decide more for his advantage, than for that of the Vaudois. Monsieur de Servient, the ambassador of the King of France in that court, was the mediator of peace, and Monsieur de Servient knowing that the ambassadors from England, and the States of Holland, were upon their journey to be employed upon that affair, and that these two states had made great collections for the Vaudois, and that the protector of England very much interested himself in the business, the better to please the zealous protestants of England, precipitated the peace, and concluded it before their arrival at Turin. There is no doubt but that if these ambassadors had arrived before the conclusion of the peace, it would have been much more advantageous to the Vaudois than it was ; they would have obtained a restitution of all that had been unjustly taken from them by the order of Gastaldo, and have forced them to demolish the fort of Turin, without suffering the duke to build another. It is true, that by a private article they were promised the fort should be demolished, and in effect it was done after the peace ; but it was but to build a stronger in the place where the old one was, which the predecessors of the Vaudois had caused to be pulled down ; and even this was against the promise made to them, that they should not build another. The duke gave them a patent, signed at Pignerol the 9th of August, 1655, by which he pardoned the Vaudois for taking up arms against him ; he established them in their goods and privileges, and in a free exercise of their religion, except in some places excepted in the patent. The ambassador of France, and the ministers of the duke, drew the patent so, to defend, as they said, the honour of his royal highness ; but to defend the honour of their prince, they made innocent subjects, who had been unjustly massacred, and chased out of their country, to pass for rebels, and to be reputed criminals ; and deprived them of certain places which they had enjoyed from father to son many ages, even before the dukes of Savoy were princes of Piedmont ; and in which places they were confirmed by the concessions and declarations of the predecessors of his highness, and which he himself had confirmed in the year 1653.

SECTION IV.

Containing the wicked Artifices which the Enemies of the Vaudois made use of to complete the destruction of those that had escaped the Massacre and War of 1655, with the breaking of the Peace of Pignerol.

THE Duke of Savoy and his council not being able to destroy the Vaudois, either by the massacre they had made of them, or a cruel and continual war; instead of letting them live in peace, after the treaty of Pignerol, as they had promised the ambassadors, they took more cunning and subtle ways (but no less dangerous and diabolical) to destroy the remainder of these poor distressed people.

The first artifice their enemies made use of to destroy them, was, to set them together by the ears about the charitable collections that were made for them in foreign countries, by spreading round about a report of a great abuse pretended to be committed in the distribution of the money. To this end they made use of a Jesuit, called Longuiel, a famous impostor, who came into these valleys, and pretended he came from Languedoc, where he had, as he said, renounced the Roman religion. This wolf disguised in sheep's clothing, had obtained the school of Villar, which is in the centre of the valley of Lucerne. There he associated with him Michel Bertram of Ville Nuve in Piedmont, an ancient servant of the marquis of Pinessé, and with John Vertu of Lucerne, and John Magnen of Provence, who had been for some time in those valleys. This Jesuit and his associates, did all that was possible to gain the poor and silly people of the valleys, suggesting to them, that the charitable contributions were so considerable, that if they were distributed according to the intentions of those that had given them, every one at least would have for his share 14 or 1500 livres, and by this seditious discourse they designed to arm them one against the other, and so to destroy them by their own swords. And not content with this, they wrote to foreign countries, France, Switzerland, Ireland, and England, where their charitable collections were gathered, that the chief inhabitants had divided it among themselves, and made merry with it, and let the poor perish with hunger, giving them no part; and by these lies they designed to hinder strangers from being any more touched with the sense of their miseries.

The second artifice of their enemies was, to build a fort at Tour, against the secret article of Pignerol, in which they placed a strong garrison. As soon as it was built, they committed all sorts of excesses and violences against the Vaudois, taking away their fruit, and the wine out of their cellars, pillaging likewise the moveables of their houses, beating and killing whom they pleased, violating their wives and daughters, committing all sorts of villanies and rogueries, without any remedy, or the least offer of redress. And to crown the misfortunes of the Vaudois, the government of the valleys was given to the Count of Bagnols, who had signalized himself so much in the massacre in the year 1655.

The third artifice that was made use of to destroy them after the treaty of Pignerol was, to make criminal processes against the principal of them, upon false accusations, before the court of Turin, against their privileges, which were that all causes should be tried in the valleys before the ordi-

nary Judges. If they appealed to the court of Turin, they were kept two or three years prisoners, sometimes without being heard, where they either spent all their fortunes, or died of hunger; if they did not submit, they were condemned to death, or to the galleys, and their goods were confiscated: those that were condemned for default, if they did not forsake their goods and habitations, they were seized on by the soldiers of the garrison of the citadel, and brought into the fortress, where they made them suffer a thousand ills worse than death.

The fourth artifice that the enemies of the Vaudois made use of to destroy them was, that they hindered them from keeping schools, and likewise the free use of their religion in several places, permitted by the patent of Pignerol, and established time out of mind.

The Vaudois seeing that the treaty of Pignerol was broken and violated almost in every article, had recourse to their prince and his ministers, to whom they made most humble remonstrances, reiterated several times, but finding that all was to no purpose, they addressed themselves to Monsieur de Servient, ambassador of France, who was also at Turin, and had been the mediator of the peace; they wrote likewise to the ambassador of the protestant cantons that were at that court, and most humbly begged as well the ambassador of France, as those of the Swiss, to intercede for them to his royal highness.

But instead of doing justice to these poor oppressed people, they prepared fresh forces to root them quite out; and when they were near executing their wicked design, Seignior Rica, treasurer general of the duke, came to Pignerol, a town of the King of France, and near neighbour of the valleys, where he called before him the principal agents of all the communities of the valleys, told them, with tears in his eyes, (a true popish crocodile) that he was very sorry to see them fall into inevitable ruin, and that the only means to avoid it was, to send a large and full deputation to Turin, to his royal highness, who was resolved to put an end to their miseries; and that by the means of a humble and cordial submission, which they could, and ought to do, they would without any doubt obtain their desires.

While the treasurer general amused with fair words, the principal agents of the valleys, at Pignerol, the generals of the army that were in the valley of Lucerne, called likewise before them all the chief conductors of the Vaudois, and told them, that if, in sign of obedience and confidence, they would but guard a convoy that was to be sent to the fort of Mirebouc, they might all return in peace to their habitations.

The Vaudois, who desired nothing but the peace and repose of their families, did what those generals commanded, believing what they said was true, but the consequence made them sensible, that it was only to entrap and destroy them; for while one part of the Vaudois were employed in guarding the convoy, and another in getting their families together, following the order of his royal highness, that every one should retire home, and bring back his family; and while the principal agents were amused and stayed, some at Pignerol with the treasurer, and others by the generals of the army, the troops of the duke, commanded by the Marquises of Fleuri and Angrogne, and by the Count of Bagnols, in number more than eight hundred men, fell upon the valleys about break of day, in four several places, with great fury, to surprise and massacre the Vaudois, as they had done in the year 1655; and that which made them hope for good success in their design, was, that they saw that these poor people were dispersed

in several places, and as it were lulled asleep upon the confidence they had in the order of his royal highness, and the fair promises made them by the generals, and did not in the least suspect such a piece of treachery and perfidiousness. As on the one side they separated them one from another, and took from them their chief captains, that they might the more easily vanquish them: so on the other side, they furnished with men and ammunition the fort of Mirebouc, which was in the highest part of the valley of Lucerne, to stop their passage into the Delphinat, and hinder them from saving themselves in the territories of France, as they did in the massacre in the year 1650 and 1655, and employed them as guards for the convoy, which was a double piece of treachery. And from these preparations issued another massacre.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Ninth Persecution, by way of Massacre and War, made against the Vaudois of Piedmont, in the year 1682, and 1683, by Charles Emanuel, Second Duke of Savoy.

SECTION I.

THE Marquises of Fleuri and Angrogne, who attacked them, the one by the way of Secundus, and the other by the way of Briqueras, joined themselves together upon the top of a hill, which is between the valley of Lucerne and the valley of Perouse, from whence they might easily win the place called Bal upon the mountains of Vauchere upon the height of Angrogne, which is a most important fort, and the centre as it were of three valleys, from whence one may easily descend into those of Lucerne, Perouse, and St. Martin: they came to the top of the hill about break of day, and designed to seize upon the fort of Vauchere, but they were stopped in their career by a body of about sixty men, who had posted themselves in a straight place, called the gate of Angrogne. Without this the Vaudois had been ruined; for if they had lost this place, they had been utterly undone, it being the only place that served them for a refuge, and as it were a sanctuary against the utmost efforts of their enemies.

Those that were commanded by the Marquises of Fleuri and Angrogne, who were at least four thousand, seeing themselves stopped by the aforesaid body, posted themselves upon the top of a little eminence they had gained, and with turf made themselves an intrenchment, the height of a man, the Vaudois not being able to hinder them; and whilst some worked to fortify this post, others did their utmost to gain the straight pass kept by the sixty Vaudois.

The other part of the army, commanded by the Count of Bagnols, consisting of an equal number, was likewise divided into two parts, of which, one took the way of Chebas, and the other the way of St. John, and another party took that of Angrogne; and the Vaudois were constrained to retreat, though they had there the greatest part of their forces. They fought nevertheless in their retreat, even to Rochemanant, which was a more advantageous post, higher up towards Angrogne; and there, under the shelter of the rocks, and some old walls, they stood their ground, and stopped the further progress of their enemy; and they being repulsed from that post, after several sharp as-

saults, and the loss of three hundred men, God struck them with so great fear, that they fled in great disorder, tumbling one upon another down the hills. The Vaudois pursued them to the foot of the hill, where their cavalry was, and killed a great many of them, and after having sufficiently provided for the post, from which they had so shamefully driven their enemies, they ran to succour their brethren, who fought where the two marquises were, which they did with great success.

The sixty Vaudois that kept the pass of Angrogne, were weary, having fought above half the day; but when they saw that their brethren came to their succour, they took fresh courage. Two of them creeping upon their bellies, being hid by a part of the rock, came so near the enemies' retrenchments, that they killed two of their sentinels, and with their swords in their hands, fell upon their camp, who being quickly followed by all the rest, they quickly made themselves masters of it, killing and cutting to pieces all that opposed them, putting the rest to flight, who ran away in great confusion, and the two marquises were none of the hindermost in the flight. The Vaudois pursued their enemies to Briqueras, and killed a great many of them; there were more than six hundred of the enemy killed, and a great many wounded, of which, the greatest part died of their wounds: the Vaudois lost but five or six men, and had but a dozen slightly wounded. Thus did God wonderfully deliver the Vaudois, and punish the treachery of their persecutors; and as in old times, the sword of God was with that of Gideon; so in this rencounter we may truly say, that it was with Captain Janaval and his little troop; otherwise, how should five hundred men, who were extremely fatigued, having fought about half the day, have driven their enemies out of their camp, fortified to the height of a man? The Vaudois were not then above five hundred, but they had left one part of their little army to guard the place, from whence they had chased the Count of Bagnols, and they had not in all above seven hundred men. After they had beaten their enemies, they returned thanks to God for their deliverance, and the victory he had given them, and gave him all the glory.

The Vaudois, after having defeated their enemies, went often forth in parties to seek them out in every place, where the cavalry could not incommode them, nor surprise them; and by this means, they diminished their army, there scarce being a day that a good number of Savoyards and Piedmontese did not fall into the hands of the Vaudois.

From the 6th of July, till the 10th of the month of August, all that time, there were continual skirmishes, where always the Vaudois had the advantage over their enemies.

The marquises of Fleuri and Angrogne, who commanded the army of the duke, recruited it with all the militia of the states of his royal highness, or with troops drawn out of garrisons; and with this great army they undertook a memorable enterprise in attacking Roras, where some Vaudois were retired. This community, as we have remarked before, was separated from the rest of the valleys, and by consequence, could not be succoured before in the massacre and war of 1655. It consisted of but twenty-five families, and the enemies, that were a hundred against one, fell upon this little place by so many ways, that at last they made themselves masters of it. They killed twenty-three Vaudois who defended it, but they lost about two hundred men; and this was the greatest loss that the

Vaudois sustained in this war of 1663, and the greatest exploit of the generals of Savoy.

After the enemy had made themselves masters of the rocks and deserts of Roras, with so considerable loss, the day after they made an excursion to St. Margarite, which is a little village of the community of Tour, consisting of twenty or twenty-five houses, which they burnt to ashea. The Vaudois being assembled together in a small number upon the mountains of Tour, as they saw the town on a flame, fell with that swiftness and resolution upon these incendiaries, that they put them to flight, and covered the ground with their dead carcasses, and killed more of them than they had burnt beams of houses. Of the Vaudois side there were none either killed or wounded; for it was remarked, that these murderers were struck with so great a fear, that they had neither hands to fight nor legs to fly.

Towards the end of the month of August, Captain Janaval entirely defeated an ambuscade, that the enemy had laid at the place of the vines, to surprise him, but they themselves were surprised and cut in pieces.

The Council of the Propagation of the Faith, seeing that the Marquis of Fleuri had such ill success in his designs, thought it was requisite to change the general; and so the marquis was recalled to court, and the Marquis of St. Damian was put in his place, who made a levy of a greater army than before, but with worse success. The soldiers seeing, that in this war nothing could be got but blows, the first having carried away all the booty, went only by force to this war, and where they found any resistance, they turned their backs and fled from the Vaudois; their officers being not able to stay their flight.

SECTION II.

The Second Peace made between Charles Emanuel and the Vaudois, by the Mediation of the Protestant Cantons, in the month of February, 1664, which continued till the year 1686, during which time the Vaudois did signal service to the Duke of Savoy.

THE war of the year 1663, having had as ill success as that of the year 1655, the Duke of Savoy would have been glad of peace, but he durst not ask it of the Vaudois, for fear it should show his weakness, or at least he should be obliged to grant them more than he had done in his former patent, granted at Pignerol, because of the advantages they had gained over him: for this prince had drained his revenues, ruined by these wars a part of his dukedom, lost more than four thousand men, and the Vaudois but sixty. They durst go no more into the mountains to seek them, and the Vaudois often descended into the plains to attack their enemies; who being struck with a panic fear, because of the many victories of the Vaudois, fled before them, like a flock of sheep before a troop of hungry enraged wolves. The Swiss having private notice that the duke was weary of the war, sent an honourable embassy to solicit a peace, between the Vaudois and their prince: the ambassadors came to Turin the 15th of December, 1663, and were very well received by the duke, and the whole court; which was not so in the year 1655, after the massacre, nor in the year 1686, when the duke was leagued with the King of France, for the de-

struction of the Vaudois, and to force them to go to mass, as he in the preceding year had forced the protestants of France. This good reception of the ambassadors, made it clear that the duke was weary of the war, and willing to make a peace. After they had an audience, they sent their secretary to the valleys, to tell the Vaudois that they should send their deputies to Turin, who being arrived there, a solemn promise was made them, that during the treaty, there should be no more acts of hostility done against the Vaudois.

The event made it apparent that this promise was only made to lull them asleep, that he might the better surprise them, while the treaty was on foot; for by an unheard of perfidiousness, even among the most barbarous nations, notwithstanding this promise, made in the presence of the ambassadors, the 21st of the same month, twelve hundred men of the lower Piedmont, were sent to re-enforce the army, under the command of the Marquis of St. Damian, and on the 25th at break of day, they attacked Tillaret, Angrogne, Rocheplate, and St. German, without giving notice that they would do any thing to the prejudice of so solemn a promise. The first and strongest attack was at Tillaret, where the Vaudois had like to have been borne down with numbers, but they of Angrogne sending them, in the nick of time, a hundred men, this seasonable succour did so encourage them, that they broke the enemies' troops commanded by the Count of Bagnols, put them to flight, and forced them to fly for safety to the town and citadel of Tour, in great disorder. They pursued them with so much heat and vigour, that many of the Vaudois entered with them pell-mell into the town, and came out again, without the least damage, to the great astonishment of all the world, and confusion of their enemies.

On the side of Angrogne, the enemy could not make the Vaudois give back one foot of ground, for all their furious assaults, but after having done their utmost to make them quit their post, and after having lost a great number of their men, they most shamefully fled, the Vaudois pursuing them to the plain, and killing a great number of them, and encamping afterwards near them upon the plain, where their enemies durst not molest them.

All the harm the Vaudois suffered was on St. German's side, which was a very advantageous post, and of great importance, by the means of which, they had till then kept clear the passage between the valleys of Lucerne, and those of Perouse and St. Martin. The enemy unfortunately surprised this place, which was not guarded, because that famine had obliged the country people, who believed there was no danger, during the treaty, to go and seek victuals for themselves and their families. They killed there a man, and two women, the rest saving themselves miraculously; they burnt likewise the greatest part of their houses, and cut down or peeled the bark off all the fruit trees.

The Vaudois had great cause of joy that day, for they happened to be dispersed in divers places, and were not upon their guard, confiding in the solemn promise made at Turin; but God not only delivered them out of the hand of their enemies, but gave them a signal victory. The enemy's army consisted of eighteen thousand men, viz. six thousand that the Marquis of St. Damian had in his army, and twelve thousand Piedmontese, that had newly joined him; and the Vaudois had but seven hundred men; yet on this day, the latter lost but six men, but the first, according to their own relation, lost fifteen hundred, among whom were the Count of St. Front, and de la Trinita, and many officers of note.

The deputies of the Vaudois, who were at Turin, having received intelligence of this perfidious dealing, against a solemn promise, desired the lords ambassadors from the Swiss cantons, to present their just complaints to the duke, which they did with a great deal of heat and resentment. But that produced only a truce for twelve days, which was at several times prolonged and renewed till the lords ambassadors had ended and fully concluded a peace and agreement, contained in the patent of the 14th of February, 1664, by which the Vaudois were established in a full enjoyment of their goods, and in the exercise of their religion, in all places where it had been established by the treaty of Pignerol, in the year 1655.

But this patent was no better executed and observed than the former, although the duke had engaged himself by his letter to the protestant cantons, the 28th of February, 1664, to observe it punctually. It is no easy matter to represent here all the tricks that the Council of the Propagation made use of to make this peace ineffectual. As to the Vaudois, it is enough to say, that it had been impossible for them to defend themselves against so many subtleties and crafty policies of their adversaries of the Propagation, if God, who holds the hearts of princes and kings in his hands, had not changed the heart of Charles Emanuel II., to favour the Vaudois. But this prince having examined the conduct of all their affairs, began at last to be sensible, that it was without any good ground that the Vaudois were made so odious; and calling to mind the great zeal they had testified on divers occasions for his service, and particularly in 1638, and 1640, when the greatest part of his estate was revolted against him, and that the Cardinal of Savoy, and Prince Thomas his uncle, had made themselves heads of the revolt, being assisted by the troops of Spain, and had seized almost all Piedmont, and even the city of Turin itself; and besieged Madam Royal his mother, in the citadel, whither she had fled to save herself; and that without the succours of Louis XIII., his uncle by the mother's side, and the help of the Vaudois, probably he had been deprived of all his principality; calling these things to mind, he at length ceased to harass them.

In the year 1672, the Duke of Savoy made war upon the Genoese, and the Vaudois served him with so much zeal and courage, that this prince was not content only to praise their conduct, courage, and fidelity, by a letter which he wrote to them the 5th of November the same year, but he gave them many sensible marks of his esteem and good will towards them, even to his death, which happened towards the end of the year 1678, Madam Royal, his widow, treated them likewise, not only with a great deal of sweetness and goodness, but she also engaged herself to the protestant cantons, by a letter written the 28th of January, 1679, to maintain the Vaudois in the free exercise of their religion, and in all other privileges and immunities.

Thus we have conducted this history, extracted chiefly from Leger, excepting some chapters, which I have contented myself to have taken from the abridgment of Boyer. And in the whole preceding narrative, the reader has had an account of nine sore persecutions sustained by these Vaudois with invincible patience. There only remains the tenth and last to be related; and this also I might have given from the aforesaid abridg-

ment. But the account of this last and greatest of all their persecutions, having been printed in the year 1688, at the theatre at Oxford, with the imprimatur of the vice-chancellor; and the same containing a justification of their conduct, against what may be supposed imputable to them of rebellion, in this and their former defensive wars; I have chosen to give this remaining part of their history entire, as it will be found in the same account. And this like the Dioclesian persecution of the primitive church, being the unda decumana, that totally overturned them, it seems to deserve that it should be delivered with such remarkable distinction.

BOOK II.

TENTH PERSECUTION OF THE VAUDOIS, BY LOUIS XIV. KING OF FRANCE, AND VICTOR AMADEUS II. DUKE OF SAVOY; WITH THE PERFIDIOUS TREACHERIES OF THEIR ENEMIES, WHICH WAS THE CAUSE OF THE RUIN AND DISPERSION OF THOSE CHURCHES.

CHAPTER I.

Wherein is recapitulated their former History; and showing withal, the Antiquity of the Vaudois, their original, rights, and continual submission to the Duke of Savoy, with the merits of their services; and justifying their conduct, with reference to their defence in the preceding and the following Massacres and Wars.

It is not our present design to give a large and particular relation of whatever has happened on this occasion: seeing what we shall briefly declare, will show that there was a more cruel and unjust persecution, than this lately exercised on the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, on the sole account of their religion.

The churches of the valleys of Piedmont, or of the Vaudois, as they were commonly called, were the most ancient of all those who drew their original from the apostles, whose doctrine they have ever taught and followed.

They had no need of reformation, having never partaken of the errors and idolatries wherewith the Romanists have infected the Christian church. The simplicity of their manners agreed so well with that of their doctrines, as has forced their enemies to confess, that this especially contributed to their preservation. They did not content themselves with a bare not entering into an idolatrous and superstitious communion; but took all proper occasions to declare their abhorrence of it; with as great courage and freedom of mind, as any of the ancient reformers, who have all (on full inquiry) approved of their doctrines, as very agreeable to the apostolic simplicity.

It is no marvel then, if these churches, have been ever the object of the popish rage and fury; if popes have published crusades, and engaged several princes against them; if several famous inquisitors have employed at all times whatever their devilish malice could invent to exterminate those poor people; and if the Council de Propaganda fide et Extirpandis Hæreticis, have omitted nothing for the obtaining their design. But here we cannot enough admire the especial Providence of God, in his particular protection of these churches, seeing maugre all these violent persecutions; the perfidiousness and treacheries wherewith their enemies have ever recompensed their fidelity; notwithstanding twenty-seven or twenty-eight invasions, which their religion has drawn on them, and the massacres which have so many times bathed the valleys with the blood of the Vaudois; yet has God still preserved them, by the continual turns of his Providence.

All historians, even those of the contrary party, are agreed, that these churches were in an immemorial possession of the exercise of their reli-

gion, before they were under the government of the dukes or earls of Savoy; for it was only in the year 1233, that Thomas Earl of Savoy became master of the town of Pignerol, and the valleys of Piedmont, under pretence the race of the princes of Piedmont was extinct.

It is also certain the Vaudois submitted themselves to the Earls of Savoy, (whence his present royal highness is descended,) on condition of being maintained in all their privileges. And in effect, it is on this foundation, that these earls being become princes of Piedmont, have maintained and confirmed the Vaudois churches, in the exercise of their religion, and their other rights and privileges. They have granted them for this end, from time to time, several authentic concessions; especially in 1561, 1602, and 1603, which having been verified and entered in the senate and chamber of Turin, in the year 1620, by means of a considerable sum of money, (which the Vaudois had paid for this purpose, as appears from the authentic act :) these concessions therefore, passed into the form of an irrevocable deed, and perpetual and inviolable law, whose execution was enjoined by several solemn decrees of the Duke of Savoy, from the years 1638, 1649, 1654, and 1655.

The Council de Propaganda Fide, which is obliged by its foundation, title, and oath, to procure the ruin of those, she terms heretics; observing with extreme regret the calm which the Vaudois enjoyed, by means of these presents, took all possible measures to trouble it.

To this end the council, which then consisted of the principal ministers of the court of Savoy, taking advantage from the minority of Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, caused to be published in the month of January, 1655, an order, which obliged all the inhabitants of the valleys, to quit the plain in three days, and to retire into the mountains, on pain of death, if they could not make it appear they were become catholics.

The Vaudois obeyed this order, as unjust and cruel as it was: but their obedience, which took away all pretences from their enemies, could not preserve them from that horrid massacre in 1655, of which posterity will freely speak as an action the most inhuman and perfidious, mentioned in any writing.

This massacre was likely in all appearance, to have cut off all the Vaudois, but there were many of them, who escaping out of the hands of these butchers, resolved to defend their lives. They executed then this resolution, with such vigour and courage, that they put their executioners to flight, in several rencounters; till the protestant princes and states became mediators in their behalf.

These generous protectors having heard of this dreadful massacre, were not contented to open the bowels of their charity and beneficence; but interposed earnestly for them with the Duke of Savoy by their intercessions. The evangelic cantons, amongst others, sent for this reason four ambassadors to the court of Turin, who joined themselves to the envoy of France, who was to be arbitrator in this affair for their master; all which jointly solicited this matter, and obtained for the churches and inhabitants of the valleys, the confirmation of their privileges definitively and irrevocably, by a solemn patent, which the Duke of Savoy granted the 9th of August, 1655, entered according to form in the senate and chamber of Turin.

It may seem, that after a patent of this nature, which carries the title and character of a perpetual and inviolable law, given in the presence, and at the intercession of the ambassadors of France and Switzerland, and of which the King of France had declared himself guarantee; it would seem

(I say) that the Vaudois should enjoy the fruits of a peace, purchased by the blood of above six thousand of their brethren; but all this could not preserve them from the violence of their enemies.

The Council of Propagation violated this patent in the most essential points, and persecuted the Vaudois by divers unjust and wrongful means, and they offering only complaints against these persecutions, their enemies took their patience, for want of courage; and thinking they could oppress them without any resistance, they brought in again among them the dismal effects of fire and sword, and renewed in 1663, the miseries and violences of 1655.

The Vaudois knowing by experience, that their defence was their only means of safety, were therefore forced to stand on their guard, which succeeded so well, that they had procured their peace, and settled their affairs towards the end of the year 1663.

Then it was, that the evangelic cantons, sent again ambassadors to the court of Turin, to be mediators of the peace; which ambassadors being joined, as the preceding were, to the French resident at Turin, they procured again for the Vaudois, a solemn, perpetual, and irrevocable patent in the month of February, 1664; confirmative of the preceding, and entered according to form as before.

But this patent was not executed with greater sincerity than the former, although the duke had passed his word to the cantons of Switzerland, in a letter of the 28th of February, 1664, to have it punctually observed. It is hardly possible to describe the turnings and windings, the shifts and tricks which the Council for Propagation made use of, to render this patent of none effect to the Vaudois. It is sufficient to say, they could never have defended themselves against such malicious inventions, had not God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings and princes, overruled that of Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy. This prince having nearly examined the conduct of the Vaudois, found it was without reason they were made so odious, and calling to mind the zeal they had showed in his service on several occasions, especially in 1638, and 1640, when they exposed themselves so vigorously in his defence against his enemies, whilst most of his estates had revolted against him, he resolved to use them for the future as subjects, which deserved his love, as well as his protection.

The war which he had with the Genoese in 1672, greatly confirmed him in his good opinion of the Vaudois; for they served him in it with such zeal and courage, that this prince thought it not enough to give them public commendations for their valour and fidelity, in a letter he wrote to them on this occasion, but protected them as long as he lived. Madam Royal his widow, treated them after his example, not only with great gentleness and favours, but engaged herself by a letter to the Swiss cantons, dated the 28th of January, 1679, to maintain and protect the Vaudois in the full exercise of their religion, and their other privileges.

We have lightly touched on all these things, that we might not pass the bounds prescribed; for besides that they serve to show that the rights and privileges of the Vaudois were grounded on unmoveable foundations; and that their enemies have ever violated the most solemn and authentic engagements, and only exercised cruelties, injustice, and perfidiousness against them: they likewise serve to justify the conduct, which the Vaudois have observed to the end; which is properly the subject of this relation.

The Vaudois had flattered themselves that under the government of the Duke of Savoy now reigning, they might enjoy some hopes of tranquillity. They had done him very considerable services in 1684, in the war against the banditti of Mondovi. And this prince had given them authentic assurances of his satisfaction, and good will towards them, in a letter he wrote to them on this occasion; and the beginning of his reign seemed to promise them for the future, that in rendering to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, they should have the liberty of rendering to God what belonged to him. They fed themselves with these hopes, when the governor of the valleys of Piedmont published towards the end of the year 1685, an order, forbidding all strangers to inhabit in these valleys, and to remain therein more than three days without his leave, and also the inhabitants to entertain or lodge them, under grievous penalties.

The Vaudois had by this time been informed of the violences offered in France, to force the protestants to change their religion: they farther understood that the King of France had cancelled the edict of Nantz, and they perceived this prohibition of sheltering their brethren might prove of dangerous consequence to them. But they did not foresee the miseries which have since happened to them, because men do naturally love to flatter themselves; and their enemies used all endeavours, to remove out of their minds all the thoughts, which fear might inspire them with, to the end, they might be taken unprovided.

CHAPTER II.

Giving an entire History both as to its Preparations and Execution, of the Tenth and last Persecution of the Vaudois in 1686, by the French King and the Duke of Savoy.

THEY were in this condition, when his royal highness' orders were proclaimed in the valleys, being the 31st of January, 1686, which strictly forbid the exercise of their religion on pain of death, and confiscation of their estates; enjoining all their churches to be demolished, and the banishment of all the ministers; that the infants should be baptized, and brought up in the popish religion, on the penalty of their fathers being sent to the galleys, with many other particulars; to the same purpose, as the King of France's declaration, which annulled the edict of Nantz.

It is impossible to describe the Vaudois's fears and griefs, at the news of so surprising an order, so much more terrible than the former, as designed to produce such tragical effects. For the preceding tended only to bind them in more narrow limits, and to deprive them of the right of inhabiting the plain, which they had done time out of mind, but the order of the 31st of January, wholly took from them all liberty of conscience, and exercise of their religion.

They saw themselves immediately precipitated into a dreadful abyss of miseries, without any remedy; and forced to behold either the light of the gospel extinguished in the valleys, which had there shone for so many ages, or the renewing those cruel massacres, which have sacrificed so many of their brethren; yet being persuaded this order was the effect of some misrepresentation of them by their enemies to his highness, they betook

themselves to their usual course of supplications, and humble remonstrances, and presented four requests to the Duke of Savoy, to obtain the revocation of this order. But gaining only some time in the execution of it, they saw their misfortune was without remedy. And they were more confirmed in their assurances of their miseries, when they understood the King of France (who on politic reasons had always protected them, and even declared himself guardian of the patents aforementioned) had not only obliged the duke to issue forth this order; but that his most Christian majesty had caused his troops to advance to Piedmont to see it executed.

Then it was, that the Vaudois began to think of defending themselves from the invasions of these foreigners, and not to die like beasts or fools.

In the mean time, the evangelical cantons being informed of this order, and the measures taken for its execution, believed themselves noways obliged to forsake a people persecuted for mere religion, and that they ought to appear on this occasion as heretofore.

It was resolved then in an assembly held at Baden, in the month of February, 1686, to send again ambassadors to the Duke of Savoy, to intercede in the behalf of the Vaudois, who arrived at Turin, in the beginning of March, and offered their request, tending to the revocation of the order set forth the 31st of January. They showed that the evangelical cantons were interested in this affair, not only as being of the same belief as the Vaudois, but for that the patents of 1655 and 1633, which this order annulled, were the fruits of their mediation, and they accompanied these their demands with several solid arguments.

The court of Turin pretended not to answer their reasons, thinking it enough to tell the ambassadors, that the engagements of the Duke of Savoy, with the King of France, were directly opposite to the success of their negotiation; which obliged the ambassadors to remonstrate, in a memorial for this purpose, that his royal highness' predecessors having given their royal word to several states, and particularly to the evangelic cantons, for the executing the patents granted to the Vaudois, he could not renounce such formal engagements, because these patents were not mere tolerations, but perpetual concessions, and inviolable laws; and forasmuch also, that they having granted them at the request of several princes, they are, according to the law of nations, lasting monuments of public faith, in that the word of princes should be sacred and inviolable.

They also showed that several politic respects should induce the Duke of Savoy to maintain the Vaudois in their privileges: that it consisted not with his own justice and bounty, to suffer his countries to be filled with blood and slaughter, by destroying a people, who implored his grace and clemency, and who had done nothing deserving these severities.

But neither the reasonings of the ambassadors, nor their pressing solicitations, nor the letters of intercession, which several protestant princes wrote again in favour of these poor people, produced any effect. They serving only to confirm the ambassadors in their belief, of the engagements wherein the Duke of Savoy had entered with the King of France, to destroy the protestant religion.

All this while the Vaudois were ignorant of what passed at Turin. They knew nothing of the ambassadors being at court, nor their transactions; because care was taken to stop two messengers in their passage, who were to carry the news into the valleys. It is true indeed, they knew sometime after, by a common report, that these ambassadors were at Turin, to demand the revocation of the order of the 31st of January, but they could hear

nothing certain, touching the effect of their negotiation. They durst not go themselves to Turin, since the time allowed them was expired, and for that the court had refused a safe conduct, which the ambassadors had desired for the deputies of the valleys appearance, to solicit their own affairs, as was practised on former occasions.

However, the Vaudois had fortified themselves with some retrenchments in their country, and stood on their guard, to hinder the entrance of the troops, most of which were already encamped at the foot of the valleys.

The Duke of Savoy returned answer to the ambassadors' proposals, by the Marquis of St. Thomas, one of the ministers of state, who had the management of foreign affairs, and who swore to them, that the duke could not revoke this order, he not being the master of this affair. He also protested to them, as from the part of his highness, that provided the order was executed, the duke would not refuse to enter into some expedients. He also showed them, that on their account, the Vaudois should have leave to depart the country, and dispose of their estates.

The ambassadors thinking the Vaudois, having neither officers nor troops, could not sustain a war, against two such powerful enemies as the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, who were united for their destruction; they imagined then, that to avert the tempest, with which these poor people were threatened, they ought to solicit their departure, and disposal of estates. But forasmuch as before they could enter on this negotiation, they must consult those of the valleys; the ambassadors therefore got leave of the court of Turin, that they might take a journey thither; for which purpose, they had a letter from the duke to the governor of the valleys.

But the event has made clear beyond dispute, that the sentiment of the court was not to let the Vaudois go out of Piedmont, but to force them to quit their religion, in the same manner as they had forced the protestants of France, and to destroy all those that would not conform to their superstition. And the consent that was given to the Vaudois of having liberty of quitting the country, was only a trick to divide them; they knew well, that there were a great many that would not abandon their goods and estates, and lead a languishing and disconsolate life in foreign countries, and that those would sooner quit their religion than submit to such hard conditions: and as for those that would resolve to go out of the country, they would find means to trick them, either in taking away their children, and bringing them up in the Roman religion, or in hindering them from disposing of their goods, or in imprisoning some, and massacreing others, as they did in the year 1655, without the least regard to the most solemn promises or public faith.

The ambassadors arrived in the valleys the 22d of March, and the next morning caused an assembly of the people's deputies to be summoned, to whom they declared, what they had done. In fine, they showed them, that in the condition they were in, deprived of all hopes of succour, they had no other part to take, but that of leaving their country, provided it could be obtained with the disposal of their estates; and if they would accept of this proposal, they would offer it as from them.

The Vaudois deputies, greatly surprised that they must expect no succour, on an occasion wherein they hoped all the protestant states would concern themselves; answered the ambassadors, they were sensible they could not do better than to follow their advice; but before they could resolve on an affair of this importance, they must consult a general assembly.

In the mean time the ambassadors returned to Turin, where they informed the Marquis of St. Thomas of the success of their journey, who assured them this negotiation was very agreeable to the court. They afterwards desired a passport, to bring thither some of the inhabitants of the valleys, with the determinations of this assembly; but this was refused them under two pretences; the first, that the Duke of Savoy would have no Vaudois to be seen following his court; and the other was, that he would not have it thought, that what he did, was out of any other respect than the gratifying the ambassadors. They were then obliged to send into the valleys the secretary of the embassy, to bring the determination of the people.

The secretary found the people assembled at Angrogne, the 28th of March, being much divided in their resolutions; for if on the one hand, they saw the dreadful consequences of this war; so on the other, the dangers and insuperable difficulties in departing the country, which supposing they could do, without any danger, yet they could not, without great regret, leave their estates and country, to travel to foreign parts; where they must lead a vagrant and uneasy life.

In fine, they agreed to send a memorial to the ambassadors, of the dangers and difficulties, which hindered their passage, and to write them a letter signed by nine divines, and eight of the laity, in which having entreated them to reflect on these obstacles, they declared, they would remit themselves to their prudence and conduct.

On this letter the ambassadors endeavoured to obtain leave for the Vaudois to leave the states of Piedmont, and to dispose of their goods; but the Duke of Savoy, to whom the proposal was carried, sent word to them, that before he could give a positive answer to what they desired, he expected the people of the valleys should send deputies to him, with full power to make him those submissions, which were due to him; and to beg leave of him to withdraw from his states, as a favour which they implored of their prince.

[This change makes it clear, that he consented to the relieving of the Vaudois, for no other end, but to divide them, as it after happened, to the great satisfaction of their enemies.]

The ambassadors might well be surprised at this alteration of the scene, having been refused the safe conduct, which they had a little before requested, to bring the Vaudois deputies to Turin. They had been several times told, that the grant of a retreat to the Vaudois should be wholly in consideration of the ambassadors. Whereas, now it must not be the ambassadors, who demand the leave, as a proposal coming from them, but it must on the contrary be the Vaudois, who make this request themselves.

This contrary course was not without some reason; for he Council of Propagation, who managed this affair, had without doubt these two several considerations; the one, that they would not have the ambassadors named in the permission of departure, that they might have less right to demand the execution of the things promised to the Vaudois; the other, that the Vaudois alone requesting this permission, as a grace or favour, they might impose on them such conditions as they pleased; and lastly, that the Vaudois making the submissions which the duke required, they must appear in the condition of supplicants, and consequently lay down their arms, otherwise they could not be received as such.

But however it was, the ambassadors being desirous to take away all pre-

tence from the Vaudois' enemies, took the safe conduct, and sent it by the secretary of the embassy, who assembled the people for the naming of their deputies; but as on the one hand, there were several, who never designed to leave their country; so on the other, the sudden march of their enemies filled them with suspicions, and contrary opinions, so that the resolutions given into their deputies, proved quite different. Some were for requesting the permission of retiring from the country, and disposing of their estates, and others for petitioning, that they might have the free exercise of their religion, and enjoyment of their other rights and privileges.

These deputies being come to Turin, the ambassadors thought it not fitting they should appear at court thus divided, they sent them therefore back again to the valleys to be united, and laboured in the meanwhile to get a farther delay.

Their enemies apprehended with great satisfaction the divisions about leaving the country, and were so well persuaded this would be an infallible means to ruin them, that they sent persons expressly amongst them, to keep up this contrariety of determinations. It is also to be presumed, they had devised this expedient, touching the departure, as a means to disunite the Vaudois.

To make then the greater advantage of the different resolutions of these people, their enemies altered again their design. They had lately before declared, they expected first that the Vaudois themselves should sue for leave to depart, and to offer their submissions. The Vaudois had not made these submissions, nor presented their petition for a departure, there being several amongst them who never yet resolved to leave the country, neither did the ambassadors solicit the permission of departure, but a delay, as appears from a letter, which they wrote to the Marquis of St. Thomas, the 8th of April, 1686. However, to complete the division of the Vaudois, to destroy them with greater ease, there suddenly issued out, unknown to the ambassadors, an edict of the 9th of the same month of April, which granted to the Vaudois a pardon, and leave to retire out of the countries of Piedmont, but to the end, we may the better judge of the design of the Council of Propagation, here is a copy of this edict translated out of Italian.

THE Divine Providence, in setting princes over the people, has put into the hands of the former, the distribution of the rewards and punishments, that the hope of the first may encourage the good; and the fear of the latter restrain the wicked. Nothing but vengeance ought to fall from us on the heads of the valleys of Lucerna, who are of the pretended reformed religion, seeing it is apparent, they have not only obstinately disobeyed our order of the 31st of January last, but moreover hardened themselves in their crime, and fallen into the excesses of an enormous and execrable rebellion. Yet our natural clemency, surpassing their crime, and not contenting ourselves with the fatherly forbearance, with which we have for so long time expected, in vain, their repentance, we would also leave it again to their own will, who have hitherto been wickedly resolved, the choice of a happy or miserable condition, and open to them again the door of our mercy, in the manner following, whereto, if they do not submit, by a ready obedience, they must impute to their own obstinacy, the punishments they shall incur, without remission, from our provoked patience.

And therefore, in confirmation first of our declaration of the 31st of

January last, we have, by virtue also of these presents, of our own certain knowledge, full power, and absolute authority, and by the advice of our council, commanded all our subjects of the valleys of Lucerna, making profession of the reformed religion, to lay down their arms, and return to their habitations, within the term hereafter prescribed.

We also command them to make no more assemblies, and public meetings, on any account whatever; to the end, that according to our intention, the judges may have free passage, and the father missionaries, and other religious persons, may return to the churches, whence they have been driven.

And it being unreasonable, that the religious missionaries, catholics, and catholicised, should suffer by any damages they have received, by those of the pretended reformed religion, we therefore command and strictly charge, that the necessary sums to indemnify them, shall be indistinctly levied from the goods and estates of the said pretended reformed, as it shall be summarily adjusted, before Mr. Mouroux, superintendent of the courts of justice in the valleys. Yet declaring, that in case those of the pretended reformed religion shall make it appear, that these damages have been occasioned by some particular persons, they shall have remedy and amends from the aforesaid particular.

And to show our said subjects, how great our clemency is towards them, we permit those who intend to leave our countries, to do it within the term, and according to the conditions hereafter prescribed.

But forasmuch as their maliciousness has too plainly showed itself, by their past demeanor; and that several may conceal their wicked designs, under a false colour of obedience, we reserve, besides those who shall leave our countries, of their own will, to enjoin it to others, as we think fitting, and according as we shall find it expedient to secure the peace to those who shall stay behind, to whom we shall prescribe the rules they are to observe for the future.

