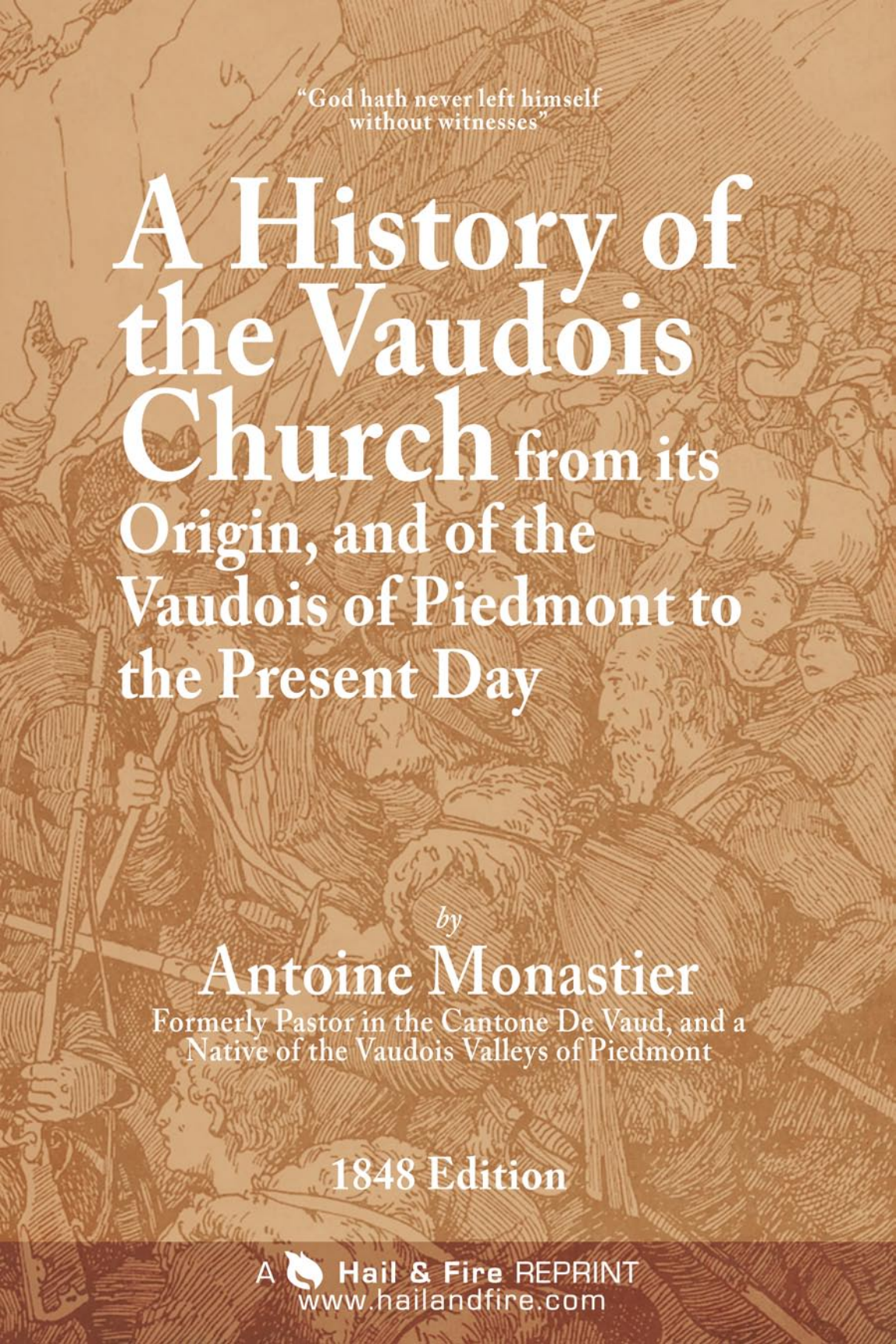
"God hath never left himself
without witnesses"

A History of the Vaudois Church from its Origin, and of the Vaudois of Piedmont to the Present Day



by

Antoine Monastier

Formerly Pastor in the Cantone De Vaud, and a
Native of the Vaudois Valleys of Piedmont

1848 Edition

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Antoine Monastier
Pastor in the Cantone De Vaud, and a Native of the Vaudois Valleys of Piedmont.

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PREFACE

to the Protestant Reprint of

"A History of the Vaudois Church from its Origin, and of the Vaudois of Piedmont to the Present Day" by Antoine Monastier

by Hail & Fire

PROTESTANT HISTORY & MARTYROLOGY

These works have been placed online so that those of a Protestant and Gospel faith might have these rare and historic resources readily available. Many today have hastily compromised this great cloud of witnesses for the same 'ecumenical unity' from which their own nations and peoples and families escaped by so dear a price paid in the past. To such we humbly address a word of caution: Look not to the past to whitewash it for the sake of what seems to be a new ecumenism; for the past is a record of the very trial of men's creeds and it is the record itself afforded to all that we might examine and judge the fruits of the religions and doctrines that men live by in this world. Only by putting out our own eyes of wisdom do we exonerate the doctrine and the dogma, and condemn the man only who lived by it. We may each study and analyze the facts of history; we may suspect and dissect; we may seek proofs and compile arguments and in polemical treatises put forth our findings, theories and our opinions; but we cannot change nor may we begin now to change or to suppress that which, in times past and in the ages in which the events took place, is witnessed and not denied by any party to the events, is testified by supporters and detractors alike, is recorded in decrees, dogmatic and ecclesiastical decisions, letters and histories written by men of every sort - even by all men. As Alexis Muston says to the purpose of his Vaudois martyrology and history, "Why relate such atrocities? more than one voice will exclaim with emotion. To inspire horror of the odious principles which have produced them. Do you suppose that an account of the blood which was shed will never be called for? Nay; these vile oppressors of mankind, tyrannizing by the sword, tyrannizing by deceit, tyrannizing by cupidity - these heroes of superstition and intolerance, who would have put an end to Christianity a thousand times over, if it could have been destroyed - these authors of so may wounds still bleeding in the world - must endure history to the last."

DEDICATION.