And as a greater proof of our favour, we grant, as well to those who shall of their own will retire, as those who shall depart by our orders, to carry with them their goods and effects, and to sell them if they think fit, however in the manner hereafter prescribed.

The same shall extend to foreigners, and such as are born of them, who shall conform themselves to the last article contained in the declaration of the 31st of January above cited.

The aforesaid sale of goods must be made to catholics and catholicised persons; but because there may not perhaps be found chapmen in the term hereafter prescribed, and we not intending that the religionaries, who shall depart our countries, shall lose the benefit of our present concession, they may therefore choose five or six persons, to whom they may make over their estates, and who may remain by our license in Lucerna in all liberty for three months, to treat and bargain with any one, and sell the estates of such as are gone, who shall have leave to prescribe in their letters of attorney, the rate at which they value their goods, and to have all due returns made them, without fraud or delay, the superintendency of which affair shall be committed to our chief justice Mr. Mouroux.

Those who would retire, shall be obliged to repair respectively to the place, and at the time hereafter specified, to be ready to depart, without arms, by the way which shall be denoted to them, either through Savoy, or the vale of Aoste. For this effect, a passport and letter of safe conduct shall be granted them, to prevent all ill usage and hindrances in our dominions. And for as much as being in great numbers, they may be exposed to several inconveniences in the way and places through which they shall pass with their luggage, they shall therefore consist of three companies; the first, which shall be those of the valley of Lucerna, must repair to the tower, to set forth immediately the day after the term here below mentioned; to wit, on the 21st of this month of April. The second company shall consist of those of the valley of Angrogne, St. Bartholomew, Rocheplate, and Pruristin, who shall part the day following; to wit, the 22d of this month: and the third and last company, consisting of those of the vale of St. Martin and Peirouse, shall repair to Miradol, and part the third day; to wit, the 23d of this month.

The term in which our said subjects of the pretended reformed religion, inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerna, shall be obliged to lay down their arms, in the manner expressed in the first article of the present declaration, is eight days after its publication in the vale of Lucerna, and which they must not fail to obey, if they expect to reap the fruits of our clemency, whose motions we follow, as well as those of paternal affection, with which we regard our said subjects, notwithstanding the enormity of their crimes. And expecting punctual observance of the above particulars, we grant favour, pardon, remission, abolition, and an ample forgiveness, to our said subjects, for all excesses, failings, crimes, and other delinquencies, which they may have committed, since the publication of this our order of the 31st of January last, as well in general as in particular, in such manner, as they shall never be called in question for them, under what pretence soever; strictly charging all justices, counsellors and others, not to give them any molestation. But if they render themselves unworthy of these favours, by not observing what is aforementioned; it will then be of too pernicious example, to withhold any longer the chastisement they have deserved; having been so lavish to them of our favours, and expected so long their repentance; we shall then make use of the means which God has put into our hands, to reduce the obstinate to their duty, and make them feel the punishment due to their insolencies.

Given at Turin the 9th of April, 1686.

This edict was published in the valleys on the 11th of April, the same day the ambassadors wrote a letter to some of the Vaudois, to know their resolutions. They in the mean time presented a very earnest memorial to the Marquis of St. Thomas, to obtain some assurance, that the troops should not enter into the valleys, and to procure the Vaudois some more favourable conditions than those in the edict.

But the court of Turin gave them to understand, that there was nothing to be done for the Vaudois, till such time as they laid down their arms; of which the ambassadors gave advice to the deputies of the valleys, which had been at Turin, by a letter of the 13th instant, which they wrote them on this occasion.

On the 14th, the commons called a general assembly at Rocheplate, in

which, having examined the terms and conditions of the edict, they judged that their enemies had nothing farther from their intentions, than to let them have the benefit of the pretended pass, and that this edict was but a snare to entangle them, the more easily to work their destruction. They resolved then not to accept it; to follow the example of their fathers, and to commit the events to God's providence. So that this edict, which was only given for the dividing them, had a direct contrary effect, and turned to the uniting them in the same particular judgment.

The chief reasons which hindered them from accepting this edict were, first, that seeing it enjoined the perfect execution of the declaration of the 31st of January, which commands all the churches to be demolished in eight days' time, because the edict expressly says, that if in eight days they perform not what it contains, they are deprived of the favours and benefits which it offers them; to perform then the commands contained in the edict, the Vaudois themselves must demolish their own churches, or their enemies for them; the Vaudois could never bring themselves to the doing this, with their own hands, and they must have soldiers sent them, who, under pretence of this demolition, would have infallibly fallen on them. Secondly, Had they been permitted to depart fairly, why was not the execution of the order of the 31st of January suspended till such time as they could possibly get away? Why should they be obliged to demolish their churches in the eight days' time allowed them to prepare themselves to leave for ever their country? What is this for, but to render their escape impossible? Thirdly, This edict commands they should lay down their arms, and lay open their countries to popish priests and their emissaries. Now it is plain, that in laying down their arms, they must lie at the mercy of their enemies, and at the fury of the soldiers, who would not have failed entering in upon them to hinder their escape; and torment them till such time as they had changed their religion, as they had done in France. And their dreadful apprehensions had too certain grounds, seeing they had no assurance given them, that the troops should not come down into the valleys. Fourthly, The Vaudois are also obliged to depart in three separate companies, and to render themselves in such places, where the soldiers being encamped, they could not fail of having their throats cut. Fifthly, The permission which the same edict gives the Vaudois of selling their goods, was to them of no use; for, besides that sale could not be made till after their departure, to catholics, and that too by popish officers, so also out of the money raised from the sale of the same goods must be indemnified, the friars, the missionaries, the ancient, the modern, and the future catholics, for the damages and interests which they might pretend to, and which they would not fail to make to amount to above the value of the estates sold. Sixthly, The edict imports, that besides those who shall leave the valleys of their own free will, the prince reserves to himself the power of banishing such as he shall think good, to secure the peace of those who shall remain; which supposes not only that the conditions of the edict were so disadvantageous, that there must be several Vaudois who would not accept of them, nor move thence: but moreover, that the departure itself was to be looked on, not as a favour, but as a punishment to be imposed on several Vaudois, seeing they reserved the power of banishing those who were willing to remain. Seventhly, The ambassadors were not named in the edict, and the Vaudois had no security for the faithful performance of the things therein contained. They had then reason to be in a great distrust; but the costly experiences

which they had had on several occasions of the perfidiousness of their enemies, and particularly in this, wherein were violated all the laws of justice, made their suspicion but too well grounded.

In fine, the Duke of Savoy having declared, that he was not the master of this affair, by reason of the engagements he lay under to the King of France, it was not to be presumed that his most Christian majesty, who had interested himself in the business, would be more kind to the Vaudois, than he had been to his own subjects.

The Vaudois sent then their determinations to the ambassadors, who used all possible means to procure them more certain and advantageous conditions, than those contained in the edict; but neither their reasons nor solicitations could obtain any thing for them. They were continually told, that as long as the Vaudois were in arms, there could be nothing granted them, or any positive promises made. So that the Vaudois being persuaded, that the design of disarming them, was to destroy them with less difficulty, could by no means assent to so foolish proposals, and therefore persisted in the resolution of defending themselves, in case of invasion.

There happened a passage, which served greatly to confirm them in this resolution. For two or three days after the publication of the edict, Mr. Tholozan, Mr. Gautier, Mr. Gavante, Mr. Cabriol, and ten or twelve others of the inhabitants of the valleys, came to the intendant to acquaint him, that they and their families designed to be gone out of the estates of Piedmont, conformably to the edict, and therefore requested of him passports, which he refused them, on pretence they must stay to go out with the rest.

And farther, there being several, who refused to yield to the solicitations he made them, for the changing their religion, he caused them to be put in prison, where they have many of them perished. There needed no more to show they intended not to let them leave the country, or tarry behind without turning papists.

However, the Vaudois having read a letter from the ambassadors, assembled themselves again at Rocheplate, on the 19th of April, where they found it necessary to stand on their own defence. It was also decreed in this assembly, that all the ministers should preach, and administer the sacrament the Sunday following, which was Easter day.

Some of this valley changed their minds, without communicating their purposes to the rest. And the directors of the church of Villeseche, wrote to the ambassadors, who were then at Turin on the point of their departure, a letter dated the 20th of April, in which they declared they would obey the edict, and on this account entreated them to procure them a passport, and some time to prepare themselves.

One of the ambassadors took the pains to go to the camp, to make this request; but it was refused him, under pretence that the time was expired. For it was always too soon or too late.

In the mean time, the Duke of Savoy came to the camp some days after the publication of the edict, to discourage the Vaudois by his presence, and to oblige them to submit to the conditions imposed on them. He had made a review of his troops, and those of France, who were encamped near the plain, at the foot of the Alps. His army consisted of the troops of his household, of all his forces both horse and foot, of the militia of Mondovi, Barjes, Bagnols, and a great number of freebooters; commanded by Don Gabriel of Savoy, uncle to the duke. And the French army consisted of several regiments of horse and dragoons, of seven or eight battalions of foot, which had passed the mountains, and part of the garrison of Pignorel

and Casal, commanded by Monsieur Catinat, governor of Casal. He had moreover set all things in order, to attack the Vaudois, as soon as the time limited should be expired, having appointed his army to force the valley of Lucerna, and the commonalty of Angrogne; and the French army to attack the valleys of St. Martin and Peirouse.

The Vaudois on their side, had taken some care to defend themselves. They only had one part of the valley of Lucerna; for the town which gives the name to this valley, and several other considerable places were in the enemy's hands. The commonalty of Angrogne, to which several give the name of a valley, by reason of its great extent, was not wholly in the hands of the Vaudois. They were masters in the valley of Peirouse only of some places which depend on the states of Piedmont, for this valley is divided between the French king, and the Duke of Savoy; but they held all the valley of St. Martin, which is stronger than any of the rest by its situation.

They had fortified themselves in each of these valleys, by several retrenchments of wood and stone, being about two thousand five hundred men able to bear arms, having chosen their officers from the most considerable persons of their own country, there being no foreigners among them, and they thus expected the enemy with great resolution. But as on one hand they had no regulated troops, nor experienced officers, and on the other, there were several Vaudois, who had been corrupted or fallen off from their resolutions, during the negotiations, so it is not to be marvelled at, if they took not all necessary precautions. One of the greatest faults they committed was, their undertaking to keep all their posts. For had they abandoned those at the farthest distance, and retired into the retrenchments, within the mountains, there is no likelihood they could have been attacked with any success.

The 22d of April, being the day appointed for the onset, the French army commanded by Catinat, governor of Casal, marched two hours before day by torchlight, against the valleys of Peirouse and St. Martin, keeping along the river of Cluson, being the French king's country.

Catinat drew out a detachment of foot, commanded by Ville-Vielle, a lieutenant colonel, who having passed over the river on a bridge, entered into the valley of Peirouse Piedmontoise. He possessed himself of St. Germain, a village which the Vaudois had forsaken, and came and assaulted a retrenchment, not far off, wherein there were two hundred men.

The Vaudois, after some resistance, quitted this post; and betook themselves to another, which lay more advantageously. In the mean time, a new detachment of horse and dragoons, having in like manner passed the river, came to the assistance of the infantry, who had begun the fight. They did all they could to gain the Vaudois' retrenchment, which they thought no hard task, seeing they were six to one; but they found here such a vigorous defence, that having lost a great many men, they retrenched themselves within pistol shot. Both parties held continual firing for ten hours; but in fine, the Vaudois issued out from their trenches, with their swords in their hands surprising the French, who did not expect such a bold action, and drove them into the plain beyond Cluson, where by good hap, they found a bridge, which saved them from drowning.

There were in this rencounter, above five hundred French killed and wounded, and amongst the rest, several officers of note, and the Vaudois, on their side, lost but two men, and had some few wounded. The relation, which the contrary party has written, on this subject, entitled, "An Account of the War against the Religionaries, called Barbets," agrees

touching the great loss the French suffered; saying, the Vaudois fought so desperately, as forced the French to an unhandsome retreat beyond Cluson. In this defeat, Ville-Vielle betook himself to the church of St. Germain, with seventy soldiers, and some officers, who being summoned to surrender himself on terms of good quarter, he refused, and showed great resolution, though several of his people were killed.

The Vaudois had certainly forced him to yield, had not the approaches of the night, and the weariness of that day's exercise induced them to give over. Having therefore left a guard at the church door, the rest went to seek some refreshments. Ville-Vielle was carried off at break of day, by the assistance of some troops, which the governor of Pignerol had sent secretly in the night. The Vaudois then returned to the retrenchments, expecting to be again attacked, but the enemy, although recruited by fresh forces, contented themselves with encamping about pistol shot distance, without firing on either side, for two days together.

Whilst things passed thus in Peirouse, the body of the French king's army advanced from Cluson, to the fort of Peirouse; when Catinat drew out a retrenchment of horse, commanded by Melac, which having passed over the river on two bridges, went wheeling about to gain the high grounds, which separate the valley of St. Martin by a village named Rioclaret. But those who commanded in this valley, not expecting to be attacked after their offers of compliance with the terms of the edict; especially considering the day denoted for their departure out of the valley was not come; they therefore had not put themselves into a condition of defence, neither did they make any resistance, whereupon they chose to lay down their arms, and implore the pity and compassion of the victors. But the French, being enraged at what had passed at St. Germain, contented not themselves with burning, ravishing, and plundering, but massacred, without distinction of age or sex, with unheard of fury, all those, whom flight could not save from their cruelty. Catinat having ravaged all the country of Rioclaret in the most barbarous manner imaginable, left some troops in the vale of St. Martin, and traversed with the main body of the army the mountains, which separate this valley from that of Peirouse, and went and encamped, without finding any resistance, in the valley of Peirouse, where the soldiers massacred all those who fell into their hands, without sparing men, women, or children. In the mean time the detachment, which Melac commanded, having encamped one night on the risings of the valley of St. Martin, entered through several parts into this valley, directed by such Vaudois, as were so wicked as to lead them, through unknown ways to all others, but only the inhabitants of the country.

He left in all places, where he passed, the marks of an unheard of fury, and went and joined himself to the rest of the army, which lay encamped at Pramol. We shall not give here a particular account of the cruelties exercised on these occasions, and several others, but content ourselves in reciting in the sequel of this relation, some instances, which may make us judge of the rest.

We must of necessity break off the relation of what the French did in Peirouse, seeing there happened such things in the valleys of Lucerna and Angrogne, which should be first taken notice of.

The Duke of Savoy's army being come to the plain of St. John, the 22d of April, were drawn into several bodies, which attacked divers retrenchments, which the Vaudois had in the valleys of Lucerna and Angrogne. The Vaudois not being able to withstand the enemy's cannon in

such places, which likewise lay open to the horse, were forced, after some resistance, to abandon part of these retrenchments, and to betake themselves to a fort, more advantageously situated near Angrogne, to the number of five hundred men.

The enemy having burnt all the houses which they came near, they afterwards assaulted the fort of the Vaudois, who defended themselves so vigorously with shot and stones, against this great body, that they kept their post all that day, with the loss only of five men. Whereas the enemy lost three hundred, although defended by an advantageous retrenchment.

The Vaudois fearing they could not keep this fort, because the army continually grew bigger, betook themselves to another at two hundred paces distance, that was better situated; where they expected the army with great courage, which advanced to assault them, when advice was sent them, that the vale of St. Martin had surrendered, and that the Freuch was coming on them behind; for to this valley there is an easy passage from Lucerna and Angrogne.

This news obliged the Vaudois to enter into composition with Don Gabriel of Savoy, uncle and general of the Duke of Savoy's army, and with the rest of the other officers, who on notice of his royal highness' will and pleasure, positively promised, as well from him, as from themselves, that the Vaudois should receive a full pardon, and be remitted to the terms of the order of the 9th of April, provided they stood to his mercy. But the Vaudois making some scruples at the confiding on this promise; Don Gabriel, who had notice of it, sent them a letter, wrote and signed with his own hand in his royal highness' name, and in these words.

"Lay down immediately your arms, and throw yourselves on his royal highness' mercy, in doing which, assure yourselves, he grants you pardon; and that no violence shall be offered to yourselves, your wives, or children."

An occurrence of this nature, one would think, should be sufficient for the securing the Vaudois's lives and liberties. For besides that this promise was made in the name, and on the part of the duke, it must have seemed no less valid, had it only come from Don Gabriel, and other chief officers.

The Vaudois then laid down their arms, in reliance on this promise, and went most of them to surrender themselves to their enemies; hoping they should be immediately released. But all those who put themselves into their hands, were made prisoners, and led to the town of Lucerna, under pretence they were to be brought to his royal highness to make their submissions.

The enemy also seized on all the posts which the Vaudois had held in Angrogne. They contented not themselves with sacking, plundering, and burning the houses of these poor people; they moreover put to the sword a great number of Vaudois of both sexes, old and young. They ravished several women and virgins, and committed, in fine, such brutish actions, as strike with horror all persons endued with any sense of humanity. Yet there were several Vaudois, who, after their composition, slipped privately out of their hands, unwilling to deliver themselves to the mercy of such barbarous wretches, before they knew what would become of their companions, who had yielded themselves. Seeing then, on one hand, that the army exercised horrid cruelties, wherever it passed; and on the other, that they detained all those who surrendered themselves, they therefore hid themselves in the woods, and sent a request to Don Gabriel, by one Bartholomew Fraschie, to entreat him to release their brethren, detained contrary to pro-

mise; and to forbear those acts of hostility, which were carried on with such barbarous cruelty. Don Gabriel made no answer to this humble request: but some officers told Frascchie, that the Vaudois were carried to Lucerna, only to beg pardon of his royal highness, and that after this, they should be released.

In the mean time the Marquis de Parelle gained the rising ground of the valleys of Angrogne, with a detachment from the army, who, finding no resistance, made up to the most considerable fort of the Vaudois, and in which they had most of their cattle. The marquis gave the Vaudois to understand, that the peace being made by the capitulation of Angrogne, it was their fault they enjoyed not the fruits of it. He assured them for this effect, on the word of a man of honour, that if they would put themselves into their hands, neither they, nor their wives, or children, should be harmed; and that they might carry with them whatever they pleased, without any fear of its being taken from them. That nothing would be required of them but to make their submissions; and that as for those who would become catholics, they might return in all safety to their families and estates; and as to the rest, who were willing to leave the country, they should have free liberty to depart, according to the order of the 9th of April.

These Vaudois then surrendered themselves again on the faith of these promises, which were no better observed than the others. For the enemy were no sooner entered into the fort, but not only whatever the Vaudois there had, was delivered up to the rapine of the soldiers, and banditti of Mandovi, their capital enemies, who enriched themselves with their spoils; but these poor people, the greatest part of which were ancient men, women, and children, were made prisoners, with some ministers, who were amongst them; and conducted with such fury, that those whose age, or other infirmities, permitted them not to travel fast enough to the soldiers' minds, were slain with their swords, or thrown down from rocks.

To return to the French, whom we left at Pramol, in the valley of Peirouse, they behaved themselves after the same manner as the troops of the duke had done at Angrogne, and the vale of Lucerna. They had encamped themselves in a part of the common of Pramol, called the Rua; which is about half an hour's march from another place, termed Pieumian, where a party of those of Pramol, St. Germain, Prarustin, and Rocheplate had retired, to the number of one thousand five hundred persons, men, women, and children. The French might easily from their quarter come down to St. Germain, and fall on the two hundred Vaudois, who had so valiantly defended themselves, and had resettled themselves in their trenches. But having notice of the loss of the valley of St. Martin, and the enemy's march, they thereupon left this retrenchment, for fear of being attacked behind, and went to their brethren in Pieumian.

Whilst they deliberated on the course they should take to defend themselves against the French, who were preparing to invade them; some inhabitants of the valleys being suborned, and won over to the enemy, came and told them, that the valleys of Angrogne and Lucerna had submitted to the will of their prince, who had taken them into favour, and granted them the terms of the order issued out the 9th of April. They also told them, it was in their power to end a war, the burden of which they were not able to sustain alone, and to procure for themselves an advantageous and lasting peace. Which news having taken from the Vaudois part of their resolution; they sent deputies with a drum to the French general to treat of peace; who told them, that the intention of his royal highness was

to pardon them, and positively promised them from his part, and his own, their lives and liberties, with leave to return with all security to their houses, provided they laid down their arms immediately. And the deputies telling him they feared lest the French, enraged at what had passed at St. Germain, would take vengeance on the Vaudois when they had nothing to defend themselves, he made them great protestations and oaths, that supposing their whole army should pass by their doors, they would not offer the least violence.

This composition being made, Catinat retained one of the deputies with him, and sent the others to give advice to the Vaudois, to oblige all those who had dispersed themselves, to repair the next morning, being the 25th of April, at Pieumian; that every man might return to his house on notice of the peace. Whilst the Vaudois assembled at Pieumian the scattered families, Catinat gave an account of this capitulation to Don Gabriel, who sent him over night a messenger, who passing by Pieumian, assured the Vaudois he brought good tidings of peace, and the next morning in his return, he told them it was concluded. They were so well persuaded of the truth of it, that the day before they laid down their arms, according to the conditions of the treaty, entirely confiding in Catinat's promise: they waited in this condition for news from Pieumian, when there arrived one named St. Peter, one of the French king's captains of the garrison in the fort of Peirouse, followed with several dragoons; which captain was well known by the Vaudois, and immediately reiterated to them the assurance of the peace, but presently caused the men to go together apart, in a certain place, and the women and children in another.

The French troops being at the same time arrived, told the men, they had orders to conduct them to their houses, and made them pass along through them, four in a rank. These poor people having been constrained to leave their wives and daughters exposed to the soldiers' discretion, were led not to their houses, as they had been told, but to Don Gabriel, who was encamped on the mountain of La Vachere, and who caused them to be carried prisoners to Lucerna.

In the mean time, the women suffered whatever the fury and brutish inhumanity of the soldiers could devise against them. For these barbarians contented not themselves with taking from them the money, but violated their chastity, with such circumstances, as are a shame to nature, and killed many of them in their resistance of their filthy attempts. Catinat was not present at what passed at Pieumian, but left the ordering of this affair to some officers, to keep out of hearing the just reproaches and complaints of the Vaudois, or else that he might not be the spectator of so many villanous actions. But however, it is certain, that excepting some women, who were killed, and such as fled away from the persecution of these monsters, and saved themselves in the neighbouring woods, in danger of the guns, that were shot at them, to stop them, all the rest were dragged into divers prisons, with great cruelty.

It will be needless to use here many arguments to show that the enemies of the Vaudois have violated in these rencounters, the most sacred and inviolable obligations. The relation of what is past suffices to clear this truth, seeing it clearly justifies, that the Vaudois have been the victims of their enemies' perfiduousness. And it is in vain to think to excuse this breach of promise, under pretence the Vaudois were rebellious subjects, who had taken arms against their lawful prince; for it will be easy to show

that they cannot be accused of rebellion, seeing they only made use of a natural defence, against the unjust oppressions of the Congregation of Propagation, and their other enemies. But the present question is not, whether the Vaudois could justly do what they did; but touching the performance of the promises, which have been made them, notwithstanding this their pretended rebellion, seeing their surrender of themselves was grounded on the faith of these promises. So that it is certain, the violation of an obligation of this nature, can have no other colour, than the authority of this maxim, that "faith is not to be kept with heretics." It is also certain that kings and princes are especially obliged to condemn this vile maxim, since they are the representatives of a Being, who never failed of being faithful to his promises, and who has ever punished perfidiousness, either in the person of those who have been guilty of it, or in their descendants.

It is also in vain to allege that when the Vaudois surrendered themselves, they had only promise of life, for it is plain they were promised likewise their liberty. But had the promise extended no farther than life, can it be affirmed they kept their word, when they made them all perish under the weight of an intolerable misery, and the hardest captivity that ever was?

The valley of Peirouse being reduced as well as the rest, by the capture of Pieumian, one part of the French army left this valley, and went and joined Don Gabriel at the Vacherie; and then it was on all sides they hunted and caught these poor Vaudois, who were dragged to several prisons, under pretence of being led before his royal highness, to entreat his pardon. But that which seems most deplorable, was their refusal to hear the complaints and tears of families, who implored the favour of suffering together. For they separated the fathers from their children, and the husband from the wife, to deprive them of the means of comforting and strengthening one another. They violated the ties of nature and consanguinity, that they might be less able to bear the temptations, and other miseries, they provided for them. They designed that those who could resist the sufferings and miseries of a rigorous prison, should be overcome by their restless longings to be with their relations. There were several young people of both sexes, who were dispersed, and placed in several particular houses in Piedmont; but this was not from a motive of equity, but to make them change their religion, and to keep them from coming near their parents.

Yet there were then a great number of Vaudois who had not delivered up themselves, nor were as yet taken; for those of Villars, Boby, and some other places, in the valley of Lucerna, would not consent to the composition, as did the rest, that they might keep themselves free. Many of those of Angrogne had joined themselves to these, having observed how the enemy kept their word. And several of the Vaudois of the vale of St. Martin had searched for shelter and hiding places, in woods and rocks, to escape the barbarity of the French fury; who gave no quarter. The enemy resolved to be masters of these Vaudois, by force or fraud, as they had been of the rest. For this effect, whilst part of the Duke of Savoy's army was employed against those who were still in arms in the valley of Lucerna, the French returned to that of St. Martin, with the Marquis Parelle, who was well known to the Vaudois, and the better able to persuade them. He knew by experience, that craft was a more likely means to succeed than open force. He made use then of some Vaudois, who had yielded themselves, and in whom the people confided, causing them to march at the head of the army, with pistols at their throats, who were forced not only to be

guides to the French, to discover the Vaudois, in secret places of their retreat, but moreover to write several notes, to exhort their brethren to throw themselves on the clemency of their prince, whose favour was offered to all those who would accept it. And because the usage of those who had already surrendered themselves, might discredit this solicitation, it was added in several of these notes, that the prisoners would be soon set at liberty. On the credit then of these notes, many of these poor people delivered up themselves, for several days, as relying too on the assurances which the Marquia Parelle, and the other officers gave them, of his royal highness' pardon.

Several others were massacred, or taken by the soldiers; but both those who surrendered themselves, and those who were taken, had both the same destiny, and were equally led away as prisoners, into divers prisons and castles.

Whilst thus craft or cruelty wasted the valley of St. Martin of its inhabitants, let us see what passed in the valley of Lucerna. The Vaudois here held amongst others, two strong places, the one called Jaimet, and the other Chamruma, above the castle, into which one part of those who had escaped out of Angrogne had fled. These two places sheltered Villars, wherein there were above a thousand persons, as well old as young. A detachment of the Duke of Savoy's army, assisted by the banditti of Mondovi, came and attacked these two places, where the Vaudois defended themselves for a whole day, with an extraordinary courage. They killed a great number of soldiers, and considerable officers, amongst which was the commander of the banditti. They had only six men killed, and as many wounded. The enemy were extraordinarily tired, and intended a retreat: but forasmuch as they might be pursued easily, and defeated in retreating, they thereupon bethought themselves of this stratagem.

Several officers having laid down their arms, and laid by their hats, drew near at night to the trenches of Chamruma, with a handkerchief at the end of their sticks; and desired a parley, to make proposals of peace. They showed a paper, and told the Vaudois they came from their receiving letters, that peace was concluded in all the valleys: that his royal highness had granted a general pardon to all his subjects, and that it was their fault, who were still in arms, that they were not comprehended in it. They added, they had orders to cease all acts of hostility, and exhorted the Vaudois to do the same, and to accept the grace his royal highness offered them, of which the Podestat there present, could give them assurance. Which person being well known by the Vaudois, having adjoined his protestations to those of the other officers, and all of them together having promised them, with the greatest earnestness, their lives and liberties, provided they withdrew; the Vaudois of Chamruma, trusting to these promises, left the place to the enemy, and retired, being persuaded of the certainty of the peace. There were several of Angrogne, who came to the castle to enjoy the fruits of this peace, but they were immediately seized on and conveyed away. This credulity of the Vaudois took from them a favourable opportunity of overthrowing their enemies; for they might, without any danger or trouble, vanquish troops who had wasted all their warlike ammunition.

The enemy, who pretended they had marched away only to make the Vaudois leave their post, which was a very advantageous place, having received some recruits, immediately returned and possessed themselves of it. Those who were at Jaimet, and had not entered into composition, were then obliged to abandon theirs, because it was commanded by the other,

and to betake themselves to the mountains of Villars. The enemy marched after them, and encamped at Bonnet, on the avenues of Villars and Boby; where they remained two days without attempting any thing against the Vaudois, who might be about four or five hundred men. The officers of the army employed this time, in offering them proposals of peace, attended with specious promises, provided they surrendered themselves, and terrible threatenings, if they stood on their defence.

The Vaudois replied to these proposals that they desired nothing more; but that that which was offered them, was more to be dreaded than war, seeing it was not to be purchased, but by the loss of their liberty; that notwithstanding the peace promised to those of Chamruma, and on the faith of which they had delivered up their post, yet were they imprisoned, who had surrendered themselves; and that the example of their brethren taught them plain enough, what they must expect, if they relied on these assurances. Yet did not this hinder, but a great number of the Vaudois delivered themselves to the enemy, in that they swore to them that those who had yielded themselves should soon be set at liberty to return to their houses, having been carried to his royal highness only to ask his mercy, but these were also lead away captive, and used in no better sort than the rest.

One would marvel at the easiness wherewith the Vaudois suffered themselves to be deceived so often; but it is to be observed, there were several who did not believe any defence could avail after so many persons and places surrendered. Others feared lest their opposition should prove more than ordinarily prejudicial to their wives and children, who were in prison; and the most part could not imagine their enemies could be cruel enough to starve in prison such as delivered themselves up to their mercy. They hoped however they should be set at liberty after some months' imprisonment.

But the remainder of the other Vaudois being much weakened, quitted Villars, on which the enemy seized; who ceased molesting them till May the 4th, when the troops being re-enforced, attacked Boby, where the Vaudois were retired, but they were vigorously beaten back by one hundred and fifty Vaudois, who were in the mountain of Subjusque; and without the loss of one man, killed some officers, and a great many common soldiers. Eight days after the French army joined that of the Duke of Savoy. The enemy then made their last effort to be masters of Boby, but the Vaudois defended themselves so well, that after a fight, which lasted the whole day, they constrained the army to retire, and to encamp at Serre de la Sarsena, with the loss of many men.

The next morning the Marquis de Parelle, who came from the valley of St. Martin with a great detachment, passed over the ridge of Julian, which is an Alp, which was thought inaccessible, and prepared himself to attack the Vaudois behind. Which obliged the Vaudois to quit Boby, and to betake themselves to the woods and rocks. The Marquis de Parelle, and the Count de Brichantan, having possessed themselves of these posts, which the Vaudois had now forsaken, sent several persons to them in their retreats, to exhort them to surrender, and to accept of a pardon; and several of these poor people being pressed with misery and hunger, surrendered themselves to these offers, and became captives by their own credulity. Others yielded to the governor of Mirebois, on assurance from him of their lives and liberties; but they also paid for their trust in his word, by a rigorous imprisonment. There were several who had betaken themselves to the mountain of Vandelin, and who fought for some time with great courage

and success. Yet they at last too suffered themselves to be over-persuaded by the Count de la Roche, governor of the valleys, on promise which he made them of their lives and liberties. He assured them by a note, written with his own hand, they should return to their houses; but they had no sooner forsaken their places of retreat, but they were clapped up in prison, and the note taken from them which he had given them.

The enemy of the Vaudois having by the means afore related, taken away the lives of an infinite number of persons, and deprived above twelve thousand of them of their liberties, and carried away and dispersed above two thousand children, thought they had now done their work. They carried on their unjust practices to the end, and caused all the Vaudois' estates to be confiscated.

And thus were the valleys of Piedmont depopulated of their ancient inhabitants, and the light of the gospel extinguished in a country, where it had shone for so many ages. Thus did perfidiousness and violence triumph over the simplicity of the Vaudois, which the Council de Propagatione, and their other enemies have executed to their utter extirpation. But to the end we may know thoroughly with what spirit their persecutors have been animated, we may here see some of the barbarous acts and cruelties they have exercised on these occasions.

Although we design to speak only of those which have been practised after the compositions; yet we may relate some of the barbarities with which the French signalized their entrance into the valley of St. Martin; not only because they transcend the bounds which Christians ought to set to their victories; but moreover, because they have been committed on persons who offered no resistance. We may then here mention the murders of so many old men, women, and children, who were then the victims of the soldiers' cruelty; the inexpressible lamentations of those poor women and maidens, who, after the abuse of their bodies, were constrained to travel all night at the head of the army, to serve for guides to the French; and the monstrous and diabolical actions of these furious soldiers, who glutted their filthy lusts on the same bodies they came from depriving of life. But we shall set aside the description of these things to speak of some instances of cruelties and violences exercised after the surrender of the valleys.

The soldiers made several massacres at Angrogne, not here to be instanced, lest it should put us on a long relation of particulars. There were several women and maidens violated, on the account of whose modesty, we shall conceal their names, some of them being yet alive. They would likewise have violated Marguerit Maraude, who was but fourteen years of age; and because James Maraude her father, and Margaret Maraude her aunt, opposed themselves to these violences; they were cruelly murdered. Susanna Olivette and Margaret Baline, striving to save their chastity, lost their lives by the hands of these barbarians. Joseph David having been wounded at Angrogne, was carried by the soldiers into a neighbouring house, where they burnt him. Four women and three children of Prarustin were killed in a hole of a rock, where they had hid themselves. The mother of Daniel Fourneron, aged eighty years, was thrown down a precipice in coming from the pre' de Tour, because she could not go fast enough. At Piemian the soldiers slew the wife of James Fourneron and Magdalen Roche, because they did not readily enough deliver the money they had. Mary Romain, a young and beautiful damsel, promised in marriage to James Griot, was

killed for endeavouring to save her chastity. Another virgin, to secure hers, having cast herself into a river, was there shot to death. Several women and maidens, who are yet alive, were dragged by the hair of their heads into neighbouring houses, where they were ravished with horrible circumstances; one, through despair, throwing herself out of a window. Honoree Mayer, a young child, having been found among the women, was shot to death. A great number of women and maidens running away into woods, fell by the musket-bullets shot after them to stop them. The Marquis Parelle, and several Vaudois which he made to march before him, to serve for guides, passing by Piemian, to go into the valley of St. Martin, found the bodies of several little children cut in pieces, with several naked women, slain with blows, some of which had stones thrust in their privities. They also saw several soldiers, who carried in their hats the marks of a horrible cruelty and a devilish impudicity, at which the Marquis Parelle was scandalized.

In the vale of St. Martin there were six men, twenty women, and some children, who went and surrendered themselves in the town of Peirouse, on promise made them they should have no harm done them; but they were no sooner come, but these six men were shot in the presence of their wives. John Ribet of Macel, having been taken, he had his arms and legs burnt, to oblige him to change his religion; but God gave him the grace to obtain the crown of martyrdom, in suffering constantly the death, which these executioners gave him. They likewise inhumanly put to death, Bartholomew Ribet, James Brues, and his son. They fastened one poor infirm man to a horse's tail, whom they dragged about till he expired. They hanged up a poor blind woman at her own door. They found a woman at the point of being delivered, and performed two murders at one blow, in taking away her life, and that of the child in her womb. They pursued two young women from a place called the Colet, to another named Boniot, where, overtaking them, they violated them, and afterwards both shot them and hewed them in pieces.

Four women having fallen at the same time into the hands of these barbarians, met with the same misfortune, only with this difference, that before they were violated and massacred, they saw their children's throats cut, in a place called the Fountains. They opened the bodies of a mother and her child and tore out the bowels, which they caused to be burnt. They slew a great many children in the same place, because they were sick, and were not able to follow them to the prisons, where they would have secured them. Twenty-two persons, who had for a long time lain in woods, and most of which were women and children, were found by these murderers on the mountain of Pelue, and thrown off into dreadful abysses, being miserably shattered and torn by the edges of sharp-pointed flints, on which the entrails of these poor wretches were seen to hang a long time after.

In the vale of Lucerna, Susannah the wife of Daniel Violin, Katherina the wife of James Negrin, Anne Malanote and her daughter were stabbed in the throats with bayonets. Some soldiers having used all their endeavours to flay Daniel Pellenc alive, and seeing they could not get the skin over his shoulders, they laid him on the ground, and placed a great stone on his belly, and made him thus expire. Daniel Brumerol lost his life with a cord, with which they fastened and straitened, with a dreadful violence, his head to his belly and privates. Anne and Magdalen Vittories, and several others were burnt; the wife of Daniel Monin was slain with a sword, with which her head was cleaved asunder. Anne Bastianne was thrown

down from high rocks into a dreadful bottom. David Moudon had also his head cleaved asunder with the blow of a sword. Margaret Salvajot having been stripped naked, had several blows of a dagger struck into her body, but she suffered not only a cruel death in her own person, seeing that before she died, these wretches had so bruised the head of her daughter, but seven months old, against the rocky places, that the brains came out in the mother's sight. They cut in pieces Mary Salvajot; and poniarded Mary Durand for resisting the attempts made on her chastity. They cut the throat of Mrs. Bertrand, the minister's mother, who was eighty years of age, and lay bed-rid. A young maiden of Boby was fastened naked on her back on a mule, and thus exposed; and led openly through the town of Lucerna. Amongst a great number of Vaudois which were hanged in Boby, there was one named Anthony Malanot, on whom the soldiers discharged their guns several times after he was dead, making their mark those parts of his body which modesty forbids the mention.

The soldiers having found a woman, named Jaimonate, in a cavern of a rock, on the colliers' mount, they led her to the Marquis de Bavi, colonel to the regiment of Savoy, who asked her how long she had lain in that place, and how she sustained herself; she answered, she had there hid herself eight days, and lived on the milk which a goat she had taken along with her had yielded her. They would have afterwards obliged her to tell them where the Vaudois were, who hid themselves in rocks, and protesting she knew nothing in that particular, the soldiers, after having given her a kind of torture in fastening and then straightening her fingers with matches to make her confess, tied her neck and heels, and in this posture threw her down from a high rock; but being stopped in the way, they with stones so bruised her, that her bowels came out, and at length beat her quite off, in the presence of the Marquis de Bavi. A youth of the valleys named David Magnot, whom this marquis had a fancy to, and had kept to wait on him, having since gotten away, was an eye-witness of this horrid action. Daniel Moudon, one of the elders of the church at Roras, having been the spectator of the death of John and James Moudon, his two children, (whose heads the soldiers cut off,) after he had seen the body of the wife of John ripped up from the navel, and her daughter's brains beat out, who was not above six weeks old, and the two children of James cut in pieces, (one of which was four years old, and the other fourteen months,) was constrained by these monsters, to carry across his shoulders the heads of his two sons, and to march barefoot two hours' journey, near Lucerna, where he was hanged in the midst of these two heads, which were fastened to a gibbet.

There would be no end in reciting particular instances of these kinds of cruelties; neither shall we insist on the piteous death of so many ancient and infirm people of all ages, and both sexes, who perished through cold and hunger, as well in woods as holes in the rocks. We here pass over an infinite number of prisoners, who were hanged, without any formality of justice, on the arms of trees, and in towns and villages; amongst which was Paul Megle, an infirm young man, who was carried out of his bed to execution.

What we have related may suffice, I think, to show how far extended the fury of the Vaudois' enemies. We shall only then add here the death of Mr. Leidet, which is equally worthy of pity and admiration. He was minister of Pratz, in the vale of St. Martin, who had escaped at the surrender of the valleys, and hid himself for some time in the holes of rocks. He was taken by a detachment of soldiers, and carried away to Lucerna,

into the palace of the Marquis of Angrogne, where was then the Duke of Savoy. He was put into prison in a tower of this palace, and one of his feet locked into a kind of stocks; where he long remained in this condition with bread and water, not being able to lie down. It was said he was taken with his arms in his hands; but this appearing to be a false accusation, as it was afterwards justified by those who took him, he was left several months in prison, without having any judgment passed on him, and several judges excused themselves from meddling with him. Yet in the mean time no day passed in which he was not exposed to the persecutions of the monks and popish priests, with whom he earnestly disputed, touching his religion, and always confounded them. They brought him one day two Bibles, in which he showed them so clearly the truth of his belief, that they left him and shamefully withdrew, after a dispute which held four hours. They often put him in mind of his approaching death, to affright him, and told him several times, there was no way of escaping it, but by turning Roman catholic; but he received the news of his determined death with great tranquillity. He answered them, that though he well knew they could not justly put him to death, seeing he was not taken with his arms in his hands, and that moreover the Duke of Savoy had promised pardon to all his subjects; yet was he ready to suffer what they might lay upon him, esteeming himself very happy, if he might suffer death for the name of Christ. He strengthened by his example and exhortations the prisoners which were with him, some of which had leave to come to him. In fine, the monks and friars, being enraged at his zeal and constancy, found at length judges compliant enough to condemn him to die.

The day whereon he was executed, the recorder Salvay pronounced sentence on him, in the presence of several monks, which he heard read with admirable resignation, not showing the least trouble or alteration in his countenance. The monks left him not all that day, although he desired them several times to let him be in private, that he might the better pray to God; but they would not give over troubling him, but forced him into disputes with them, as believing he was not now in a condition to defend himself against them; but he disengaged himself with such smartness and presence of mind, that they were all astonished at it. Yet this hindered them not from returning the next morning, to have the satisfaction of tormenting him to the end of his life. He said, when he was going out of the prison, that this was a day of double deliverance for him, seeing his body would soon be freed, not only from its corporeal prison, but his soul translated into immortal joy and felicity. He went to the place of execution with inexpressible cheerfulness and resolution, both despising life, which the monks offered him, and death, which was now before his eyes. He made a long and affectionate prayer at the foot of the scaffold, with which, those who stood by, were sensibly touched. He uttered these words on the ladder, "My God, into thy hands I commend my spirit," and died so edifying a death, that the friars themselves, who would not leave him, were forced to acknowledge he died like a righteous person.

CHAPTER III.

Containing the just diffidence of a part of the Vaudois, which was the cause of their preservation; their courage and firm resolution to defend themselves, which procured them a safe retreat out of the Duke's dominions, with Letters of safe conduct.

THERE only then remained in the valleys some inhabitants, who, preferring death before servitude, would not hearken to the proposals of peace. Some of these were in the valley of St. Martin, and although the one knew not the design of the others, because the army lying encamped between these two valleys, they could have no communication; yet they were all of the same mind, and both took a resolution worthy of immortal praise. They remained a long time hid and dispersed in the mountains, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, who went every day out in small parties to surprise them. One cannot sufficiently admire the constancy with which they endured all the wearinesses and miseries, to which they lay exposed; being often glad to feed on grass, and the dogs and other beasts which came to prey on the Vaudois' dead bodies, which lay unburied in the fields. But the French and banditti of Mondovi being retired, they were not so strictly pursued by the Duke of Savoy's army, which remained alone in the valleys. Then it was, that those who were in the valley of Lucerna began to come out of their hiding places, to seek for food to sustain their languishing spirits. There were not in this valley above forty-two men, besides some women and children, when they were all together met, yet they made several attempts in the plain, always loading themselves with provisions and other necessaries, and worsted in several rencounters divers of the enemy's detachments, and killed and put to flight a great number of the Savoyards, who were come to inhabit in the valleys; and in fine, performed for several months, such gallant actions, that they put the enemy under contribution, and forced them to furnish them with provisions, for some time, to hinder them from making their inroads into the plain.

We shall not now make a particular relation of these generous attempts, lest we engage in a long discourse, but content ourselves with saying, that the court of Turin, having in vain attempted by force to exterminate them from the valleys, sent them passports in good form, underhand, and hostages for greater security of their retreat, though those who carried these proposals to the Vaudois would by no means allow they acted by the court of Turin's order. They affirmed, on the contrary, that what they did was of their own motion, and at the desire of some other persons, who undertook to obtain these passports, and deliver them hostages. But it is certain, an affair of this nature could not be carried on without a more than bare connivance from the court of Turin; for besides, that no particular person dared to have undertaken, of his own head, such a business, the passports which were despatched, did afterwards fully show, that all was done by the court's order.

However, the Vaudois at first refused to hearken to this proposal, whether they thought they ought not to put any confidence in the promises made them, or whether resolving to perish themselves, they would choose

rather to deliver their brethren out of captivity, death being more sweet to them than life, whilst they groaned in their chains. A while after this proposal was renewed, and several considerations were offered to oblige them to an acceptance. They were told that the Duke of Savoy had declared, that as long as they were in arms, the prisoners should not be released, and they were positively promised, that as soon as ever they were departed, their brethren should be set at liberty.

So that the Vaudois considering on the one hand, that winter came on, and that they must expect no succours; and on the other, that their resistance might furnish their enemies with a pretence for the detaining of the captives, they thereupon determined to depart their country. It was then agreed and resolved that they should leave the valleys, and depart with their wives and children, arms, and baggage, in two troops or companies, having their charges defrayed, and they conducted as far as Switzerland, at two several times, by one of his royal highness' captains, with sufficient passports.

That for the greater security of the first troop, which should set out, hostages should be left in the valleys, in the hands of the second, who should keep them till such time as they had heard that the first company was arrived; and then this captain should deliver into their hands an officer of his relations, for a hostage, till such time the second troop or company should be arrived.

This treaty was faithfully executed; for those two companies happily got out of the country into a place of security, with their arms and baggage, under the conduct of this captain. We must not forget one remarkable circumstance, which is, that the Vaudois would never consent to leave the country, till such time as their kindred, who were in prison, were released and sent to them; whence it must be concluded, that this treaty was managed by the court of Turin; seeing these captives could not be released, but by its order.

The Vaudois who were in the vale of St. Martin did almost the same things, as those had done in the valley of Lucerna; for although they were reduced at last but to twenty-five men, and some women and children, yet they defended themselves with such vigor and resolution, that they also procured themselves passes, to retire to Switzerland, with their wives and children, arms, and baggage.

We have already said that those in one valley knew not what passed in the other, because the army cut off all communication. Could they have joined, or heard of each other, no doubt they had made a more advantageous composition, and perhaps delivered their brethren out of their captivity. For if the court of Turin were willing to keep an army in the valleys to hinder the attempts of the Vaudois, or designed to people this country with Savoyards, who would be far from inhabiting there, as long as there were these people in arms; there is likelihood, that to get rid of them, they would have consented to the deliverance of the prisoners.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the ill treatment of the Vaudois, that had laid down their Arms upon the security of the public faith, with a relation of the cruelties that were exercised on them in Prisons; and at last of their enlargement, at the entreaty of the Swiss Cantons.

WHILST these Vaudois retired into Switzerland, by means of their own valour, which procured them both hostages and letters of safe conduct, the evangelic cantons did all they could, for the deliverance of the captives. They had written several times fruitlessly to the court of Turin on this occasion; but their zeal and charity being never wearied, they therefore convoked an assembly at Arau, in the month of September, 1686, in which it was resolved to demand again the releasement of the prisoners: they sent, for this effect, two deputies to the Count de Govon, the Duke of Savoy's resident, at Lucerna in Switzerland; and having showed him the reasons which engaged the evangelic cantons to interest themselves in behalf of the Vaudois, they entered into a treaty with him in the beginning of October, with the consent of their superiors; which treaty obliges the Duke of Savoy to permit all the prisoners to come into Switzerland, and to clothe them, and defray the charge of their journey, till they came on the frontiers, where the evangelic cantons would take care of them, and conduct them into the heart of their country; to the end, they might not be in a condition to return to Piedmont. When this treaty was made, it was without doubt unknown at Lucerna that the Vaudois we now speak of, were already retired; for there is an article which says, that the duke should give them passports in good form, to enable them to depart safely and freely, which would not have been inserted in this treaty, had what had passed on their account been known. However the cantons immediately ratified this treaty, which the duke did not till some time after, in a letter he wrote on this occasion, in which he directs the course, which the prisoners were to take, over mountains, then inaccessible, and through the country of Valay, which depends neither on the Duke of Savoy, nor the Switzers, and through which there could be no entrance, without negotiating with the Bishop of Sion, to whom it belongs. It is apparent, it was designed to raise obstacles against the performance of this treaty, otherwise they would not have marked out the way into other countries than those of Savoy, where the roads lie more commodious to go into Switzerland. The evangelic cantons complained of this to the Count de Govon, about which, having written to the court of Turin, the duke at length gave order, they should pass through Savoy to the canton of Berne, and caused the prison doors to be set open: but this was not before the midst of winter, and in so rigorous a season, that according to all appearances, those who had escaped the hardships in the prison, must perish in their way.

It will be very difficult to represent all the miseries and calamities which the captives had endured, during nine months' imprisonment. Yet there are exact memorials, of what hath passed in each particular prison, which is matter enough for a particular history. But we shall content ourselves with giving some general representations of the miseries they have suffered. They were carried then into prison at divers times, and as fast as they sur-

rendered themselves, or were taken. They were dispersed to the number of twelve thousand men, women, and children, into fourteen prisons or castles of the states of Piedmont; and were more or less severely used, according to the humours of those who were the keepers of the prisons; but it is certain they were every where exposed to great hardships and sufferings. Their allowance in every prison was but bread and water, neither had they enough of that; in some prisons they had very black bread allowed them, which had no substance, and such as was kneaded with filthy water, that run down the kennels, and in which was found all manner of nastiness. [And in the bread, they often found lime, glass, and other filth.] In other places they had stinking water given them, and such as could not be drank, but by those who were ready to perish with thirst. They were obliged, in some places, to go and fetch water, but out of horse-ponds, and wherein were dogs thrown at the same time they took it. In certain places they were not suffered to draw water out of wells, that being judged too good for them: in other places they were permitted to have water only at certain hours, out of which they were not to have any, which has occasioned several sick persons to expire through need of a glass of water to refresh them. They were forced all of them to lie on bricks, with which the floors are paved in Piedmont, without straw; or if they had any given them, in some places, it was either such as was so short that it was mere dust, or else such as was musty.

They were so straitened, and pent up in some prisons, that they could not stir without great difficulty; and when they died, which every day happened, the apartments were filled up with others, that they might have no more ease. The stifling heat of the summer, and the filthy corruption with which the chambers were infected, by reason of the sick, had engendered such a great quantity of lice, that the prisoners could have no rest, either night or day. They were also troubled with great worms, which gnawed their skins.

There were several sick people who may be said to have been the worm's food in their lifetime; for these poor people not being able to rise up, they were so gnawed with them that their skin being already rotted, fell off from their flesh in small pieces; and in this miserable and languishing condition did they lie, till their deaths had put an end to all their sufferings.

They did not only endure all the inconveniencies of an excessive heat, but moreover those of a severe cold, seeing that in the midst of winter, they never had any fire given them, nor any clothes to warm them, although they were in high rooms, the greatest part of which lay exposed (without windows) to the weather. [Which in that season and country is extremely rigorous, being near those mountains of eternal snow.]

They never had any light allowed them in winter and summer, although they were often submissively asked, to relieve the sadness of their conditions in the dark nights, and to help the sick amongst them, several of which have perished for want of succour. A great many women have also died in childbirth, for want of help in the night, and their loss has been followed with that of their children, who have received death at the instant wherein they should have obtained life. Sick people have been severed from the sound, and laid in open places, exposed to the injuries of the air, the winds, and storms. But this cruelty has been in some sort a kindness, seeing it has brought them to the end of their miseries, in the end of their lives. In other prisons, there have been several children sick of the small-pox, laid in wet yards, and under spouts, to have the water fall on them. They were

not contented in not assisting the sick themselves, but they also hindered charitable people from bringing them broth, and other necessaries. When the prisoners have dared to complain of the little charity showed them, they have been laden with injuries, threats, and blows. They were told, that instead of showing them compassion, they should be used like dogs, till they were all dead. There was scarcely any prisoner who was not burdened with some distemper.

There have been so many sick, that no less than seventy-five have been counted to lie ill at one time in a room. There have been taken out of the prisons a great many young children, notwithstanding the tears and supplications of both them and their parents. In fine, the prisoners have underwent such hardships, that it is scarce credible there should be so much cruelty amongst those who bear the Christian name, were it not well known to what point the enemies of the Vaudois have extended their fury. But we cannot doubt of the excess of their rage, when it is notorious that above eight thousand of these poor creatures have expired under the weight of this cruel slavery.

Yet as if it was not enough that their bodies were thus afflicted, they have been, moreover, persecuted in their souls. For the monks and friars have used all possible means to make them change their religion; but God had endued them with the grace of persevering to the end, and there were few who fell under the burden of the temptation. Those who turned, were not used so severely as the rest, but were notwithstanding detained in captivity.

The prisoners were in this piteous condition when the Duke of Savoy caused to be published in the prisons the order, which permitted them to go forth, and retire into Switzerland. This publication was not made every where in the same manner, nor at the same time; but successively, and according as the prisoners were set at liberty. Yet it was read in most of the prisons by an officer of justice, who, causing the prisoners to come before him, declared to them that all those who would depart out of the states of Piedmont, to go into Switzerland, might do it, and even those who had promised to change their religion; because the promises which had been made in prison, were to be considered as forced, and consequently void. He added, they were at liberty either to go, or stay, if they became catholics. Yet the prisoners had not all the liberty of choice which they pretended was granted them; for the monks and officers of the prisons, who were present at this publication, endeavoured to avert the effect of it. Sometimes they were told that the rigor of the season, and the cruelty of the soldiers who conducted them, would destroy a great part of them in the way. Other times they were flattered with the hopes of returning into their own houses, if they would abjure their religion. But these considerations not being able to prevail on them, they were many times grievously beaten, as it happened in the prisons of Ast, where the governor gave them a thousand blows with a cane, in the presence of the auditor Leonardy. They were shut up in dungeons, and in the most noisome and filthy parts of the castles of Queirasque, and others. In fine, there were so many obstacles laid before them, that some fell under the temptation, and yielded to a change of religion. But instead of resettling them in their houses, they were led (as it were) into captivity into the province of Verceil, the least grateful, and most barren place in all the duke's dominions. We must not omit some circumstances which are considerable enough; the one, that several young children, as well those who were brought up in prison, as

others who were dispersed over Piedmont, having known that liberty was granted the prisoners, pressed earnestly to go with their fathers and mothers, but this could not be obtained; the other, that the permission of departure was not published in the prisons of Lucerna, but only fixed up at a place, to the end, the prisoners might not have the advantage of it; and in fine, the prisoners who were in the dungeon of Ast, and their families, which were in the citadel of Turin, had not the benefit of this declaration.

Soon after this publication, the Vaudois were made to set forth in several troops or companies, which were conducted to Geneva, by the duke's officers and soldiers. It was promised by this treaty made with the Count de Govon, that the captives should be clothed, and yet there were nothing given them but some ragged old coats and breeches; but it was not only in this point that the treaty was not executed, it was violated in several others of great importance. For, besides the cruelties which were exercised on several companies, they were bereaved of a great many of their children in their journey. There happened two things amongst others, from which one may judge of the rest. The one regards the prisoners which were at Mondovi, who, about Christmas were told there was an order, the contents of which was, that if they did not immediately depart, this liberty would be revoked the next morning.

These miserable poor creatures were all in a sick and languishing condition. Yet did they choose to be gone immediately without any convoy, and to expose themselves to imminent danger, rather than to groan any longer under this cruel captivity. They set out then in a night, the most cold and incommodious imaginable, and travelled four or five leagues without resting, on snow or ice, but with that misfortune, that there were above a hundred and fifty who fell by the way and died; their brethren not being able to give them any assistance.

The other respects the prisoners who were at Forsan. There were a company of these poor captives, who, having lain at Novalaise, at the foot of Mount Senis, perceived the next morning, at their setting out, that a great storm was rising on this mountain. Some of this company showed the storm to the officer who conducted them, and entreated him to stay till it was past, and not to expose them to apparent danger, and to have pity on so many persons, most of whom were without any strength or spirit; they also told him, that if he would be so charitable to them, they should ask him for no bread; choosing rather to abide without any nourishment than to throw themselves into this danger. But this officer had the cruelty to make them travel immediately, and to sacrifice a part of them to his barbarity. For there were fourscore and six who perished on the mountain by the storm. These were ancient infirm people, women and small children, who had not strength to resist the severity of the weather, and whom their friends were forced to leave as a prey to the wild beasts; this officer not suffering them to pay them any charitable office. The following companies, and several merchants, who passed soon after over this mountain, saw the bodies of these poor creatures stretched out on the snow; the mothers having still their children in their arms.

The evangelic cantons having been informed of the taking away of the children from their parents, and other bad usages of the Vaudois in their way, thought themselves still obliged in charity to endeavour their relief. They sent deputies for this end to the court of Turin, as well to favour the journey of the several companies, who were not then arrived at Geneva, as to demand the restitution of the children taken up in the way, and other young

people of both sexes, who were dispersed in Piedmont, at the surrender of the valleys. And receiving at the same time a letter from the Count de Govon, by which they were informed that his master had deferred, for some time, the deliverance of the ministers, and would not release some prisoners who had been taken with their arms in their hands, and were condemned to work all their lives on his royal highness' fortifications; the evangelic cantons therefore commanded their deputies to demand the liberty of the ministers, and all other prisoners, according to the treaty made with the Count de Govon. But before we speak of the success of this negotiation, we must see in what condition the Vaudois were, when they arrived at Geneva.

They came thither at several times, and in several companies, which in all made not above two thousand five hundred persons; but they were all in so bad and deplorable a condition, that it is not possible to express it. There were several of these poor people who dropped down dead at the town gates, and who met with the end of their lives in the beginning of their liberty. Others were so dispirited with sickness and grief, that they were expected every moment to expire in the arms of those who had the charity to sustain them. Others were so frozen with cold, that they had not the power to speak; some staggered under the weight of their distempers and weariness; others were deprived of the use of their limbs, and could not hold out their hands to receive the assistance which was offered them. The greatest part of them were naked and without shoes; in fine, both one and the other carried such marks of an excessive suffering and extreme misery, that the hardest heart must needs be grieved at it.

The companies staying some time at Geneva to rest and refresh themselves, before they parted for Switzerland; those who were first arrived, went out to meet those who came next, to inform themselves touching the condition of their relations, of whom they had not heard since the troubles in the valleys. A father demanded news of his child, a child what was become of his father, a husband of his wife, a wife inquired after her husband, and every one endeavoured to learn what was become of his friend; but this being commonly in vain, seeing most part of them were dead in prison; this occasioned such a sad and lamentable spectacle, that all the beholders melted into tears, whilst these poor people, oppressed and overwhelmed with the excess of their grief, were not able to weep and bemoan themselves.

But if it be difficult fully to represent the misery of these poor people's condition, it is no less hard a task to express the abundant charity those of Geneva showed on these occasions. The inhabitants strove so fast to meet those piteous objects to bring them into their houses, that the magistrate was obliged to forbid the people going out of the town, to avoid the inconveniences which this hurry caused. Every one strove who should have the most of these sick and distressed persons, to have the more occasion for the exercise of their charity. They were tended not only with the same care as their own children, but moreover, as persons which brought peace and a blessing into their families. There has been an extraordinary care taken of the sick, of which several have died at Geneva; and some of which do still carry the marks which the worms have made in their bodies. All the Vaudois who needed clothes, have been furnished either by those who lodged them, or out of the Italian stock, the managers of which have showed, from the beginning to the end, the marks of a tender compassion and ardent charity.

But it was not only in Geneva where the Vaudois were so kindly entertained; they also met with the same compassion in Switzerland, where the evangelic cantons received them in the most generous and Christian manner imaginable. And it is not only in respect of the Vaudois, but also of the other protestants, that one may say, that the country of Switzerland is an assured port of divine appointment, for the reception of those who are exposed on the waves of persecution.

The deputies then of the evangelic cantons being arrived at Turin, demanded the liberty of the ministers, and other prisoners, and the restitution of the children, as well of those who were taken away from their parents in their journey, as of those who were dispersed in Piedmont, at the time of the surrender of the valleys. They showed that in respect of the ministers, there could be no lawful pretence to detain them, not only because they were comprehended in the treaty made with the Count de Govon; but moreover, because they were the principal objects of the Switzers' intercession; besides, that it is very just to remit the pastors to their flocks, to comfort and encourage them under their sufferings. As to the prisoners condemned for all their life-time, to work on the fortifications, they likewise showed they were not distinguished from the rest, under pretence they are more faulty. For 1st, the treaty makes no exception to their prejudice; and says, that all the prisoners in general shall be released. 2dly, The Count de Govon has himself declared in a letter which he wrote on this subject, on the part of the duke his master, that they pretended not to retain any prisoners. 3dly, That seeing his royal highness was willing to grant safe conduct to those who were actually armed; on greater reason liberty should be granted to the prisoners in question, to depart, who have been always considered as far less criminal. And as to the little children, they showed that as well those ought to be released, who had been taken away in their passage, as others who had been dispersed in Piedmont, because both one and the other were retained contrary to the engagements of the treaty. But neither the solicitations nor arguments of these deputies produced any effect, they only served to procure the restitution of some of the children, which were carried away in the passage; for the surplus are still in the states of Piedmont. It is true that the court of Turin hath promised to deliver the ministers, but would not fix the time. As yet they are dispersed with their families, which consist of forty-seven persons, into three prisons or castles, where they are strictly kept, and exposed to great inconvenience and misery, without any appearance of their liberty.

And thus you have an abridgement of what has passed, that is most considerable on the occasion of the dissipation of the churches and inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont. And there needs no more to show, there was never any persecution more unjust and violent. As to these poor people themselves, they hope that all the reformed states will look with an eye of pity on their sufferings, and have some feeling of their griefs. They are the remains of those mother churches that can claim the greatest and purest antiquity, who from the bottom of their Alps had enlightened a great part of the world. But they are such sad remnants, and those reduced into so small a number, and such a deplorable condition, that we cannot behold either their diminution, or their misery, without being pierced with extreme sorrow. They implore then the protection of kings and princes, and protestant states, and in fine, of all true Christians. They entreat them, by the remembrance of what Christ has done and suffered for them, to give ear to the sorrowful cries of the oppressed, and to continue their charita-

ble exhibitions to a remnant, whom God has delivered from both a corporeal and spiritual bondage. By which means, they shall be enabled to pray without ceasing for their benefactors, that God would reward their charity with uninterrupted peace, health, and plenty, in this life, and with immortal glory in the world to come.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS OF SAVOY'S LETTERS TO, AND IN BEHALF OF, THE
INHABITANTS OF THE VALLEYS.

To our most dear and faithful subjects of the valleys of Lucerna, Peirouse, St. Martin, and parts of Prarustin, of St. Bartholomew, and Rocheplate.

The Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, King of Cyprus, &c.

Most dear and faithful subjects:

HAVING taken very kindly the zeal and readiness wherewith you have provided us men, who have served us to our entire satisfaction in the occasions which we have had with the Genoise; we are therefore willing to give you this present testimony of it, assuring you we shall not lose the remembrance of it, that you may find in all necessities the benefits of our royal protection, as you shall more particularly understand from the count and intendant Boccaria, whom we have commanded to declare more fully to you our thoughts in this matter, and who is to take an account of the officers and soldiers who were killed or remain prisoners, to make us a report of them, that we may not be ignorant of their condition. In the mean time these presents will serve you for an assured testimony of our satisfaction, and prayers to God to defend you from all evil.

From Turin, the 5th of November, 1678.

(Signed)

C. EMANUEL.

To the commonalties of the valleys of Lucerna, St. Martin, Peirouse, Prarustin, St. Bartholomew, and Rocheplate.

The copy of a letter written to the Count Boccaria, by his Royal Highness.

My Lord and most dear, &c.

THE men whom the commonalties of the valleys of Lucerna, &c. have so well served us, that being willing to testify to them our satisfaction, we therefore have directed to you the letter subjoined to this, that you may deliver it to them, and may more fully express to them, the good will we bear them. Requiring you likewise to assure them, that whenever their need requires, we shall have a particular regard to their affection, and at the same time do you take a note of the officers and soldiers who were killed or taken prisoners, to make a report to us thereof, that we may take order accordingly. Thus remitting to your care, whatever more is necessary to signify our satisfaction and pleasure in their zeal and readiness, we beseech God to preserve you.

At Turin, the 5th of November, 1672.

(Signed)

C. EMANUEL.

To the Count Am. Boccaria, Counsellor of State, and Superintendent General of the Valleys.—The order of Don Gabriel of Savoy, in favour of the Inhabitants of the Valleys.

Don Gabriel of Savoy, Marquis of Rive, General of His Royal Highness' army, both of horse and foot.

"THE officers here below mentioned, of the valleys of Lucerna, having given such proofs of their zeal for his royal highness' service, in all occasions which have offered, especially in the commotions of this province; that we think ourselves obliged to give them this testimony; to the end that in other exigencies, wherein his royal highness' service shall be concerned, they may be encouraged to continue these proofs of their zeal. And therefore, by virtue of the authority which we have from his royal highness, we permit the below-mentioned to wear and carry arms, provided they make no ill use of them. And we command all those depending on our orders of general, that they neither give nor permit to be given them any trouble for so doing, this being his royal highness' will and pleasure."

Given at Mondovi, the 29th of Sept. 1681.

The Declaration and Manifesto of the Protestants of the Valleys of Piedmont, called the Vaudois, to all Christian Princes and States, of the reasons of their taking up arms just now against the Duke of Savoy. And why they have put themselves under the protection of William, King of Great Britain, and of the evangetic cantons of Switzerland. 1690.

To all Christian emperors, kings, princes, and states, the remonstrance and declarations of us the native and ancient inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne, Peirouse, and St. Martin, commonly called the Valleys of Piedmont, greeting.

It is not unknown to all Europe, that of time out of mind, we and our ancestors have been in the uninterrupted possession of the aforesaid valleys, and of the same religion which we profess at this very day, without any considerable alteration either in doctrine or discipline: and that under the successive reigns of the princes of Piedmont and Pignerol: and that at length about four hundred years ago, upon the failing of the princes of that family, we put ourselves under the dominion of the house of Savoy, upon certain conditions and articles then agreed on for security of our religion and liberties.

Under which family of Savoy our ancestors lived in the greatest peace and ease for two ages and more, till by the unhappy counsels of some about our princes, we were put to great severities in the last age, on the account of religion; notwithstanding whereof, their royal highnesses were pleased at several times, and upon several occasions, to ratify our rights and privileges, and to grant us full and free liberty in the exercise of our religion; and particularly in the years 1561, 1602, 1603, and in the year 1620. All which were formally and solemnly ratified and enrolled in the chamber of Turin, and declared to be irrevocable, inviolable, and perpetual laws: and the execution thereof was ordained by several decrees of the said chamber, and by the senate of Turin, in the years 1638, 1649, 1654, and 1655.

In which year 1655, the Council de Propaganda Fide, settled at Turin some years before, taking the occasion of the minority of Charles Emanuel, then Duke of Savoy, caused to be published an edict, ordering all the inha-

bitants of the valleys to quit them within three days, and to retire to the mountains, under the pain of death, in case they did not renounce and abjure their religion they had been educated in. And albeit the said inhabitants did really obey this unjust order, as much as the shortness of time granted them would allow, by making ready to remove, yet upon it fell out that horrid and execrable massacre, whereof all Europe has to this day an abhorrence. But at length, by the intercession of several Christian princes and states with the then Duke of Savoy, and the dutchess, then regent, the said cruel edict of putting us all to the edge of the sword, was recalled, and a new confirmation given us as to our whole liberties, and the free exercise of our religion, upon the 9th of August, 1655, which was thereafter enrolled in the senate and chamber of Turin.

Notwithstanding this confirmation of our privileges, several bad ministers did in many particulars infringe it by oppressions and designed stretches of law; and at last, in the year 1663, they reacted the same tragedies upon us, as they had done in the year 1655. At which time, at the intercession of the same Christian princes, we obtained another solemn, irrevocable, and perpetual patent in the month of February, 1664, likewise ratified in the senate and chamber of Turin.

Since which time, we, the inhabitants of the valleys, lived in great peace, and did many remarkable and important services to the late Duke of Savoy, father to his present royal highness, and to his royal highness himself, both in the war against the state and republic of Genoa, in the year 1672, and against the banditti in Mondovi, in the year 1681 and 1684. As was acknowledged by his royal highness in his letters written to us on that occasion, which was also enrolled in the chamber of accounts of Turin.

Thus we rested secure of our own innocence, and of the many reiterated assurances of his royal highness' favour to, and protection of us, till the 31st day of January, 1685. At which time, without any imaginable provocation on our part, there was published in the valleys an edict of his royal highness the Duke of Savoy, prohibiting the exercise of our religion upon pain of death, and confiscation of moveables, ordering all our churches to be immediately demolished, all our ministers to be banished, all our children to be educated and baptized in the Roman catholic religion.

This dreadful edict was received among us with the greatest astonishment, and in a moment seemed to disanimate us altogether.

But at length we so far recovered ourselves from our consternation, as to fall upon the ordinary means we had many times tried before; and considering that it was more the effect of bad counsel than from the natural inclinations of his royal highness himself, of whose good intentions towards us we had so many proofs: we had recourse to supplications, and presented his royal highness four several petitions for recalling this bloody order; and at the same time made our address to the evangelic cantons of Switzerland, to intercede with his royal highness on our behalf.

Whereupon in an assembly of the said cantons, held at Baden, in the month of February, 1686, they despatched ambassadors to his royal highness at Turin, to solicit the revocation of that edict against us; and all the answer they could obtain, was, that it was not in his power to recall the edict, because his royal highness had passed his word to the most Christian king already to the contrary. Whereupon the ambassadors of the evangelic cantons seeing no other way at present to save us, proposed to the court of Turin, that we, the inhabitants of the valleys, might have leave between that and a fixed time, to depart to another country, with our families and

goods, under the Duke of Savoy's safe conduct. And to this end, the said ambassadors procured leave from his royal highness to allow certain deputies of ours to come to Turin, in order to concert and agree on the articles.

But in the mean time that we were meeting in an assembly at Angrogne about this affair, came out a second order from his royal highness, unknown to the said ambassadors, bearing date the 9th of April, 1686, for an amnesty to the inhabitants of the valleys, upon condition they immediately remove out of his royal highness countries, with their families and goods, but the order was so clogged and full of limitations and restrictions, that it was palpable to every body that it was nothing but a snare to intrap us, and to delude the solicitations of the ambassadors of the evangelic cantons; for according to the terms of this order, we were to remove in so few days, to leave such and such things behind us; we were to be separated in small troops, so many miles from one another, that we expected to be just so treated as in the massacre in the year 1655. Upon which sad juncture, we resolved to stand to our own innocent and lawful defence, till we might appease, by foreign intercessions, the wrath of the Duke of Savoy, and obtain for ourselves a lasting peace.

In perseverance of this resolution, it is known sufficiently to all the world, what dreadful afflictions, murders, rapes, tortures, and all manner of barbarities we suffered by an army of Savoy on the one hand, and of France on the other, till we were reduced to a poor handful of starved and infirm creatures, whereof the most of them perished in the mountains for hunger. And at last, the miserable remainder, after our enemies had sufficiently glutted their rage with the blood of our brethren, were sent away to Geneva and Switzerland in the most deplorable condition that ever was seen in the world: many of us dying in the road through cold and sickness. Since which time we have been forced to wander in strange countries, where we have been, against our wills, burdensome to the inhabitants, who have showed us a Christian sympathy and compassion.

BOOK III.

RETURN OF THE VAUDOIS, AND OF THEIR RE-ESTABLISHMENT IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY, AGAINST THE UNITED FORCES OF THE FRENCH KING AND THE DUKE OF SAVOY.

CHAPTER I.

Account of their kind reception in the Protestant Cantons, after their removal from Geneva; of their great uneasiness in Switzerland, though so kindly treated there, because of their banishment from their paternal inheritance; of their two unsuccessful attempts to return; of the umbrage taken thereat by the Duke of Savoy, and the persuasions and endeavours thereupon of Messieurs de Zurich and Bern, to transplant them into Wirtemberg, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate; of King William's favourable sentiments to them, that for the preservation of their Churches, they should keep in a body to be ready for a return; and of the incidents which fell out favouring the same; namely, their being driven out of the Palatinate, the Duke of Savoy's drawing off his Troops against the Mondovians, and our happy Revolution.

The history which I propose to write, is so admirable in all its circumstances, that a naked account of the events contained therein will be enough, without the embellishment of art, to satisfy the reader; and as for the fidelity of the performance, it may suffice that the whole narration shall be founded upon the memoirs of those who have had the principal direction of the affairs of the Vaudois.

We have already seen in the latter end of the preceding book with what Christian hospitality the remainder of the poor Vaudois were entertained at Geneva, that sure asylum of afflicted protestants. Let us now follow them a little into the country of the evangelic cantons, where, being all arrived, in February, 1687, they found those as fathers whom they had had for deliverers; and were for the most part dispersed in the towns and villages of the canton of their excellencies of Bern; where they would have had good reason to be satisfied with their condition, if the desire of returning into their own country had not incessantly agitated their spirits. In effect, not valuing their life, if they could not spend it where they had received it, they resolved to return thither whatsoever it cost them. In order to which they make three attempts; and though none but the last did succeed, however I shall in my way speak a word or two of the two former, which had like to have deprived them of the means and the hopes of bringing it about.

As for the first attempt, as it was made at a venture, without leaders, almost without arms, without imparting it to those who had the care of their conduct, tumultuously, and without having taken the measures necessary for such an enterprise, one must not wonder if their design miscarried at Lausanne; when the bailiff of that town having hindered them from embarking at Ouchi, ordered them, in the behalf of their excellencies of Bern, every one to retire to his own home.

If this first attempt passed without having made much noise, it was not so with the second; for this having been concerted with prudence, it carried them much farther. The first thing these good people did, was to send three men to view the country. These three, who were natives, the first of the valley of St. Martin, the second of that of Queyras, and the third of that of Cluson or Prajelas, had orders not only to discover the by-ways, to observe the routes through the highest mountains, in order to pass the rivers at their heads, but also to do their utmost to engage those who were still about their valleys, to bake them bread against their arrival, and to keep it privately for them in the places which they agreed upon. And it is worth taking notice, that in these valleys they almost always bake bread as hard as sea-biscuit, by which means it will keep a long time.

These three travellers were successful enough in going, but were not so in returning; for because they did not take the high road, two of them were looked upon and taken for robbers, in the wilds of the Tarantaise. In short, they arrested them, and being asked why they did not keep the ordinary routes, they answered, that dealing in lace, and knowing it was made in the country, they went thus from one place to another to buy it. Although this answer appeared plausible enough, they did not however fail to search them: they found upon them some sheets of blue paper, which suggested some suspicion, and therefore they held them to the fire, to see if they could not discover some writing which would render them criminals; but nothing appearing, they bethought themselves at length to offer them lace, to see if they understood that sort of merchandise wherein they pretended to deal. This little artifice had like to have ruined them; for he who was a native of Prajelas, having offered six crowns for a piece which was worth but three, the governor and the inhabitants who were present, strengthening themselves thereby in the suspicion of their being rather spies than merchants, took their money and threw them into prison. Being afterwards examined, according to all the forms of justice, they persisted in their first declaration; and he of Queyras, who had sold lace in Languedoc, having said that he could give a good account of the places of his province, and amongst others, of Montpellier and of Lunel, as having trafficked there, they brought a man of the same profession, and who had often been in the same parts, especially at Lunel. This man confessed that all that the prisoner said was true; so they were released at the end of eight days, but without having their money restored, which amounted to ten crowns.

The report which these three men made, being favourable to the design of the Vaudois, both with relation to their country's being inhabited by strangers, and the possibility of returning there by certain ways, which they believed till then impracticable, induced their directors to hold a council, where a resolution was taken of making a second attempt. And being met together to do it by the country of Vallais, and by the mountain of St. Bernard, the rendezvous was made in the plain of Bex, a village on the borders of the canton of Bern, and a little league from St. Maurice, a small village of that valley.

They pretended to repair to the rendezvous without being discovered in their design; but although they marched by night, and by divers ways, they could not however conceal their march from their excellencies of Zurich and of Bern, no more than from the city of Geneva, where their enterprise was discovered by the desertion of sixty Vaudois, who served in the garrison, and who were retired to the country of Vaud; there is also reason to believe that the mutual advices which these three cities gave one another,

concerning the new project of the Vaudois, were the cause that they received not in time a vessel which they had taken some days before to carry them some arms near Villeneuve, a small town situated at the end of the lake of Geneva, very near the valley. The rumour of this new enterprise being then spread abroad, the Savoyards and the Valesians fired their beacons, put themselves in a posture of defence, and above all had a good guard at the bridge of St. Maurice, over which they must necessarily pass, unless they would cross the Rhone beneath, as also they would have done, if it had been possible for them to have the necessary vessels. During the time then that these poor people, who composed but a troop of 600 or 700 men, were thinking what they should do in a conjuncture which was already unhappy enough for them, Monsieur Frederic Torman, bailiff, and governor of Aigle, repairing to Bex, which is in his jurisdiction, caused them to assemble in the temple, where he made them a very edifying discourse; for after having bespoke them with tears in his eyes, and exhorted them to patience, telling them that God would remember the poor Vaudois, and that approving and favouring the zeal which they showed for re-establishing religion, where it had never been extinguished, he would infallibly one time bring them back into their country; he dexterously made them sensible that it would be rashness and even folly, to persist in an enterprise which was already noised abroad, and whereof the consequences could not but be most fatal to them: having thus a little revived their spirits, and M. Arnaud their pastor and chief of the expedition, having completed it, by expounding to them this short verse of the twelfth chapter of St. Luke, "Fear not little flock," and making them understand that God had his time, this generous bailiff and governor, not only conducted them to Aigle, where he caused bread to be distributed among them, and provided them the most convenient lodgings in the town, taking home the principal officers, and particularly the said sieur Arnaud, but also for a farther proof of his humanity, he sent them two hundred crowns to assist the retreat of those who inhabited the borders of Switzerland. All these humanities, and all these acts of kindness, made them more lively resent the cruelty of the inhabitants of Vevay; who by order of the council of the town, not content with not receiving them, refused even to lodge them in the neighbourhood, and forbid, upon pain of rigorous punishments, the supplying them victuals; as they heard by a widow woman, who, maugre their prohibitions, and at the peril of seeing her house razed, did not cease to bring them provisions into the meadow, where they lay encamped. Although this kind of inhumanity of Mesieurs de Vevay was but in obedience to a superior order, wherein their politics and reasons of state had no other end but to make the Vaudois, finding themselves thus ill treated, remove themselves the sooner from their frontiers; it would however be difficult to dissuade some from believing that heaven has punished them for it by the fire, which some time after devoured almost all this town, without having damaged the house of this poor charitable widow, although it was enclosed amidst those which were consumed.

The disappointment of this second enterprise, which was made in June, 1686, was doubly prejudicial to the Vaudois: for the Duke of Savoy, having thereby discovered their intentions, and knowing what they could be capable of executing, when they should set themselves about it in good earnest, did not content himself with the guards which the officers of his militia had caused to be placed in all the routes, and principally about Geneva, as at St. Julien, à Lancy, at Tremblieres, and at Chene, as also at Belle-Rive,

and particularly in all the places which belong to him upon the eastern shore of the lake; but he also sent into the Chablais, two regiments of infantry, which made about 2000 men. These regiments were commanded by two persons of quality and merit, the Count de Bernex, and the Marquis de Caudréé. They were followed by some dragoons, which having given umbrage to the city of Geneva, that republic also re-enforced its garrison.

The second inconvenience which happened to the Vaudois from their second enterprise, was, that their prince having made a great complaint to the magistrates of Bern, accusing them of breach of faith, and of having favoured the project of this irruption into his estates, they were so much offended with a reproach so contrary to the honour and the fidelity wherewith they observe their treaties and their alliances, that they began to look upon the Vaudois with an evil eye; and they thought of removing them from their frontiers, thereby to take away from the Duke of Savoy all suspicion of intelligence. The magistrates of Zurich also conceiving the like indignation against them, called together at Arau an assembly of the evangelic cantons: they sent there for the most considerable of the Vaudois, namely, two of those who were refugees in the canton of Bern, and two of those of the canton of Basle, as many of that of Schaffhausen, and one of those of St. Gall and Neufchatel. It was in this assembly where they declared to them they would no longer entertain them, and ordered them to retire from the cantons, and places where they dwelt. And as, for two months past since their abortive enterprise, they had not ceased giving them wherewith to subsist just as before, and that likewise their excellencies of Bern had offered them the island which is upon the lake of Juerdun and of Morat, to inhabit there, and cultivate it; so they were not a little surprised to understand an order which prescribed them to depart the country. It was proposed to them to go into Brandenburg, but they excused themselves, representing the great distance. But as this excuse discovered to the gentlemen of Bern, that they had always their country at heart; these gentlemen, to conquer an obstinacy which they judged dangerous, commanded those who were in their canton to depart in a prefixed time. They then obeyed, and having taken their route through the capital of Bern, they had however the satisfaction of discovering there, that the severe manner wherewith they were treated, was but a maxim of state policy: for besides the great cares which they there met with, the secretary of the town distributed money among them, when they embarked themselves upon the Aar, to pass into the countries of the cantons of Zurich and Schaffhausen, and afterwards farther when occasion should offer.

The country of Wirtemberg, which was not far from the places where they had made them go, seemed to suit them very well with respect to the soil, which is very fruitful, as well in pastures, as vineyard-plots. They deputed three persons from among them, who, making their address to Monseigneur the Duke Frederic Charles, at that time administrator, uncle, and tutor of Duke Eberhard Louis, now gloriously governing, they found in his most serene highness, and in his council, favourable dispositions to grant them all they demanded, and in effect he granted them some lands: but the Vaudois, whose aim was always to make a body, seeing they could not dwell together, and because they would separate them, they humbly begged of the gentlemen of Zurich and Schaffhausen, to permit them to pass their winter-quarters in their country.

The intercession of the ministers of the cantons, and of some from Geneva, did not a little contribute to obtain them this permission; nor did

the great collections which had been made for them in England and Holland prejudice their case; the last of which amounted alone to 92,000 crowns. And his most serene highness the Prince of Orange, who afterwards became so gloriously King of Great Britain, sent M. de Convent, sometime counsellor at Orange, to make the distribution with a just economy.

This made a good provision for the nourishment and entertainment of these poor exiles: but still it was not very easy to find them fixed habitations. After divers projects, whereof some were to send them even into the new world, the power, the liberality, and the offers of his late electoral highness of Brandenburg, made at length the gentlemen of the cantons of Switzerland, and all those who with them interested themselves for the Vaudois, determine to propose to them to go and inhabit in the marches of Brandenburg, the lands which were offered them there being upon very advantageous conditions.

As some of them had already been upon the place and described to them the country as being very far distant, and very inconvenient, as well because of the language, as by reason of the climate, both of which indeed are very different from their own; all the kindness and all the marks of extraordinary tenderness which they owned at the same time to have received of the late elector of Brandenburg, did not however make impressions great enough upon their spirits to carry them so far: on the contrary, they declared openly to persons authorized, who spake to them of it on the part of the gentlemen of Zurich, that they could not resolve to take that way.

It was judged there was too much humour and nicety in such an obstinate refusal, which caused them to pay the less regard to them, and to treat and speak to them very roughly; insomuch that at last there were but few sermons wherein they did not fall upon them; but all to no purpose. And the Swiss gentlemen, offended to the last degree with the little compliance of these poor people, to embrace such good offers, were so offended with this obstinacy, that not willing to alter their measures, they compelled them to sign an instrument, whereby they promised at length to go where they would have them. But although M. Arnaud had signed this act himself, he did not however fail to protest against it, saying, that they had been forced.