PROTECTORS and Benefactors of the Vaudois! Princes, Magistrates, and Christians of every denomination, rank, order, condition, and sex, who, by a gracious dispensation of Providence, and the effect of a fervent Christian charity, have co-operated in past ages, and who still co-operate, for the preservation of the feeble remnant of the Vaudois of Piedmont!

Permit the humble Author of this History, himself a son of the Vaudois church, the extraordinary vicissitudes of which he has here attempted to describe—permit him to be the organ and interpreter of the sentiments that animate this scanty but grateful population towards their charitable protectors and benefactors. Permit him to be the echo of the benedictions and prayers which incessantly arise, on their behalf, from the hearts of mere simple and obscure men, who still live under the cross, surrounded by snares, seductions, and dangers, contrary to the benevolent intentions of their revered and beloved sovereign.

May the memory of those powerful, glorious, and charitable protectors and benefactors, who have entered into rest, be blessed for ever!

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May the most precious blessings, temporal and eternal, of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, continue to rest abundantly on those who are now living, and on their children and descendants to the remotest generations!

These sentiments and wishes—a feeble token of their gratitude—truly animate the hearts of the Vaudois of the Piedmontese Alps towards their generous protectors and benefactors, past and present, and are shared and expressed on this occasion, with profound respect, by one of their number, in the name of all.

ANT. MONASTIER, Pastor.

Lausanne,
Oct. 17, 1846.

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PREFACE.

To demonstrate their close connexion with the primitive church founded by the apostles, to establish their right to call themselves a faithful church, and even to be regarded as forming the true church of the Lord Jesus Christ on earth, the evangelical churches appeal to the conformity of their doctrines, their worship, and their internal life with the picture the New Testament gives us of the primitive church, and with the precepts, rules, and regulations taught by this same word. This internal argument is, in fact, the most important on this question; it has an irresistible force, and is of itself sufficient.

Yet there is an external argument, which, without being conclusive, has a certain value; and which, if we are to believe the enemies of the evangelical churches, is altogether wanting to them, namely, antiquity of existence. You are but of yesterday, cries the Romish church in a tone of irony and triumph. You forsook the mother church by a revolution, which you pompously term a Reformation; but if truth be on your side, it must be very modern. An existence of little more than three centuries is a very recent title, when it relates to pretensions of professing eternal truth. To dare a conflict with Rome, you require what she possesses, and what you are destitute of, an ancient and venerable origin. Now, this attribute of the truth is not so completely wanting to the evangelical churches as might at first seem to be the case. The Vaudois church is a link that unites them to the primitive church. By means of it they establish the anterior existence of their constitution, doctrine, and worship, to that of the papistical idolatries and errors. Such is the object of the work we now lay before the public. It is intended to prove by the fact of the uninterrupted existence of the Vaudois church, the perpetuity of the primitive church, represented in the present day not only by the church of the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, but by all her sister evangelical churches, founded solely on the word of God.

In writing this work on an essential part of ecclesiastical history, its author has had in view the glory of his Saviour. He considers that however humble and despised these

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Vaudois may have been in the eyes of the world, forgotten by some, hated and persecuted by others, their history exhibits and presents to the imitation of the faithful, some of the essential characteristics of the true disciples of Jesus Christ, faith, fidelity, humility, detachment from the world, perseverance and resignation under the most painful trials.

He also believes that the development of this history will demonstrate the Lord's faithfulness to the humble members of his church, the wisdom of his plans and intentions in their favour, the power he puts forth when he purposes to deliver them, and the efficacious consolations he grants them under their trials. It will moreover show, he may venture to hope, that the Head of the church has fulfilled the promise he made that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," and that in this History of the preservation of evangelical truth in the midst of darkness, it may be perceived to His glory, that "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are," 1 Cor. i., 27, 28.

The author does not flatter himself that he has produced a perfect work; the subject was difficult, particularly in what related to ancient times. The materials to be consulted were immense; while continual concealment, partial judgments, and incomplete recitals veiled the truth at every step in Catholic writings. Nevertheless, he thinks that he has brought forward some new facts of great importance, and especially that he has contributed to a satisfactory demonstration of the ancient origin of the Vaudois church.

This has been a labour of love. A Vaudois by birth, by his affections, by all his associations, a Vaudois too, he trusts, by his faith, the author has devoted more than ten years to accomplish the wish of his life—the composition of a brief HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS CHURCH. In its preparation and arrangement, he has called in the aid of one of his dear sons, who is his constant assistant in his pastoral functions.

May this little work contribute to the glory of our great God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ! Amen.

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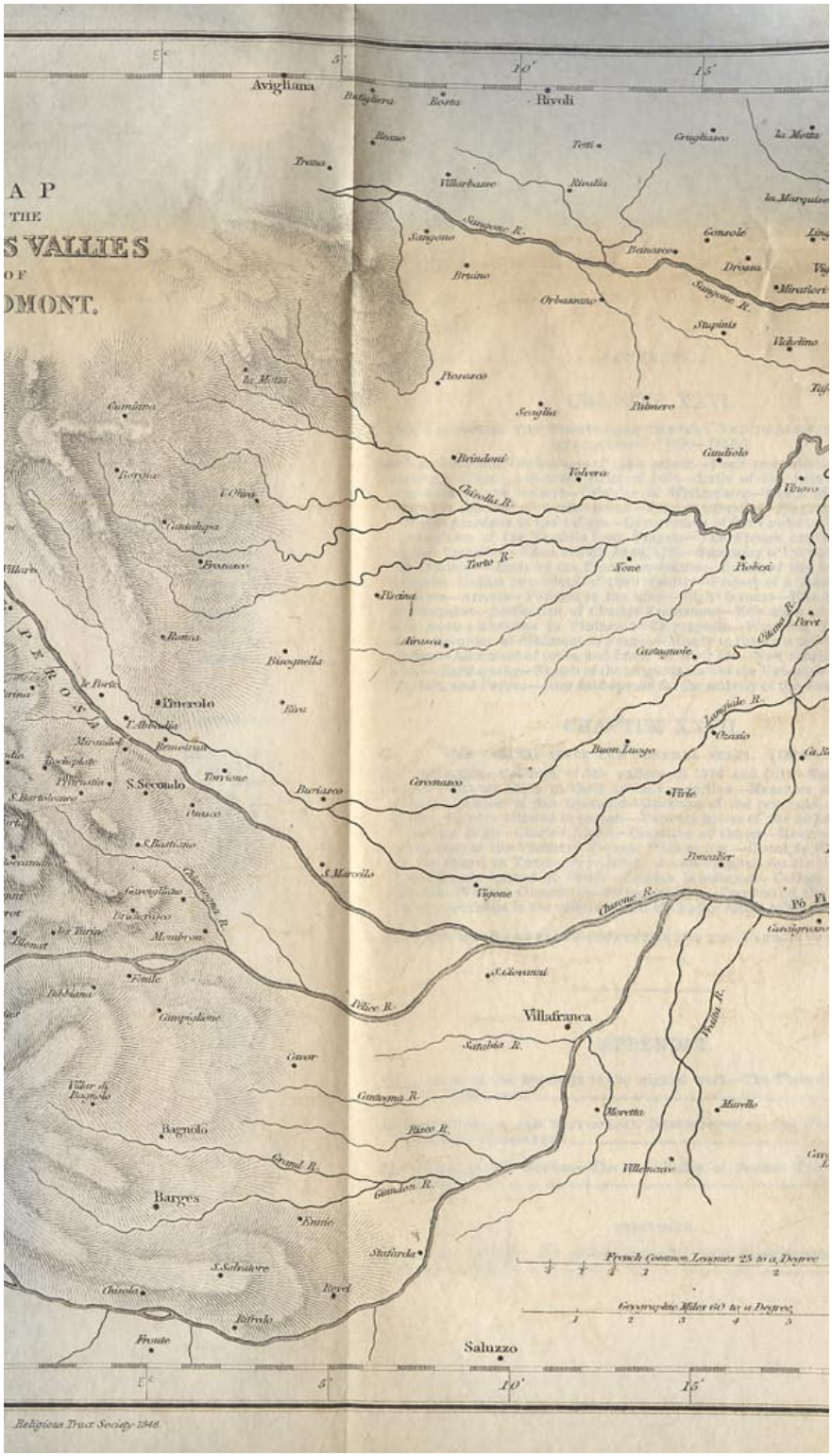
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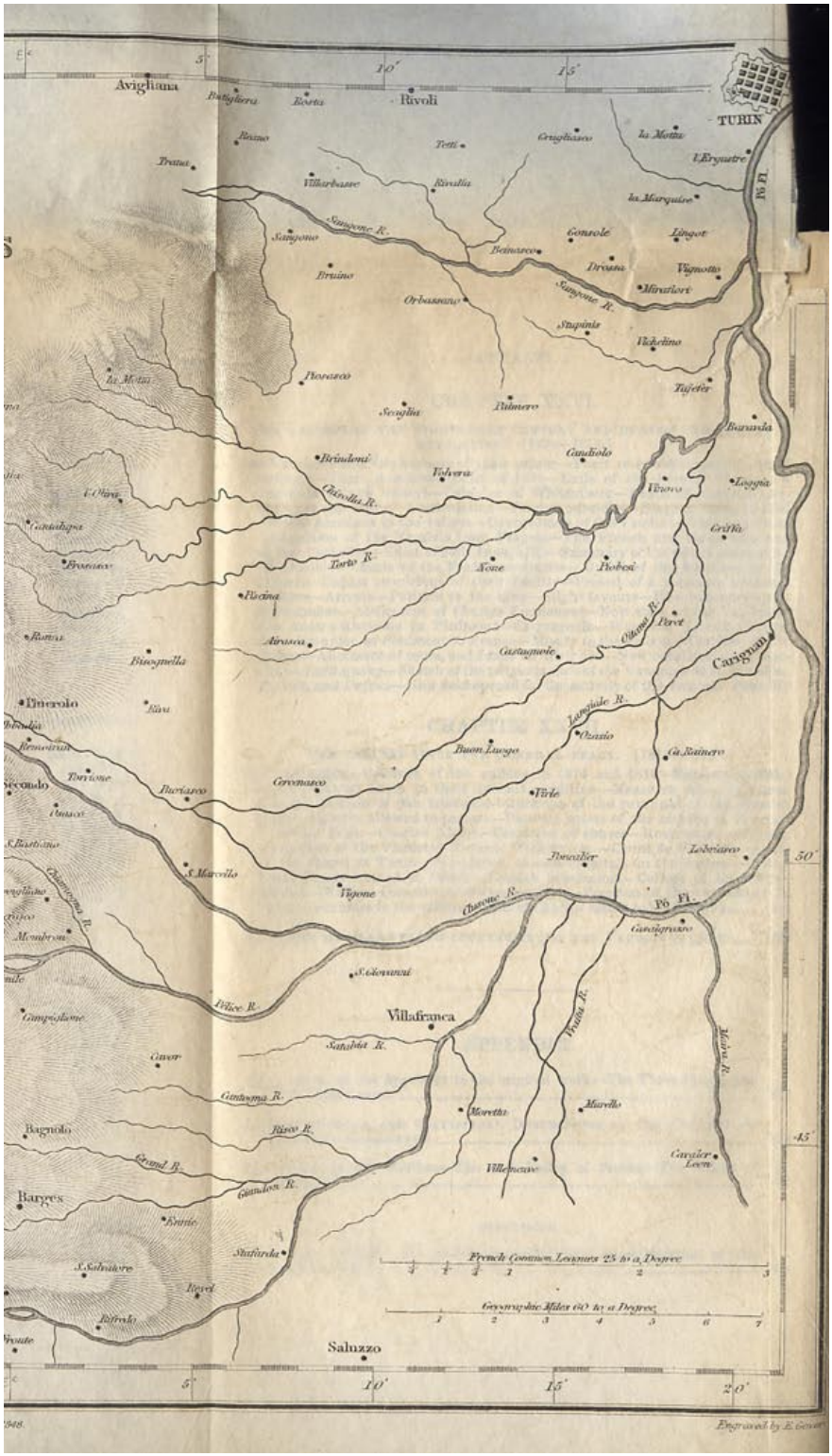
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M
OF
VAUDOIS
PIED
Department of the High Alpes
Perosa
S. Martino
Bobbio
La Torre
Lucerna
Crezzolo
Ostana
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40'
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A P
THE
S VALLIES
OF
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Avigliana
Rivoli
Rosone
Testi
Grugliasco
la Motta
Trana
Villarbasse
Rivalta
la Marquise
Sangone R.
Sangone
Gonsolé
Beinasco
Drosasc
Bruino
Miratiori
Orbassano
Stupinis
Vidorlino
la Motta
Piossasco
Scalenghe
Palmero
Candiolo
Brindoni
Volvera
Carmagnola
Pancalieri
Chisola R.
Vinovo
Cavour
Cercenasco
Garzigliana
Torre R.
None
Piobesi
Piscina
Airasca
Cumiana
Castagnole
Pervet
Bibiana
Lemina
Lemina R.
Buon Luogo
Osasio
Torre Pellice
Luserna
Torre Pellice
Miradolo
Torrione
S. Secondo
Buriasco
Cercenasco
Virle
Osasco
S. Bartolomeo
S. Martino
Pancalier
S. Marcello
Vigone
Chisone R.
Chisone R.
Garzigliano
Pinerolo
Membron
Piosasco
S. Giovanni
Pellice R.
Villafranca
Cumiana
Saluzzo R.
Gavor
Villar di Pinerolo
Cintagna R.
Moretta
Marello
Bagnolo
Pasco R.
Villafranca
Grand R.
Barges
Grandon R.
Stafarda
S. Silvestro
Osasio
Revel
Fenile
Fenile
Saluzzo
French Common Leagues 25 to a Degree
Geographic Miles 60 to a Degree
Religious Trust Society 1848.