And besides that they had signed their march to Brandenburg, it was still insinuated so dexterously in their minds, the necessity wherein they were of going thither, that there were at length more than 800 men, women, children, and domestics, who resolved upon it. These then being accounted the most reasonable, they were conveyed as far as they could, and they obtained in their favour, not only passports, but likewise all sorts of good offices and conveniences from the princes through whose dominions they must pass, as far as Frankfort upon the Main. Being arrived at this town, M. Choudens de Grema, a refugee of the country of Geix, and counsellor of the embassy, came there to receive them, in behalf of his electoral highness of Brandenburg, to conduct them to Berlin; and they were there received by his said electoral highness with a cordial kindness worthy of the greatness of his soul, and of the incomparable piety of this magnanimous and august prince. That which added to the favourable reception which had already been given in his illustrious court, to so many poor French refugees, induced a particular person to form the curious design of a print of a largeness and beauty altogether singular; and this to be exhibited to the public, as a monument of such his Christian and generous hospitality: the plate was engraved by the famous Forneiser of Basle; and

M. Hoffman, professor of history in the same city, made the devices and inscriptions. We do not relate them here, nor the speech which was made to his highness upon the occasion, for this would increase the bulk of this narrative.

We return then to the Vaudois, which we left in Switzerland. They had now need of all their constancy, to bear that coldness which their hosts still affected to show them, thereby to make them understand that they must absolutely depart the cantons, and that they must seek other places of habitation, since in refusing to go with their comrades, they would not like those which had been procured them with a great deal of difficulty. Seeing then it must be so, they determined every one to file off according to his own particular views and inclinations. It is true, that they mightily inclined to slip back towards Geneva; but as the magistrates of that prudent republic had taken measures which were opposite to that design, they found themselves obliged to disperse themselves in the country of the Grisons, upon the frontiers of Wirtemberg, and in some parts of the Palatinate, which were assigned them by order of the electoral Philip William of Newburg, who was then alive, and had a good inclination to repeople his estates, which the wars have so often depopulated.

It seemed now that these poor wanderers had at length found what they sought, and that now they should entertain no other thoughts but of settling themselves; but having still very different views, M. Arnaud, after having taken care to lodge them, and being willing to make the best of this little interval, accompanied by a Vaudois captain, named Baptista de Sieur Jean, went into Holland, to communicate their design to the Prince of Orange, and to some other lords who had at heart the interest of the Vaudois. That prince of glorious memory, having in one of the audiences, to which he admitted M. Arnaud, understood that the Vaudois persisted still in their design of returning into their valleys, told that minister that he greatly commended his zeal and his piety, and exhorted him, whatever he did, to keep them together in a body, to the end that these ancient churches might not be lost by their separation, and having recommended it to him to have a little more patience, and not lose courage, he made both of them a present of what was necessary for their journey in returning to their people.

Providence, which preserved this handful of people, to make them an example of the wonders which you will see by and by with astonishment, seemed unwilling to lead this little flock into a country where they might settle; thereby to show he designed they should return into their own country. In short, they had scarcely begun to settle themselves, but the train of differences which happened between the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Newburg, now become Elector Palatine, obliged them to seek for safety by flight; as not judging it convenient to become a victim to the French, of whose fury they had already been but too sensible: wherefore, not suffering themselves to be tempted by the lands and privileges, whereof the Elector Palatine put them in possession, nor even by the offers of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who would have employed the more healthy and strong, and provided for the rest; they resolved to abandon all these advantages, in order to escape from their enemies. But the difficulty was to know where they should retire; for they easily foresaw, that if they should go farther into Germany, the incumbrance of their families would retard them, and complete their ruin, by making them fall a prey to those from whom they would fly. In this uncertainty they conceived, as if they had been inspired by God, they could not do better than to return to their first sanctuary, i. e.

Switzerland; where they were very safe, as you will presently see after a little reflection which it is pertinent to make here, by considering the surprising manner in which God has brought back his people into their inheritances, permitting the French, who had driven them out thence, to be the very instruments of putting them into a capacity of returning thither.

This new disgrace which befel them in a country where they had scarce surmounted all the discouraging difficulties, which are ordinarily met with, when a settlement is first begun in a strange country; and which gave them the displeasure of abandoning to their enemies the harvest of those dear seeds which they had sown in the sweat of their brows; did happily so sensibly touch the people of the cantons, that forgetting all their past discontents, they not only received with open arms the remainder of the Vaudois, but also sent a secretary, named M. Speyceiger, to meet them, from whom they received a thousand favours, and M. Daude, a refugee minister of Languedoc, who did them a great many services at Wirtemberg, where he was better known by the name of Ollympe, having made, in favour of them, a most moving discourse before Messieurs de Schaffhausen. These gentlemen did also send the Sieur Speyceiger to the other cantons, to represent to them that theirs was of too small an extent to entertain all the Vaudois, and to persuade them, to receive part of them. The letters of Messieurs de Schaffhausen, seconded by those of Messieurs de Zurich, gained Messieurs de Bern, and prevailed with them to follow their example, so as to make this afflicted people feel the effects of their Christian charity, by entertaining them in the places where they had not thought it convenient to receive them before; for they had then contented themselves to lodge them on the frontiers of Wirtemberg, and of the canton of Schaffhausen, where they lived upon the collections which were made for them in England, Holland, Switzerland, and elsewhere; whereof M. Daude, who lived sometimes at Stutgard, and sometimes at Schaffhausen, had the management. Thus they were again dispersed in several parts of the protestant cantons, even in the country of Neufchatel, of Neuveville, and of Biene, and earned their livelihood by their honest labour, the greatest part of them being employed by the peasants; for it must be remarked to their praise, that during the whole time of their exile from the valleys, there was never any complaint made against them of their ill conduct or misdemeanor in any place where they have been; except that when they went from Zurich, one of their soldiers carried away his master's gun, which coming to the knowledge of some of their chiefs, who lived at Geneva, the gun was immediately sent back to its owner.

Having had time in these new circumstances to make reflections, they became sensible that the misfortune of being so long tossed to and fro, befel them by reason of their too great inclination to forget their country, and judging that God had not permitted this disgrace, but to convince them more effectually that they should never find rest but at their own home, they again resolved to return thither, whatever it cost them. What contributed very much to this resolution was, that the spies whom they had sent thither above a year before, gave them good hopes, and they knew that the Duke of Savoy had in the spring of 1689, withdrawn the troops he had on this side the mountains, either because that prince had no more apprehension of the Vaudois, whom he knew to be at a great distance; or because he had need of all his men to reduce the Mondovians, who, according to their custom, had made a new insurrection.

If these two reasons did powerfully contribute to their design; the great

and happy revolution which happened in England, was the seal which impressed on their hearts the resolutions not to flinch from it. They saw that the Prince of Orange, who had assured them of his august protection, (in order, by an enterprise the most noble and the most heroic that ever was known, to re-establish the power of the laws which had been subverted,) was proclaimed King of Great Britain, and placed on the throne, which the abdication of King James II. made vacant: they knew also the antipathy which reigned as it were naturally between this new king and the King of France, his zeal likewise for the protestant religion, which looked upon him as its principal protector, and what he owed to all the powers who had favoured and assisted his coming to the crown. From all this they agreeably flattered and promised themselves that England would not fail to declare war against France, as indeed it happened soon after. The Vaudois easily foreseeing that this war would give Louis XIV. who was the greatest obstacle to their return, employment enough; and that this monarch seeing himself involved in great affairs, would doubtless neglect or despise so small a one as theirs; they thought it was high time to take off the mask, and to improve the opportunity which appeared so favourable to the enterprise whereof we are now to speak.

As these poor exiles had sensibly perceived, that their former attempts had not failed, but for their not having duly kept it secret; their leaders therefore applied themselves particularly to conceal their new design. And that the passage into the states of Savoy, through which they must go, might not be shut against them; and that Messieurs de Bern, being ignorant of the matter, might not lay any impediment in their way, and might even justify themselves, in case they should be reproached on that account; they therefore so well concerted their measures, and managed the affair so secretly, that all their people marched without knowing whither.

CHAPTER II.

A Diary of the Expedition, and march of the Vaudois from the Lake of Geneva, through the Alps, till they entered into their own Valleys; and their notable adventures in the said march.

THEIR rendezvous was in the country of Vaud, in a great forest called the Wood of Nion, lying between Nion and Rolle; a place very fit for their design, because they could easily lie concealed there, and being between two pretty good towns, and very near some considerable villages, they could very conveniently get provisions from thence: besides, being very near the lake, it was very easy for them to embark privately in the night, without being discovered by any one. They were for the most part happily arrived at the rendezvous, where they waited only for some few of their people, who, they judged, could not arrive there so soon as themselves, because coming from the most distant parts of Switzerland, of Wirtemberg, and of the country of the Grisons, they had a longer journey to make, and ran the risk of being discovered, as indeed they were; for it happened that Count Cassati, a Spanish ambassador to the cantons, perceiving some motions which he thought suspicious, immediately gave notice to the Count de Govon, envoy from the Duke of Savoy. This envoy made so strict an

inquiry, that at length he discovered these poor unhappy people, to the number of one hundred and twenty-two, including some strangers, who were not in the secret, who, notwithstanding had the same fate as the rest. They not only took from them their money, which amounted to 500 crowns, but also stripped, bound, and exposed them to all sorts of insults and inhumanities, when they led them through the popish countries, in order to bring them to Turin; insomuch that as they passed through the cantons of Friburg, the physician Basti was, by means of their hatred of the protestant religion, left for dead under the weight of the blows which they gave him, and whereof he wore the marks all his life; and in fine, they were shut up in the prisons of the said city of Turin, where they remained in a miserable condition for several months, in which time four of them died.

Let us leave these unfortunate prisoners, waiting for their deliverance, whereof we shall speak when we come to the surprising place which will untie the knot of this history. Those who waited for them, not knowing how things went with them, being weary of waiting, and fearing they should be discovered if they tarried longer, thought now of nothing but of passing the lake, to the number of 800 or 900; and indeed it was high time, for a report was already whispered in all the neighbourhood, that there were people hid in the woods of Nion. This report, which seemed to make very much against them, was, by divine grace, very favourable to them; for several wagers having been laid in the neighbouring places, that it was the Vaudois, who were about some new enterprise, curiosity led several private persons to come in boats to the places where it was said they were.

The Vaudois, who had kept but four little boats in pay, rightly judging that they would not be sufficient to transport them to the other side of the lake, with as much speed as necessity required, they immediately seized the boats of those who came there out of curiosity; insomuch that having by this means 14 or 15 boats, and M. Arnaud, who was then called M. de la Tour, having prayed with them, they embarked between 9 and 10 o'clock at night, Friday, the 16th of August, 1689. As there had been a general fast that day throughout the protestant cantons, and the people being still wholly engaged in devotion, this did not a little contribute to the tranquillity in which they passed the lake. However, all this was not so managed as to prevent one of the blackest treacheries, for one M. Prangin, son of the late M. de Baltasar, who had bought an estate near to Nion, having run thither out of curiosity, as many others did, after he had upon his knees heard M. Arnaud at prayer, run all the remaining part of the night, like another Judas, to Geneva, and there declared to the French resident what he had seen and heard, who immediately went to Lyons to order the dragoons to march against this flock of the Vaudois.

Their first passage was happy, and without accident, and if a wind arose, which separated their boats, scattering them a little, it seems to have been only that one from Geneva, which brought eighteen of their men, might join them; in the meantime they had this misfortune, that having, after their first passage, sent back the boats to fetch those who could not come over the first time, there returned but three, the rest running away, though they were paid beforehand; by which means not being able to tarry any longer, they found themselves obliged to leave above 200 of their men upon the shore of Switzerland, to decamp at soonest from a place where they were too much in danger. They had also the mortification to see the three boats, who remained honest, bring over several good men, who would not stir a step farther, unless they were furnished with arms: and to hear

that several others, who departed from Lausanne, the 15th, at night, having been stopped in the way, had been released too late to have been able to arrive at the time of their embarkation.

I shall not enter into the motive which induced the watermen to serve them in the manner aforesaid; it is probable that the fear of losing their lives in Savoy, if they should be taken there; and of being ill-used in Switzerland, if they were found out there, contributed very much to it. I shall only relate, by the by, a fact which is singular enough, viz. one Signat, a refugee, of the town of Tonneins in Guinne, a zealous man, who was settled at Nion, in the quality of a waterman, offered to carry over the Vaudois for nothing. In short, he did it with the other watermen: but going out of his boat with his fare, in order to take leave of his friends, whilst he was doing it, the other watermen his companions not only went away, but also carried back his boat. It was to no purpose for him to run and call after them to take him in; not one of them would do it, inso-much that he found himself at a great nonplus, for should he return home by land, he was apprehensive it would cost him his life if the Savoyards should catch him; the Vaudois seeing him in this perplexity on their account, told him he ought not to regret the loss of his boat, since if he would embrace their cause, they would give him, instead of a little boat, a good house, which he accepted, and joined with them.

I easily imagine that the reader is impatient to know what the Vaudois, who were so small in number, could do in a country which were their declared enemies. They landed over against the wood of Nion, between Nernier and Ivoire; and they landed there with a resolution to proceed to recover their country sword in hand, and to replant there the true church of Jesus Christ. As what they did in order to compass a design, which seems perfectly impossible for so few people, is altogether extraordinary, that I may speak of it more clearly and more regularly, I shall here most faithfully relate whatsoever happened day by day.

The First Day's Journey.

M. Arnaud, with fourteen others, having set the first foot on the eastern shore from Geneva, immediately placed good sentinels in all the avenues, and applied himself to rank the people in order, as they landed; when all those who could come over were arrived, they formed a regular body, which M. Bourgeois, citizen of Neufchatel, was to command; but he failed of coming to the rendezvous, the reasons whereof shall not be mentioned here. This body was divided into nineteen companies, whereof six were composed of strangers, almost all of Languedoc and of Dauphine, and the other thirteen of different Vaudois communities.

Angrogne had three companies, whose captains were Laurence Buisse, Stephen Frasche, and Michael Bertin.

St. John, two; under Captains Bellion and Belson.

La Tour one; under Captain John Frasche.

Villar, one; under Captain Paul Pelene.

Bobi, two; under Captains Martinat and Mondon.

Prarustin, one; under Captain Daniel Odin.

St. Germain and Pramol, one; under Captain Robert.

Macel, one; under Captain Philip Trone Poulat.

Pales, one; under Captain Peirot.

The six companies of strangers were commanded by the Sieurs Martin, Privat, Lucas, Turel, Tonsfrede, and Chien.

And as there were several soldiers who would not list themselves in any of these companies, they formed of them a company of volunteers; and divided the whole into three bodies, viz. the van guard, corps de bataille, and a rear guard; according to the ordinary method of regular troops, which the Vaudois always observed in their marches. They had besides M. Arnaud, whom one may call their patriarch, two ministers, Monsieur Cyrus Chyon, sometime minister of the church of Pont a Royans in Dauphine, and Monsieur Montoux of Pragelas, who was first minister of the church of Chambons in his own country, and afterwards of the French church of Coire in that of the Grisons, where he had left his family, to follow his countrymen.

After having provided for their safety, they implored the assistance of heaven to conduct their enterprise; after which the said sieur Chyon their minister, went to the nearest village to endeavour to get a guide; but a knight of Savoy, who had discovered our people upon the shore of the lake, having alarmed the people every where, that minister was detained prisoner, and afterwards conducted to Chamberi, where he was kept till the conclusion of the peace between the Duke of Savoy and the Vaudois.

The same knight who gave the alarm, advancing with his pistol in hand towards our people, M. Arnaud, with the sieur Turel, and six fusileers, went after him; but he was so quick in turning tail, that he escaped by flight from a musket shot which was discharged at him. Now seeing hereby that every body was alarmed, and that they had no time to lose, they sent to Ivoir some officers with twelve fusileers to induce the inhabitants of that village to lay down their arms, and to grant them a passage. These hearing, that in case it was refused, they threatened them all with fire and sword, did indeed grant what was demanded; but however did not forbear to fire a beacon, which had like to have been their ruin; for perhaps their town would have been set on fire, if the Vaudois had not been in a disposition to receive the excuse they brought, which was, that some children had committed that fault; insomuch that they forgave them, upon condition that the governor and an officer should be their guides: whom indeed they sent back after they had marched half a league; after which they took for hostages the governor of Nernier, with Messieurs de Coudrées, and de Fora, gentlemen of the country, who were also released in a short time after, the Vaudois being willing to show nothing but humanity wherever they met with no resistance. They indeed observed so regular a discipline, that the peasants with their curés came out to see this troop pass by, and could not forbear praying for them, calling out to them, "God be with you;" and the curate of Filli opened his cellar to them, and made them refresh themselves, and would not take any money of them. Sometime after four gentlemen of Savoy, well mounted and well armed, riding directly up to this little army, were stopped by the van guard, and having desired to speak with some of the officers, they demanded their order, and why they marched thus armed: they were answered, that it was not for them to ask for their order, and that it was well known upon what design they had taken up arms. Being shocked at so resolute an answer, they commanded them to lay them down; but no sooner was the word out of their mouth, but discovering the main body, which was approaching, they immediately changed their tone; and having caused some peasants, which

were with them, to retire, they would have betaken themselves to flight, if they had not been stopped, and obliged to alight from their horses, and to march on foot as prisoners, at the head of the troop; which they did only to make them repent of their temerity in commanding them to lay down their arms. Having ascended a little hill, they found 200 peasants in arms near a wood; they made a detachment, whom they sent to give them chase; the main body in the mean time joined the wood, apprehending that there might be some in ambuscade. M. Gropel, marshal of the household troops of his royal highness and the sieur Mouche, governor of Boege, who commanded these peasants, made no great resistance. After having bruised their arms, and broke their drums, the Vaudois took some of them to serve as guides, threatening to hang them up on the first tree if they did not acquit themselves faithfully; they also took with them one of the two gentlemen who commanded them, to the end he might bear witness that they committed no disorder in the route. As they passed by his house, he would have given them some refreshments, but they would not hear of it, either because they did not trust him, or because they did not think it convenient to make any stay. As they rightly judged, that the people would be every where in arms, they thought good to make one of the gentlemen aforementioned write in their behalf, which he did in the following manner:

“THESE gentlemen arrived here to the number of 2000, they desired us to accompany them, that we might be able to give an account of their conduct; and we can assure you, that it is very orderly; they pay for whatever they take, and desire only a free passage; therefore, we desire you not to ring the alarm-bell, nor to beat the drum, and to withdraw your people in case they are up in arms.”

This letter, which was subscribed by that gentleman and others, and sent into the town of Viu, had a very good effect, for it afterwards raised a kind of emulation among the people, who should most readily bring them what they wanted in their route: and indeed the peasants were every where ordered to lay down their arms, and to furnish our travellers with horses and carriages for their clothes, which they so speedily executed, that they found every thing ready for them in all the places where they came. However, as we every where find some who transgress orders, a peasant fired upon a Vaudois soldier; but having missed him, and the soldier pursuing him, he flung down his arms, and was taken prisoner. Another soldier killed a peasant as he was running away armed; and they found among those who fled, one of those Dominicans, who are called Hermits des Ovarons; he had a dagger under his cassock, but contributed, however, very much, by his endeavours, to procure them free passage. As night came on, they stopped near Viu, a village of Foucigni, from whence they had bread brought them, for which they paid, and one of the gentlemen not being able to march any further, was dismissed; after having thus made a halt, to give the inhabitants of Viu, to whom they had sent the letter, time to withdraw, in case they were in arms, they entered the village in the twilight; and having refreshed themselves, they left it two hours after, marching by moon-light; but in half an hour's time it grew so dark that they made the hostages write another billet to the town of St. Joyre, through which they were to pass in a little time, where indeed, they arrived in half an hour, without meeting any opposition; nay, so far from it, that the people came out in crowds to see our Vaudois, and even the magistrates ordered

a ton of wine to be left in the middle of the street, to the discretion of the soldiers, whereof some of them drank, and others would not so much as taste it, for fear it was poisoned. After they had passed over some planks, they came to a rising ground, where they made a halt in an open field: the place was called Carman; it was midnight, and though it rained a little, they tarried there till day, and passed the night in resting their wearied limbs after so long and continual march, and slept a little, to be in a better condition to pass the bridge Marni, which they were apprehensive was cut down. Having here taken the brothers of Georges, they released the two hostages they had taken a Boege.

The Second Day's Journey.

The 17th of August, being Sunday, they found the bridge Marni in good order, and passed it without resistance, and so entered into a little valley which was very agreeable; the peasants having abandoned it, they took some of the fruits they found there as they passed through. At 10 o'clock in the morning, they came near to Cluse, which is a pretty little walled town, situated upon the river Arve: it was necessary to pass through this town, upon the banks of whose ditches the inhabitants were all up in arms; and the peasants coming down from the mountains, made it ring with the injurious language wherewith they loaded the Vaudois, who, though they were greatly incommoded by a storm of rain, advanced within musket shot, with a resolution to force their passage, which the people made a show of being resolved to dispute with them; at the same time M. de Fora having heard that some of them said, that in case of resistance they must kill the hostages, and being afraid of his own person, desired that he might be permitted to write to the chief persons of the town; which they granted, and he wrote, representing the danger to which they exposed themselves, in refusing passage to men who had given no occasion of complaint in all the places through which they had passed. As they carried this billet to M. de la Rochette, de la Croix, just then the Chevalier de Rides, M. de la Charboniere, and M. de Lochen, gentlemen of distinction, were coming out of the town to capitulate. They detained the two former, and at their request sent back the letter with a Vaudois officer; when that officer was in the town, they demanded their order, who having boldly answered, it was at the point of his sword; they presently saw that they were in earnest, and therefore they granted them their passage without delay, upon condition that they should pass through, and be furnished with provisions upon paying for them, which was performed accordingly. They passed through that town, the inhabitants, who were up in arms, making a lane for them; M. Arnaud perceiving that there were no guards at the gates, placed one at the gate through which they defiled, that he might be so much the more secure of the inhabitants; as they were thus defiling, M. de la Rochette advanced to invite some of the officers to dine with him, from which they excused themselves; and having insensibly drawn him out of the town, they told him, that they expected five loads of wine, and five hundred weight of bread. He presently wrote a billet to his father, who immediately sent them a ton of wine, and as much bread as they needed. Several of them eat and drank, and others, seeing that it too much retarded their march, flung the ton into the river, to the great displeasure of others, who would have been glad to have quenched their thirst with it; M. de la Tour, i. e. M. Arnaud, paid five louis'd'ors, with which the inhabitants seemed to be well satisfied. As they were refreshing themselves, they perceived some chil-

dren running towards Salanches, and suspecting that it was to give them notice of their coming, they made them turn back. When they were about to march, M. de la Rochette, and M. de Rides would have returned, under pretence of going to mass, but they carried them away; and perceiving that a servant of the former had slyly crept into the troop, they had some suspicion of him, and, in short, having searched him, they found upon him letters which M. de la Rochette, the father, had written to the chiefs of Salanches; these letters exhorted them to take up arms, assuring them that whilst they attacked them in front, those of Cluse would not fail to charge their rear. Wherefore expecting an attack, and resolving to make a good defence, they defiled near a long valley which was very narrow, and bordered upon by great mountains, from whence one might have defeated a whole army with stones; which would have been the easier, because the river Arve, by the side of which they must pass, was so swelled by the rains, as to leave almost no room to pass. They found in the midst of their way a village and a castle, named Magland; the peasants, who were up in arms, contented themselves with being spectators of their march, and M. de Loche, who was lord there, after having mightily caressed the officers, found himself obliged to march with them, and for his comfort they also took his curate with them. They affected on this occasion to march confusedly, that not being able to count them easily, their number might not be known; and as they perceived on the other side of the river a horseman, who rode full speed, they guessed that he was going to carry news of the arrival of our Vaudois to Salanches, which is a pretty good town of trade, and a capital of the county Foucigni. In order to arrive there, he must pass over a great wooden bridge, upon which there are houses, and which was within a quarter of a league of it. It was there that Lieutenant Colonel Mallet, with a single battalion of religionaries, did the year following stop M. de St. Ruth with a little army. Being within a hundred paces of the bridge, and believing that their passage would be disputed, the officers formed several parties of their men, to one of which they committed the care of their hostages, amongst whom there were 20 persons of distinction, as well gentlemen as churchmen, and ordered that party to kill them all, in case the Savoyards should fire upon them, whilst they were putting themselves in order, which they did more to intimidate them than out of any design to put it in execution. And that they might be in a condition to attack the bridge, they detached three captains, guarded by six sentinels, to go and demand passage of the town. These met six of the principal men of the place on horseback, who seeing them, posted off as fast as they could; but our people were so quick at their heels that they caught one of them, whom they led away; the others, seeing their companion taken, turned about and came directly to us, namely, M. de Carnillon, M. de Castan, first syndic of the town; M. Fontaine, governor, the sieurs de Bergerat and St. Amour. M. de Caytan having represented that the passage they demanded, being an affair of too great importance to be decided by them alone, it would be necessary that they should go and call together the council of the town to deliberate that affair: they consented to it, allowing them half an hour to resolve themselves, threatening when that time should be expired, they would force the bridge: and as they were about to execute this menace, the said gentlemen returned, telling them the time they had granted them was too short to be able to determine such a demand, and being sensible that they were not in a humour to wait till they should receive succour, they would have returned, but the Vaudois making the sieurs St. Amour

and Fontaine alight, very civilly intreated them to increase the number of their hostages. This compliment not being relished by them, they desired that one of the two, with one of the other hostages, might be sent into the town to represent to the inhabitants the danger they were in. The Vaudois could easily have forced their passage, without having tarried for all these parleys; but as they had proposed, like good Christians, to spare human blood as much as it was possible; and on the other hand, policy prompting them to manage their people according to the occasions which it was absolutely necessary for them to improve, they were willing to try another method, and to let one of the two last go with one of their other hostages, upon condition that they should bring back an answer, either good or bad: but instead of seeing them again, they, on the contrary, heard the alarm-bell ring, and saw about 600 men in arms, who drew up near the bridge. Our champions seeing it necessary to free the passage of the bridge by dint of sword, found several little bodies, two of which being advanced to make the attack, they saw four Capuchins coming, and as Christian charity induced us to believe that such soldiers sought rather peace than war, they received them civilly. As plenipotentiaries from the town they offered them their passage upon condition they should release the hostages and horses, offering at the same time to give them in their room two of the principal men of the town; this condition of giving up our hostages of distinction, and who through the fear they had of hazarding their lives too much, caused the people wherever they passed, to lay down their arms without striking a stroke, appeared at first sight too prejudicial to our Vaudois; however, reflecting on the other hand, that they offered them two others, and that fortune might yet put several more into their hands, they accepted the proposal; but having perceived the two hostages, whom they brought from the town, to be but two poor wretches, whom they said were syndics; M. Arnaud, with indignation at the shameful manner in which they would deceive them, advanced towards the Capuchins, who remarking in his countenance a design to seize them, endeavoured to escape, by which means he seized but two; for the other two knew how to tuck up their gowns so advantageously for flight, that they escaped. The two who were seized having demanded why they detained them contrary to the law of nations, which forbids seizing on persons who are sent to capitulate; they were answered, that it was because, contrary to the dignity of their gown, and of the character they bore, they had deceived the Vaudois, and impudently lied to them, in attempting to impose on them the miller for the syndic of the town; and having silenced them with this answer, they entered them into the number and company of the hostages. It must also be owned to their honour, that they were a great help to the Vaudois, for upon all occasions when they wanted to obtain a passage, their remonstrances, their intercessions, and their intreaties, were always so prevalent with those who would dispute it with them, that the Vaudois were more astonished than ever, at the power which these good fathers had over the minds of those of their religion. But I shall leave the reader to judge, whether the zeal which they thus showed, proceeded from the fear in which they were continually, or from a true Christian motive. To return to the business in hand, the capitulation being thus made void, they ordered a detachment to march, which passed the bridge without opposition, and guarded it with forty soldiers, to secure the main body in its march: the whole having passed over, they drew up in battalia within twenty paces of the hedges, behind which the inhabitants were entrenched, and as they saw that we did not fire upon them, but that on the

contrary, apprehending that we were going to set the town on fire, as we had threatened, they very civilly sent back two soldiers, whom they had taken prisoners. We passed through very peaceably, and after having taken great compass, arrived at a village called Cablau, where we tarried all night, judging it convenient to rest ourselves; for besides the badness of the way, we had all day long the rain at our backs. It is certain, that finding neither meat nor drink, nor fire to dry ourselves, the rest which we had promised ourselves was very indifferent. However, though these poor people were all wet, and almost starved, they had reason to give thanks to God for this rain, which, without doubt, had been the cause that they were not pursued, as they had all day apprehended they should.

The Third Day's Journey.

If the Vaudois were not disturbed on Monday, the 19th, by the managements and projects of those of Cluse, of Maglan, and of Salanches, they were however very much surprised to hear of the rugged and difficult way they were to go this day, having two craggy mountains to climb up, and to descend; and therefore, as they were passing early in the morning by a village where there was wine, they furnished themselves with good store thereof, paying ready money for it.

In the morning they sounded two trumpets which they had taken with them instead of drums, which would have been too inconvenient for them; and being gathered together, they thought it convenient to unload their fuses, and to charge them anew; after which they began their march through a small rain. They passed by several little villages which were quite forsaken, till they came to a town called Migeves, or Beaufort, where the inhabitants were up in arms; but as they met with no resistance, so there followed no disorder. Having passed through this place, they recovered the height of the mountain, where having found several forsaken hamlets, they rested, by reason of the rain: and as there were on either side of these, conveniences for the cattle, which, during the summer, are sent to pasture, and where they milked their cows, the hostages which were with them, perceiving that they did not meddle therewith, and not relishing their frugal way of living, said one to another, that they very much wondered that so great a body should be so very reserved in their march; adding, that in the article of provisions it was customary with soldiers to take them wherever they found them, without giving the least offence. This intimation, or rather this reproach, from persons who were in the interest of the country, their example, and the shepherds forsaking their cottages, joined to the hunger which our Vaudois now underwent; altogether made them begin to break into their own rules, by taking bread, cheese, milk, and in general, all sorts of provisions which they found, and for which, indeed, they would have paid, had they known to whom.

They came at length to the second mountain, called the Mountain de Haute luce, whereof the first sight terrified them; for indeed it is one of the most craggy, and appeared much more so at that time, by reason of the rains, of the snow, and of the great fog wherewith it was covered; for the fog was so thick that the guide wondering thereat, they easily persuaded him that it was clouds, by which God hid the Vaudois from the sight of their enemies. Being then, after a fatigue, which is more easy to imagine than express, arrived to the top, they found a forsaken farm, where they took milk and some other trifles for their provisions; after which having

scoured the country, they brought some peasants to supply the guide's place, who thinking himself to be in the clouds, had lost all knowledge of the passes. However, they soon perceived that these led them by the most tedious and most dangerous ways, not through ignorance, but malice; and without doubt to give the Savoyards time to come and sacrifice the Vaudois in those frightful by-ways, which M. Arnaud remedied by threatening them very seriously to have them hanged.

If this zealous leader of this little flock knew how to strike those with terror who would have thus deceived him, he was no less skilful in raising and quickening the courage of those who followed him, by his good and holy exhortations; although it seemed they must unavoidably sink under the load of all sorts of miseries, which were increased in this place by the insupportable fatigue they had in getting through a passage that was cut in a rock, where they climbed up, and came down as from a ladder, and where twenty persons might without difficulty have destroyed 20,000. If it be a hard task to climb up a rough mountain, it is also well known that it is no easy matter to descend a steep one, and indeed they were forced to descend this always in a sitting posture, and sliding as down a precipice, without any other light than what the whiteness of the snow afforded them; and in this manner they arrived late at night at St. Nicolas de Verose, a parish which consists only of a few shepherds' cottages. In this place, which was as deep as an abyss, desolate and cold, they were obliged to halt, without finding wherewith to make a fire; insomuch, that in order to get fuel they uncovered the cottages; that is to say, in order to avoid one evil they brought upon themselves another, being by this means exposed to the injury of the rain, which lasted all night.

The Fourth Day's Journey.

On Tuesday, the 20th, their impatience to quit so wretched a post before day, caused two unhappy accidents; the first was, that Captain Maynier, a Vaudois, and a good soldier, was wounded in both his thighs by a musket-shot which was let off by accident in the dark; the second misfortune was occasioned by the spreading of a report that 200 Savoyards had crept into their body with a design to attack the Vaudois when time and place should serve; a Vaudois taking for one of these people, the sieur Bailiff, refugee of Lausanne, who had abandoned his settlement to join himself to our travellers, gave him a blow with the butt-end of his gun; and if this captain had not begged of him to give him time to say his prayers, which he did upon his knees, he would without doubt have taken away his life, having already given him a stroke with his bayonet, which entered no farther than his clothes. In this place also Captain Chien, discouraged by so many fatigues, which, by reason of his tenderness, he could no longer undergo, deserted, taking a very fine horse from a place where they left six others.

In the morning they ascended, or rather clambered up one of the ruggedest cliffs of the mountain called Du Bon Homme, being up to their knees in snow, and having the rain in their backs. As they knew that for fear of the Vaudois, and upon the report of their former enterprises, whereof we have spoken before, they had the year before built very fine forts and intrenchments, with embrasures and coverts, in a place so advantageously situated, that thirty persons could not only have stopped them there, but also entirely defeated them, they marched therefore in expectation of a bloody action; but the Lord, who was always with this flock of believers, permitted

them to find those fine fortifications empty and without guards; because the people, being weary with having kept them a long time to no purpose, had abandoned them. A favour from heaven! for which they returned God thanks upon the spot! After having marched a long time, descending still in the snow, they found some houses, where they bought a ton of wine to drink in their march; and perceiving that the rear guard tarried too long behind, they halted in a little village to wait for them; but seeing that they did not come, they thought it advisable to discharge their fuses: then those who composed it, imagining that there was a skirmish, forsook the wine which had detained them, and made up to them with all speed. Being in the valleys, it was necessary as they marched along the Isere, frequently to cross that river, which, as it winds very much, was a means of shortening their way: and because this by-way in a very narrow valley, and almost covered by the river, which had then overflowed its banks, appeared dangerous, and because they expected to meet with resistance, they marched for some time two abreast; and indeed they discovered upon the top of a hill several peasants, who, with the help of their guns, and the stones, whereof they had provided good store, might easily, in so narrow a place, have rendered their passage extremely difficult. And to speak the truth, the Vaudois reckoned at least that they must pay very dear for it, supposing they should be so happy as to force it; but they were agreeably deceived when they saw, even beyond all their hopes, that these people did not so much as put themselves into a disposition to stop them.

These peasants seeing that their presence had not frightened our Vaudois, returned as fast as they could into their village, and thinking they should terrify them more by giving every where the alarm, they rung the alarm-bell, and presently there was every where heard a most horrible clanging of all the bells, which, however, did not prevent their arrival at the bridge which they sought. Being come up, they found it barricadoed with great trees and beams laid across one upon another, and guarded by armed peasants, some having guns, others scythes, pitchforks, and such like weapons: they had no sooner made some dispositions to attack them, but the Count de la val d'Isere, lord of that valley, a gentleman of the chamber of Madam Royale, came to parley with them, i. e. to grant them free passage, the peasants themselves taking the pains to clear the bridge, and even the curate himself laid also his hand to the work: after which, lest they should be burnt out, as they had been threatened, they retired into their village, which was a musket shot off the other side of the river: as for monsieur the count, after he had delivered his message, he posted off full speed, so much did he fear being joined to our hostages, who, as soon as they saw any person of distinction, used to say to Monsieur Arnaud, "there is a good bird for our cage;" they put two priests to sing in it, a third being released by reason of his great age; and after having passed through the little town of Sey, without committing any disorder, although they had made a great noise with their bells, and the inhabitants had taken arms, and it was very well known that the lord of it had shut himself up in his castle: they encamped very near this little town, from whence they had as much provisions as they would, paying two pence a pound for their bread, only M. Arnaud voluntarily paid three pence; and they had so great plenty of it, that some of the inhabitants came to buy of the soldiers. In this camp they thus finished their fourth day's march.

The Fifth Day's Journey.

On Wednesday, the 21st, they began their march before day. The villages through which they passed in the valley of Isèra were all abandoned: however, a man, who had not thought fit to fly, as others did, but had shut himself up in his house, sold bread to our soldiers from a gallery. The time being come to make a halt, they rested near a little town, called Sancta Foy, which was not abandoned, whence they were supplied with bread, wine, and meat, paying for them; nor did the least disorder happen, the officers having prevented it by placing good guards in every quarter; nay, they were even surprised in this place by the obliging manner of their reception; for several gentlemen, with a great number of people, came out to our Vaudois, and accosting them very civilly, showed joy at the sight of them, praising their design of endeavouring to re-enter their country; and in fine, desired their company all night, offering to bake bread, to kill cattle, and to furnish them with wine for the refreshment of their troops. All these fine and engaging words insensibly staid our people, who perhaps had been capable of being persuaded to their ruin, if M. Arnaud, who was then of the rear guard, perceiving that they did not march, had not advanced to know the meaning of it: the officers having related to him the lively offers made to them by the gentlemen of the town, he gave no heed thereto. And having laid it down as a maxim, always to distrust the affected caresses of the enemy, he not only made the troops march, but also obliged the gentlemen flatterers to bear them company, looking upon them as men, who undoubtedly had a design to be their ruin in the midst of all the advantages promised them. Leaving that place, they entered a narrow vale, between two mountains, covered with tall spreading forest trees; this vale was cut through by tracks, which were very easily to be followed; but had they taken away the beams which were laid across the little river or stream that watered it, it would have been impossible for our people to have forced a passage, and they would doubtless have been obliged to have marched back; however, they happily arrived at Viller Rougy, where their van-guard seized a curate, who was making an escape, and some peasants with him.

As they came out of this dismal dale, they saw a great many of the country people, who, abandoning their houses, were retiring to the other side of the river. They came afterwards to Eutigne, a village situated in a little plain encompassed with mountains, where they found nobody, the inhabitants having fled to the top of the mountains, where they appeared in arms. A detachment was made to go and give them chase, and one Frenchman only was wounded on the occasion. At evening they encamped near a village called Laval, where they passed the night in a meadow, making a great fire, and fetching provisions from the abandoned houses: the principal men of the village treated the officers, and in this house M. Arnaud and M. Montoux, his colleague, after having been eight days, and as many nights, almost without eating, drinking, or sleeping, having supped, did at length take three hours' rest on a bed: and they can truly say, that never meal nor rest was more acceptable to them.

The Sixth Day's Journey.

The next day, being Thursday, the 22d, they passed through the town of Tigne, where they obliged the people to return the money taken, as mentioned before, from the two men whom our Vaudois had sent to spy

out the country: the inhabitants were very glad to come off with that bare restitution, being apprehensive that they should have been more severely punished: and because they there discharged some gentlemen of their hostages, and some others stole away, having doubtless corrupted their keepers with money; they had the precaution to fill up their places with two priests and an attorney; after which they came to the ascent of the mountain Tisseran, or Isseran, from whence the river Isera takes its name. After having thus marched some time, they halted, in order to separate the companies, and to create some new officers. This done, they came into bad ways, in the pastures under the Alps, where there was abundance of cattle, and where the shepherds, who had not run away, entertained our travellers with their milk meats; giving them to understand at the same time, that they would find it very difficult to re-enter their country, since, though their passage had not hitherto been disputed with them, yet it would be in a very little time by a great number of soldiers, who waited for them at the foot of Mount Cenis, without stirring from thence.

This news, instead of alarming them, did on the contrary inflame their hearts, for knowing that the fortune of their arms depended absolutely on God, for whose glory they were going to fight, they did by no means doubt but that he would himself open to them a passage wheresoever their enemies should pretend to shut it up against them. In this hope they courageously descended the said Maurien mountain, and passing through the territory of the same name, they came into a little village called Bonneval, where the curate was mighty urgent to make the officers drink, and where they had whatsoever they desired, though they had soundly punished a peasant who would not match. From thence they marched directly to a town called Bezais, where they were sensible they should meet with the most rascally rabble that was under heaven: in short, being arrived there, they found that the inhabitants, far from running away, did, on the contrary, appear very arrogant, they even used threatenings, and by their insolences, obliged the Vaudois to be revenged of them, and to punish them, by taking some of their mules, and leading away with them the curate, the governor, and six peasants, who were bound for their greater mortification. As they went out of this town they passed the river, and encamped near a little abandoned village, where they were exposed to the rain all night.

The Seventh Day's Journey.

On Friday, the 23d, as they passed through Lannerillard, they took with them the curate and some peasants, but when they came to Mount Cenis, judging that the curate was too fat and too aged to be able to mount up so high, they sent him back. When they had recovered the height of this mountain, knowing that not far from thence there was a general post-office, and judging that by means of that post, they might in a little time spread the news of the certainty of their march every where; to prevent this inconvenience, some of them went thither beforehand, and seized all the horses they could find there; as they returned with a booty, which they had not taken, but in order to secure their troop, they met in their way several loaded mules: being tempted with so fair an opportunity, they laid hands on them, and having unloaded one of them, they found in the two packs, which he carried, Cardinal Ange Ranuzzi's clothes, who returning from his nunciature in France, had sent his baggage that way, at the same time that his eminence was hastening another way to Rome, to assist at the con-

clave which was then held, and which raised Alexander VIII. to the papal dignity.