Avigliana
Rivoli
TURIN
Pò Fl.
Villafranca
Saluzzo
Barges
Carignan
Pinerolo
Lingot
Vigonetto
Moretta
Marello
Cavalier Leon
Villeneuve
Grugliasco
la Motta
Tetti
Rivalta
la Marquise
Gonrole
Drosta
Orbassano
Stupinis
Vicherino
Tapetier
Barauda
Cauhiolo
Vivero
Loggia
Grillo
Probeck
Vigone
Virle
Buon Luogo
Castagnole
Ca Rainero
Lobriasco
Gaciagnasso
Piscallier
Vigone
Garonasco
Buriasco
Osasco
Torrione
Bricherasio
Airasca
Buonmella
Rivalta
Satabia R.
Pellice R.
Chisone R.
Pellice R.
Grand R.
Germanasca R.
Rivoli
Bruino
Sangone R.
Sangone
Borgaro
Scoglia
Palmero
Brandoni
Vidvera
Chirolla R.
Cumiana
Frossasco
Piscina
Turbo R.
Oitana R.
Lemina R.
Pellice R.
Chisone R.
Pellice R.
Gimondo R.
Statiella
Revel
Rifreddo
Route
Bagnolo
Rivoli
Pratus
Villarbasse
Rivalia
Sangone R.
Sangone
Bruino
Orbassano
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Scoglia
Palmero
Brandoni
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Chirolla R.
Cumiana
Frossasco
Piscina
Airasca
Buonmella
Rivalta
Pinerolo
Elva
Renaudat
Torrione
Bricherasio
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S. Bastiano
S. Marcello
Vigone
Garonasco
Buriasco
Buon Luogo
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Lemina R.
Pellice R.
Chisone R.
Pellice R.
Grand R.
Germanasca R.
Rivoli
Bruino
Sangone R.
Sangone

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AT THE ACCESSION OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE. [A.D. 306.]

Not three centuries from the death and resurrection of the Saviour had passed away, before the good news of salvation through him was spread over all the provinces of the Roman empire, and received with joy by a considerable part of their population. Faith in Jesus, the Son of the living God, was proclaimed from the shores of the Red sea to those of the Atlantic ocean; from the banks of the Nile to those of the Ebro, the Rhone, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates; in all the countries washed by the waters of the Mediterranean, even to the most retired valleys of the Iberian mountains,* of the Alps, Hemus, and Atlas, and especially through all the cities that were scattered over this immense tract.

The gradual extension of the Christian religion was not accomplished without conflict and suffering on the part of its professors. Its progress first irritated, and then alarmed, those who were attached to national traditions, dissolute manners, and the worship of false gods, as it did the suspicious and tyrannical government of the Roman emperors. The Christians were very soon regarded as enemies of their country and rebels, and as such were exposed to the most terrible persecutions. Thousands and hundreds of thousands were destroyed by fire and sword, by instruments of torture, and by the fangs of wild beasts in the amphitheatres. But as the grain of corn falls into the

* [Namely, the Pyrenees and their offshoots.]

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ground and increases a hundredfold, so the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church; the faith of Christian confessors spoke to the heart, and won more souls to the service of their Lord than the terrors of punishment could drive from him.

During the first three centuries, the church was composed, for the most part, of persons firmly convinced of the truth of its doctrines, and who showed forth, by a pure, holy, and devoted life, the virtues of Him who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light. The contempt and hatred with which the Christians were treated by the pagans, preserved them in general from a pernicious alliance with the vicious and indifferent; and by breaking the ties which might have held them fast to a seducing world, purified their faith, and united them more closely to one another, and to their Saviour.

The constitution of the church remained nearly the same as in the apostolic age.* Every believer was an active member of the Christian community, which was under the guidance of one or more pastors, whose special office it was to preach the word, and watch over souls. The pastor of a Christian community, or one of them, if there were several pastors, bore also the particular title of Bishop, that is, Overseer, on account of the inspection which it became him to exercise over all the members of his flock, and the influence that was conceded to his piety and example. But though this distinction exposed its possessor to greater danger in times of persecution, it is evident that many of those who obtained it did not entirely escape the seductions of pride and ambition. The pastors of the larger churches soon obtained, or preferred, the title of bishop to that of elder, and easily assumed a supremacy over their fellow-labourers in the work of the ministry. The fraternal connexion that subsisted between the apostles and the companions of their work, as that of St. Paul with Sylvanus and Timothy, was very soon succeeded by a dangerous hierarchy. Still, the injury which this tendency might have inflicted on that Christian liberty and brotherhood

* [A few passages in the first and second chapters, and other places, relating to the early constitution of the church, its officers, rites, and connexion with civil governments, which, according to the rules of the Religious Tract Society, are retained without alteration, must be regarded as containing the individual views of the author.]

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which were then so conspicuous, was considerably lessened by the individual activity which the difficult position of the church, in the midst of pagans, imposed on each of its members.