The muleteers coming up with their complaints, desired the officers to order what had been taken from them, to be returned; and these, unwilling in any case to hazard the reputation they had of keeping a good discipline, in not suffering any wrong to be done to those not endeavouring to injure them, ordered that all should be restored; and they did it so sincerely, that in order the more easily to induce those who had made this seizure, they made them believe that what they had taken belonged to certain merchants of Geneva: so that if it be true, that there was any thing lost, the directors of that body protest, that they knew of nothing but of a watch of a singular invention, after the model of the clock at Strasburg, whereof they understood nothing till after it was too late to return it to the said muleteers; they also declare to all the world, that they never saw any of the cardinal's papers, who, having heard of this fatal accident at Fano, where he was, and whereof he was formerly bishop, judged that all the memoirs of his nunciature, and all the minutes of his letters, would not only be lost, but might even fall into the hands of those who would make a very ill use of them. It gave him so much chagrin, that one may say it cost him his life, as losing thereby his hopes of the pontificate, a dignity which indeed he was capable of filling preferably to any other, as well by reason of his great abilities, as on the account of his having, with a great prelatial air, a most particular knowledge of the interest of princes and of court maxims. It is true however, that a little meanness of soul, which he showed at his death, has greatly tarnished his eminency's glory; indeed if all France wondered at that which he showed, by loosely shedding tears when he had a guard set upon him, on the occasion of the quarrels which happened between the most Christian king and Pope Innocent XI. one has much greater reason to wonder at his weakness in crying out (as they say) several times on his death-bed, saying, "O le mie carte, O le mie carte!" i. e. O my papers, O my papers!

After the restitution, whereof we have been speaking, what the Vaudois underwent in passing the great and little Mount Cenis, surpasses imagination; for being with horrible difficulty arrived on the latter, they found in the barns several peasants armed with halberds and spuds, who, upon their approach took to their heels; however they caught two of them, whereof one was wounded in the head. They found in this place some small quantity of bread and wine, which they took, and having passed on, they unhappily straggled, either through the malice of the guide, or by reason of the fog and snow wherewith the earth was covered a foot deep; for they descended the mountain of Tourliers, rather by a precipice than by a road; and to complete their misfortunes, night having surprised them, several of their men, through fatigue and weariness, being able to hold out no longer, remained behind, scattered and dispersed one from another in the woods, where they very uncomfortably passed the night, whilst the main body, who had gained the valley of Jaillon, having found dry wood there, were warming and drying themselves in their weather-beaten condition.

The Eighth and most memorable Day's Journey.

When the 24th day appeared, they had the happiness to rejoin the stragglers to the main body, after which they resolved to march by Chaumont above Suse, and having sent some soldiers upon the discovery, they were

informed that there was on the top of the mountain a great number of peasants, and French soldiers of the garrison of Exiles, who were continually tumbling down great pieces of rocks, insomuch that the passage of the little valley being naturally very narrow, and the Jaillon very rapid, they easily foresaw that they must perish if they passed that way; and therefore having re-enforced their van-guard with 100 men, they advanced with intrepidity, and when they came within 50 paces of the enemy, they sent, as was usual with them, to treat with them for their passage, Captain Paul Pelene, who was commissioned for this affair, under the convoy of some soldiers. They also sent with him two curates from among their hostages, thinking that they might facilitate the business, but, on the contrary they made their escape, and even, at their instigation, the captain was seized, bound and chained, with his soldiers, except one only, who returned, having found the strength of Samson in his hair, by which they had seized him; then the enemy firing their small arms and grenadoes, and throwing and tumbling down stones from a high post; which was so advantageously situated that they obliged the van-guard to retire, and to hide themselves under the rocks, and at length to march off through a wood of chestnut, which was on the right hand, and on the bank of a river, which they passed, some of them fording it with all their clothes on, not excepting their shoes and stockings, and others upon a trunk of a tree in the midst of boughs and brambles, but with great difficulty. There the *Sieur Caffarel de Bobi* was taken by the dragoons, after having been wounded in the stomach by a shot, which one of his own men had let fly, thinking he fired upon one of his enemies; because, indeed, he had put on the habit of a soldier whom he had killed. Those who had passed the Jaillon, seeing that the rest did not follow them, turned back and rejoined them; after which they thought it would be better to endeavour to regain the heights, judiciously foreseeing that they were in danger of being wrapped up in a bottom encompassed on all sides with inaccessible rocks.

In order to regain these heights they were obliged to climb, walking oftener on their hands than on their feet, with an incomprehensible difficulty, and whereof one cannot judge better than by reflecting on the despair of the hostages, who being disheartened with marching, they begged as a favour, that they would rather kill them than make them undergo so much. If the Vaudois compassed their design, it was in confusion, which cost them very dear; for several of their people remained straggling in the woods, amongst others the Captains *Lucas* and *Privat*, who have not been since heard of; and two good surgeons, one whereof was named *John Malsnet*, remaining hid with some others in the hollow of a rock, was there four days without any nourishment but water, which he got in the night at 100 paces distant from the place, and who afterwards was made prisoner, together with the companions of his misfortunes, and conducted to *Suze*, whence they were sent together, bound hand and foot, to the senate of *Turin*, where they lay nine months in the dungeon: for those who were taken in the dependencies of that state, were cast into the prisons of *Savoy*; and on the contrary, those who were unhappily seized in the territories of *France*, were conducted to *Grenoble*, and after that to the galleys, where those on whom death has not yet had pity, do all remain, though they have offered to ransom or exchange them; and it is among these poor innocents that the *Sieur John Muston de St. Jean*, the other surgeon, of whom we spake before, is to be found, who by his constancy and steadfastness under such long sufferings, deserves a share in this history.

This overthrow, which weakened this little flock, and which lost them a great deal of plunder, as well as some brave men, did not however weaken the hearts of our Vaudois; for being comforted by knowing that God executes his wonderful designs neither by strength, nor by address, nor by number of men, they reassured themselves, and having taken a resolution to reascend the mountain of Tourliers, they sounded the trumpet a long time, in order to give the stragglers a signal of the place where they were; after having waited full two hours, they agreed that it was necessary to march, though several of their men were wanting, for fear the enemy should gather their troops together to dispute their passage. In short, they began their march with so much precipitation, that poor Meinier de Rodorct, who had been wounded by one of his own men, having fallen asleep through weariness against a rock, was abandoned with a single comfort of having a few provisions left by him, and two of the hostages embracing this opportunity, made their escape. Indeed several fired at them, and one of the two, who was a priest, was wounded or killed, but be that as it will, they escaped. When they were got up the summit of the said mountain, notwithstanding there was a great fog, they perceived about 200 men in arms, who, marching with drums beating, made two or three bands, and as the Vaudois advanced towards them with an intrepid courage, their commanding officer sent them a billet, by which he let them know that he did not pretend to hinder the Vaudois from passing, provided they would take the road that was a little above him, where the passage was free and open to them; offering at the same time, upon this condition, to furnish them with provisions: but if, on the contrary, they were resolved to open their way through his post, he demanded eight hours to consider what measures he should take.

Though they knew very well that they ought not to trust this officer, who was the governor of Exiles, too far, they however thought it more convenient to accept of the open passage, than to hazard the forcing of one, which was well guarded; and therefore they marched to the right: but they perceived a little after, that the troops of the same post followed them slowly, under favour of the night.

This management made the Vaudois very sensible that they were endeavouring to engage them between two fires, when they should come to force the passage of the bridge of Salabertran, upon the river of Doire: which indeed was an effectual method to exterminate a handful of harassed people, who were quite sunk with weariness and misery. Upon this suspicion they sent to demand of these troops the reason of their acting so contrary to their word; to which having answered, that they did not design in any manner to violate it, they made as though they retired: and the Vaudois believing that they did so in good earnest, continued their march through great crossways and through woods, keeping themselves always very close, and halting from time to time. As they approached a village a league from Salabertran, they asked a peasant if they could have any provisions there for money: to which he answered coldly, "Go, they'll give you whatever you desire, and they will prepare a good supper for you." These last words, delivered with as much ingenuity as coldness, did not fail to make them apprehensive that they contained some mystery that was dangerous to the Vaudois: however, nothing terrified hereby, they ordered the peasants of the said village to bring them wine, and they obeyed. After a little relaxation they again began to march, and being but half a league from the bridge, they discovered thirty-six fires in the bottom of the valley, which made them judge

some troops were there: a quarter of an hour after the van-guard fell into an ambuscade, who being content with firing upon them retired, leaving five men dead upon the place.

No longer doubting but that they must come to an engagement, they went to prayers, and having sent to the right and to the left to see if there were any more ambuscades, they advanced close up to the bridge. The enemy, who were entrenched on the other side, cried, "who comes there?" They were answered very sincerely, "friends, well meant, provided they would let them pass." M. de la Tour having immediately ordered them to fall flat on the ground, there was but one single man wounded in his neck, insomuch that one of the hostages, a gentleman of Savoy, who had borne arms even to his gray hairs, acknowledged that he had never seen so terrible a fire do so little execution: but what was still more remarkable, is, that the said *Sieur de la Tour*, *Captain Mondon de Brobi*, a generous and valiant officer, who is still living, with only two refugees, not only made head against two companies, who were coming to charge their people in the rear, but did even stop them short. Our *Vaudois* finding themselves thus between two fires, saw that it was absolutely necessary to venture all without losing any time; in this thought some of them began to cry, "courage, we have gained the bridge!" though they really had not; however, these words so animated the hearts of the soldiers, that throwing themselves desperately on the said bridge, some with sword in hand, others with their bayonets at the muzzle of their pieces, they carried it thus, and went stooping their heads to attack the intrenchments, which they forced on a sudden, and pursued the enemies even so as to shoot them with their guns touching their backs, and to seize them by the hair. Never was shock so severe, the sabres of the *Vaudois* cut the swords of the French in pieces, and struck terror as well as fire when they lit on the guns, whereof their enemies now made no other use than to parry off their strokes: in short, the victory was so fair, and so complete that the *Marquis de Larry*, who commanded, and was dangerously wounded in his arm, cried out, swearing after the French manner, "is it possible that I should lose the battle and my honour too?" And seeing that there was no remedy, he added, "escape, escape who can." After which, retiring with several wounded officers, he would be carried to *Briancon*, and not thinking himself secure enough there, he took the road to *Embrun*, in a litter. The engagement lasted near two hours, and the enemy were put into such confusion that several of their men having mingled themselves with the *Vaudois*, as though they had belonged to them, thought to escape by that means, but were all killed; for as the *Vaudois'* watchword was "*Angrogne*," when they called, "who comes there?" the enemy, willing to counterfeit it, answered only "*grogne*," insomuch that this single word cost above 200 men their lives. In short, the field of battle was covered with dead bodies. Several of the enemy's companies were reduced to seven or eight men, and they without officers: all the baggage in general, and all the ammunition was a prey to our *Vaudois* conquerors. The moon being risen, they saw no more enemies. Then *M. Arnaud*, still under the name of *M. de la Tour*, called together his little people, and having caused the twelve drums they found to be broken, and what plunder they could not carry off to be cast into the river, he ordered every one to take powder and ball as much as he needed; after which they put fire to what remained; which made such a terrible blast, that the mountains so rang with it, that one might easily hear it at *Briancon*: at the same time they caused the trumpet to sound, and every man throwing up his hat

towards heaven, made the air to echo with this acclamation of joy, "Thanks be given to the Lord of hosts, who has given us the victory over all our enemies."

What! a handful of people force 2500 men well intrenched, amongst whom there were fifteen companies of regular troops, eleven of militia, with all the peasants they could scrape together, without reckoning the troops mentioned above, who attacked their rear? The thing has so little appearance of probability, that in order to believe it one must have seen it, or strongly imagine that God not only fought with them, but had even blinded the French; for, indeed, were it not so, how should it be possible that so clear-sighted a nation, and who are so exquisitely skilful in the military art, should not have resolved to cut down the bridge, which was but a wooden one, since by that means they would have stopped the Vaudois short, the river being then so high that had they attempted to pass it, it would have cost them their lives.

If one ought reasonably to be surprised at so glorious a victory, one ought to be no less so at the small number of men it cost the conquerors, who had, on this occasion, but ten or twelve wounded, and fourteen or fifteen killed, half of whom were killed by the fire of their rear guard. As for the hostages, there was one of them, a curate, killed; and out of thirty-nine, there remained but six, viz. the Chevalier de Rodes, Monsieur de la Charboniere, the two Capuchins, one priest, and a Dominican friar des Voiron; the rest made their escape during the fight.

Though after such an action they had more need of rest than ever, considering that for three days they had continually marched day and night without eating or drinking almost any thing but water, yet lest the enemy should have some re-enforcements, it was thought convenient to advance into the country; and to employ the remainder of so glorious a night in climbing up the mountains of Sei, drawing towards Pragelas, by favour of the moon, which they did with a great deal of difficulty; for the people fell down with sleep and weariness at the end of every field; and without doubt there would have been more of them lost than were, if the rear guard had not taken particular care to awake those they met lying on the ground, and to make them march.

The Ninth Day's Journey.

At break of day, the 25th, being the Lord's day, they were arrived to the height of the said mountain of Sei. They waited there for those who remained behind, and these having all rejoined them, M. de la Tour called all the men of their body together, and observing to them that they might discover from thence the ridge of their mountains, he exhorted them to thank God for having already shown them some part of the place after which they panted, after having so miraculously enabled them to surmount so many and great difficulties; and made on this occasion a prayer, which inflamed them anew. Having thus returned thanks to God, they descended into the valley of Pragelas, and after having passed the Cluson, they encamped over against the church of the village, named la Traverse, where they obliged them to give them provisions for their money, notwithstanding the refusal made by men who had been their brethren, by the bond of the same religion. They had the pleasure to hear in this place, that it was agreed that in the action before mentioned, they had lost but fourteen of their men; and that, on the contrary, their enemies had left on the spot

twelve captains, several other officers, and about 600 men, with a confirmation of M. de Larray's having been carried in a litter as far as Embrun; but they had also the mortification to hear that thirty-six of their men had been taken near the Jaillon, and eighty others at the foot of the mountain of Sei, and were conducted bound and chained to Grenoble.

Though it was Sunday, there was no mass celebrated that day in all the valley of Pragelas; for all the priests having their thoughts more intent upon their safety than their duty, had betaken themselves to flight; as did also the ancient papists of the place, with the son of the governor; who was one of them, and formed a company, which he commanded, and wherewith the only exploit he did, was, that he took four Vaudois soldiers, who had straggled in the woods, and who, in order to have better treatment from him, advised him not to advance a step further, unless he had a mind to be cut in pieces. He was afraid at these words, and hoping that these four soldiers might preserve him from the danger he was in, he promised them that they should receive no harm: however, he was no sooner out of danger, but he sent these poor wretches to Grenoble, to bear the other prisoners company. As they were preparing to depart at 3 o'clock, afternoon, in order to recover the valley of St. Martin, they saw some dragoons appear from towards Cestires, who advanced into the valley; but seeing that they marched directly towards them, immediately tacked about. As for the Vaudois, they passed the night in the village of Jausaud, which is the highest in the narrow passage of the Pis: there they had provisions, paying very dear for them, but not so much as they wanted, which provoked the Vaudois to reproach the inhabitants with their inhumanity, which was so contrary to their ancient friendship: but these excused themselves, saying, that if it should be known that they had in the least favoured them, they should not fail to be ruined. And, indeed, it has been well known since, that the priest coming there to seek for the chalice in the church, told the peasants that if they did not take as many of the Vaudois as they could catch, they would deserve to have their houses burnt over their heads.

CHAPTER III.

Of some of the principal exploits of the Vaudois, from their first entrance into their Valleys, during their Ten Months' War therein, till the Duke of Savoy ceased hostilities against them, and took them under his protection.

I HAVE been larger in the account of the return of the Vaudois to the borders of their country, not only from the extraordinariness of the enterprise in itself, but chiefly as it seems so exactly to answer a most signal prophecy concerning the resurrection of those witnesses, as some very learned men understand these words, Rev. xi. 11. "After three days and a half, the spirit of life from God entered into them; and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them." And it is certain, it was three years and a half since their total extermination, which was the latter end of December, 1686, to the Duke of Savoy's edict for their re-establishment, which was in June, 1690.

But not to interrupt the thread of the history with an exposition here to

this purpose, which may fall better in the close of this discourse; it must seem to any reader something uncommon, that a people so miserably treated as the foregoing history shows the Vaudois to have often, and lately been, both by Savoy and France, should even, after a total extermination of them out of their valleys, be so restless as they appear to have been in the territories of such nursing fathers and mothers as the protestant powers approved themselves towards them; and that no place abroad could satisfy them, but they will, in spite of all disappointments and opposition, return to a place so situated between their two most powerful and mortal enemies, that when there, they could humanly expect nothing but to be ground and crushed to death as between two mill-stones. Whatever the scoffers at prophetic revelation may think, I doubt not but to the more serious reader there will appear something like an extraordinary impetus from the Spirit of God in this matter, when considered from the first motions towards this enterprise, till they came upon the borders of their valleys; and, therefore, I have been more prolix hitherto in the account of this expedition.

But though I have been very particular as to their first motions, I shall give the history of their ensuing rencounters in a more summary way, because it would be tedious to relate their single skirmishes and lesser battles, as being made by separate parties; yet that of the siege of Balsile, as it was the last and most furious effort of their enemies, and that by the united forces of France and Savoy, once more utterly to destroy them, it will deserve a more particular narrative, which I shall presently proceed to give.

But now having brought our Vaudois to the entrance upon their valleys, it may be proper before we accompany them into the same, to survey those valleys, which they returned to claim as their paternal inheritances, and to give an account of the then usurpers, who they were, and how they came to be settled in these valleys. As to the first of which we are to know that there were three great valleys inhabited by these people, to which belonged these several churches here named.

In the valley of Lucern, were Bobi, Villar, la Tour, Angrogne, St. John, Roras, Prarustin, and Rochepalate, all populous congregations, having their several churches erected, and their several ministers.

In the valley of Perouse, were the following congregations, Pramol, St. Germain, Villar, Pinache, la Chappel, Pomare, and Aivers de Pinache.

In the valley of St. Martin were these churches, la Temple, Ville Seche, Rioclaret, Bovile, Fayet, la Maneille, Marcel, Prals, and Rodoret.

There is another valley called Pragelas, but that is under the French dominion, within the province of Dauphine, and not under the Duke of Savoy.

And now as to the usurpers of the Vaudois' lands and inheritances in those valleys, you are to know that after the valleys of Piedmont were dispeopled of their ancient inhabitants, and the torch of the gospel that had shined bright there for so many ages, was extinguished; that after that perfidiousness and treachery had triumphed over the innocency and dove-like simplicity of the Vaudois; and the Council of the Propagation, and their enemies, had executed the wicked designs which they had so long contrived for their utter extirpation; and the poor Vaudois, for the sake only of their religion, had suffered unjustly the horrible persecution and dreadful dispersion to be seen in the foregoing book of this history.

After, I say, the Vaudois were thus driven out of their country, the Duke of Savoy, and the Council of Propagation, employed all their care and study to repeople these valleys with Savoyards and Piedmontois; and to the

end that the Vaudois, who, either for fear of death or imprisonment, had abjured their religion, might not assist those that were sent into exile, to return into their country again; they transported most of them into the diocese of Verceil, to inhabit there, contrary to promise made them of establishing them in their own houses.

The valleys being thus re-peopled with new inhabitants of the Roman religion, the protestant Vaudois banished, or in prison, and those that had forsaken their religion, being transported a great way off, there was none that believed that ever they could establish themselves again, or so much as enter into their country, since in so doing, they must of necessity cross the lake of Geneva, and all Savoy, pass many defiles, climb the highest mountains, force several strait passes, where ten men might stop a whole army. Yet this however you see they have done.

But to proceed to some of the more remarkable enterprises of those Vaudois to resettle themselves in their ancient inheritances, the nearer they approached their valleys, the oftener they found some of his royal highness' troops posted in the passes to obstruct their entrance, who, though never so advantageously posted, to have disputed the passages; yet from the terror they had of these bold men, left their posts, and suffered themselves to be pursued like runaways, leaving behind them, as at the strait of Julien, their provisions, their ammunition and baggage, and even the commander's rich clothea. And this is all that is remarkable in the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth day's journeys or marches; except that either by surprise, or pursuit, they often took several of the enemy, whom they put to death; which, however it may seem to tarnish the glory of their adventurous achievements, yet as a faithful historian, I thought I ought not to conceal.

And the thing which may raise some prejudice against them is, that as tender of doing injury, and as strictly just, as they showed themselves to their enemies throughout their march; yet they no sooner entered upon their own lands, but whoever fell into their hands, whether the popish peasants who had usurped their possessions, the soldiers or militia of his royal highness, who opposed them, or those revolters who, abjuring their religion, became persecutors, but they cut them in pieces, and some, as it may seem, even in cool blood. Their own historian and leader fairly relates the following, among some other facts; and I shall give you, in his own words, his apology.

The last day of August, being their fourteenth march, they separated themselves into two bands, one of which took the height of the mountain, or of the hills of Mendron, and the other the flank. This was immediately perceived by some sentinels, who having forthwith retired, showed the Vaudois that the enemy's design was to take to their heels; therefore they hastened their march, in order to overtake them, which the others perceiving, after having made a discharge, fled as fast as their heels could carry them, even into Bobi, where they pursued them, and entered as masters, killing as many of the runaways as they could catch.

The inhabitants of this town having abandoned all as a prey, marched off by way of the bridge, without waiting till they discharged a single shot against them; and it must here be acknowledged as a great error in the Vaudois, that instead of pursuing the enemy, they amused themselves, the greatest part of them, in pillaging and sacking the town.

The other party, who had dealt more generously, and who had taken their way through the woods, brought in twelve soldiers, or peasants, whereof

ten, by advice of a council of war, were put to death: but one John Grass, who was of the number of the twelve, escaped with his daughter-in-law, and his father, because a Vaudois captain, who knew him, begged for him, saying, that if he had never done them any good, yet he had never done them any harm.

One must not wonder, says their historian and leader, that the Vaudois did thus put to death those who fell into their hands; it was with them a powerful reason of state, that they had no prison wherein to shut them up: if they would have put a strong guard upon them, and taken them with them, they could not, having other business for all their people: if they would have dismissed them, that would have been to have published their march, and their small number; and in short, all that whereon the success of their enterprise depended. They have been but too sensible of the necessity of this forced maxim, since after they gave the said Grass and his father their lives, this favour, or this humanity was very prejudicial to them in the sequel, by the injury which these two ingrates did them, though they did in a short time after receive the just reward of their perfidiousness.

Whether this, or many other things which may be pleaded in excuse of proceedings so seemingly barbarous; as that their enemies never did, nor never can be expected, whilst acted by popish principles, to abstain from butchering of them, when they can get them in their power; and that pure necessity, in order to self-preservation, will at least mitigate what is not in itself justifiable; whether any thing that can be alleged in excuse for such violent measures will wholly take off the guilt, I will not wholly determine, nor need I attempt it; for how great an opinion soever I have of the Vaudois, and their cause, the Vaudois themselves are but men, and as such must be expected not wholly divested of such passions, in order to self-preservation, as other mortals are affected with.

The 1st of September, being the Lord's day, was spent at Bobi, and at Sibaud, where M. Mottoux, M. Arnaud's only assistant, having placed the door of a house upon two rocks, got upon it and preached an excellent sermon on these words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Luke xvi. 16. "The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it." After this sermon, they remained assembled to make divers regulations; the first was, that of the oath of fealty, which M. Arnaud himself read aloud, and whereof this is the form.

"God, by divine grace, having happily brought us back into the heritages of our fathers, to re-establish the pure service of our holy religion, by continuing and finishing the great enterprise which the great God of hosts has hitherto so divinely prospered: we the pastors, captains, and other officers, do swear and promise before the living God, and as we would avoid the damnation of our souls, to keep union and order amongst ourselves; not to separate or disunite as long as it shall please God to preserve our lives; and though we should have the misfortune to see ourselves reduced to three or four, never to parley or treat with our enemies, either of France or Piedmont, without the concurrence of all our council of war; and to lay together the plunder which we have or shall take, to be used according as the need of our people and extraordinary occasions shall require: and we the soldiers do this day promise and swear before God, that we will be obedient to the orders of all our officers; and do with all our hearts swear

fidelity to them to the last drop of our blood ; that we will put the prisoners and the plunder into their hands, to dispose of them as they shall think fit. For better regulation, all officers and soldiers are forbidden, under great penalties, to rifle any of the dead, wounded, or prisoners, during or after engagements, except those who shall be commissioned for that purpose. The officers are enjoined to take care that all the soldiers preserve their arms and ammunition, and especially to chastise most severely those among them who shall swear and blaspheme the holy name of God ; and to the end that union, which is the very soul of all our affairs, may always remain unshaken amongst us, the officers swear fidelity to the soldiers, and the soldiers to the officers, promising moreover all of them together unto our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to pluck, as much as it shall be possible for us, the rest of our brethren out of cruel Babylon, to re-establish and maintain his kingdom with them, even unto death, and faithfully to observe the present regulation all our life long."

This being done, they read it, and all swore to it, lifting up their hands to God ; after which they took an inventory of the plunder that was in the hands of the officers and soldiers, and settled four treasurers and two secretaries for this purpose, as well as for the state of the war ; they had made a major, and an aid-major, agreeing that the soldiers might change their company, provided they did it upon sufficient reasons ; and they concluded this day with unhooking the bell in the belfry of Bobi, which they hid under a heap of stones, where the enemy found it some time after, as they were going to Bobi.

September 2d, being the next day after the Vaudois, both officers and soldiers, had mutually taken the foregoing oath of assurance to one another ; they assembling in a meadow, after prayers, made two detachments, and marching into the valleys of St. Martin and Lucern, they attacked and pursued several parties of the enemy. In which pursuits they were always so successful as to kill many of them, with such little loss of their own men, that the hand of Providence seemed visible on their side. And thus they continued scouring the valleys, and finding work enough for the Savoyards, till the 22d of October, when the French came into Pragelas 2000 strong, and entering into the valley of St. Martin, gave a quite different turn to the affairs of the Vaudois ; so that they were reduced to the utmost distress, perhaps that God might yet show his power more visibly in their rescue. And this, together with what happened at Balsile, to which they retired, being so eminent a part of their story, and in which the wonders of Providence were so much seen, I shall give it at large, as I find it in their history.

To proceed then, the Vaudois having met together at Rodoret ; after having left a corps de garde at the avenue of the little strait, they immediately called a council of war, to consult what course they should take ; easily foreseeing that it would be impossible to resist so great a number of the enemy, as was coming upon them, at Rodoret. Their sentiments were divided on this point, some holding it necessary to retire towards Bobi, and others, that they should go and seek for safety towards Angrogne, since Captain Buffe was already gone thither with a little flying camp : it seemed that this last sentiment ought to have prevailed, but the others opposing it, our Vaudois remained still undetermined, and were upon the point of running upon their ruin. Then M. Arnaud perceiving their disunion said, that in such a perplexity they ought to have recourse to God ; and, indeed, he went

to prayers; after which having earnestly recommended union to them, and having made them sensible of the indispensable necessity of it, he convinced them, that since they were no longer in possession of le Anguille, and the enemy were spread over all the country, it was in vain to think of retiring either towards Bobi, or towards Angrogne, adding, that he saw no post more advantageous than that of Balsile; which all unanimously applauded. The resolution being then taken, they agreed that it was however necessary to make a show of descending themselves; wherefore they immediately fell to casting up new intrenchments on the side by which the enemy were to come; after having thrown them up in the best manner they could, and as high as it was necessary, in order to amuse them, and to let them see that it would not be very easy to force them from the place where they might find them, they abandoned them, beginning their march two hours before day, and in so great a darkness, that in order to discover the guides, they were obliged to put the whitest linen they could find upon their shoulders. Besides, the route they were obliged to take being environed with precipices, they had the greatest difficulty in the world to avoid them; insomuch that they were often under a necessity of crawling upon all four: in this disorder, the hostages seeing a fair opportunity, corrupted their guards, and, together with them, made their escape, without being perceived; for every one had enough to do to take care of himself. One may easily imagine indeed, that men on foot, walking upon all four, were content to come off with the labour and fatigue: but what surpasses imagination, and discovers a visible succour from divine Providence in the most afflicting circumstances, is, that two wounded men happily passed all the same way on horseback. He who has not seen such kind of places, cannot easily represent to himself the danger; and he who has seen them, will doubtless take this march for a fiction, and a supposed march: however, it is pure truth; and one may add, that these places are so frightful, that when the Vaudois have seen them by day, which has since frequently happened, their hair stood on end, and they could not without trembling call to mind that they had very happily by night passed places which they saw could not be passed by day, without hazarding their lives. At length they arrived at Balsile, at a place called the Castle, where they posted themselves, with an immovable resolution to wait for the enemy, and to fatigue themselves no more with running from mountain to mountain, as they had so often done. In order to maintain themselves here, they immediately set themselves to casting up intrenchments: they made covered ways, ditches, and walls. As for their cabins, which were above eighty, they were dug in the earth, and surrounded with gutters, to prevent the waters coming into them. M. Arnaud preached twice every Lord's day, once on Thursday, and prayed with them every day, morning and evening; all joining with him very devoutly on their knees, with their faces towards the earth. After morning prayer, those who were commanded, went to work upon the fortifications and intrenchments, which consisted of coupures one above another, and as many as the plat would allow, which were seventeen, disposed in such a manner, that in case of need, they might retire out of one into another; that the besiegers having carried the first, would find the second disputed with them, and so one after another to the top of the mountain. They mounted the guards every evening, to guard the entrance of the way to Balsile; and the mill, amongst other things, wanting a mill-stone, the brothers Trones or Poulats, who were of Balsile, having said that they had flung it into the river about three years before, to hide it, thinking it might

one day be a great help to them; it was pulled out of the Germanasque by strength of arms, where it had been buried in the sand. And having passed a great lever through the hole in the middle, twelve men carried it; after which they put it in its first place, and in a condition of working, as it did all the while the Vaudois were masters of Balsile. Besides this mill, they had another half a league from their post, viz. the mill of Macel: but as the way to it was all open, so that when they went to grind there, they ran the risk of being insulted, it was not so much frequented as the other: however, as one was not enough, because every one had a mind to make up a store of provisions, and grind whilst they had mills, and leisure for it, they did not forbear to hazard all.

The enemy being arrived at Rodoret, were mightily astonished to find nothing but the small provisions of the Vaudois; who, because there was a mill, had made a magazine of bread and meal there, besides which there were chestnuts, nuts, apples, raisins, and wine. The French not being able to imagine whither they, who had laid up such store of provisions, could be retired with their ammunitions, thought that they had doubtless taken the straight way to Prals: in this belief they went thither, and remained there some days: in which time the duke's troops were to post themselves at the strait of Julien as had been concerted, to cut off the communication with those who were in the valley of Lucern. The French, commanded by M. de l'Ombraïl, seized all the posts of Val St. Martin, so that they kept the Vaudois as it were shut up. These, in order to secure Balsile, guarded an advanced post, called Passet; the enemy having at length discovered them there, came to attack them; but the same time there came so great a fog that they could not see one another at seven or eight paces distant. However the enemy husbanded this opportunity so dexterously, that it was impossible for the besieged to discover their stratagem: for having left some soldiers over against that post, who made a great noise, bawling incessantly, "Who comes there? Who comes there?" Their main body at the same time craftily gaining the height, and making their tour under favour of the fog, surprised a corps de garde; but without sustaining any loss on the Vaudois' side, notwithstanding the great fire of the enemy, who were just at their heels; which will seem incredible to those who shall judge of it without reflecting on the divine Providence. The enemy having thus taken the post of Passet, and having by that means opened the way to Balsile, advanced on Friday the 29th to attack the castle. In order to come at it, they made several detachments, which from Friday till Sunday night remained in uninhabitable woods, exposed to the injury of the weather, which greatly incommoded them, giving them colds upon heat; for during the whole time of their being there, it did not cease from snowing, inso-much that it has been known that almost all of them had their feet frozen; and if they had been attacked at that juncture, they would easily have been overcome; and during the three days that they kept the castle blocked up, they made several offers, which were all rejected. As they were endeavouring to pass the bridge, with a design to burn part of the village of Balsile, which is separated by the river, the two first who attempted it were killed, and the third wounded; however, the next day, being the 30th, they made so great an effort, that they carried their point, and passed it; but it cost them sixty men's lives, besides as many wounded, without any loss on the side of the Vaudois.

The Lord's day night, being the 31st of October, a week after they abandoned Rodoret, the enemy retired to Macel and Salse, keeping still a

guard at the strait of Clapier, to the end they might not go into Pragelas; but having one day made a good detachment, they attacked them with so much vigour above the said strait, that they happily defeated a great number, and came off with the single loss of Captain Gardiol, who having been wounded in the shoulder, died some time after for want of medicaments.

Some days after, three men of the valleys, who had changed their religion, together with the sister of John Franche, captain of the company of la Tour, came to see the Vaudois at Balsile, and being returned to Bobi, the wickedest amongst them, who was the son of one John Micol, a revolter of the community of Chabrans near la Maneille, a man, who had changed his religion fifteen years before; willing to show himself worthy of so wicked a father, reported to Salignac, who was at Bobi with his company, which was all composed of revolvers, that the bridge of Macel was not guarded, and that being at a distance from the place, they might doubtless catch some of those people who went there to grind their corn. This Salignac immediately went with this traitor to la Perouse, to give notice of it to M. de l'Ombraille, who commanded 500 men, to go on this great expedition, to break down a mill. This great detachment found some Vaudois, who were making bread in a neighbouring village, and put them to flight, making a great discharge all around the said village, which ended only in the taking three poor French refugees, whereof two, who were sick, endeavouring to escape in their shirts, were killed. The enemy, to leave a mark of so glorious an expedition, cut off the heads of these two dead bodies, and tied to the neck of one of them the natural marks of his sex: after which they obliged the third to carry the heads of the two others to la Perouse. This good man trembling as he went, prayed to God with so much zeal, that the judge of the place, though he was a Roman, out of pity begged him of M. de l'Ombraille. But he who never spake of any thing but of exterminating them all, threatened the judge to have him hanged up with him; however the governor of Pignerol not permitting them to hang this poor wretch in the dependency of his government, it was done at the Castle du Bois Feere, in the valley of Pragelas: after which they stuck up his head upon a pole, that the soldiers who came from France, and who passed that way, might see it; and every one looking upon that spectacle, said, that was the end of the Barbettes. One cannot sufficiently praise the excellent death of that poor sufferer; for it is reported that the prayer which he made did so edify those who assisted at his death, the greater part of whom were men who had changed their religion, that they could not refrain from tears, when they saw a steadfastness and constancy which reproached their weakness: for as he went up the ladder, he told the judges and the executioners, that he was glad to die; that he would not change his religion; and that he died for a righteous cause; adding, that the Vaudois had still bread, corn, salt, and powder, and that for one man of whom they deprived them, God would infallibly raise them 500; a prophecy which was really accomplished a few months after the prince's declaration. This man was one who did so fear God that he went out the day that he was taken, only to go into the village, to take care of those his two companions who were sick, and even to endeavour to bring them away with the rest, before they died, if their strength would have permitted. Amongst other things they would have had him discover, they would have known where the Vaudois got their store of salt, but not willing to betray them, he answered, that they extracted some from saltpetre, in which he did not wound his conscience.

Though the French have always shown cowardice enough by deserting; yet it must be confessed that there were some among them who have shown a great deal of constancy and firmness, as you have seen in the hard fate of this man, who, to the death, stood by the interest of those in whose service he died. The Vaudois ought here also to pay their grateful praises and acknowledgments to the Sieur Francois Huc, native of the town of Vigan, in Cevennes, who having joined them, has always served them in the capacity of a lieutenant, with a very exemplary zeal and fidelity, till at length, for his recompence, he was made captain-lieutenant of the Religionaries furnished by his Britannic majesty, and their high mightinesses the States General. The good testimony which has always been given of this man by all those who have known him; and particularly by M. Arnaud, who has always had an esteem for his valour, his zeal, and his probity, deserves this little digression in his favour, and with the greater reason, because his memoirs have very much contributed to his faithful relation of the pure truth of the facts contained in this history.

After the action at the bridge of Macel, the enemy resolved to abandon Macel, la Salse, Fontaines, Rodoret, and Prals, either because the season, which rendered the country impracticable, would not permit them to do otherwise, or because they were tired out by undergoing heats and colds to no purpose. And after having raised the aforesaid places, transported all the corn, and whatsoever else they judged might serve to entertain the Vaudois, they burnt almost all the houses, the farms, and the barns, and calling out to the Vaudois, to stay there till Easter, they retired thus, without daring to attack their intrenchments, and so went to la Maneille and Perrier: and knowing by experience that they could not take precautions enough to secure themselves from the insults of the Vaudois, they intrenched themselves there with high palisadoes all round their corps de garde.

The enemy having thus shamefully retired; the Vaudois, which were still together to the number of 400, began a little to take the air. They had been told indeed, that they should be visited again; but all that did not terrify them, because they trusted still on the divine succour, which had so visibly delivered them from the hands of their enemies, and had saved them from the hunger, by which the enemy designed to put an end to their lives. They were come to Balsile without having enough to live upon the next day: there they lived in the meantime upon cabbages, beets, and corn, which they boiled and eat without fat, salt, or any other seasoning, till such time as having repaired the mill, they were able to make bread. This providence of God ought to make those of them blush, who having unhappily despaired, had retired; and ought to satisfy the whole world, that heaven declared in favour of the Vaudois, since when they were shut up as it were in a prison by two powers: who not being able to exterminate them by the sword, sought and used their utmost efforts to starve them with cold and hunger, in a place, out of which they durst not so much as put their nose; yet, notwithstanding all this, they subsist, and keep off, and tire out their enemies, putting them into a perfect surprise, and filling them with confusion. It is with a great deal of reason we have said that heaven had declared in their favour, since the Lord, who at their arrival in the valleys of St. Martin, and of Lucern, made them find bread, wine, meat, rice, pulse, meal, corn, in the houses and in the fields, already reaped and to reap, with the gardens in good condition, and a brave harvest of chestnuts, and of wine, still continued to provide so abundantly for their subsistence, that it is easy to see that they have been miraculously relieved: since the

corn which had not been reaped any where thereabouts, was preserved under the snow, in January and February; and even in May, the next year, they gathered some which was not spoiled, particularly that of Rqdoret, and of Prals, which they were going to gather when the coming of the French made them abandon that design; which one may again attribute to the permission of God, since if they had done it, the corn would have been burnt in the barns, whereas remaining thus in the fields, it was preserved there for the service of those for whom God had appointed it, and who afterwards reaped it in the heart of the winter, even in February, after it had been eighteen months upon the ground.

During this season of tranquillity, which the Vaudois enjoyed, having a little more elbow-room than ordinary, they sent frequent detachments to beat the country, as well in their own valley to gather in the rest of their corn, as in that of Pragelas, to fetch bread; and in that of Queiras, to get salt and fat. One day, as some of them were in the borough of Bourset, the syndic letting them know that the inhabitants of that place had much rather agree to a contribution, than to be thus every day exposed to their incursions, told them that three or four of their captains, with a convoy, should come to confer with them, and agree together; and even gave to a captain, who drank with him, a billet, containing the same advice, and giving them to understand that he had some good news to communicate. The Vaudois, who went thither in the sincerity of their hearts, and did not mistrust what this infamous apostate was plotting, sent thither upon the day appointed a captain, named Michael Bertin, with some soldiers: the French, to whom the syndic had purposely given advice of this interview, having sent 200 men to garrison the said Bourset, placed some of them in ambuscade, who, as soon as the said captain came to pass by with his soldiers, made so cruel a discharge upon him, that they killed him, and afterwards cut off his head: two of his soldiers were also slightly wounded, and there was not one amongst them who did not receive some shot in his clothes. This black treachery of the syndic cost the enemy very dear, and the traitor reaped but little satisfaction from it, and less profit; for the soldiers of the garrison of Bourset appearing afterwards upon the strait of Clapier, with a design to surprise twenty of the Vaudois, who were there, these made another detachment, which harassed them with so much vigour all the day, that they had sixty killed and wounded, after which they went and burnt all the houses about Bourset, and all the village of la Fronchee. This was all the advantage the syndic had of his perfidy, with a garrison which he drew upon the inhabitants of his borough, and without doubt at his own expenses, for it has been known since, that that man had said, that he had much rather be at the charge of some pistoles every day himself, to maintain a garrison, than to see the Vaudois come to his house to fetch provisions.

When a party was going out of Bobi, they were commanded not to advance towards the enemy, because of their corps de garde: however, some of them slighting that warning, and little regarding the danger that was represented to them, did not forbear, towards the latter end of January, to hazard themselves where it was said there was most to be feared. And their going out was indeed very advantageous; for having discovered nine men armed, who were going to Mirebouc, they went and attacked them, and killed one of them, upon whom they found letters, which he was carrying to the governor of the said place. These letters informed the Vaudois of what was passing in the world, and of the mysteries, the knowledge whereof was so important for their preservation, that one cannot doubt but

God caused the rencounter; especially if one will but consider that those of the Vaudois had taken a road, when they went out, that was contrary to the advice that had been given them; and that he who carried the said letters to the governor of Mirebouc had, in like manner, departed from Breiqueras, contrary to the sentiment of his people; which shows that divine Providence, which had its ends, would that these two parties, who had orders to shun one another, should meet together, and out of three, there should remain upon the spot none but just the man whose death, as one may say, gave life to the Vaudois.

Sunday, the 12th of February, they saw Parander of St. John, a sister of John Frache, and two others, arrive at Balsile; the said Parander brought a billet from the Chevalier Vercellis, commander of the fort de la Tour, for Puy, brother-in-law to David Mondon, prisoner at Turin. They quickly saw that this was an artifice of the commandant, to discover thereby the countenance of the Vaudois, the condition of their post, whether there was a great number, and whether they were furnished with provisions: likewise all the soldiers of Balsile looked upon them as spies, and did not approve the too great complaisance of the officers in letting them go, because they had been of the reformed religion. The billet which they brought was in Italian, and was translated into French as followeth:

“David Mondon desires to speak with Peter Puy, or Pontet, his brother-in-law: in order whereto he has spoken to the Sieur Parander, in the prisons of Turin, and has desired him to transport himself to the mountains, to know of his said brother-in-law whether he would resolve to come to Turin; and in case he is willing, he shall have a safe conduct in such good form, that he may go and return to his post, with great safety; and the said Parander will bear him company if he desires it, and it is for this very reason that permission has been given to the said Anne Frache, sister of John, who will be so kind as to let her, as well as the said Parander, speak with the said brother-in-law of Mondon. This is what I hope and expect from John Frache.”