Another danger, arising from within, also threatened the constitution and life of the church, in this prosperous period of its existence, namely, the pre-eminence acquired by the bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, and Rome, over the other bishops, and the ill use they often made of the deference that was yielded to them by courtesy. The bishop of Rome especially took the precedence of all the other bishops, on many occasions, and even aspired to a certain authority in matters of religion. But these pretensions encountered resistance in the rivalry of other apostolic or metropolitan churches, and in the independent nature of the Christian life.

The Christian worship preserved its primitive simplicity. It was held in private houses; and often in secret or in deserts. Some places of worship, however, had been erected at the close of the third century. Prayers, the singing of hymns, reading the Scriptures, preaching, and the celebration of the Lord's supper, were the ordinary acts of divine service. The Christians, who had witnessed the pompous ceremonial of paganism, and regarded idolatry with detestation, excluded all images from their places of meeting, and every idle ceremony from their worship. Nevertheless, some observances, such as the use of white vestments, unction, and the presence of sponsors, were introduced at the administration of baptism; and the holy supper, celebrated in remembrance of those who had died in the Lord, and as a sign of perpetual communion with them, sometimes degenerated into a ceremony for their supposed advantage.

In relation to doctrine, the church had already to sustain severe contests both without and within: without, against the attacks of pagan philosophers and Jews; but especially within, against the errors that were often propagated by men of piety, who were under the influence of some inveterate notion, some peculiar opinion, not in conformity with the true faith, according to the belief of the church. From being isolated partisans of a new doctrine, they rapidly became leaders of a sect, by the impression which their

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talents, powers of persuasion, and the very singularity of their sentiments, made on men whose turn of mind, dispositions, and circumstances, were similar to their own. But diversities of doctrine, heresies, and the formation of sects within the pale of the visible church, ought not to astonish those who are aware that an ardent imagination, the pride of reason, and particular prejudices, prevent men from seeing the truth; and that the profession of the gospel has not always eradicated these unhappy dispositions from persons who, wishing "to be something," cannot consent to be classed among "the poor in spirit."

Let us not be surprised, then, that the Christian church of the first three centuries had to defend the truth against heresies brought forth and nourished in her bosom: let us only rejoice in her victories; for invigorated from on high by her Divine Leader, to whom she applied with confidence in all her sorrows and conflicts, no less than in the days of her prosperity, she retained, in the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus, the form of sound doctrine; she kept that good thing which was committed unto her.

The formalism and asceticism of the Ebionites; the efforts of the Gnostics to transport the agitated soul beyond the natural limits of this world, their pretensions to explain everything, and their ambitious speculations, gave way, like the dualism of the Manicheans, to the power of simple faith in Jesus Christ, and of the Christian life which it supports. Reduced to the state of mere sects, they served as beacons, to warn believers of the danger of wandering beyond the limits that are fixed by the written word.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHANGES IN THE DOCTRINES, WORSHIP, AND LIFE OF THE CHURCH, AFTER THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE. [FROM A.D. 337.]

THE germs of numerous errors may be detected in the preceding period, but they were checked and arrested in their progress; on the one hand, by the abundance of healthy, vigorous, and fruitful plants which covered the

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soil of the church, and on the other, by the little time and space which incessant persecutions allowed to perverse or ambitious spirits for the formation and propagation of their opinions.

But no sooner was a season of external peace granted to the church, along with numerous temporal advantages, than the Christian life, sound doctrine, and divine worship were deteriorated. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, about the year 318 or 321, put forth a system of doctrine which goes to shake the very foundations of the gospel, by denying the divinity of Christ, and regarding him only as the first and most excellent of created beings. From its first rise, this heresy, which reduces the faith of the gospel to a very inconsiderable thing, and sets the mind of man at ease, was welcomed by many with enthusiasm. Condemned at the council of Nice (A.D. 325), victorious under Constantius, combated afresh and with success by those who remained faithful to the apostolic doctrine, it nevertheless saw its principles adopted by numerous sections of the church. Professed in succession by the Visigoths, Vandals, Suevians, and Burgundians, it invaded Italy, Greece, Gaul, Spain, and Africa.

Besides many other errors, which cannot be here enumerated, there arose one, in the year 412, of which the effects were scarcely less deplorable than those of Arianism. This was the doctrine of Pelagius, a British monk, on free will, which ascribed to every man the liberty [power] of determining himself for good, as easily as for evil, and saw in the dominion of sin nothing more than a habit from which the will could release itself. This doctrine, by attributing too much power to man, and denying his inability to effect his own salvation, nullified, or at least greatly impaired, the doctrine of redemption by Jesus Christ, disowned regeneration, and presented sanctification in a false light. This system, a little modified, and with something more of a Christian colouring, obtained many partisans, in spite of the powerful opposition of Augustin, bishop of Hippo; and the merit of good works, which it favoured, insensibly was received into the belief of a great many churches, especially in the east and in France.

Endless disputes, and deplorable conflicts, in the majority of churches, and between different churches, were

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the result of all these novel doctrines. It is almost needless to add, that true faith necessarily declined, continually showed less vigour, and was everywhere more uncommon.

One great event exerted a powerful influence on the destinies of the church, namely, the protection which an emperor, Constantine the Great, granted to the Christians, and the position in which he placed Christianity, by substituting it for paganism, and declaring it to be the religion of the state. Though certain advantages, such as liberty of worship, and freedom from persecution, were gained for the Christians by this event, yet it cannot be denied that great evils followed in its train.

Favoured by the emperor, put in possession of the pagan temples, and of the honours and credit formerly granted to the priests of idolatry, and loaded with wealth, the bishops were soon assailed by all the temptations of ambition, of the love of the world, and of power. Every functionary of the church, treading in the same path, saw his own consideration increased by the external advantages thus held out, and, like his superiors, was eager to grasp them. The distinction between the ecclesiastics and lay members became more established. The dignitaries of the church adopted a particular costume. Simplicity and humility gave place to vanity, ambition, and pride, and the ecclesiastical profession was entered by numbers for the sake of the temporal advantages that were attached to it.*

Another great evil, also, which resulted from the new position in which the church was placed by the emperor's protection, was this protection itself. For to accept a protector, is just so far to acknowledge dependence upon him.† Men think they have obtained a stay and defence, and find themselves oppressed by a yoke. The Christian church soon perceived this to be the result. The emperors inter-

* To understand how the power of the episcopate established and settled itself, and how such a hierarchy as that of the Roman Catholic church was organized, we refer the reader to Beugnot and A. de Saint-Priest, who explain in what way, after the patronage granted to the church by Constantine, the patrician body by degrees usurped the episcopate, thus confirming its pre-eminence in the church and in the state, and laying the foundations of the [Roman] Catholic hierarchy. (Vide Semeur, t. xiv., No. 33, pp. 258—261.)

† Another most lamentable consequence of such protection is, that men are impelled to uphold by carnal weapons what is to be propagated and defended only by spiritual means, such as the faith, etc.

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fered in the choice of the metropolitan bishops, secured their submission, and on more than one occasion, by means of their numerous dependents, influenced the decisions of the councils.

In return for the advantages which the emperors derived from the submission of the bishops of Rome, we find that they supported the pretensions of the latter to pre-eminence over all other bishops, and facilitated their success. By their assistance, the bishops of Rome obtained a general recognition of their title, and their claim to be the popes, or fathers of Christendom.

The public services of the church, likewise, were affected by this substitution of Christianity for paganism as the state-religion. The worshippers of idols, who, yielding to the force of events, made a profession of the gospel, brought their superstitions with them into the church. It was thought necessary to make some concessions to them. The temples were adorned; recourse was had to the magnificence and pomp of the ancient rituals, both Jewish and pagan, from which were borrowed emblems, images, statues, vestments, altars, sacred vases, and ceremonies.*

Upon every invasion of the barbarians, accessions were made to the ritual. It was imagined that these rude and ignorant tribes, the terror of the civilized world, and countless as the trees of the forest, could not be softened by the simple preaching of the gospel, and that the only pacific means of inducing them to receive it was the ceremonial splendour of a pompous worship.

In this manner, under the influence of a complication of causes, in a time of political troubles, which paralysed the minds and the efforts of the truly pious, (always few in number,) that idolatrous ritual which invaded the Latin or Roman church, established and developed itself, and has been perpetuated to the present day.

The authority of the holy Scriptures was weakened by the intrusion of apocryphal books into the canon of inspired writings; by the increasing importance and value attached to the opinions of the fathers, or ancient ecclesiastical writers; by the pretensions of councils to fix the sense of the sacred text in an exclusive manner; and, lastly, by the

* The cross being adopted as a standard, quickly became an object of worship, as his banner was for the Roman soldier.

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usurpation of spiritual power by the popes, in their pretended quality of successors of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The foundations of the Christian faith having been disturbed, the doctrines of the church underwent continual modifications, and a ritual of man's device supplanted the "worship of God in spirit and in truth." We shall not enter into the history of these changes; they have only an indirect connexion with our narrative, that is, in consequence of the resistance made to them by the faithful. For enabling us to understand subsequent events, it will be sufficient to recollect that the worship of images was generally introduced, and became an essential part of the Romish religion. The mass, originally designed to commemorate the sacrifice of the Saviour, gradually became itself a pretended sacrifice, though an unbloody one, of the body of Christ, for the remission of the sins both of the living and the dead. Twenty popes, probably, have contributed to form the canon of the mass, each one of them devising some new forms, some additions to its ceremonial. Having commenced so promising an undertaking, why should they stop short? They proceeded to invent purgatory, indulgences, penances, vigils, fastings, Lent, dispensations, auricular confession, extreme unction, absolution, and masses for the dead,—all but so many means of entangling souls, and holding them in a fatal security, as well as of attracting to the church a tremendous authority and boundless wealth.

Lastly, by the doctrine of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the sacrament of the supper, and the adoration of the host, the church fell back into idolatry. Composed of the ruins of Jewish formalism, pagan superstitions, disfigured fragments of the gospel, mixed with human speculations and reveries, the Latin Catholic, apostolic, and Roman church has for ten or twelve centuries been toiling to collect together, arrange, amend, and settle this strange medley, which she has decorated with the imposing title of *one and infallible*.

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CHAPTER III.

THE OPPOSITION WHICH THE NEW DOCTRINES AND CEREMONIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE CHURCH.

THE right path of sound doctrine, the purity and simplicity of the "life hidden with Christ," were not abandoned by the church without a long resistance from the sound part of its members. Who can recount all the efforts made to avert so great a calamity? Who can tell all that was attempted to prevent such a shipwreck—to arrest this sad catastrophe? The documents which have come down to us on this subject are very few; and they have reached us only through the medium of the dominant party. We are reduced to glean on the field the few ears which they have failed to remove out of sight; and often, it must be confessed, we have found the ground totally bare where we should have rejoiced to collect a sheaf.

Resistance to the encroachments of error of all kinds often proceeded from the higher ranks of the church, but more frequently from the inferior orders. It was organized not only in the convocations of bishops, but also in the common assemblies of Christians, in the hearts of simple priests or humble laymen.

Pope Celestin I., writing to the bishops of Vienne and Narbonne, in France, between A.D. 423 and 432, complains of men having granted permission to *foreign* priests to preach as they pleased, and to agitate "*unlearned questions*," which introduced dissensions into the church.* He affects not to specify the object of his complaints; yet, from the conclusion of his letter, we learn that the point in question relates to the saints, and that the preachers he had in view were not favourable to the errors in vogue on that head. "Yet," said he, "we ought not to be astonished if they attempt such things towards the living, who endeavour to destroy the memory of our brethren who are

* The same pope, in a second letter to the same prelates, again denounces other priests who have not been brought up in the church, who came from some remote country with foreign manners, who understand *the Scriptures according to the letter*, who preach novel doctrines, and refuse penance (no doubt absolution) to the dying. (Delectus Actorum Ecclesiæ universalis, t. i., pp. 181, 182.)