(Signed)

Lucern, Feb. 10, 1690.

The Chevalier Vercellis, commandant.

The Sieur Puy sent back the following answer.

“I have received the billet which was sent me in behalf of David Mondon, my brother-in-law, who is prisoner at Turin. I most humbly thank the Chevalier Vercellis, who sent me the Sieur Parander, Mrs. Frache, and two others, to bring me news of my brother Mondon: I am very glad to hear that he is in good health; but as for going to see him at Turin, it is what I cannot, and ought not resolve upon, on the single credit of a safe conduct: but if a sufficient hostage shall be put into the hands of our people, I could easily take other measures. The four persons who brought the billet have been sent back peaceably, and with a passport.”

Balsile, Feb. 13, 1690.

Upon the last of February James Richard returned to Balsile with letters from the Chevalier de Vercellis, to John Puy; as also from M. Gautier de

la Tour, to Arnaud, his brother-in-law; from Anthony Belion, to Bartholomew Belion, his brother; and from M. Joseph Osasque to John Frache.

It would be thought too tedious to exhibit these letters of less moment, to show either the artifices of the enemy to bring them to capitulation, or the firmness of the besieged in rejecting their proposals, as also the reasons offered for and against these endeavours of the Vaudois, to recover their ancient inheritances by force of arms. All these are sufficiently expressed in these which follow, and their answer to the proposals of the Marquis de Pareille himself, and which I shall therefore content myself to insert.

Their letters and messages hitherto proving ineffectual, some days after the Marquis de Pareille sent again an express, with a new despatch from M. Arnaud's relations, which runs thus:

"The letter which you sent us is not suitable to the times into which we are fallen, nor to the place where you are: your obstinacy will ruin you all; your entire ruin draws nigh: improve the time that remains while it is in your power, and make use of this notice without losing a moment's time: it is your brother and your sister who give it you, and who intreat this of you with their heart: you may know more from the bearer: farewell: believe him: believe us: you are all undone if you do not take other measures. We are heartily,

"Your dear brother and dear sister."

Monsieur Arnaud was not frightened by this pressing letter, nor was he and the rest any more by that which follows, which came to them in general from a person of great distinction: who reckoning that all the poor Vaudois were going to be sacrificed, being moved with compassion, wrote to them the 11th of January, 1690, after the following manner:

To Monsieur Arnaud, and the other Officers of the Vaudois Troops, at Balsile.

"As I see that you are upon the point of being attacked on all hands by the multitude of the troops, which the king sends, to dislodge you from your post, and that these troops are commanded by Monsieur de l'Ombraille, who is worse than a devil, and who has found means to seize all the posts of Queiras, and of this valley, which puts him into a condition of being able to force you on all sides: I have thought it worth the while to hazard my life, and that of the bearer hereof, to let you know that you would be well received, and would have good quarter, if you would frankly explain yourselves. I desire you to make haste to send me an answer with all possible secrecy; for else I should be ruined, having to do with such a man as M. de l'Ombraille. I send this man for your good, endeavour to send him back, so that he may not be seen. I hope all will go well; I conjure you to think upon what I have said, as being passionately,

"Messieurs,

"Your most humble and most obedient servant.

"But especially let not this man be seen by the troops: tear this to pieces: for should it be found, I should be undone."

The Sieur Richard brought no other answer to M. Arnaud's relations, but that he gave his service to them, and did not answer them, because he had lost his inkhorn.

The 10th of March, at night, the Vaudois killed two peasants near St. Germain, and Wednesday, the 12th, they made a detachment, which went towards Pramol. Some went and posted themselves at the barricades, to wait for those who should endeavour to escape; but at an unfortunate time, several escaping by the favour of a great fog: the others, after having given chase to a corps de garde of about twenty peasants, burnt several houses, and pushed on as far as St. Germain, where Augustin Belleinat was killed by the enemy, and David Prim Miquelot at the same time, by the imprudence of a Vaudois: the Vaudois had also three men wounded, but it cost the lives of about ninety men of the enemy, who afterwards confessed to those who went to fetch salt from Villar de Pinache, that there fell 120 of their men. The detachment also brought a great number of cattle, whereof a great part remained by the ways; but that which arrived safe at Balsile was a great relief, and finished the cure of the sick, who had greatly suffered for want of something to make them some broth in their sickness. At the same time the Sieur Droume, a refugee in Switzerland, coming from that country through Pinache, arrived at Balsile with a billet, assuring that they might give credit to what he should say, and that they should not want for manufactures (by which they meant succours). They sent him back speedily, upon his having promised those who sent him, to be back before Easter. He had made use of a passport from Turin, which one Rosaro of Pragelas, who had deserted with Fonfrede, had sent him, but which did not prevent his being stopped at Suze, and led prisoner to Turin, having probably been betrayed by somebody or other in his return. This was the only person whom the Vaudois had seen of their people since their entering into their country.

The 22d of March, some soldiers of la Maneille came towards Macel, and having planted about ten pickets, they fastened cards to them, directed to several Frenchmen, whom they had invited to surrender themselves in the following terms:

“Messieurs Frenchmen, who are in the valleys:—We, Retournat and James Causse, give you notice, that the king gives a pardon to all the French who shall come to surrender as we have done: you shall have liberty of conscience, and even passports, if you have a mind to retire; we are in the first company of the regiment Du Plessis very easy: make a good use of the advice which we give you.

JAMES CAUSSE,
RETOURNAT.”

Others were directed to private persons in this form:

“My dear friends, Clapier, David, and Stephen:—This is to give you notice, that the king grants an amnesty to all his subjects who shall come and lay down their arms as we have done; we are in the regiment Du Plessis, and in the colonel's company. His royal highness has done the same: improve this opportunity.

JAMES CAUSSE,
RETOURNAT.”

All these snares were laid in vain, and all these deceitful baits had not the success which the enemy had promised themselves from them. The 2d of April, those who had been sent upon the discovery, killed two sol-

diere of the enemy near la Maneille, and as many at Prals. The 3d, a little detachment going to Bobi, killed four peasants who were gathering chestnuts, the greater part of which, as well as a great part of the grain, had been preserved. The 17th, the Sieurs Parander and Richard arrived at Balsile : where they made proposals anew from the Marquis de Pareille ; to whom the council of war thought good to write the following letter :

“ My Lord,

“ The people of the valleys have long been sensible of the affection which you have always showed them. The reputation of your excellency is so well established in the world, and especially in Germany, that the name of Pareille is in singular esteem there. You continue still, my lord, to give us marks of the generosity of your soul, by sending us Parander and Richard, who have made some proposals to us for the public good. The council being assembled, we have taken the liberty to write to your excellency, and to pray you earnestly to continue your good offices for the good and quiet of the families and people, by representing (if you please) to his royal highness :

“ I. That his subjects of the valleys have been in possession of the lands which they had, time out of mind ; and that these lands were left them by their ancestors.

“ II. That they have at all times exactly paid the taxes and subsidies, which he has been pleased to lay upon them.

“ III. That they have always yielded faithful obedience to his royal highness' orders in all the motions which have happened in his estates.

“ IV. That in these last motions raised against these faithful subjects, by another spring than that of his royal highness, there was not so much as one criminal in the valleys : every one labouring to live peaceably in his own house, rendering unto God an adoration, which all creatures owe him ; and to Cæsar, that which belongs to him ; and that notwithstanding all this, so faithful a people, after having greatly suffered in the prisons, find themselves dispersed and wandering about the world. Your excellency will not doubtless think it strange if these have nothing more at heart than to return into their lands : alas ! the birds which are destitute of reason, return in the season to seek their nests, and their habitations, without being hindered : but men, who are created after the image, and in the likeness of God, are hindered. The intention of the Vaudois is not to shed men's blood, unless it be in defending their own : they do harm to nobody ; if they remain upon their own lands, it is in order to be on them as formerly with all their families, to appear good and faithful subjects of his royal highness, the sovereign prince, whom God has given them ; we therefore, with submission, intreat your excellency to defend and back our just reasons, and to believe that we have a very particular esteem for your excellency, as having known you for a long time : we shall redouble our prayers for your preservation, and for that of his royal highness and all his royal family ; and above all, that the Lord's anger may be appeased, which seems to be kindled against all the earth. If your excellency will be so kind as to honour us with a word by way of answer, these two men may bring it us with safety ; we hope we shall be dealt sincerely with in all

these affairs, as we value ourselves upon doing on our part; as we also do of being with respect,

My lord,

Your excellency's most humble and most
Obedient servants, and for all,

HENRY ARNAUD,
P. P. ODIN.

"P. S.—We are singularly obliged to your excellency for the care you have taken of our prisoners, and desire that your charitable offices towards them may be more and more increased."

They wrote at the same time to the Chevalier Vercellis in these terms.

"Monsieur,

"We were willing to charge Parander and Richard with a letter to deliver to you for us: being persuaded that you love the ease of the people, and the preservation of the state. We took the liberty some time ago to declare our sentiments by a letter which we had the honour to write to you: we really thought that examining them without passion, with a peaceable and meek spirit, you would discover the justice of them, that some regard would have been had to them, and that you, sir, would have been so kind as to back them with your authority for the sake of public quiet, and the ease of families; which we the rather imagined, because it is the true employment of good souls, who seek to imitate God, the Sovereign Prince of Peace. We told you that we had no thoughts of doing hurt to any body, when we return to possess the heritages which we have from all time possessed: rendering to God, as we have always done to him, and to Cæsar, that which is due to him. You are had in such particular esteem amongst us, that we hope we shall in a little time, by your measures, see a change in the face of affairs: for in the condition wherein they now are, nothing but great desolations are to be expected on all sides: if we may have the honour of an answer, it may be sent with all safety by these two men; provided we be dealt as sincerely by, as we act on our part: being with a singular affection,

Sir,

Your most humble and most
Obedient servants, and for all,

HENRY ARNAUD,
P. P. ODIN."

The 22d of April, a detachment of 100 Vaudois going out with a design to surprise the convoy, which went over two days to la Maneille, and to Perier, killed near the bridge of la Tour ten or twelve persons, as well soldiers as peasants, and among the rest, a curate, who was going with the labourers to dress his vineyard: those of Perier made a detachment to pursue them, but in vain; for they retired without loss, after having burnt the enemy's barracks near Peuet. As they returned, they caught a soldier, who said he was of Savoy, and valet to a captain of dragoons: having brought him to Balsile, they obliged him to cast into the river the dead bodies which had lain in the neighbourhood ever since they had entered into the valley in September, and stunk extremely.

As the history, which we here relate, is a kind of *tragi-comedy*, you find that the nearer we approach to its unravelling, the weaker our hopes of

good success for the Vaudois seems to grow. The French, who had threatened the Vaudois, all the winter, with a visit in the spring, took all their precautions, for that purpose; and the Vaudois perceived on the Lord's day morning, the last of April, 1690, that they persisted in that design, and were resolved to do as they had said; for they saw their troops defile by the bottom of the valley, through the strait of Clapier, and through that of Pis. Those who came through the latter, had remained two days upon the mountain in the snow, and without fire, lest they should be discovered, hugging one another to keep themselves warm; expecting the signal and orders. They had commanded about 1400 peasants, as well of the Val Queiras, as of Pragela, and the valley of Sesane, to clear the way for them, and to bring them provisions; and that they might the better invade the place, they made their detachments march to the posts which had been assigned them, with a design to enclose the Vaudois in such a manner, that they should not be able to escape: but happily for them, they had the precaution to make themselves barracks, and little intrenchments on the second tier of the castle planted with guns, whence they could fire upon the mountain. Each company had also taken care to store their posts with large stones, to entertain those who should undertake to come thither. But before we proceed any further, the reader would doubtless be glad to be informed how this castle was situated; it was on a very steep rock, having as it were three tiers, or different stories, which encompassed it, and on the top a large flat, where each company had made themselves lodgings in the ground. There are also three running springs; it is very difficult of access, except it be by the side of a brook, which runs by the foot of this castle. But as Monsieur Arnaud presently foresaw that that was the only part where they could be attacked, he took a particular care to fortify that entrance, by planting strong palisadoes, and working upon them himself, and raising little parapets of dry wall, with some trees, which each company had brought out of the wood. They disposed these in such order that the boughs stuck out towards the enemy, and the roots towards the Vaudois. Besides, they were loaded with great stones, viz. a row of trees and a row of stones upon them, which could not easily be broke through: however, the enemy imagining that nothing would be impossible for them to do against so little a troop, made the dispositions which they thought necessary for an attack. Their dragoons encamped on Monday morning in a wood, to the left of the castle; they afterwards crossed the river, and lay in ambuscade all along the water side: the continual fire which was made upon them, as well whilst they were in the wood, as after they were in this ambuscade, killed them abundance of men. Some hundreds of his royal highness' soldiers did no more than barely keep their post; either because their orders ran so, or because they were willing to yield to the French the glory they hoped to gain on this occasion; but which they might as well have been without. The main body of the enemy's forces coming up, approached the ruins of Balsile, but they retired very hastily, leaving several dead, and having a great many wounded. An engineer, after having viewed the height through a telescope, and observed the best place to make an attack, judged it should be formed to the right. The enemy, to the number of 22,000, viz. 10,000 French, and 12,000 of his royal highness' troops, made a detachment of 500 French, chosen by order of Monsieur de Catinat: these 500 men, under favour of a discharge which they made all together, approached the first bastion. They presently thought that they had no more to do but to pluck out the trees, and that they should after that have an open way; but they

were mightily mistaken when, endeavouring to do it, they perceived that those trees being loaded with stones were unmoveable; and as it were nailed down. The Vaudois seeing that the enemy could not compass their design, and being as it were breast to breast, they began to fire so violently, that they laid the greatest part of these hectors on the ground, who had, unhappily for them, been chosen out to be led to the slaughter. The hail of musket balls, wherewith the air was filled, was very surprising; for the Vaudois had so well taken their precautions, that they had placed the younger soldiers to recharge as fast as the others discharged; insomuch that it was a continual fire, which overwhelmed the enemy, maugré a snow which never ceased all the time; and which did not hinder the powder, though half wet, from taking fire very well. In short, the Vaudois seeing the greater part of the detachment fallen to the ground, and the rest all in disorder, sallied out of their intrenchments, and pursued and slew the rest, except ten or twelve, who escaped as well as they could, without hats or arms, and went to carry the news of so brave a defeat (to their own confusion, and to the honour of the Vaudois) to Monsieur de Catinat, who was retired to Clos, and from thence to la Perouse. Monsieur de Parat, who commanded this detachment, was found wounded in his thigh, and in his arm, being between two rocks. They took him prisoner, because he was the commandant; and they led him into the very barrack which he had some hours before shown to his soldiers, saying to them, "children, we must go and lodge in this barrack to-night." They took with him two of the most considerable serjeants, whom they afterwards killed, because they endeavoured to make their escape, and so had obliged them to take this method, because they had for some days viewed and observed the condition of the Vaudois; and if they could have made their escape, they might have given an account of it. But what is most surprising in so bloody a day's work is, that the Vaudois had none either killed or wounded. The enemy being exceedingly astonished, retired that very day to Macell, and if they had been pursued a little further, it is probable that there would not many of them have escaped. As for the Piedmontois, who had been only spectators of the bravery of the Vaudois, and beholders of the defeat of the French, they went and encamped in the field of Salse.

The next day being the 3d of May, the first thing they did after prayers, was, that they beheaded the dead, and planted their heads on the palisadoes which they had raised, to make the enemy more and more sensible, that they would not come to any farther arraagement with them, and that they were very far from being afraid of them. As they afterwards told Monsieur Parat, that in order to have his wounds dressed, he must send for a surgeon; because that he whom the Vaudois had providentially found at Angrogne, in September the year before, had been dead for some days; he wrote a billet, wherein he desired that his surgeon-major might be sent to him. This billet was carried by a young lad of the company of the volunteers, with an order to fasten it upon the end of a stick, which he was to fix in the ground near la Maneille, who being alone, he hallooed to let the French know who was there. Upon this notice, the said surgeon was sent with medicaments and brandy. He was no sooner arrived, but the Sieur Parat asked him if he were certain he could cure him, letting him know that if he doubted of it, he would send for another 200 leagues off. This surgeon seeing he distrusted his skill, would have returned, but they put him with the said commandant under a good guard, and they even obliged him to take care of all the sick and wounded that were at Balsile. As they rifled

the said *Sieur Parat*, they found upon him, among other things, the order he had received from *Monsieur de Catinat* for this attack, which was attended with such unhappy success.

I shall not here detain the reader with the accounts which even the enemy have given of this repulse, which they own to have been rude enough. It may be sufficient to remark that in a relation which came from a Savoyard, and an officer in the camp, and which gives a well circumstanced detail of the whole affair, there is enough to show that it was their enemy's inward sentiments, that the Vaudois were under the immediate protection of heaven. The officer's words were these :

“ Then when we thought to go at last, and make ourselves masters of the Vaudois, there raised on a sudden so horrible a fog, and so extraordinary a storm, that a part of the army, upon my testimony, and upon that of some officers, who had, as well as I, seen the same thing happen, and just in such a nick of time, thought that heaven visibly interested itself in the preservation of this little people, who seemed to have the elements at their disposal. This event was indeed so favourable to them, that it caused the attack of the fort to be abandoned, and some French, as well as several Savoyards thought they should be swallowed up by those floods, which they call *lavanches*, and escaped almost miraculously over frightful precipices, and by leaping from rock to rock for about three hours, having the snow sometimes up to their arm-pits for half an hour together ; which was succeeded by a terrible snow, which would have buried them, had they not at last found shelter in a wood. The attack of *Balsile* had no happier a success for the French ; so that as on one side, there has been nothing but terrors and abundance of difficulties, so on the other, trouble, fright, loss, and bloodshed.”

The *Sieur Parat* was asked how many there might be in the detachment which made the attack, and he said that there were about 450 men, besides 700 peasants of *Prageles*, or of *Queiras* : but some days after the *Vaudios*, who returned from *Prageles* and *Perouse*, said they had heard that the killed and wounded of the enemy amounted to 400, and that there were 7000 soldiers, and 700 peasants.

Thursday, the 4th of May, the enemy, confounded and fatigued, and some of them half dead, principally of those who had been on the mountains during the bad weather, retired into the territories of France, to seek some refreshment ; but with a resolution to return, not being able to digest such an affront, and choosing rather to perish than not to come and finish their enterprise. That very day *M. Arnaud* preached according to his custom, and made so moving a sermon, that his congregation seeing tears run down from his eyes, could not forbear weeping. And as he hinted by the by, with how much integrity they ought to divide the spoil, he had no sooner ended his discourse, but every one brought all the plunder he had taken from the enemy. The whole consisting of arms, clothes, linen, and other things, was exposed to view on the platform of the castle, and the greater part being sold, it produced enough to allow every soldier something ; and what remained was distributed to those that were poorest.

And now the curious perhaps will be glad to see the charms, or amulets, or whatever else you will call them, which were found in the pockets of the slain, and which however did not preserve their lives, as they had imagined they would, thinking that these characters, and these invocations

would secure them from wounds. The originals of them are preserved, and one is but a manuscript, whereof this is the form and the contents.

† *Agra* † *Batome*. †.

Those who understand these sort of things, may judge whether these charms are capable of rendering a man hard and impenetrable, as many people fancy.

The others are printed on little square bits of paper.

I.

Piscina Christus quæ nobis sit Cibus Borrus P. 1690.

II.

Ecce cru † cem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fugite Partes adversæ vici leo de tribu Juda radix David.

*Allel. Allel. ex S. Anton.
De Pad. homo natus est
In ea JESUS MARIA
Franciscus sint mihi salus.*

III.

*Benedictio sanctæ Virg.
Maria ad Apostolos benedicat*

*Vos, filii, et totum hunc Mundum Dominus Deus Pater et Sponsus Meus
Jesus Christus Filius.*

Unigenitus meus Spiritus Sanctus amor meus. Amen.

Ex S. Andrea Cretense.

IV.

Christus vincit † Christus regnat † Christus imperat.

*Christus ab omni malo me defendat † Christus Rex in pace venit Deus
Homo factus est verbum Caro factum est JESUS Nazarenus Rex Judæo-
rum.*

Qui verbum caro factum est, &c.

R. Habitavit in nobis nascens ex Maria Virgine per ineffabilem pietatem, et misericordiam suam piissimam, et Angelorum sanctorum que omnium maxime Apostolorum, et Evangelistarum morum Joannis et Mathei Marci et Lucae, Antoni Ubaldi Bernardi, Margaretae et Catharinae ipsum quæso ut dignetur me liberare, et preservare ab omni infestatione sathanæ, et ab omnibus incantationibus ligaturis, signaturis et facturis ministrorum ejus, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat in sæculo sæculorum. Amen.

All these billets are printed, excepting the first, which begins with this word, *Piscinia*, &c. in a flying paper, with some others like it, under this general title, and with the following marks :

Oratio contra omnes tum malificorum tum Dæmonum incursus.

That is to say, a prayer against the attacks of persons who use enchantments, and the attacks of devils. And at the bottom there is this approbation of the Inquisitor of Turin.

Fr. Bartolomæus Racca de Palermo Inqu. Taurini vidit, permittitque ut imprimatur.

The French, some days after the retreat, sending ten louis'dors to M. de Parat, he immediately made a barrack for himself and his surgeon, which cost him four crowns. He would have given the rest of his money to M. Arnaud, who generously refused it; and as he desired to have his liberty upon paying for his ransom, he was answered by the council of war, that they had no need of money, but that they would willingly exchange him for the prisoners who were at Turin: whereupon he let them know, that Monsieur de Rebenac Feuquieres, who was there as ambassador from France, was his intimate friend. The enemy were some days without sending him necessaries, either because they were minded thereby to feign that they did not much care for him, or because they had something else to think upon; and indeed the besieged perceived in a little time after, that they were employing all their care to be able to take an entire revenge of the affront they had received upon their last attack. Monsieur de Catinat did thoroughly meditate this revenge: but as he had to his own disgrace proved the valour of the Vaudois, he did not think it convenient to expose, a second time, his person, and his hopes of the staff of Marshal de France, and therefore left the care and the conduct of it to Monsieur de Feuquieres. A week was hardly passed after the retreat of the French, but returning to the charge, they formed anew the siege of Balsile, whereof they made themselves indeed masters in fourteen days; but by a wonderful Providence, which can never be sufficiently admired, they did not take the besieged, though they were all they sought. The story is as follows; upon Saturday, the 10th of May, the advanced guard of Cuculion sent a man with advice of the enemy's coming: upon this news they immediately made all those who possessed the advanced posts return, in order to defend themselves all together. As this was Easter-eve, they had already prepared themselves to receive the holy communion the next day, but finding themselves too much disordered to be able to do it with all the devotion that is requisite; they put off that duty to another day. The enemy came that very night and encamped at Passet. Those who were at Bounet, descended by the strait of Clapier: there were some also who descended by that of Pis, all marching with beat of drum. They presently formed five bodies, who encamped all separately, in order to encompass the Vaudois all round: the first encamped at Passet, the second at the foot of the mountain near Balsile, the third in the Clos d'Almian, the fourth a little higher, and the fifth in the wood of the castle at Serre de Guignewert; night coming on, they advanced near the ruins of Balsile, and the river, where they raised a redoubt: from whence, as well as from the Clos d'Almian, and from de Lenvers, they did not cease firing, but without

doing any other execution than wounding two Vaudois, of whom one died some days after.

Besides a great number of prisoners which they had, they obliged all the soldiers who were not already employed in the intrenchments, or on their guards, to make fascines, and to carry them behind their covering: of both which they made use to facilitate their approaches, and to retain the ground they had gained by parapets, and to make raised ways. Thus the castle was in a little time encompassed around: for as soon as they had gained a foot of ground, they covered it with a good parapet, and did not see so much as the hat of a Vaudois, but they let fly a hundred small shot at it, which they did without running any risk: for they had a covering before them of sacks full of wool, through which the bullets could not pass. At the end of some days they made use of a speaking trumpet, through which they told the Vaudois that they must surrender and capitulate, and they even set up the white flag at the foot of the castle; whereupon a soldier was sent to know more particularly what they demanded. They told that soldier that they had reason to wonder that such a handful of men durst make war against so great a king as the King of France; that if they would quit their post, and take passports to retire, they should have them, and 500 louisd'ors apiece besides; that indeed the Vaudois would kill several brave men, but that in the end they should have them all. The enemy improved this time of parley to send provisions and medicines to the said *Sieur de Parat*, whom the Vaudois carried up within the second wall of the castle, that he might be better secured there; and he wrote to an officer, a friend of his, named *Chartogne*, telling him expressly, that in order to his liberty there was no need of sending money, but only of asking his royal highness to set at liberty the *Sieurs Mottoux* and *Bostie*, ministers, *Malonot* surgeon, and *Martines* armourer. The said *Sieur Chartogne* answered him, that he would give him an account of his commission that night or the next day, when he had spoke with *monsieur the Marquis de Feuquieres*, who was gone to visit the posts. The *marquis* upon his return to his quarters in the evening, hearing of the commission of the said *Sieur Chartogne*, and not willing to hearken to that proposal, either because he did not think it convenient to expose himself to his royal highness' refusal, or because he had other reasons, he wrote him the following billet:

"You may tell those gentlemen that I will come into no proposal for the liberty of *Monsieur de Parat*, by way of exchange; but am very willing, by way of ransom, such as was usual in the late wars of Germany: besides, they ought to think of avoiding the last extremities; having orders not to quit this enterprise till it be finished; and so if they will enter into proposals on that article, they may do it: but they ought to consider, that we should grant them terms, which they are not to expect after once the cannon has begun to fire.

FEUQUIERES."

The *Sieur de Chartogne* sending this billet to his friend, accompanied it with this which follows:

"The *Marquis de Feuquieres*, who is here, and who has the charge of the siege, has commanded me to let you know, sir, that the gentlemen are to speak more clearly to you than they have hitherto done, concerning the exchange which they demand; because the liberty which might be given

to one of his royal highness' prisoners, could be only got out of the country; it being absolutely in vain to believe that they would let a man enter into a place which they do not design to quit as long as any one person shall remain in it who is now there. You ought to be persuaded that the Marquis de Feuquieres, who is an old friend of yours, will always do all he can for you. I expect the ointments from Pignerol which you sent for, and as soon as they arrive here, I will send them you: I have not been able to get any poultry, but I send you four pounds of beef and a sheet of paper. I am entirely, yours,

CHARTOGNE.

"P. S.—I send you but one sheet of paper, that you may write upon the backside, and shall do thus every day."

May 13.

The Vaudois sent an answer to this, which was worthy of their usual courage; and if any one finds it rash or swaggering, it must be because he does not know them.

The Vaudois' answer to the proposals made to them by Monsieur de Feuquieres, was as follows:

TO ALL THE FRENCH.

"Messieurs,

"Though you imagine we are very poor, yet we do not want money for the ransom of Monsieur de Parat, our prisoner. We shall permit you to send him necessaries for four or five days, without amusing us every day to go up and down. The proposals which we have now to make, are, that not being subjects of the French king, and that monarch not being master of this country, we cannot treat with any of your gentlemen, and being in the heritages which our fathers have left us from time out of mind, we hope, by the help of Him who is the God of hosts, to live in them, and die in them, even though there should be but ten of us left. If your cannon fire, our rocks will not be frighted at it, and we will hear them roar."

If the Vaudois showed valour and firmness on all former occasions, they did not show it less in this siege, in which they did not fall asleep; for there passed very few nights wherein they did not make some sallies: amongst others, they made one to the right of the castle, where the enemy were fortifying themselves upon a rock, which commanded it. They fired there upon the French with the muzzles of their guns almost at their backs, and killed several of them, but with greater regret lost Joseph Pelene, who was unhappily killed by one of their own men, because being left behind, he faltered when, as he was retiring, the sentinel, who did not know him again, called out to him, "who comes there?" They also sent out several parties to go and burn in the Pragelas, and to seek for provisions; several of whom returned laden with bread, and others made great ravages, having burnt, among others, the village of Bourset. Four Vaudois soldiers having discovered that some peasants usually carried provisions to the dragoons, who encamped to the left of the castle, went down and lay in ambuscade upon the high road, between the great camp of the enemy, and that of the dragoons: they killed every one his man, and carried off their charge of bread. The setting up the white flag, and calling to them through the

speaking trumpet, to submit either to the king and to Madame Royal (for the French spake only of that princess, and never of the duke) was repeated almost every day; bidding them retire into Switzerland, without tarrying any more in the mountains; and they added, that if Monsieur de Parat had need of any thing, they had but to set up the flag, which was no sooner taken down, but there was always made a prodigious fire on both sides.

Monsieur de Feuquieres seeing that the continual fire of small arms ended only in losing powder and shot, placed his cannon upon the Guignevvert, where he had raised batteries: after which he set up the white flag anew, and after that the red one, to let them understand that if they did not surrender before the cannon had begun to fire, they were to expect no quarter: but seeing that these extremities did not shake the Vaudois, he disposed all things for a general assault.

The 13th of May, before day, he ordered some of his troops to advance above the wood of the Clos d'Almian, at the brink of the river behind the rocks, where they remained all day without fire, though it was very cold. The day passed in skirmishing on both sides, and night coming on, they retired, and the Vaudois, who had always made a great fire, began to moderate it, being sensible that they had need to husband their ammunition. Those of the French who were in the mountains, perceiving that they were discovered by the Vaudois guard, affected to go backwards and forwards upon the top of the hills, that thinking them to be but a small number, they might not be much concerned about them: and whilst they thus amused the Vaudois, they raised parapets upon a rock, which was superior to the said corps de garde, from whence they began to fire upon them with their guns, which wounded but one soldier. The same night they advanced within pistol shot of that corps de garde, making a great fire, which made them retire lower: during that time two pieces of the enemy's cannon played with great violence upon a kind of ravelin, which being only of dry wall, they quickly made the sun shine through it.

The next day, the 14th of May, was the day of the great attack, and though Monsieur de Catinat and Monsieur de l'Ombraille had boasted that they should take the Vaudois, without spending a pound of powder, yet the cannon fired upon them by break of day with so great violence, that before noon they had counted a hundred and fourteen discharges, the bullets being from twelve to fifteen pounder, which in a very little time made great breaches in walls which were designed only to resist musket shot. The enemy having seen such an effect, now thought on nothing but to make the assault at three different places. Some went up at Clos d'Almian, others by the ordinary avenue to the castle, and a third detachment by the brook, without regarding the fire of the besieged, nor minding the stones which they rolled down upon them. The small arms of the enemy made a perpetual hail of small shot, and so thick, that the Vaudois had borne above 100,000 of them, when they abandoned the lower intrenchment, but without having any one killed, and without any wounded, except one man. They retired into the intrenchment called the Cheval la Bruze, where they also had some barracks; they were obliged, in order thereto, to pass under the fire of a redoubt which the enemy had raised on the brook bank; but a fog favouring them, they happily passed. They had told Monsieur de Parat, that if the enemy should force them, they should be obliged to kill him; to which he answered, I forgive you my death. And indeed his guard having forsaken him, a Vaudois, who was retiring one of the last, shot him through the head with a pistol; which truly I think was a horrid

cruelty in that Vaudois soldier; for I do not propose to justify here all the management of the Vaudois, in case there be any thing which is not within the rules; their name, as venerable as it is on other accounts, not dispensing them from the common weakness of mankind, who are all subject to mistake. Whilst the enemy were searching in all the posts which they had lately abandoned; the Vaudois were thinking only upon means to make their escape: but seeing themselves encompassed all round, the difficulty was how to be able to do it; for if the thoughts of doing it by night flattered them a moment, the great fire which the enemy made from all quarters, appeared to their imagination as an invincible obstacle. In short, they plainly saw that nothing but the hand of God could deliver them out of the hands of their enemies: relying therefore upon the divine Providence, they soon saw that he who had delivered them from so many dangers, had not let them come to such an extremity, but to make them more sensible in what manner he watched for their preservation; and so, just at the fatal moment when he was representing to them a cruel and frightful death, a thick fog arose before night, which would have been too short, and indeed too clear for the execution of their design; and Captain Poulat, who was of Balsile, declaring that he would be the instrument of their escape, they consented to march under the protection of heaven, and under the conduct of that brave captain. This man, who had a perfect knowledge of the country, and of all its roads and by-ways, having by the light of the fire which the enemy made, exactly observed all the posts which they possessed, declared that there was no way that he knew of to escape, but down a ravine or frightful precipice. In effect, they took that way, defiling softly through the hole, being come to that precipice, they must go down for the most part sliding in a sitting posture, and the others marching with one knee upon the ground, holding by branches of trees, and resting from time to time. Those who first passed, went groping as well with their feet as with their hands, to feel if there were any earth, on which they might safely set foot. Poulat, who was himself the guide of this troop, made them take off their shoes, as well that they might make the less noise, as that they might the better feel when their foot come upon any thing that was able to bear them. In this equipage they passed just by a corps de garde of the French, and at the same time that they fetched a compass, winding, a Vaudois going to help himself with his hands, let fall a little kettle, which rolling down upon the stones, made such a noise that it was heard by a sentinel, who immediately cried out, "who comes there?" But the kettle, you may be sure, giving no answer, the sentinel believing he had been mistaken, did not repeat his who comes there? In the meantime the Vaudois still gained ground, clambering the lower part of the mountain Guignevert, and drawing towards Salse; it was already two hours day-light when they ascended by steps, which they had cut in the snow. Then the enemy who were encamped at Lautiga, under the rock, where the Vaudois had placed the corps de garde of the mountain, discovered them on Thursday, the 15th of May, and called out that the Barbettes were making their escape. They immediately sent a detachment after them: but the Vaudois descended to Pausette de la Salse, on the side of the mountain, where they rested, in order to gain a little strength by help of soups they made there. They did so at Rodoret, whither they afterwards went, and they had no sooner resumed their march, but they perceived the said detachment of the enemy, which descending very diligently, took the way to Rodoret. Seeing their design, they went up to the top of the mountain de Galmon, between Rodoret and

Prals, where they halted for about two hours, in which time they made a review of their troop, and sent the sick and the wounded into a balm, called the Vallon, with the surgeon of the said Monsieur Parat, under the guard of those who were last wounded. After which they descended with great expedition towards Prals, and went and lay in the wood of Serre lemi, expecting the night. In the meantime a fog having happily filled the air, they began to march again, and went to the cassage called la Magara, where they did not arrive till after it was night, though it was but a quarter of a league's march, and were sufficiently mortified to find, when they came there, that there was not so much as any water there wherewith to make their pot boil: but heaven seeing their want, and having compassion on them, sent them rain, which was as great a relief to them in this their confusion, as it would have been inconvenient and noxious in many other rencounters.

Friday, the 16th, having thoroughly quenched the fires they had made, lest the enemy, which were at Rodoret, or perhaps upon the top of Galmon, should, by that means, discover them, they resumed their march, and came to Prajet, where they hid themselves in the barns, without daring to kindle any fire; Monsieur Arnaud having there made an excellent prayer, they sent a man to get intelligence concerning the enemy, whom they heard discharging their arms, probably because they were wet. This man brought word that they were still at Rodoret; however, having sometime after perceived, that some of them descending directly to Prals, and others marching as if they were coming straight to them, they thought it convenient to take the advantage of the fog which seemed to rise on purpose to favour them. But as this fog was dispersed from time to time, the Vaudois in the intervals sat down, and even lay flat with their bellies upon the ground, that they might not be discovered by sentinels, which the enemy might have placed on the top of Serre de Galmon. This happened very often, and till they had lost sight of the said Serre de Galmon. At length they came into a very bad country, which they passed through, ascending near the mountain of the White Rock, whence very fine marble is taken. They descended thence, and went to lodge at Fayet, where they arrived at midnight, very much fatigued with the bad ways which they had passed with incredible difficulty, having been obliged to hold incessantly by branches of trees, to prevent their falling down the precipices which threatened them. The next day, being the 17th, they raised the picket, and were no sooner arrived at the mountain of Turin, at Rioudaret, but they discovered that their track was followed by the enemy, who were already come to Pouet, which obliged them to move without delay to Pramol, with a design to get provisions at Angrogne: but having heard that without going any further, there were cattle enough at Pramol, they made three detachments to go thither; and one of these detachments having descended to the village de la Rua, brought thence cows, goats, and sheep. As all the inhabitants, and all those who were in that village, had retired and intrenched themselves in the churchyard, they attacked them so vigorously, that they forced them thence, though Monsieur de Vignaux, who commanded them, had express orders not to abandon that post, which he himself showed to Monsieur Arnaud, when he surrendered his sword to him, and told him, that his royal highness had but till Tuesday following to resolve in, whether he would still side with France, or embrace the interest of the allies. They took prisoners in this action, besides the said Sieur de Vignaux, three lieutenants; and the enemy left fifty-seven dead on the spot, and had the morti-

fication to see the village burnt. As for the Vaudois, they had three men wounded, and as many killed. After this expedition, they went and lodged at Humian, a village half a league from thence.

The next day, being Lord's day, the 18th, they went up the mountain of Angrogne, and those who marched foremost, were no sooner upon the top of it, but the inhabitants having discovered them, gave the alarm, which made them return. Thinking it convenient to go and plunder some other height of the same mountain, and stopping at some houses of a neighbouring hamlet, they were greatly surprised, but at the same time greatly rejoiced, to see and hear that the Sieurs Parander and Bertin, as envoys from the Baron de Palavicin, came to proclaim peace to them from his royal highness, offering to give them provisions even upon the spot. Indeed they were no sooner arrived at Pradel Tourn, a ruined village, but two other persons came to tell them that the Chevalier de Vercellis, commandant of the fort de la Tour, desired to speak with some of their officers; to which they answered, that if he would come the next day to the same place where they were, he would find some of their people there; and improving this opportunity, they engaged the said Sieur de Vignaux to write to monsieur the Baron de Palavicin, to desire him to send a surgeon with salves to dress the said three lieutenants, who had been made prisoners and wounded at la Rua de Pramol. And now let us for a moment leave our poor fliers from Balsile, in their joy and glory, to see their enemies reduced to offer them peace; let us, I say, leave them to take breath, in hopes to see their troubles at an end; and instead of entering into the new embarrassment, which they underwent till the authentic declaration of peace with their prince, let us take the opportunity of this interval, to consider the consternation of the French, who being quite confounded, could not digest the affront of having been at so great pains to take the nest, and to see the birds escape, maugre the snares they had placed for them on all sides.

As the conquest which Monsieur de Feuquieres endeavoured to make, was not so much to render himself master of Balsile, as to make himself at length sure of the persons who were in it, and intending thereby to signalize himself, his hopes were no less than to raise his glory above that of Monsieur de Catinat; one may thence imagine what a great mortification it must be to him, when entering into the last intrenchment of Balsile he found nothing there but ruined barracks and points of rocks, which by their number and their figure, have given that place the name of the Mountain with Four Teeth. It was to him as the stroke of a thunderbolt, which stripped him of the title of Subduer of the Barbettes, wherewith he had been forestalled, and particularly amongst others, by the governor of Pignerol, in a letter which he wrote to him, and which, having been intercepted, very well deserves a place here.

“ Pignerol, May 11, 1690.

“ You mistake, sir, when you think that your letters are troublesome to me: I never am more rejoiced than when I receive them, which joy will increase when I shall know you to be the Subduer of the Barbettes, who I find are very insolent. I have this day had certain advice that there have been but two of them dangerously wounded, and some others slightly: but they find it so difficult to come into their forts from foreign countries, that if you should shut them up but a little closer, their commerce would quickly be cut off. 402 muskets are now arrived at Perouse, the rest will be there to-morrow betimes, if one can but obtain the mules of the artillery, which will not

depart hence till a new order comes. You will have them to-morrow at Macel, where you must send to take them: 700 flints have been sent to the dragoons; I will search for some to-morrow in the town, and if there are none we will think of having some brought from other places. I just now received a letter from Monsieur de Catinat, wherein he writes as follows:— We were ready to enter into war, as you may have heard: but this morning I sent a letter to his royal highness' court, expressed in such suitable terms, that I thought we ought to continue to live as we had done, in expectation of other orders. This letter was brought to me this morning, an hour after day-light, by the Marquis de Granerie, his royal highness' minister; you see that this prince, better counselled than heretofore, enters into his true interests. This change may probably contribute to the exchange of M. de Parat.

“Perigord and Robeck depart hence to-morrow, the Swiss and the artillery remain, Vexin and Pavins go to Macel, the dragoons of Granmont and of Languedoc, to Pancaliet: and all this may possibly change before to-morrow night, not doubting but the courier despatched by his royal highness a week ago, will bring back the olive-branch. They write from Paris of the 2d, that Heighdelberg is besieged. The death of Monsieur de Lorraine, and the taking of that place, wherein are all the imperial stores, both of provisions and ammunition, will mightily break their measures.

I am, Sir, entirely yours,

BROVILLI D'HERVILLE.”

This is the manner in which the letters from Turin have spoken of the surprising evasion of the Vaudois.

“The French have driven the Hugonots from their forts, the cannon having beat down their intrenchments of dry stone; they made their escape in the night, defiling between two French corps de garde: but through a place so steep, that they had posted nobody there, thinking it impossible for any one to pass that way. They served for bridges one to another, and are come into the valley of Lucerne. The lieutenant-colonel was found fresh killed.”

This piece of a letter does naturally and succinctly express the thing as it happened, but you will fully see in that which follows, how the enemy have described it.

A copy of a Letter, written from the Mountain with Four Teeth, by the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment of Bournazet, May 15, 1690.