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now at rest." From this language we may infer that the Gallic churches were not then favourable to images and the invocation of saints, and that a considerable number of priests courageously withstood the entrance of this false doctrine.*

About the same time, toward the end of the fourth century, another fact, while it confirms what we have stated respecting the Gallic churches, shows also that in Lombardy there were believers who opposed the use of images, and other novelties. Vigilantius, a well-informed man, though Jerome asserts the contrary, a native of Comminge, in Aquitaine, had exercised the functions of a priest at Barcelona or its neighbourhood. During his travels in the east, he fell in with St. Jerome. This celebrated recluse in vain attempted to convince Vigilantius, and to bring him over to his opinions respecting relics, saints, images, and prayers addressed to them, tapers that were kept burning at the tombs, pilgrimages, fasts, the celibacy of priests, a solitary life, etc. Vigilantius remained immovable. On his return, this opponent of the new doctrines appears to have fixed himself in Lombardy, where he found a refuge, probably in the vicinity of the Cottian Alps.† Jerome himself gives us this information in one of his epistles to Riparius: "I saw, a short time ago," he says, "that monster Vigilantius. I would fain have bound this madman by passages of holy writ, as Hippocrates advises to confine maniacs with bonds; but he has departed—he has withdrawn—he has hurried away—he has escaped; and from the space between the Alps, where Cottus reigned, and the waves of the Adriatic, his cries have reached me. Oh infamous! he has found, even among the bishops, accomplices of his wickedness."‡

We see by this passage, that the bishops of Lombardy approved of Vigilantius, and joined him in opposing the above-mentioned errors. In Lombardy it would appear that many churches had, more or less, preserved sound doctrine.

The long and persevering resistance of one part of the

* Delectus Actorum, etc., t. i., pp. 177, 178.

† The Cottian Alps are to the north of Mount Viso, and among these the Vaudois valleys are situated.

‡ Hieronymus ad Riparium, contra Vigilantium, t. ii., p. 158, etc.

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church to the encroachments of the errors of the Romish church, is unquestionable; for, at the close of the sixth century, we find that Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, had succeeded in banishing images from his diocese. We learn this fact from a letter of pope Gregory the Great, who was pope from A.D. 590 to 604: "We have been apprised," he says, "that, animated by an inconsiderate zeal, you have broken in pieces the images of the saints, on the plea that they ought not to be adored. In truth, *we should have entirely approved of your conduct, had you forbidden their being adored;* but we blame you for having broken them in pieces. . . . For it is one thing to adore a painting, and another to learn by its history the proper object of adoration."*

This letter shows, not only that the worship of images, and consequently several other deviations from sound doctrine, had not yet entirely pervaded the church, but that the pious popes hesitated to recommend them under their most censurable form.

Towards the middle of the eighth century, the struggle of the faithful against these errors still continued. We see it carried on between the French prelates and Boniface, the apostle of Germany. Claude Clement, Sidonius, Virgilius, Samson, and Aldebert at their head, reproached Boniface with propagating the following errors:—the celibacy of the priests; the worship of relics; the adoration of images; the supremacy of the popes; masses for the dead; purgatory, etc. For this reason, Roman Catholic authors accuse them of heresy, and reproach Aldebert especially, for condemning as useless the imposition of hands, the sign of the cross, and other ceremonies already adopted at baptism.

The tenth epistle of pope Zachary to Boniface is so explicit on the existence, in the church, of a strong opposition to the encroachments of the Romish ritual, and of a different and more evangelical worship, that we cannot forbear citing it:—"As for the priests," he says, "whom your fraternity report to have found (*who are more numerous than the Catholics*) wandering about, disguised under the name of bishops or priests, not ordained by Catholic bishops, who deceive the people, perplex and trouble the ministers of the

* Delectus Actorum, etc., t. i., p. 443.

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church, they are false vagabonds, adulterers, murderers, effeminate, sacrilegious hypocrites, the greater part tonsured slaves who have fled from their masters, servants of the devil transformed into ministers of Christ, who live as they list, being without bishops, having partisans to defend them against the bishops, that they may not attack their irregular lives, who meet in separate assemblies, with persons that abet their proceedings, and exercise their erroneous ministry not in a Catholic church, but in strange places, in the cellars of country-people, where their stupid folly may be concealed from the bishops."*

We do not think it necessary to clear the priests who are here spoken of from the charges of adultery and murder, sacrilege and hypocrisy. Every one knows that the writers of the Romish church have never spared injurious epithets and calumnies when their adversaries were concerned. It is enough that we have ascertained, by the letter even of a pope, the existence, in the eighth century, of priests and Christians united in religious assemblies who were not in subjection to the see of Rome.

Nor must we omit to notice the vigorous opposition that was made in the dominions of Charlemagne to the decisions of the second council of Nice, A.D. 787, in favour of the worship of images. These decisions, and others also on the sign of the cross, were rejected by the council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, in spite of the representations of the pope's legates. The prelates of the second council of Nice having anathematized those who refused to worship images, Charlemagne observed, that, "in so doing, they had anathematized and branded as heretics their own fathers, and as they had been consecrated by them, their consecration was null, and therefore they were not themselves true priests."†

One of the most striking facts to illustrate the resistance made by the faithful church to the introduction of those errors of which Rome was the centre, is the episcopate of Claude of Turin. It is a beacon which illumines the night of those remote times, and reflects afar its brilliant and beautiful light. By its brightness we discern in the distance the Vaudois valleys, where the sacred flame of the

* Sacro-sancta Concilia, studio Ph. Labbei, t. v., col. 1519.
† Dupin, Nouvelle Biblioth., etc., t. v., p. 148.

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gospel which Claude had revived and maintained, continued to purify the heart, when the humid mists of the Roman heresy had extinguished it in the open country.

Claude,* at first chaplain of Louis le Débonnaire, while Charlemagne was still living, was nominated by Louis to the bishopric of Turin, about the year 822, under the pontificate of Pascal I., who died May 13, 824, and administered in that diocese till 839, the time of his death, as it is believed. An eloquent preacher, and profoundly conversant with the Scriptures, he exercised an active and successful ministry for seventeen years; and, what forms a most prominent feature in his labours, he banished all images from the basilicks [churches]. Being censured by the abettors of a worship unknown to the primitive church, he wrote several books to refute his foreign opponents. These writings are lost, with the exception of the fragments which have been preserved by his opponent, Jonas d'Orléans. Although incomplete and perhaps mutilated, they form a splendid testimony of the doctrine that was preached for seventeen years in the same countries where we find it, at a later period, professed by the Vaudois. The passages we are about to cite will prove that Jonas d'Orléans did not make too great a concession when he allowed that Claude had some knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.