“I arrived here with the troops in the evening, after twenty-four hours' march over horrible mountains. One must have gone over them to know how rugged and inaccessible they are. As I arrived at the cliff of the strait Del Pis at break of day, I heard two great guns, which Monsieur de Bournazet fired from the top of the Mountain with Four Teeth, and which was the signal of M. de Clerambaud's attack. His grenadiers at the same time attacked the first fort of the top of the mountain, where our people found no great resistance. The Barbettes retired from their first fort without firing a gun, we drove them from rock to rock, which is what they call their forts: Monsieur de Clerambaud made himself master of five or six of these forts with the loss of four prisoners, who were of our regiment, and some gre-

nadiers wounded. The Barbettes retired into their sugar-loaf, which is a kind of little platform; where twelve or fifteen men may stand, with a little hut in a rock, which would hold eight or ten, such was the attack of the height. That below was made by M. d'Aprémont, lieutenant-colonel of Clerambaud: he carried, without great resistance, what they call the castle, and the Barbettes retired into their pye; from whence they made very great fires. However, the said Monsieur d'Aprémont made himself master of it. This attack cost us three lieutenants or sub-lieutenants of Clerambaud, and of Lasarre, some lords, and eighty or a hundred soldiers; it was in this pye that Monsieur de Parat, lieutenant-colonel of Artois, was detained prisoner, he was killed the very moment that they found themselves hard pressed, having been stabbed with a bayonet: I spoke with a sergeant of Clerambaud, who found him yet warm, in a cazernette, with the two Barbettes who had killed him, who were sacrificed by our people, as well as a woman who was with them in this pye. The Barbettes retired still from intrenchment to intrenchment, firing from time to time. Monsieur d'Aprémont drove them as far as the sugar-loaf, and intrenched within musket shot of it, taking a prisoner, who gave notice to Monsieur de Feuquieres, they thought of making their escape in the night: Monsieur de Feuquieres immediately gave notice of it to Monsieur de Clerambaud by a letter which he wrote to him at 9 o'clock in the evening; but the letter was not delivered till the next day, so that before Monsieur de Clerambaud had received that advice we saw the Barbettes upon the top of a mountain over against that where they had been intrenched; for they had made their escape in the night, and at a time when we waited only for the day to assault the sugar-loaf, wherein they were. Day being come, and Monsieur d'Aprémont having made some soldiers advance towards the pye, they entered it and were mightily astonished to find nobody there; for they had not in the least perceived the evasion of the fugitives, though we had already discovered them on the top of the mountain, because indeed our quarters were in a part that was higher than that of the Four Teeth. We immediately gave Monsieur de Clerambaud advice of the flight of the Barbettes, who judged rightly that they were too far advanced for us to reach them: the prisoners said they were still 400 strong. They went out of their sugar-loaf, and rolled abundance of stones in the night down this side, to render it impracticable; I speak of the pye; we have orders to fill up all the works that are in the mountain: Monsieur de Feuquieres, after having given all necessary orders to cut off the Barbettes, as well by the peasants as by the troops which are in the valleys, where it is judged they may be, has made the regiment of Clerambaud descend from the mountain, and has commanded ours to be posted there, and to observe the Barbettes, after whom he has detached Monsieur de Poudens with a regiment.

"I have been just now assured that Monsieur de Feuquieres has received news that the Barbettes have burnt a village in the valley de Carboniere, that they are there at present invested by some peasants, and by some dragoons of Savoy, and that Monsieur Poudens is not far from them: Monsieur de Feuquieres is ordering two companies of grenadiers to march with a detachment of 300 or 400 men."

The circumstances of this letter, which says that M. de Feuquieres gave M. Clerambaud advice of the flight which the Vaudois had projected, joined to the rodomontade of the French, who every where published, and even with sound of trumpet, that those who were minded to see the end of the

Vaudois, and to see them hanged up by two and two, had no more to do but to come the next day to Pignerol, does abundantly heighten the wonderful part of the event. Nor was there ever any thing more shameful for the enemy than when, instead of seeing the Vaudois brought to Pignerol, they, on the contrary, saw chariots come in full of wounded.

But we have said enough of the flight, let us return to those who fled. After having said that the loss sustained at the two attacks of Balsile was only of Joseph Pelene, Peter Bertinat, John Lautaret, who was sick at Bobi, John Jesan de la Tour wounded in his knee, the brother of Captain Polat of Macel, who lost one eye by sickness, with some wounded, and James Peiran, who had a sore thigh, and being taken, was carried to Monsieur de Feuquieres, who commanded, and who, in order to make him confess all he knew of the Vaudois, and where they designed to retire, treated him so inhumanly, that he permitted them to burn his feet in a slow fire. This Peiran had already given proofs of his zeal in a former war, being one of those to whom the Duke of Savoy had granted passports to retire to Geneva and Switzerland, that that troop, which consisted but of twenty-five men, who remained in the valley of St. Martin, might no longer disturb the prince's people.

To return to the Vaudois, whom we left in the agreeable hopes of an entire and perfect peace with their sovereign prince, they went and encamped the 19th of May, at the Alps la Buffe, where the Chevalier de Vercellis, whom they expected, did not meet them. They there divided their plunder, which consisted in cows, goats, and sheep; the rest they sold, and all the soldiers received some of the money. The surgeon came, whom Monsieur de Vignaux had sent for, but as he would have gone back after he had dressed the wounded, they let him know that he must tarry with them, as had been before agreed among the officers who were prisoners, till such time as they should be exchanged for those whom they had before demanded for Monsieur Parat, viz. for two ministers, the surgeon and the armourer. They were without bread till the 24th, and a Vaudois soldier having killed a partridge, with a single ball, made a present of it to M. Arnaud, who having broiled it upon a slate, gave to each of the four prisoners a piece of it, saying to them, to-day we eat partridge without bread, and time may come, when we shall eat bread without partridge, which indeed very often happened. At length, just when they knew not where to get a piece of bread, they had the comfort to see the Sieurs Parander of St. John, and Bertin of Angrogne arrive, who demanded forty or fifty men to go and fetch bread from Monsieur Gautier's farm, who was Monsieur Arnaud's brother-in-law. But as they said they must go by night, this condition gave room to suspect that some ambuscade might be laid to catch them. Therefore M. Arnaud ordered the two captains, who commanded those fifty men to let but five men go into the house, whilst the others should stay without, to prevent all misfortune; and when those five men should have searched every where, and taken their load of bread, to send in ten others, and then twenty, till all should be loaded, which was done accordingly; and the bread being happily arrived, was divided among them.

The French who remained the only enemies of the Vaudois, made two detachments, the 21st, one of which descended below Pradel Tour, and the other went up to the Vandelin, a mountain below la Tour; the Vaudois, on their part, made two also to observe them, and they even killed some of the soldiers of the enemy's first detachment. That very day a soldier of Nieufschatel, named Lorange, came, and surrendered himself to

the Vaudois, assuring them that he had a long time designed to come and join them, and that in order thereto he had placed himself in the troop of Captain Bourgeois. The second detachment of the Vaudois made so seasonable an attack, that they brought off sixty or seventy muskets, with as many coats: and thus the thing happened; the French having posted themselves upon a height, the Vaudois posted themselves on another, and leaving a dozen fusileers in it, with order to amuse the enemy, by firing from time to time, they, under favour of a fog, made so successful a tour, that surprising the French, they poured in upon them, and cut them all in pieces, except twelve, who, rolling down into a little valley, where there was still snow on the ground, escaped maimed, without hats, and without arms, and carried the news of the defeat of their detachment to Pignerol. The two detachments of the Vaudois joining, went up higher, and rested at a place called les Jasses, whence they discovered the French, who were ascending to go towards Bobi: this discovery made them stop at Balmadan, where they had some wounded, and particularly the prisoners, whom they had taken at Pramol, there they again divided their little plunder. The next day, being the 22d, as they were eating some soup, made with violets and wild sorrel, they saw the enemy advance again; they went and got above them, and fought all day in different places, because the French being still enraged to have missed of them at Balsile, had made and sent detachments on all sides to be avenged of them, and at length to exterminate them.

M. de Clerambaud not yet knowing that the Duke of Savoy was become the Vaudois' friend, and being at the head of a detachment, would go to get refreshment at the town de la Tour, which was barricadoed and guarded by Piedmontois; but he was mightily surprised when the garrison obliged him to lay down his arms, and to surrender himself and all his people prisoners. After which he was carried and presented to the prince. Some four or five days being passed without any adventure, a Vaudois detachment, who had been prevented by the enemy from returning sooner, after having beat the country towards Angrogne, at length rejoined at la Combe de Charboners, or val Guichard beyond Bobi, where they had all together the comfort to hear a letter read which the Baron de Palavicin wrote to the governour of Mireboc, which ordered, among other things, that the Vaudois should be suffered to pass and repass freely, since his royal highness was the Religionaries' friend, and had broken with France.

The 3d of June they had the farther satisfaction of seeing one of their detachments return sixty strong; and the joy was so much the greater, because they had looked upon those people as lost. This detachment having rejoined the main body of the Vaudois, gave them an account, that they had heard there were 12,000 regular troops at the last attack of Balsile, and 14,000 peasants of Pragelas, of Brinoncon, and of Sesane. The same day, the 3d of June, the enemy made a detachment of 600 men, which, after having passed the strait of Julien, went to encamp at Serre de Cruel: thence they would have made some companies enter into Bobi, but the Savoyard garrison, which were there refused them the gate, giving them however the guides they demanded.

The next day, the 4th of June, the French having heard that there was a main body of the Vaudois at Palmador above Villar, marched diligently all the night, in hopes to surprise them there: but the break of day having betrayed them, the Vaudois put themselves into a disposition to give them a handsome reception. In short, they fought vigorously all day, without any loss but of two men killed and two wounded; the enemy did not come

off with so small a loss; for though the exact number of their dead, or of their wounded could not be certainly known, yet it was well known that they had several of both.

The Vaudois had it afterwards confirmed that his royal highness had declared war with France, and the French, who were in the valleys, knowing nothing of it as yet, brought their wounded and their sick to la Tour, whence they were immediately carried prisoners to Salseces. His royal highness' militia abandoned at the same time Bobi, and Villar; and M. Arnaud received orders to go with his people and take possession of them, with advice that they had left provisions there, but which happened to be but a very small matter; for the Savoyards had left only what they could not carry off, and had even let the wine run out. As the Vaudois had dismissed the said Sieur de Vignaux, with the lieutenants, and the surgeon, whom they had prisoners, upon a promise given that Messieurs Bastei, Motoux, Malanot, and Paul Martinet should be sent back to them; they had the joy to see these four persons return. Some days after, they had orders sent them to send fifty men to Crussol to fetch bread. They had also been bid to fetch meal from la Tour: but the commissary of the stores at that place, who probably had not yet recovered good will enough towards the Vaudois, refused it them, though he had then above 100 sacks by him, and above 1000 full of grain. His royal highness having ordered his troops to blow up the fort of la Tour, and to abandon that post, they set themselves actually about the execution of that order, but the mines made for that purpose proved all false, which made them judge that the miner was a pensioner of France, which seemed more likely, because the French retired thither, as well as to Lucern, and to St. Jean, after having burnt several villages.

Affairs going still better and better for our Vaudois, and Bobi being again become their habitation, they presently had the satisfaction to see Captain Pelene and David Mondon arrive there with twenty others, all coming out of the prisons of Turin; their joy redoubled and became general, when Captain Pelene told them, among other very obliging things, that his royal highness had assured them, that he would not hinder them from preaching every where, even in Turin itself.

The Baron de Palavicin, who commanded his royal highness' troops in that country, having designed to fall upon the French which were in Val Queiras, sent order to the Vaudois to make a great detachment of their men, to attack on one side, whilst he should do the same on the other. They desiring nothing more than to signalize their fidelity to their sovereign, detached 300 men, who departing on Sunday, the 18th of June, went and lay at Passet du Prat, and from thence, after Monsieur Arnaud had said prayers with them, went to the strait of la Croix; being there they sent a captain with twelve soldiers to get intelligence, and to observe the countenance of those of Abries, in the territory of France, as well as to have advice of the moment when the said Baron de Palavicin would make his descent, and having notice of it, they advanced with speed. When they were in sight of the village near Ristolas, they perceived that all the inhabitants were running off with their cattle, on the greatest part of which they seized: after which they forced the enemy, who were in Abries, and had retired into the church, from whence they made so great a fire, that the Vaudois lost Captain Griz and five other men, and had three or four wounded, amongst whom was another captain, whom they saved with great difficulty, when, after having burnt the town of Abries, they retired in the evening to Ristolas, to l'Eschalpe, and to la Monta, from whence they returned the

next day to Passes du Prat, and the 20th to Bobi, where they divided their plunder amongst their companies; and each one having, among other things, a mule, they appointed five of them to serve as well for common carriage as for the volunteers: and the rest were presented and given to his royal highness.

The Chevalier de Vercellis, who has been before spoken of, coming to see the Vaudois, he was made their deputy, together with Monsieur Arnaud, to go and treat with the Baron de Palavicin, concerning several things relating to the public good; they returned Thursday, the 22d, bringing word that the said baron had assured them that with a re-enforcement of 2000 men, who were to come, they should be in a condition to compass all their designs, without disturbing or pillaging the peasants any more; provided that they on their part would also stand by inactive. The said 22d day, all those of la Tour who had changed their religion, came to join the Vaudois, and having placed themselves in ambuscade at la Tour, they took several prisoners.

Friday, the 23d, a detachment, which went the day before to Peirala upon some design, returned to Bobi; and Saturday, the 24th, they went to Jeimet, to support those of Mondovi, who had invested the fort St. Michel. Sunday, the 25th, after having heard a sermon delivered by Monsieur Bastie, in a court-yard of a farm in the village where they had lain, they made two detachments, one of which went to the town of la Tour, and the other to Atralbianc, to second the first in case of need; they entered into the town de la Tour, under the fire of some of the cannon of the fort, which did no execution. They did not spare the inhabitants, because they endeavoured to escape; carrying their effects into the fort, crying out, "God bless France," though they were Savoyards and Piedmontois. The French having at the same time made a detachment from St. John's, and a sally from the fort, with a design to shut in the Vaudois who were in the town, managed this enterprise so dexterously that they were very near carrying their point, because those who were at Atralbianc, and who ought to support the Vaudois, did not come speedily enough to their relief: however, they came off with only abandoning their post, and with a slight wound, which Captain Odin received in his arm, though they came to so close an engagement as to fire upon one another within pistol shot. The enemy indeed have said that they had but one captain, and three or four soldiers killed, and a lieutenant wounded; however, it has been known for certain, that they had nine killed, and fifteen wounded in that action; after which perceiving that the town might cause the loss of the fort where they were, they burnt it, and the Vaudois retired to Bobi, where, on Tuesday, the 27th, they received six prisoners, whom a detachment sent in: these prisoners were Luganois masons sent from Pignerol to the fort de la Tour, to work upon it. They discovered that they had been at Balsile on the same account.

Wednesday, the 28th, Captain Friquet returned from Pragelas, whither he went three days before with nine of his soldiers. He brought with him from thence a courier of France, with his portmanteau full of letters, several of which were for the king's own affairs, and the rest for officers and soldiers. When they took him, they would have killed him, but he made them so many protestations that he would be faithful to them, and that he would live and die with them, his father, as he said, having been of the reformed religion, that they gave him his life. They sent a captain to the Baron Palavicin, to inform him of this prize; Monsieur Palavicin having ordered the mail to be brought him, Monsieur Arnaud, Major Odin, and

Captain Friquet went together, to carry it to the said Sieur Palavicin, and afterwards to his royal highness, during which time the Vaudois enjoyed some rest at Bobi, not wanting provisions, because all provisions and wares that were necessary to the life and convenience of mankind were brought thither to be sold. But all these comforts, which regarded only their temporal concerns, did not prevent their having some uneasiness for what regards their spiritual. They had at length the satisfaction to hear from M. Arnaud's mouth, when he returned from the army, the agreeable confirmation of the favourable intentions of their sovereign prince, and of the Christian discourse he had made to the Vaudois prisoners, when he gave them their liberty, speaking to them after this manner.

“ You have but one God and one prince to serve. . Serve God and your prince faithfully. Hitherto we have been enemies, henceforward we must be good friends. Others have been the cause of your misfortunes: but if you expose your life for my service, as you ought to do, I will also expose mine for you; and as long as I shall have a piece of bread, you shall have a part of it.”

His royal highness spoke the more seriously, because he was in the heat of his declaration against France. We shall not here speak of the just reasons he had to take this course; their differences having nothing in common with the war of the Vaudois. It may suffice to observe only by the by, that God, by a surprising Providence, not only separates these two powers, but even permits them to turn the same arms one against another, which they before employed against the Vaudois, and that just at the time, when, after so many toils and difficulties, they were just in view of taking the Vaudois nation, and exterminating them for ever.

But how these poor people, but noble warriors, having surmounted all the obstacles which had affrighted others, and being all at length crowned with laurels, enjoyed their heritages, and are become friends with their greatest enemies, one may best see by a letter which Monsieur Arnaud wrote at that very time to Monsieur Torman, governor and bailiff of Aigle, in Switzerland, who having heard of the happy success of the Vaudois, had sent an express to him to know their true circumstances: the letter is word for word as follows:

“ *Turin, July 5, 1690.*

“ My Lord,

“ I have received the letter wherewith you was pleased to honour him who has an infinite esteem for you: I see that you have always very Christian and very generous sentiments, and that you are in pain to know exactly how things go with us: this is our true state; we are in the most perfect union in the world with his royal highness, Monsieur Odin our major, Captain Friquet, and I have been together, to conduct to the prince's camp, which is at Moncalier, with the Spanish, Imperial, and Milanese troops, the courier which we took nine leagues in Dauphiny, who was carrying letters, by which we have discovered mysteries of the last consequence. His royal highness gave us a very handsome reception, and has assured us of his protection, and that of all the league. The Count de Louigny, who commands for Spain, has said the same to us. His royal highness leaves us at full liberty, he wished the country may be repeopled; we hoped that all the people would consequently come this way: however we have seen nobody yet. I am riding post with the prince's courier, which was given

me to go and meet the troops which are to come by the Milanese : all ours are at Bobi and Villars; their flying camp consists of eighty men, who are upon the scout as far as Briancon : we want troops, and I know you will most assuredly contribute all that is in your power towards the re-establishment of our poor churches, especially seeing all the great miracles which God has done for these ten months, to uphold them: nobody but he will ever know the hardships we have had, as well as the horrible combats, wherein we have been so frequently engaged, and our enemies have not been able to compass their design : on the contrary, when they cried, " it is done, we have them," the great God of hosts still gave us the victory. Besides that, my lord, consider that we have not lost thirty men in those combats; though our enemies have lost 10,000. I write to you at midnight, not having time to write to my wife, who should be at Neufchatel : be so kind as to give my love to her, and to embrace, in my behalf, Monsieur Perrot, the pastor; Monsieur Sandos, the counsellor; and Monsieur Leger, at Geneva, to whom I wrote by the last opportunity. I exhort and pray all the refugees, and others, who love the advancement of the kingdom of the Son of God, to join with us: they will want neither lands, nor money, nor goods, for the time is come that the holy Sion must be rebuilt. I have passed for a rash and an imprudent man: however, the event shows that God has prospered all our affairs, and poor Arnaud is among the generals, beloved of all those who heretofore could have eaten him. This is God's work, to whom alone be the glory of it; I pray to him for your preservation, and that of all your illustrious family: embracing with my heart those who love you in the Lord, and am faithfully,

My, Lord, your most humble

And most obedient servant,

HENRY ARNAUD, Pastor at la Tour."

And thus I have gone through that remarkable history of the return of the Vaudois, and of their re-establishment in their own country, against the united forces of the French king, and the Duke of Savoy; extracted out of the history of Monsieur Arnaud, pastor and colonel of the Vaudois. And remarkable enough it seems, should we only consider the obstacles which those good men met with even from their best friends, who did the utmost they could to baffle their attempt, as in all human appearance the most impracticable in the world, and such as would entirely ruin the remains of those poor people: and still more remarkable it appears in the whole conduct of the affair afterwards, when both in their march over the most impassable mountains, and in their own valleys, they had to deal with the most enraged enemies, both before and behind, and those so powerful as France and Savoy. On all these accounts, this return of the Vaudois seems to be a piece of history not unworthy the notice of the most curious, but if we shall farther reflect on the extraordinary hand that Providence seems to have had in it (besides that it is understood by some, to have been a completion of a very remarkable prophecy in Scripture,) there will be found in it, what will as well gratify the most pious, as the most curious reader; and to create a greater attention to the whole; I shall therefore crave leave to close this narrative with the author's own reflections upon it.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the disunion and discord between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, which caused the re-establishment of the Vaudois in their own country, by order of their Prince, and of the wonders that God wrought for their re-establishment.

THE Duke of Savoy seeing that the allies were in a condition to succour the Vaudois, and that the Emperor and King of Spain solicited him to take their part, he thought that in declaring himself neuter, he might hinder the intended succours; but the court of France, which till then was mistress of the Duke of Savoy, and his estate, would not hear of neutrality, and would have the duke declare wholly for France; and to oblige him to it, the king demanded of him, for the better assurance all his troops, and that he would put into his hands the citadel of Turin and Verceil, that he might in them lay up magazines, and all sorts of ammunition; hoping that the duke would rather declare for France, than submit himself to so hard conditions; but seeing that the duke demurred and was dubious, he made Catinat march with sixteen thousand men towards Piedmont, with orders to enter into it, and constrain the duke to do what was demanded.

The Duke of Savoy considering that if the King of France had garrisons in the citadel of Turin and in Verceil, and that if all his troops were in the service of France, that that king would not only be master of his estate, but also of his person, he desired time to give in his answer to the king: he offered him at the same time three thousand men of his best troops, viz. a thousand horse and two thousand foot for an assurance of the neutrality, and in the interim he sent to the allies to be secure of their succours, in case he were attacked by the French. The Spaniards being his next neighbours, by reason of the dutchy of Milan, offered him eight thousand men in case the French fell upon him. The haughtiness with which France treated him, caused him to embrace the part of the allies, and he entered into divers treaties with them, especially with the Emperor and the King of Spain; and being re-enforced with the troops of Spain, that were in the dutchy of Milan, he declared war against France, and commanded Catinat, who was general of the French army, to be gone out of his dominions.

We are to consider that the Duke of Savoy is a prince of the empire, that the emperor and his allies were powerful and his neighbours, above all Spain, and that they might do him great harm in succouring the Vaudois, as their interest obliged them; because they were neighbours of France, and that by their means they might make a great diversion by making excursions into the Delphinat, which is a province of France near the valleys, where there were great store of protestants who would join with the Vaudois, or at least favour them. And to hinder these excursions, the French would be obliged to keep on foot a powerful army in the Delphinat; the duke likewise knew that the protestant cantons kept a good correspondence with France; and above all the canton of Berne, who had beheaded one of their burghers, for making levys in that canton, without their leave, to aid the Vaudois, and there was no probability that the canton of Berne would give passage to those that should go to succour the Vaudois. As for the Roman catholic cantons, he was assured that neither the

Vaudois, nor any that had a mind to succour them, would offer to pass through their country, because they had seized the Vaudois that had attempted to pass that way, and had delivered them up into his hands: there were none but the Grisons that could favour their passage, but that was not enough to go from the country of the Grisons into Piedmont, they must necessarily cross the whole dutchy of Milan. The duke hoped that in declaring himself neuter, he would hinder the Spaniards from giving passagé to the Vaudois through the dutchy, and that France would always assist him, as she had done for the time past, to chase out again the Vaudois that were entered the valleys: it is not to be doubted but that if France had been contented to leave the duke in the state of neutrality that he demanded, but that he would inviolably have kept it, for it was his interest not to break with France. This prince had excellent counsellors, who saw that the King of France had his foot upon the neck of their duke, if I may so express myself. Savoy lay open to the troops of France by the fort of Barraue, which the King of France held, and by divers other places; and that there being but one strong place in Savoy, which is Montmelian, it was easy for the king in a short time to make himself master of all Savoy; and as to Piedmont, the king had Pignerol, but eight leagues from Turin, and at the entrance of Piedmont; and on the other side he had Casal, and all Monserrat; and the dominions of this prince were surrounded by the territories and strong places of France, and in consequence he could not declare for the allies, without running an evident risk of being ruined.

If the Duke of Savoy had entered into treaty with the allies, before the French army had entered into Piedmont, it is certain that this prince, who wants neither courage, nor conduct, nor good counsel, would have cautioned himself against the attempts of France, would have recalled his troops out of the French service, to employ them against the Vaudois, or the Spaniards, in case they had enterprised any thing in the dutchy of Milan; and their arms being joined against the Vaudois, France would not have had the least umbrage of this demand. But where are the treaties that the duke made with the emperor or with Spain? Have any been produced? All those that are publicly seen are after the French army were entered into Piedmont; and all that is said to excuse France for her conduct towards his most serene royal highness, are impostures, and invented at leisure, without any foundation.

That which has obliged, or rather forced the Duke of Savoy to embrace the part of the allies was, the ill treatment of the King of France, who treated him not as a sovereign prince, but as a little vassal. This haughtiness of France so irritated the duke, that he chose rather to hazard all, than to do those mean things, and make those submissions that were exacted of him; and in this estate he had recourse to the allies, and to his neighbours, as it is manifest by the letters that he wrote to them, which have since been made public.

The Duke of Savoy being forced to break with France, by reason of the hardships that were imposed upon him; this rupture was the cause of the liberty and deliverance of the Vaudois: for having understood that France did solicit them to embrace his part, with offers to re-establish them in the valleys, and giving them liberty of conscience, with free and public exercise of their religion, which would have been very prejudicial to his interest, for instead of one enemy, he would have had two upon his back, and would have been deprived of the succours that the protestant princes pro-

mised the Vaudois, and of the considerable service that they might do him, in keeping the passes, and hindering the communication of the troops that were in the Delphinat, with the army commanded by Monsieur Catinat. This prince resolved to draw them to his own party, and to this effect he set at liberty all the Vaudois that were in prison, as well ministers as others; he sent an act of oblivion to all those that were in arms in the valleys, and gave to those that were in foreign countries leave to return home, with necessary passports, with orders to all to turn their arms against the French, whom they must look upon as their true persecutors, and the cause of all their miseries. He had brought before him all those that were prisoners at Turin, and told them that he was touched with a deep sense of their miseries, and commanded them in his presence to be clothed, and to be furnished with all things necessary; he excused himself for handling them so roughly, and cast all upon the King of France, as the true author of all that had befallen them; and because the number of the Vaudois was much diminished, that there were scarce two thousand left after the last persecution, the Duke of Savoy made proclamation, that all those protestants that were fled out of France, that would come and dwell in the valleys, and join themselves with the Vaudois, might do it, and be safe under his protection, and have necessary passports: he ordered likewise that at their entrance into Savoy, both the Vaudois and the French should be furnished with arms, and all things necessary for to pass into the valley, which was punctually put in execution.

The return of the Vaudois into their country, their entrance into the valleys, and their subsisting there for eight months, are so many wonders and miracles. Is it not a miracle that eight or nine hundred should undertake to cross an enemy's country of fourteen or fifteen days' journey, where they must climb up high mountains, force divers strait passes, where a hundred men might not only stop, but beat three thousand? and that which is most astonishing is, that these passes were guarded with great numbers, and more expert soldiers than the Vaudois; they notwithstanding forced all those passes with their swords in their hands, and routed them that guarded them, killing a great number in gaining them, with very little loss on their side.

It is likewise another miracle, that they got entrance into the valleys, the entrances being so difficult, being peopled with Roman catholics, who might have hindered their entrance, being more in number than they, or at least they might have possessed themselves of the most advantageous posts which were in the mountains, and defended themselves easily, till the succours of France and Savoy, which were in readiness, could come and second them; but a dreadful fright from God fell upon them, so that they had neither courage nor conduct to defend themselves against the Vaudois, who without any trouble or resistance chased them out of the valleys: is it not likewise a great miracle, that a handful of people without any commanders experienced in warlike affairs, should subsist eight months in the valleys, and fight nine or ten battles against the army of France and Savoy, who were sometimes twenty, but oftener thirty against one, without being able to drive them out of their fastnesses, having killed more than two thousand of their enemies? So many happy successes makes it clear, that the God of battle inspired them with the generous courage of returning into their own country, to kindle again the candle of his word, that the emissaries of Satan had extinguished there, that he marched before them, and

fought for them, without which it had been impossible to have forced so many difficult passes, and gained such signal victories.

The King of England being informed of their design of returning unto their country, blamed their enterprize, as rash and ill grounded, and looked upon those 900 Vaudois as lost men : the states of Holland were of the same opinion, and refused to assist them, looking upon it as to no purpose ; but when they saw, that contrary to the hopes of all the world, they subsisted in the country, until May, 1690, they sent them money, and procured some of the French protestants that were in Switzerland, and the Elector of Brandenburg's territories, to go and assist them.

If the Vaudois had not been entered into their country and had not generously defended themselves against their enemies, the Duke of Savoy when he broke with France had not thought of setting at liberty those that were unjustly imprisoned, nor of recalling those that were dispersed in foreign countries, and the allies would have contented themselves with the duke's declaration for themselves, and embracing their party, without troubling their heads about establishing the Vaudois, though driven out against all right and justice.

The conduct of God in the re-establishment of the Vaudois is admirable, and makes it evident that his divine providence has judgment, and ways incomprehensible, surpassing all human understanding. The King of France, in the year 1686, pushed on the Duke of Savoy to compel the Vaudois to forsake their religion, and to take the same measures he had taken against the protestants of France ; they joined their arms together to force them, and to compass their design ; they violated not only the treaty made with the predecessors of the duke, but likewise all treaties, oaths, and promises made by their generals ; took them prisoners, killed and massacred them, violated their wives and daughters, killed their little children, and made use of all sorts of cruelty against these innocent people, after they had laid down their arms ; and in the year 1690 God sent a spirit of division between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, insomuch, that they strove who should first gain the Vaudois to their party ; and by this division the Duke of Savoy was forced to re-establish the Vaudois in their rights and privileges, and to set all at liberty that had been imprisoned, and to recall all those that were dispersed in foreign countries ; and so the King of France, who had been the principal cause of their ruin, became against his will the cause of their re-establishment, by forcing the Duke of Savoy by his haughtiness, to join with the allies ; this shows that God mocks, and derides the designs and counsels of princes, when they are levelled against Jesus Christ and his church ; and with the breath of his mouth makes all their enterprises vanish in smoke. Oftentimes he makes use of the enemies of his church to protect and defend it. Henry II., King of France, while he persecuted the protestants of his own kingdom, succoured the protestant princes of Germany against the Emperor Charles V. Louis XIII. did the same against the Emperor Ferdinand II. ; and Louis XIV. while he did his best to ruin the protestants in France, succoured the protestants of Hungary, against the Emperor Leopold. Henry III., King of France, when he was Duke of Anjou, gave advice in an assembly that was held at St. Clou, to commit the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and when he was King of France, he employed all his forces to finish the destruction of those that remained after the massacre ; but while he busied himself wholly, and took the most probable

measures to put in execution his wicked designs, God stirred up the Duke of Guise against him, who under the specious pretence of destroying the protestants of France, made a league against Henry, and drove him out of Paris, seized upon his guards, and constrained him to throw himself upon the protestants, and implore their aid and assistance, without which he had been lost; the duke would have put him in a cloister, as Charles Martel did Chilperick III. and seized upon his crown. Henry, in acknowledgment of the services that he had received of the protestants, began to be very favourable to them, gave them places of security, and many other privileges, and appointed Henry de Borbon, who was a protestant, his lawful successor to the crown.

And so God by a secret and unhoped for way, of a cruel and implacable enemy of the protestants, made him against his will their defender and protector. King Henry and the Duke of Guise were both in arms against the protestants, they jointly made war upon them, and equally swore their ruin: God permits they should be divided, and by their division the one to destroy, the other to deliver the protestants, who were sore oppressed and persecuted; almost the same thing happened in the delivery of the Vaudois, God sent the spirit of division between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, to punish them for the cruel persecution they had raised against the protestants: these two princes were equally their enemies, and had resolved and vowed their destruction; and when their malice was at the highest pitch against these poor innocent creatures, and all things seemed desperate, God Almighty blasted their design, and made them turn their arms the one against the other; to destroy the one by the other, as he destroyed the Duke of Guise, by Henry whom he caused to be assassinated at Blois, in the sight of all France, assembled in the persons of those that composed the states general, and after God had punished the Duke of Guise, for the evils he had done to the protestants, he likewise punished Henry, who was assassinated in the castle of St. Cloy by a friar in the same hall, where the consultation was held, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew was resolved on, of which Henry and the Duke of Guise were the principal counsellors and ringleaders of that horrible butchery.

CHAPTER V.

Of the two Prophecies of the Scripture, accomplished in the History of the Vaudois of Piedmont, the one contained in the 11th and the other in the 12th chapter of the Revelation.

THE history of the Vaudois shows us clearly the accomplishment of two prophecies of Scripture, the one contained in the 11th and the other in the 12th chapter of the Revelation of St. John. We have made mention of the last, when we showed that the churches of Piedmont have conserved the doctrine of the apostles, in its purity, from the time of the apostles even to our days, and that the Roman church was corrupted in adopting and receiving pagan doctrine and ceremonies, and communicated her corruptions to the other churches of the west, only the churches of Piedmont were preserved pure and undefiled; from whence it follows, by a necessary consequence, that these mountains and valleys were the places assigned by God Almighty for his church, when she fled before the dragon; and

this corruption began to infect the church about the beginning of the fifth age (for about the beginning of this age, popery began to triumph over truth) without staining or defiling the churches of Piedmont, who after this corruption were publicly nourished with the bread of the word of God, without any mixture of human traditions, or pagan ceremonies. Now from the time that this corruption began in the church, till the year 1686, that these poor churches were dissipated, are past 1260 years, which are the 1260 prophetic days that the church was to be nourished in the desert, neither the devil nor his imps being able in so long a tract of time by all their craft and subtlety, to introduce their errors into the church; and that which is the greatest proof of this verity, and confirms us the most in this sentiment, that this was the place that God prepared to preserve his church in, is, that neither the Inquisition that the popes have established in Italy, so many ages ago, nor the crusade that Pope Innocent VIII. made to destroy them, nor so many wars that antichrist and his emissaries raised against them; nor so many bloody battles they have sustained, nor so many persecutions and massacres that have been made of them, that professed the truth in these churches, could force them to forsake their faith, or dissipate them, till the year 1686. For it was then that the time of the prophecy was accomplished, in respect of these churches. If God had not prepared this place to preserve his church in, why would he have done such wonders, to make them subsist in spite of the devil and all his works? How should she have been preserved pure and immaculate among these mountains, if God had not declared himself her protector and defender, and had not fought for her, and with her, and brought to confusion all the plots and frauds of antichrist, who raged like a roaring lion seeking to devour her?

The two witnesses of the eleventh chapter of the Revelation, are the faithful, who after that the church was corrupted, taught either by word of mouth, or by writings, the pure doctrine of the gospel; and confuted the errors that the false doctors introduced into the church, by their fraudulent dealings, and false interpretations of the Scriptures; and it is apparent, by the writings of many protestant doctors, that there has no age passed, in which God has not raised up some holy and learned men, who wrote and preached against these errors from the beginning of the fifth age, till our times. These holy persons are represented to us by the two witnesses, for they borrowed their testimony from the Old and New Testaments, which are the true witnesses and the true treasuries of celestial verity; and with the doctrine drawn out of the Old and New Testaments, they confuted all errors, and confounded the false doctors.

It is said of these two witnesses, that they shall prophesy 1260 days, which are prophetic days, as is apparent by the event, for that false doctrines were introduced into the church in the fifth age; it was then that Innocent I., Bishop of Rome, elevated himself above the other bishops, which they tamely submitted to, he performing the office of universal bishop, in receiving appeals, from the sentences of the bishops of Asia and Africa, and in excommunicating Arcadius the Emperor of the East, who was not under his jurisdiction, but under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople; who likewise declared by a bull, that none should presume to judge the pope: it was in the pontificate of this pope, that the eucharist, or supper of our Lord, began to be called mass, and that Pelagius began in England to sow his doctrine of merits, from whence sprung the doctrines of indulgencies, pilgrimages, celibacy of the clergy, and abstinence from certain sorts of meat; it was about this time that the doctrine,

as well as manners of the church began to be corrupted. And if we reckon from the death of Pope Innocent I. till the year 1686, we shall find that 1260 years, the time that the two witnesses were to prophesy, are past. Now the Holy Ghost says, that when they shall have finished their prophecy, and the time that God has allotted to preach and cry out against the errors of the church of Rome, to leave her inexcusable, before he pour out upon her the vials of his just wrath and indignation; it is said, that the beast that rises out of the deep, shall make war against the two witnesses, and shall vanquish them and kill them; now this was fulfilled, first of all in France, and afterwards in Piedmont; in France the witnesses were vanquished and killed by the cruel war, that was made against them; all the ministers were banished, and others that would not abjure their religion, either died under the heavy burden of their sufferings, or were imprisoned, or condemned to the galleys, or driven into perpetual banishment; those that have abjured are dead to heaven, if they do not rise by a serious and true repentance. Perpetual banishments, and imprisonments, according to all the lawyers, are civil deaths; those whom God gave the grace to rise after their fall, and died in France; their bodies were dragged through the streets, and after they had been publicly exposed, thrown upon the dunghills; in Piedmont, the witnesses were vanquished and killed as well as in France, the ministers some were hanged, some imprisoned, others massacred, and those that remained after in the country, were condemned to the galleys, or else to perpetual banishment; some were killed in cold blood, others in endeavouring their escape, lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies, and their bodies left without burial to be devoured by wild beasts: a great number perished in prison, and the remainder were driven into perpetual exile; the true religion was then totally extinguished in the valleys, and in the sad estate that the Vaudois were then, one may say they were killed.

The prophecy says in the second place, that the dead bodies of the witnesses shall lie exposed in the most public place of the city, and that those of the tribes, languages, and nations shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not permit them to be buried. Those of France, as well as the Vaudois of Piedmont, who escaped the hands of their persecutors, were banished and dispersed in foreign countries, amongst divers nations, people, and languages, and those that kindly received them, hindered their bodies, condemned to death by a perpetual banishment, from being buried and put in the sepulchre, which is a state of corruption and total dissolution of the body, by the great charity they bestowed upon these distressed people; and these nations have seen them in this sad estate of which we have spoke, three days and a half, which are the prophetic days, every day being counted a year, according to the twelve hundred and sixty days of the prophecy.

It is said in the same prophecy, that after these three days and a half, the spirit of life coming from God, shall enter into them; and they shall live again; and that great fear shall seize upon them that shall see them, and that they shall hear a great voice from heaven, saying to them, ascend hither, and they shall ascend up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies, to their great confusion, shall see them; this was exactly fulfilled in respect of the Vaudois, who after three years and a half, were as it were revived again, and freed from the miserable estate and condition into which they were reduced by the furious malice of their enemies; for the prisoners were set at liberty, the banished were recalled home, and all by order of

their prince, re-established in their country in a better condition than ever. In the year 1686, the Duke of Savoy, at the earnest entreaty of the protestant cantons, freed out of prison the greatest part of the Vaudois, but it was only to send them into banishment in a strange country; but those whom he set at liberty the last June, were sent home in peace, and had greater privileges and advantages given them than ever: he promised to clothe those that he set at liberty in the year 1686, which notwithstanding he did not; but those that he freed after three years and a half he clothed very well; he excused himself to them, was sorry for what had passed, imputed the cause of all their suffering to the King of France. The Duke of Savoy and his predecessors, these two hundred years past, have applied themselves with all their power to dispeople these valleys of protestants, as we have sufficiently related above: but after the three years and a half there has been an extraordinary care taken to people them again with protestants; for the duke has not only re-established the Vaudois, as well prisoners as exiles, but he has given free leave and encouragement to the protestant refugees of France, to come and inhabit the valleys. The Duke of Savoy, and his council, made use of the wickedest methods imaginable, to destroy the protestant religion in these valleys; but after the death of the witnesses, viz. after the three years and a half, he did not only give free exercise of religion to the valleys, but even in Turin itself, the capital city of his dominions: and this miraculous change happened almost in an instant, to the great confusion of their enemies, who looked upon them as lost men. This shows evidently, that the re-establishment of the Vaudois was the work of heaven, and not of men; for so the prophecy says, "that the spirit of life shall enter into them, and they shall live again."

The author of the "Fifth Empire," printed at the Hague, by Meyndert Vytwert, closes with our opinion, and discourses excellently to our purpose, concerning the three years and a half, of the death of the two witnesses. I hope it will not be troublesome to give them his own words, out of the 13th chapter of his book.

The time, says this excellent author, that the two witnesses should remain in the state we have represented them in the preceding chapter, is limited to three days and a half, after which they shall be revived: these three days and a half are prophetic days, as 1260 days are, and every day must be taken for a year; it is not easy to determine whether the three years and a half, after the death of the witnesses, should commence after that the edict of Nantz was cancelled and revoked, and the ministers of France condemned to perpetual banishment, or when the faithful of the valleys of Piedmont, who from the time of the apostles have maintained and concerted the truth among them, were driven out of their country, after which the author gives his sentiment in these words, it is probable that these three years and a half should commence when the churches of Piedmont were destroyed, which were the visible conservers of the truth, that was always preached and professed among them; and after three years and a half were most gloriously re-established; for the Vaudois were not totally driven out of the valleys till about the end of October, 1686. Then those that were hid in the caverns, and rocks, and woods; coming out of their safe and hidden retreats, after the army of France was retreated, and that the troops of Mondovy, and other places of Piedmont were returned into their own country, seized upon some advantageous posts in the valleys of Lucerne and St. Martin, and made excursions upon their enemies, and

forced them to furnish them with provisions, and all things necessary; and their enemies not being able to chase them out of those advantageous posts, granted them letters of safe conduct to go into Switzerland. Before the banishment of these, we cannot say that the Vaudois were killed and dead, for that they made their enemies pay contribution. Now they were established by order of their prince in the beginning of June, 1690, three years and a half after their total dissipation; for this was only one month after the three years and a half that were past; so the prophecy speaks not of their re-establishment till this time be completed; and that which is to be considered more exactly is, that in the month of May the Vaudois began to revive, the Spirit of God then entering into them; for having this month received succour from the allies, as well of men as money, instead of their enemies chasing them, they chased their enemies out of their strong holds; and so we see in them the prophecy fulfilled of the 11th. chapter of the Revelation, in the time set down by the penman of that holy mysterious book.

The churches of Piedmont, being the root of the protestant churches, they have been the first established; the churches of France, Hungary, and other places, being but the branches, shall be established in due time. God will not stay to do his own work to the shame and confusion of his enemies; the thing will come to pass in the re-establishment of the protestant churches, that hath been done in the re-establishment of the churches of Israel, those of Judah returned first out of captivity, though they were the last that were transported; but God did not stay long to deliver the rest, though at different times and on different occasions: the same thing without doubt will come to pass in respect of the Christian churches that groan under the captivity of antichrist. God will deliver them speedily, he has already delivered the mother, and he will not long leave the daughter behind, he will finish what he has gloriously begun, and not leave his work imperfect, he will gather together the dispersed churches, and bring back to the fold the sheep that have gone astray; then Israel and Judah shall dwell together in peace, none shall be able to give them the least disturbance.

Since the Vaudois were re-established in the valleys, by order of their prince, they have chased the French out of them; have beaten the Marquis of Feuquières, and slain 1500 men of his army, among whom were two colonels, forty captains, and a great number of subaltern officers.

They have sometimes defeated two hundred, sometimes one hundred and fifty dragoons of the King of France, taken several convoys that were going to the army commanded by Monsieur Catinat; have made many excursions into the Delphinat, and have carried away a good booty and several prisoners; one may say without any hyperbole, that the Vaudois in one campaign have damaged the French more than all the allies with their great armies: the great services that they have done the Duke of Savoy, without doubt will oblige him to augment their privileges, and all the allied princes to make a firm and lasting treaty between the duke and the Vaudois, in case that peace be made between France and the allies, of which the protestant princes will be guarantee. I have only extended the history of the Vaudois till the beginning of October, 1690. If they perform any considerable action hereafter, I will continue their history if God give me life and health; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

CONCLUSION.

The age in which we live is so perverse, and so prevalent is the spirit of incredulity and pride, that many persons will, no doubt, discredit this history.

But, surely, the unadorned and simple style of narration is evidence against any intention to trifle with or impose on the reader. Nor are the facts narrated of so old a date, but that thousands still live who heard of them as they took place. Living witnesses of them are yet to be found among French and Piedmontese, Savoyards, and Swiss.

Reader, your attention has been directed to events scarcely to be imagined. But, with the Vaudois, you will impute them only to the providence of God, who, to render His presence more visible, chose for His chief instrument in this wonderful struggle a man ignorant of arms or of war, excepting with Satan.

Is it not wonderful that such a person, after escaping the pursuit of those who sought to deliver him to the flames at Constance, should have been able to effect a passage through Savoy, taking as his prisoners the nobles and gentry of the land to be witnesses of the valour and discipline of the Vaudois? Was the victory of Salabertrann less than miraculous, when 800 men, most of whom had never handled a musket, routed 2500 regular troops, killing 600, with a loss, on their own side, of only fifteen?

To what other than a divine cause can be attributed the fear which, on the approach of the Vaudois, caused the disgraceful flight of the usurpers of their possessions, and of the troops who should have protected them?

Who but God, and God only, could have inspired a destitute handful of men with the design of re-entering their country, sword in hand, in opposition to their own prince, and to the King of France, then the terror of all Europe? And who but He could have conducted and protected them in this enterprise, and finally crowned it with success, in spite of all the vast efforts of these powers to disconcert it; in spite also of the vows and prayers of the pope and his adherents for the glory of the papal standard, and the destruction of this little band of the elect?

And was it not rather Divine Providence, than the ordinary course of nature, that so preserved the grain upon the earth, that the Vaudois gathered the harvest in the depth of winter, instead of the height of summer? Thus did their Canaan, as though rejoiced to see them, present to them a supernatural gift. Is it conceivable that, without divine aid, three hundred and sixty-seven Vaudois confined in the Balsi for six months, existing on vegetables, water, and a scanty allowance of bread, and lodging, like corpses, in the earth, should repel and drive into disgraceful flight ten thousand French and twelve thousand Piedmontese? Or that, after their brilliant defence, they should escape from a second attack, when the French,

* The Vaudois were stopped by deep snow from reaping all the harvest in the autumn of their return. The corn, thus preserved by the snow, supplied them after their stores had been burnt by the enemy.

enraged at the desperate opposition of a handful of men, brought executioners, and mules laden with ropes, to offer up the Vaudois on gibbets as a sacrifice of thanksgiving?

Surely it must be granted that, in all their troubles and dangers, the Omnipotent delivered them, gave them victory in all their battles, supported them when they were faint-hearted, supplied them with necessaries when it appeared that they must be destitute, and finally inspired their prince with the will to reinstate them in their heritage, and suffer them to restore true devotion in their churches. Events so surprising clearly prove that the French and Piedmontese arms were aided only by the deceitful benedictions of Rome—of her who would be God upon earth—while those of the Vaudois were blessed by the great God, who is King of kings, and delegates His sceptre to no earthly hands.

Thanks, then, be to the Eternal, who, in selecting the Vaudois as the instruments of such wonders, appears to have sanctioned their religion as that in which He would be served, honoured, and obeyed by all the redeemed! Amen.

THE
MODERN VAUDOIS.

BY

REV. ROBERT BAIRD, D.D.

IN the foregoing pages, the reader has witnessed the wonderful dealings of God with His ancient and faithful people, and their remarkable preservation in the return to their valleys. He has been conducted through an expedition perhaps unequalled in ancient or modern history, for the chivalrous spirit displayed by its leaders, as well as for the almost miraculous manner in which their covenant God led His people with a strong arm through the midst of their enemies. We have now seen them resting from the toil of their journey, restored to their beloved country, and permitted, for a season at least, to enjoy unmolested the fruits of their labours.

There are indeed things in the account of this "Glorious return" which seem inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel. In perusing it the reader often needs to take into consideration the circumstances in which these noble men were placed—the age in which they lived—and the unequalled provocations which they had so long endured. Yet it is impossible to review their history, and especially that part which we have just gone over, without being convinced that it was by the guidance of their Heavenly Leader, who, "with a mighty hand, and an outstretched arm, and with great terribleness, brought them into their land," that they were enabled to overcome every obstacle.

Those who are fond of tracing analogies between the ancient and the modern history of the people of God, have noted several singular coincidences between the preceding narration and that of the conquest of the Israelites by Antiochus Epiphanes. Both the Vaudois and the ancient Jews were expelled from their native land, and remained *three years and a half* in the "wilderness," preserving their attachment to their former faith; and both returned after that time and took possession of their country. At both periods the enemies of the Truth were influenced by a desire to establish the abominations of idolatry in the place of a pure religion; and finally, both violently persecuted the children of God.

Analogies no less remarkable are found by others between the events we have witnessed and the prophecy of the Two Witnesses, spoken of in the book of Revelations. These witnesses prophesied for a long period in sackcloth, were slain, and lay dead for three days and a half. They are supposed to have prefigured the Waldenses or Vaudois, and the Albigenes, a great number of whom took refuge in the valleys of Piedmont, in consequence of the persecutions which they endured in the thirteenth

century. Whatever degree of probability may be attached to these parallels, it is certain that the analogies referred to are very striking.

Honourable mention is made in history of the services rendered by the Vaudois to their prince, Victor Amadeus, in his battles against the French, not long after their return. They were formed into a separate military body, and officers of their own religion were appointed over them. Particular notice should be taken of their successes in the valley of Pragela, which were among the most striking scenes of the campaign of 1694, when a regiment was given to Henri Arnaud. In 1706, when the French, under the Duke of Orleans, were in possession of Turin, Victor Amadeus, driven from his capital, took refuge among his Waldensian subjects in the valley of Rora, where he was nobly defended by the inhabitants of that valley; and as a token of his gratitude, he presented, on his departure, a silver goblet to the family of Durand-Canton, by whom he had been received in the kindest and most hospitable manner.* It was in this valley of Rora that, about fifty years before, a most shameful persecution of its pious inhabitants took place.

It might be supposed that, after having undergone such protracted persecutions—which they had repaid with kindness and loyal fidelity—the Vaudois would have been suffered to enjoy in peace the home which they had so dearly won, at least during the reign of Victor Amadeus. This would seem the more likely, since a treaty was made in 1704 between the King of Sardinia and Queen Anne, of England, stipulating that the inhabitants of the valley of Pragela in particular should be left in the free exercise of their religion. But it was not so. Although in 1726, about two years before his abdication, Victor Amadeus directed the governor of Pignerol to receive the oath of allegiance from the Waldenses, promising them at the same time that they would be left in the tranquil possession of their valleys: yet at the same time he caused the extent of their country to be diminished, by depriving them of the valley of Pragela, and by banishing all not born in the other valleys. In consequence of this unjust decree, which was an evident infraction of the treaty above alluded to, about three thousand Protestants, natives of France and Switzerland, were forced to leave the country. Many of them retired to Germany, and settled in the duchies of Baden and Hesse Darmstadt, as well as in the kingdom of Wurtemberg.†

But little can be said respecting the history of the Vaudois from this period to the year 1796, when Piedmont was conquered by the French. Oppressed by their rulers, and constantly suffering from their tyrannical conduct, they remained steadfast in the truth, and endured with patience the trials by which they were surrounded.

Few more striking instances of loyalty have occurred in modern history, than the conduct of the Vaudois on the usurpation of Piedmont by France. In spite of the treatment they had for four centuries received from the Sardinian government, they remained steadfast to it till the last moment.

* This cup was handed down from father to son for several generations.

† Traces of these emigrants from the valleys were for a long time to be found in those portions of Germany. Indeed a Synod, having about fifteen of their churches under its care, many of whose pastors were supported by the British and Dutch governments, existed there for some time. To this day many inhabitants of Germany trace their origin back to these fugitives, who were driven from Piedmont without even the means of subsistence.

While under the sway of Napoleon, they were put in possession of all their rights; and for awhile prosperity shone upon them. The taxes formerly exacted from them for the support of Romish priests were abolished, and the money which had been thus collected was applied to the use of the Protestant ministers. At the same time, the pastors were united with the body of the French clergy, and a piece of land yielding fourteen hundred francs (about \$260) annually, was given to each.

In 1796, when fort Mirabouc was treacherously given up to the French by its commanding officer, the Vaudois were falsely accused by the Romish curate of La Tour of having caused the surrender. This accusation was credited by the Papists, although there was but one Vaudois at the time in the garrison; and he, as it afterwards appeared, endeavoured to prevent the surrender. Glad to seize upon any pretext for an attack upon the families of these brave men, most of whom were at that time defending their country at the frontiers, eight hundred Romanists engaged to murder those who remained at home. The plan was to have been put in execution on the night of the 16th of May. But as soon as the news of this plot reached the ears of M. Brianza, the Roman Catholic curate of Lusern, he resolved to prevent it if possible; and accordingly, on the morning, of the very day fixed for the massacre, he sent a warning to the inhabitants of the devoted villages. At the same time, Captain Adetti, a Roman Catholic, on being informed of the intentions of the conspirators, went to La Tour and pledged himself to defend its inhabitants. The arrival of General Godin, commander of the army on the frontier, prevented the execution of this infamous deed, which, however, remained unpunished.

When their country was overrun by the Austrian and French armies, the Vaudois gained high praise for their kind treatment to the wounded of both nations. On the battle of the 24th of December, 1799, they carried on their shoulders three hundred wounded French soldiers, from Bobi to Briançon, in litters, in the middle of winter, on account of the want of provisions for the sustenance of these wounded soldiers. Yet this generous conduct, which induced General Suchet, in one of his bulletins, to mention them in terms of the highest praise, was construed, by their enemies in Piedmont, as a proof of their partiality to the French!

When, in 1814, the reign of Napoleon ceased, and the King of Sardinia regained his throne, Piedmont was restored to him; and although he was welcomed with great joy by his Waldensian subjects, who nevertheless had good reason to fear the change, yet he annulled all the beneficent laws instituted by Napoleon, and withdrew their privileges. In vain they implored his protection; no provisions had been made for them by the Congress of Vienna, and they were destined again to suffer under the oppression of the ancient dynasty. The Emperor Alexander of Russia, however, showed much sympathy for the Vaudois, and, unrestrained by religious differences and prejudices, sent them a present of 12,000 francs, for the erection of a hospital and the rebuilding of a decayed church.

Since that time, no open persecution can be said to have taken place in the valleys; yet their inhabitants have been subjected to almost constant oppression. By a number of unjust prohibitions and restrictions, the bigotry of their rulers is displayed. The following is a summary of these oppressive laws, as they now exist.

The Vaudois are not suffered to acquire or possess any property beyond the ancient limits of their valleys. They are prohibited from becoming physicians, surgeons, and advocates, though they are allowed to be apothecaries.

caries and counsellors within their own territory. Though they are obliged to perform military duty (about forty of their young men annually enter the army) they may not rise above the grade of sergeant. They are not permitted to work on the holidays of the Roman Catholic Church. The salary of their pastors, instead of being fifteen hundred francs, as in the days of Napoleon, is but five hundred, and that sum is raised by a tax imposed on their own people. That tax is nominally far beyond the amount really given to the pastors; but the government keeps the residue! They are not suffered to build churches or parsonages without special permission from the government, which it is frequently difficult to obtain. They are not allowed to have a printing press in their valleys, or to print any thing within the kingdom. The duties on books published in other countries are enormous. They may not prevent a Romish priest from entering into their houses and endeavouring to convert their children, provided the boys have reached the age of twelve, and the girls of ten. They may not buy land from a Romanist residing among them, although a Romanist may buy theirs. They are punished with death if they attempt to proselyte a Romanist, although every inducement is offered for their conversion to Popery. Finally, they are not permitted to intermarry with Roman Catholics.

Such are some of the unjust regulations from which the Vaudois suffer at present. Their state was long apparently lost sight of by Protestant christendom. It is comparatively recently that the interest formerly felt in these "elder sisters" of the Reformed Church has been revived. Of late, a number of distinguished and excellent Christians have visited the valleys of Piedmont, and several of them have by their writings turned the attention of the benevolent in all countries to the condition of their inhabitants. We will only mention the names of the Rev. Dr. Gilly, Rev. Mr. Sims, and Sir Hugh Dyke Acland. The first named gentleman has published two interesting volumes relating to the Vaudois. These and other writers have awakened deep interest in behalf of this people, and the consequence has been that considerable sums of money have been raised to assist them.

The reader will remember that a large amount of money was sent by the direction of Oliver Cromwell, in the year 1655-58, to assist the Vaudois after the horrible persecution to which they had just been subjected. The remainder of the sum left by him as a fund for the use of the Vaudois in future, was shamefully spent by Charles II. for his private gratification. To replace this money, Queen Mary, consort of William III., granted an annual sum of £425, during her life; but it was discontinued upon her death. Finally, it was again sent by order of Queen Anne, at the instance of Archbishop Sharpe, and was increased to £500: this sum was continued, under the name of royal bounty, till the year 1797. After that time it was, for various reasons, discontinued. At the instance of the Rev. Dr. Gilly, the amount of £277 was sent in 1827, and has been sent regularly, we believe, ever since. This amounts to only one hundred dollars for each of the thirteen pastors, who, however, have refused to accept more than sixty dollars each, and have devoted the remaining sum to the support of two more pastors, and the assistance of disabled ministers and widows of ministers.

The result of the interest awakened in behalf of the Vaudois by various writers has been the collecting of about twenty thousand five hundred dollars in France, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and a part of Germany, which has been devoted, with the exception of eight thousand francs (\$420), to ob-

taining the ground, erecting and furnishing a hospital, at La Tour, and a dispensary at Pomaret. In England, seven thousand three hundred pounds sterling have been raised, for the erection of the hospital and dispensary, the education of young men for the ministry, and the support of girls' schools. The money raised in Holland and Prussia has been invested in the public funds, and the interest, amounting to one hundred and fifty pounds, is yearly sent to the Vaudois. The efforts of Mr. Sims have resulted in the collection of a considerable amount for the establishment of girls' schools, and those of Dr. Gilly in the collection of five thousand pounds, with the promise of more, to found a college.

It is interesting to find that so much sympathy has been shown by the Protestant churches for this persecuted race. It is probable that, since the seventeenth century, about seventy-five thousand pounds have been raised in Great Britain alone, and at least twenty-five thousand pounds in other Protestant countries in Europe, for the assistance of the Vaudois. Considerable interest has also been awakened of late in their behalf in this country. It is but fitting that Protestant Christendom should thus testify a sense of its obligations to this ancient people, who,

“ When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,”

preserved the truth in its purity.

The reader has now contemplated the history of the Vaudois down to the present day. He has witnessed the persecutions to which they have from time to time been subjected;—persecutions of a nature so appalling as to elicit the sympathy of every Christian. Besides the vexations which they have endured from time immemorial, they have sustained no less than thirty-three distinct wars. Yet the efforts of their enemies to extirpate them have hitherto been frustrated; and they still remain, to testify concerning the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We will now close this history with a glance at their present condition.

There are at present eighteen pastors and ministers in the Piedmontese valleys, including the professors in the college at La Tour, the chaplain at Turin, and the regent of the grammar school at La Tour. Respecting the characters of these ministers, we may assert that they are all evangelical men, in their doctrines, and preach the pure gospel, as they have received it from its martyrs and confessors in their midst. Their education is perhaps as good as that of the majority of French and Swiss ministers; and for intelligence and general information, they are probably equal to the generality of our pastors. It is to be remembered that their constant and arduous labours leave them little or no time for study, and that they are almost wholly debarred, on account of their isolation and their poverty, from obtaining the books necessary for prosecuting such studies.

The time was when the Vaudois were accustomed to send forth missionaries into various countries in Europe, to preach the gospel. This is no longer done. For centuries, these disciples of Christ have been shut up within their valleys, and have been prevented from spreading the light of truth upon the nations around them. Indeed, since the Reformation spread over a large portion of Europe, they seemed scarcely called upon to prosecute these missionary labours, while there remained so great a work to perform at home, in resisting the progress of antichrist.

But though the Vaudois pastors do not now go forth as labourers in foreign fields, still their work is a great and difficult one. The most un-

wearied watchfulness is required on their part, in preserving the ground they already possess. The hardships, the anxiety, and the fatigue which these few servants of God are obliged to endure, far exceed any thing that our own pastors have to bear. Not a few of them have the care of much larger parishes than they can readily look after. It is too much for one man to watch over fifteen hundred or a thousand souls, in such a region as that. Even in the parishes of St. Jean, Prarustin, and La Tour, where the land is much more level and thickly inhabited than in the others, it is difficult for a pastor to take proper care of a thousand souls even. But in other parishes, where a population of five hundred souls is scattered over the steep sides of lofty mountains, in small hamlets, or isolated cottages, it requires such constant labour and such unwearied zeal to look after these people, amid the severity of an Alpine winter, as few ministers can long undergo. And even during the warm summer months, when the herdsmen and shepherds who, in winter, are often prevented by the snow from leaving their homes, lead their flocks and droves up to seek pasture on the mountain-tops, the labours of the Vaudois pastor are not much lightened. It is thus that large numbers of the inhabitants are employed from June till October.

Travellers describe the dwellings of the Vaudois as being far from comfortable. Situated far up on the sides of the mountains, these *châlets* or cottages are generally built of stone, and are small and rude. The windows, frequently destitute of glazing, are about the size of a common pane of glass. Generally, there are several buildings together; one is used for a sleeping-room, another as a stable, and a third as a kitchen. Each commonly contains but one apartment, which is dark and gloomy. Yet in spite of this apparent want of comfort, the inhabitants seem cheerful, and always show much pleasure in seeing strangers, to whom they immediately offer such fare as they may have. Thus situated, frequently at a great distance from any church, they are often deprived for a long time of the ordinary means of grace.

To these small cottages the Vaudois *barbes*, or pastors, are obliged to go, and gather together those of their flocks who live in the vicinity, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to them. Often have the rocks, and the caves, and the small ravines of this mountainous country been the scenes of the labours of these faithful men, who thus go about from hamlet to hamlet, and from mountain to mountain, to deliver their welcome message to their simple-hearted and pious brethren.

Their mode of preaching is very affectionate and persuasive; but little excitement is produced, and great simplicity of faith is displayed by the preacher as well as his hearers. When they officiate in the churches, they generally write their discourses and commit them to memory. As for reading from the pulpit, the people have a great aversion to the practice; and it is never done in the Valleys.

With regard to the mode of conducting public worship, and the government of the Church in the Valleys, a few remarks may be deemed necessary.

About half an hour is usually spent in the churches in reading the Scriptures, together with the comments contained in the folio edition of the translation (Ostervald's) used by the Vaudois. This introductory service is performed by the regent, or teacher of the school which is held in the parish. This over, the pastor ascends the pulpit, and, after the invocation, "Our help is in the name of the Lord, maker of heaven and earth," he

invites the people to listen with attention and reverence to the Ten Commandments. Then follows the Confession of Sins, taken from the Liturgy of the Vaudois Church; a prayer which is used also in the French and Swiss Churches. After the singing of a psalm, in which all who are present unite, a prayer of some length, either extemporaneous or taken from the Liturgy, is offered up. This is followed by the sermon, after which a hymn is sung. The concluding prayer, to which are appended the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, is taken from the Liturgy, and is composed of petitions in behalf of their own Church, their poor and afflicted, the Church Universal, the king and royal family, and others in authority. The service is closed with the singing of another hymn and the Aaronic benediction.

The celebration of the Lord's Supper is made in the most simple and primitive manner. After the sermon, which has reference to the sacrament, the minister reads the account of the institution given by St. Paul, and then exhorts those who are about to partake of the elements, to examine themselves. At the same time he describes the character of those who cannot worthily unite in the participation, and warns them of their crime if they approach the table. A prayer is then offered up, and the people unite in singing a hymn. After this a short exhortation is made, followed by another hymn, when the pastor descends from the pulpit, reads a prayer from the Liturgy, and proceeds to partake of the bread and wine and distribute them to the elders, who are seated around him, in the large pew in front of the pulpit. The members of the church then approach the table, first the men and afterwards the women, two by two. While the communicants are partaking of the elements, the pastor repeats to them appropriate passages from the Scripture, and the rest of the congregation sing hymns adapted to the occasion. A collection is then taken up in behalf of the poor. The pastor then returns to the pulpit, and closes the service by another exhortation, a prayer of thanksgiving, and the benediction.

Until the year 1839, no particular Liturgy had been adopted by the Vaudois Church; those of Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel being used equally by the pastors. But though these different liturgies closely resemble one another, serious inconvenience resulted from this want of uniformity; and the Synod were led to frame a new Liturgy, composed mainly of selections from the three formerly used. It embraces public and private forms of worship, family prayers and thanksgivings, and the Confession of Faith adopted by the Vaudois Church in the year 1655. It is very simple in all its services, and leaves room, in the public services, for extemporaneous prayers—a provision which, in our opinion, greatly enhances its value. It is highly probable that the Waldensian Church used a Liturgy of its own from an early period. It is said that a copy of this form of worship still exists in the Library of Geneva.

The circumstances in which they have been placed have tended to produce relations of intimacy between the Vaudois churches and the Protestant churches of Switzerland. During more than three centuries after the Reformation, they were obliged to send their youth to the seminaries of Geneva and Lausanne, to complete their theological education, as they themselves had no such institutions. This intimacy was greatly strengthened in the year 1630, when the plague, which devastated their country, swept away thirteen out of the fifteen pastors; and the Vaudois were obliged to depend upon their French and Swiss brethren for men to fill the vacancies thus created. Since that time, the French language has taken the

place of the dialect formerly spoken and used in their religious services. We cannot better close these observations on the public worship of the Vaudois churches, than by quoting the remarks of an eminent writer who has lately visited them.*

"The first thing that strikes a stranger on entering the temples of the Vaudois, is the perfect contrast which their services present to those of the Church of Rome. Here are no visible objects of worship, no mediating priests, no splendid vestments, no gaudy or childish ceremonies, no pompous processions, no trumpery relics of paganism,—but all is simplicity, decency, and order. The pastor and the reader are the only persons who officiate in the congregation, and contribute to their edification. Instead of a magnificent altar, decked with gold and silver and precious stones, towards which the worshippers are to turn, or before which they are to prostrate themselves, there is only a plain table in the pew before the pulpit, from which the elements of the Lord's Supper are dispensed to the communicants. Instead of mass-books in an unknown tongue, is the Bible, in a language which all understand, and of which copious portions are read at each service. Instead of chanting priests, singing boys, pealing orchestras, and ignorant multitudes gazing and looking with superstitious admiration, we find the whole congregation celebrating, in full and intelligent chorus, the praises of Jehovah. And this simple worship, which reminds us of that of the primitive Christians, before the fathers broke in upon its integrity by the addition of rites and ceremonies of their own invention, there is every reason to believe, is pretty much the same that has obtained in the valleys of Piedmont from ancient times. Accustomed, as the Vaudois were, to assemble in the houses of their barbes, in caves, under the shade of their wide-spreading chestnuts, or on the verdant sides of their Alpine mountains, they could have nothing to tempt the introduction of any rites inconsistent with the noble simplicity of their institutions. The main ground which they had all along occupied in opposition to Rome, consisted in their refusing to receive any doctrine or usage that did not possess the sanction of the word of God.

"From what we know of the religious practices of the Cathari, and other reformers in different parts of the north of Italy, it is natural to conclude, that the ancient Vaudois, if they had not a regularly organized Church Constitution, derived from Apostolic times, (as some are inclined to believe,) were originally accustomed to meet, in the simple capacity of Christians, for the worship of God, and mutual edification, much in the same way as those in the present day, who have their 'réunions,' or prayer-meetings, in addition to the public services in the churches. By degrees, as they became better acquainted with each other, and had opportunity of ascertaining which of them were specially endowed with gifts for edification, they would devolve upon such the prominent parts of the service; and at length regard them as their stated leaders, pastors, or spiritual rulers. In some instances, it is more than probable, they enjoyed the instructions of those who had been priests in the Roman Church, but whose eyes God had opened to discover her abominations, and whom He had induced to come out of her, lest they should be partakers of her plagues.

"Of Apostolical succession, in the way of a regular sacerdotal line of descent, they had no conception. They would have scouted the idea, as tending to reduce them to the yoke of bondage to human institutions, from

* The Rev. Dr. Henderson. See the Vaudois, pp. 205-208.

which it was their privilege and their duty to be free. To Apostolical succession they did, indeed, pretend; but it was a succession, not of men, but of doctrine—a succession, not in the shape of a mystical, undefinable, intangible something, attaching to priestly virtue and authority; but in the solid, substantial, and reasonable faith of a living Christianity. It was not a transmission of something called grace, lodged in and derivable only from an episcopate; but of the divine principles of the gospel, which teach the only true and saving grace of God, as deposited in the one glorious Mediator, and derivable from Him, upon all believers. They never dreamed that union with a certain order of men, and reception of the ordinances of Christianity at their hands, were essential to salvation; but taught, that the only things essentially requisite to this all-important result, were, acceptance with God, through the propitiatory sacrifice of His Son, and the renewal of the soul into His sacred image, by the regenerating influences of the Holy Ghost.

“That the Vaudois ever had bishops, in the popish or prelatical acceptation of the term, does not appear. No trace of an episcopal hierarchy is to be found in any of their ancient documents. Their Church polity has all along been essentially popular. *See ministres majores e menores* (the existence of higher and lower orders of ministers) is regarded as one of the marks of Antichrist, in the ‘Book of Antichrist,’ bearing date 1120.”

A few words respecting the *government* of the **EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF THE VALLEYS**—for such is the title claimed by the Vaudois.*

Like the Presbyterian order, which it resembles in more than one point, the Vaudois Church is governed by three courts. Of these, the lowest, is composed of the pastor, elders and deacons of each particular church, and is called the *Consistory*. It answers to the *Session* of the Presbyterian Church. A legal adviser is generally present when this court is assembled. The elders, whose duty it is, as in our own churches, to assist the pastor in his labours, by visiting families, providing for the poor, &c., are elected in public by the parishioners; and the Consistory chooses of the number thus nominated, as many as are needed. No one can become an elder who is a tavern-keeper by profession. The form by which they are installed is given in the Liturgy of the Church.

Superior to this court is the *Table*, or Board, which consists of the Moderator, Moderator-adjunct, and the Secretary of the Synod, as well as two laymen elected by the Synod. The work of this body is one of much importance, and it possesses great powers. Its duty is to superintend the churches and schools, watching over the pastors and teachers; to fulfil the decisions of the Synod, when the latter body is not in session; to suspend pastors or teachers whom it thinks unworthy, to decide whatever difficulties may occur between the congregations and their pastors, &c. Besides this work of supervision, it examines and ordains candidates for the ministry, whose studies and conduct it looks after, carries on foreign and domestic correspondence, and appoints the deputations to other countries. The expenses of its members during its sessions, are defrayed. This court is, in fact, a *standing committee* of the Synod.

The *Synod* is the highest ecclesiastical body among the Vaudois. It is composed of all the ministers belonging to their Church: including the chaplain at Turin, and the clerical professors in the college. Each parish,

* They very properly reject the name of *Protestant*; saying that as they never belonged to the Church of Rome, they cannot be said to have seceded from it.

besides, sends two elders as deputies to the Synod; but the two can give but one vote. Candidates for the ministry may also attend, and take part in the deliberations, but cannot vote.

The large number of laymen sent to this assembly is accounted for by the fact that the Synod is not merely a spiritual court, but is also in some measure secular; since it attends to the education of the people, the care of the poor, the erection of churches and school-houses, and other matters of a similar nature. Indeed it was formerly the supreme civil, as well as ecclesiastical court. At its sessions, after a prayer by the Moderator of the last assembly, a new Moderator, Moderator-adjunct and Secretary for the ensuing term, are chosen, together with two elders, to attend the meetings of the new *Table*. It then proceeds with its ordinary business, which is generally of great importance, and relates to the supervision of the churches and schools, the enforcing of discipline, fixing the salaries of ministers and teachers, &c.

In former days the Synod met once a year, generally in the autumn; in times of persecution, during the winter. For many years, however, it has met only once in five years. This is on account of the difficulty and expense of obtaining permission from the government to hold its meetings; a permission which costs them about two hundred and forty dollars each session. Such a tax is deeply felt by so poor a people. The Synod is always attended by the Intendant of Pignerol and his secretary, whose duty it is to watch lest any decision be made which may prove injurious to the interests of Romanism, as well as to see that no subjects are treated of beside those mentioned in the petition addressed to the government, to obtain permission to hold the meeting.

The Vaudois have nothing in the organization of their churches that resembles prelacy. The Moderator, or President of the Synod and the *Table* possesses no extraordinary authority, and performs only those duties which generally devolve upon those holding such offices. It has been said by some, that he is like the bishops of the Episcopal Church, an inherent right of ordination. This is not so. Nor, if we believe the declarations of the Vaudois themselves, has episcopacy ever existed in their valleys. Their historians constantly speak of the *barbes* as their religious instructors; but the word bishop is used but rarely, and always signifies, in the opinion of the Vaudois of the present day, the ordinary pastors.

In the former part of this work, the theological opinions and doctrines of the Vaudois have been fully noticed. It has been seen that they have always harmonized, in their belief, with the orthodox churches of the Reformation in other parts of the world. Few even of their enemies have been able to accuse them of any greater heresy than the rejection of the papal supremacy, and the other peculiar dogmas of the apostate Church of Rome. And this faith has been preserved in its purity and perfection to the present day. It is true that, towards the end of the last century, there was some reason to fear lest the Socinian character of the Genevan school of theology might extend to the valleys. For it is a lamentable fact that, for many years a spirit of cold Rationalism pervaded the Church, not only at Geneva, but also at Lausanne; both of which places have for centuries been the resort of young Vaudois, either preparing for the ministry, or pursuing other studies than that of theology. The influence of this spirit could not but be felt in the valleys. But at present, thanks be to God! the danger is past. Although the Academy of Geneva, founded by Calvin, and which provides for the education of two Waldensian students,

well as the Academy of Lausanne, which educates five youth from the valleys in a similar way, has fallen away from the truth of the gospel; yet God has, by His merciful direction, provided for the wants of His faithful people. There is at present, in Geneva, a thoroughly evangelical Seminary, over which the celebrated Merle d'Aubigné presides, and where six young Vaudois are now preparing for the ministry.

One interesting fruit of the piety of the Vaudois has always been, their anxiety for the promotion of education in their midst. Such was their state of destitution, however, for several centuries, that it was with great difficulty that they could obtain books; and but few, comparatively, knew more than how to read and write. The liberality of the Christian world has, we are happy to say, greatly altered the state of things within a quarter of a century. Through the efforts of the Rev. Dr. Gilly, much interest was excited in the year 1823, in their behalf in England. Not only was provision made for the erection of a hospital, but a large amount of money was collected for the education of the youth. The sum of five thousand pounds was given for the building of the *College of the Trinity*, as it is called; an institution founded in the neighbourhood of La Tour. It is a stone building, three stories high, and nearly one hundred feet long; containing a library, chapel, several recitation rooms, etc. It has three professors, who are all excellent men, and about fifty students, including the elementary classes in Latin. Such, however, is the anxiety of the Sardinian government, lest the Vaudois should possess the rights secured to its other subjects, that it forbids that more than fifteen students should belong to the college proper at one time! Besides the College of the Trinity, there is a very good grammar-school, at Pomaret, where about a dozen boys are pursuing mathematical and classical studies, under an able instructor.

But, although there are about sixty-five youth at present prosecuting some of the higher branches of study in the valleys, still, all who wish to pursue a theological course, or engage in professional studies, must go to Switzerland or Germany in order to do so. Few indeed, of those who obtain a collegiate education remain in the valleys; and of usefulness for such being wholly limited to the work of the minister or of teaching.

We cannot take leave of this subject, without some notice of a man who has done more than any other for the promotion of education in the valleys. We allude to the excellent and well-known *Colonel Beckwith*. This benefactor of the Vaudois was an officer in the British army; from which he retired, with a large income, after the battle of Waterloo, where he lost a leg. About twenty years ago, he was induced to visit the valleys. He became deeply interested in the condition of the Vaudois, and since then has spent all his time in their midst, with the exception of a few months every summer, when he returns to visit his mother and sisters in England. Having no family, he has been able to employ the greater part of a large income in assisting the people in whom he has taken such interest. And well has he used the means intrusted to him by his Master. It is probable that he has, during his residence among the Vaudois, spent not less than thirty thousand dollars, of his own property, in advancing their interests. He has furnished the money for the erection of ten or fifteen large and commodious parish school-houses, several of which have ample room for one hundred to one hundred and fifty scholars. He also in a great measure supports the teachers of all these schools. In addition to this, he has caused small but substantial school-houses to be built in a large number of

hamlets. There are at present no less than one hundred and fifty schools, of different grades, male and female, in the valleys. Provision has been made for the education of every Vaudois child. There are, indeed, hindrances to the fulfilment of this object; for the boys and girls who are old enough to work, can attend school only during two or three winter months. Yet this is generally sufficient for them to obtain the knowledge of the primary and most important branches of education.

In addition to his efforts for the promotion of the moral welfare of the Vaudois, Colonel Beckwith is constantly endeavouring to improve their temporal state. He assists them by his counsels and his gifts in the improvement of their mode of cultivation, the construction of bridges and roads, etc. This good man has not lost his reward, in the gratitude of those who have been the objects of his kindness. No man is so greatly beloved by the Vaudois. His lithographed portrait may be found in many of their cottages; and whenever he visits them, he is welcomed with the greatest affection. One of the school-houses in the parish of St. Jean bears an inscription to this effect: "Whosoever passes this way, let him bless the name of Colonel Beckwith." This mutual affection is the more striking from the fact that this benefactor is a member of the Church of England, whilst the Vaudois are staunch Presbyterians. This is indeed a touching instance of Christian benevolence. Would that there were many such devoted servants of Christ as this veteran soldier!

With regard to the state of morals among the Vaudois at the present time, we do not hesitate to say, that there are few countries, the inhabitants of which are equally virtuous. In the days of Bonaparte, much injury was done to the morals of the people by the frequent visits of soldiery to the valleys, as well as by the habits which many of the Vaudois themselves brought back from the army, which they had entered as conscripts. But these pernicious effects had passed away, and the ancient purity of manners for which their forefathers were so justly praised, even by their enemies, has been in a great measure revived. Intoxication, licentiousness and profanity are scarcely known among them. A spirit of harmony and brotherly affection seems to pervade the valleys. The difficulties which sometimes occur in their midst, generally relate to their property. The sick and distressed are peculiarly the objects of their sympathy. They are always visited, supplied with whatever they may need, and assisted, if retarded in their labours. This spirit of benevolence is also indicated by the collections which they make every year to send the gospel to the destitute in France and among the heathen. They have always manifested deep sympathy in the afflictions of others. In 1825, when a dreadful inundation reduced many families, in Holland, to absolute poverty, the Vaudois sent the sum of three thousand francs for their relief. In raising this amount, every inhabitant of the valleys contributed according to his ability.

With regard to the state of morals among the Vaudois in ancient times, we have the following testimony from one of their most bitter enemies, Claude Scyssel, Archbishop of Turin in the 16th century: "They live a life of greater purity than other Christians. They do not take an oath unless required to do so, and it is seldom that they take the name of God in vain. They fulfil their promises with good faith, and though the greater part of them are living in poverty, they maintain that they alone have preserved the apostolical life and doctrine. On this account they affirm that the authority of the Church resides in them, as innocent and true disciples of

Christ; for the sake of whose faith and religion they consider it honourable and glorious to live in want, and to suffer persecution from us."*

We have also the following acknowledgment from the Roman Catholic historian De Thou: "Chastity is held in high honour among the Waldenses; so much so that their neighbours, although differing from them greatly in religion, when they would consult for the virtue of their daughters, through fear of violence from the licentious military, have committed them to the care and fidelity of the Waldenses."†

The influence of the Roman Catholics, possessed as they are of every advantage, in the protection of the government and the abundance of funds which are at their disposal, cannot but be felt in the valleys. They are constantly erecting churches, and are always on the alert, to buy up the lands which the indigent Vaudois may be desirous of selling, by which means they are gradually obtaining possession of the best of the lands. It is to be hoped, however, that, by the liberality of their friends in Protestant countries, the Vaudois will seldom, henceforth, be thus forced by poverty to yield their native soil into the hands of the Romanists.

It is evident that Rome is about greatly increasing her efforts for the conversion of these people, after having spent centuries in the vain effort to destroy them by the sword. A strong proselyting spirit is spreading among the Roman Catholics, at the instigation of their priests. Even strangers are frequently the objects of their wiles. A large monastic establishment has been created recently at La Tour, the purpose of which is, to educate missionaries for visiting and endeavouring to convert the Vaudois to Romanism. This establishment has been very liberally endowed, and is now maintained by two monastic orders. We shall look with interest for the result of these efforts. Whatever it may be, "the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth;" and we doubt not that His Spirit will now preserve His people from the snares of the adversary, as it did in ancient times from his fiery persecutions.

It would not be astonishing if, from time to time, they should fall under the constant temptations by which they are surrounded. The Vaudois pastors meet with the greatest obstacles in endeavouring to preserve their people steadfast in the truth. If a member of their flocks be induced to visit a Roman Catholic priest, for the purpose of conferring with him on becoming a Romanist, it is forbidden, on pain of death, that any one, whether minister or layman, should endeavour to dissuade him from taking such a step!

In spite of all that the Vaudois have had to contend with, it is the universal testimony of those who have visited them, that pure religion has been advancing during the last twenty-five years throughout the valleys. This state of things is in some measure owing, under God, to the visit made in 1823, by that excellent and devoted servant of Christ, Felix Neff. And though there still remains much to be done, for the awakening of a spirit of true piety among the Vaudois, yet there is great reason to rejoice, in the progress already made. It is gratifying to know that prayer-meetings have been established in many of the villages, and are held on Sabbath afternoons, as well, in many cases, during the week. "We were often pleased," says a recent traveller, "with the singing of sweet hymns, which we heard

* Claude Scyssel, Adv. error, et sect. Valdenses, fol. 9. lib. XXVII. tom. II. p. 19.

† Thuani Historia.

in our strolls through the valleys. We have witnessed few scenes more enchanting, than when passing through the deep glens and valleys of that wonderful country, as the sun on a fine summer's day was fast descending to the western horizon. Ever and anon, we heard the bleating of the flocks, as they were driven home for the night, and the psalms that were sung by girls and boys who attended them, echoed and reëchoed from the rocks and ravines of the mountain barriers which surrounded us."

How similar to such a scene was that so beautifully described by a writer in the primitive days of the Church, when speaking of the peasants in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem: "In every direction where there is a sound of human voices, it is the voice of psalmody. If it be the ploughman guiding his plough, his song is, Hallelujah! If it be the shepherd tending his flock, the reaper gathering his corn, or the vine-dresser pruning the tendrils, his chant is the same; it is some song of David that he sings. Here all poetry is sacred poetry, and every feeling of the heart finds utterance in the language of the Psalmist."*

We must here close this account of the present state of the Vaudois. And in concluding the History of the Ancient Christians, we cannot but exclaim: Truly, happy is that people whose God is the Lord! Happy, though the storms of persecution may for century after century pour down upon it; though the rage of its foes may beat against it with unrelenting violence. A monument of God's goodness and man's impotence, it shall stand for ages to come, as it has stood for ages past. "For behold! the bush burned with fire; and the bush was not consumed."

"Blind must he be, who does not discern the finger of God in the preservation of the Vaudois. There is nothing like it in the history of man. The tempest of persecution has raged against them for seven hundred years, and yet it has not swept them away, but there they are in the land of their forefathers; because the Most High gave unto the men of the valleys stout hearts and a resolute spirit;—because He made them patient of hunger and thirst, and of all manner of affliction."

Let all the disciples of Christ unite in the prayer that the day may speedily arrive, when there shall be "heard a loud voice, saying in heaven: Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of Christ: for the Accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him, by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death."†

* *Letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella*; quoted in Dr. Gilly's *Vigilantius*.
† Rev. xii. 10-11.