The work of Claude of Turin which Jonas d'Orléans, as well as Dungal, has thus preserved for us, is entitled, "Apologetic Reply of Claude, Bishop, to the Abbot Theodemir."

"I have received," he says, "by a certain country carrier, (*portitorem,*) your epistle, full of prate and nonsense, in which you declare that you have been troubled, because a report has been spread to my discredit from Italy through all Gaul, and even as far as Spain, that I preach in order to form a new sect, contrary to the rule of the Catholic faith, which is totally false; but it is not strange if the members of Satan speak of me in this manner, since they called our Lord a seducer and demoniac. For I, who remain in the unity, (of the church,) and proclaim the truth, aim at forming no new sect; but, as far as lies in my power, I

* Some account of Claude may be found in Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xvi., p. 139, etc. He was a Spaniard and not a Scotchman, as was Claude Clement, mentioned above [p. 11.].

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repress sects, schisms, superstitions, and heresies; I have combated, overthrown, and crushed them, and, by God's assistance, I shall not cease to do so to the utmost. And since, contrary to my wishes, I have been charged with the burden of a bishopric, and sent by the pious Louis, a son of God's holy church, and have arrived in Italy, I have found at Turin all the basilicks filled with execrable impurities and images, contrary to the commands of the truth (of the gospel); and as I alone have overturned all these things that others adore, it is against me alone that they are embittered. For this they have all opened their mouths to calumniate me; and if the Lord had not been on my side, they would probably have devoured me alive. The prohibition so clearly expressed, Thou shalt not make unto thee the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, etc., applies not only to the likenesses of strange gods, but also to those of celestial beings, and whatever the human mind can invent in honour of the Creator.

"We do not pretend, say those against whom we defend the church, that the image we adore has anything divine, but we adore it with the respect due to that which it represents. To this we reply: if the images of the saints are adored with a diabolical worship, my adversaries have not abandoned idols, but only changed their names. If, then, you draw or paint upon the walls the images of Peter, Paul, Jupiter, Saturn, or Mercury, these are neither gods, nor apostles, neither one nor the other are men; the name is changed; but the error remains and continues always the same, inasmuch as they have an image of God deprived of life and reason, instead of images and animals, or, which is nearer the truth, instead of wood and of stone.

"It deserves to be well considered, that if men ought not to adore and serve the works of God's hands, there is much stronger reason for not adoring or serving the works of men's hands, not even with the adoration due to those whom it is pretended they represent; for if the image that you adore is not God, you ought by no means to adore it with the adoration offered to saints, who make no pretensions to divine honours.

"We ought, then, carefully to bear this in mind, that all those who pay divine honours, not only to visible

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images, but to any creature, whether celestial or terrestrial, spiritual or corporeal, and who expect from it the salvation which comes from God alone, are of that class whom the apostle describes as serving the creature more than the Creator.

"Why do you humble and bow yourself before vain images? Why bend your body before idols that are without sense, terrestrial, and base? God has created you upright, and while the animals are prone toward the earth, he would have you raise your eyes to heaven, and fix your regards on the Lord. Thither you must look; thither you must lift up your eyes. It is on high that we must seek after God, that we may learn to wean ourselves from earth. Raise, then, your heart to heaven. Why prostrate yourself in the dust of death with the insensible image that you serve? Why deliver yourself to the devil for it, and with it? Keep the elevation in which you were born; maintain yourself such as God made you.

"But let us hear what the miserable followers of false religion and superstition say. It is in memory of our Saviour that we serve, honour, and adore the cross either painted or erected to his honour. Nothing, then, pleases them in our Saviour but that which pleased the impious, the opprobrium of his sufferings, and the ignominy of his death. They believe respecting him what the wicked believe, both Jews and pagans, who reject his resurrection, and only regard him as tortured, and who, in their heart, always think of him in the agony of his suffering, without thinking of what the apostle said, and without understanding that expression, 'Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more,' after that manner.

"Such persons must be told, that if they are disposed to adore every piece of wood that is cut in the form of a cross, because Christ was hung on the cross, that there are many other things that had a connexion with Christ in the days of his flesh, which are fitter objects of adoration.

"In fact, he remained scarcely six hours suspended on the cross, while he passed nine months in the virgin's womb; let us, then, adore virgins, because a virgin gave birth to Jesus Christ. Let us adore mangers, because soon after his birth he was laid in a manger; let us adore old

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swaddling clothes, because he was wrapped in such. Let us adore ships, because he often sailed in a ship; he taught multitudes out of a ship; he slept in a ship; and was in a ship when he ordered his disciples to cast out the net in which the miraculous draught of fishes was caught. Let us adore asses, because he entered Jerusalem mounted on an ass. Let us adore lambs, because it is written of him, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.' But these abettors of unsound doctrine prefer eating the living lambs, and adore those painted upon walls. Let us adore lions, for it is written of him, 'The Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed.' Let us adore rocks, since, after being taken down from the cross, he was placed in a sepulchre hewn out of a rock; and the apostle says of him, 'That rock was Christ.' But Christ is called a rock, a lamb, a lion, figuratively, and not in a literal sense. Let us adore the thorns of the bramble, because a crown of thorns was placed on his head, during his passion. Let us adore reeds, because they furnished the soldiers with an instrument for striking him. Lastly; let us adore spears, because one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and out of it there came blood and water.

"All this is ridiculous; and we would much rather lament it, than write it. But we are obliged to answer fools according to their folly, and to hurl against hearts of stone, not the darts or maxims of the word, but missiles of stone. Be converted, ye prevaricators, who have withdrawn yourselves from the truth, and who love vanity, and have become vain; who crucify the Son of God afresh, and expose him to open shame; who have thus led a multitude of souls to become associates of demons, and who, turning them away from their Creator, by means of your detestable, sacrilegious images, have cast them down, and precipitated them into eternal damnation.

"God commands one thing, and these people do another. God commands to bear the cross, not to adore it. These persons would adore it, while they bear it neither corporeally nor spiritually. To serve God in this manner is to forsake him. He has said himself, 'Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me;' doubtless because he who does not

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renounce himself, does not approach to Him who is above him, and he cannot seize that which passes by him, if he has not learned in good time to distinguish it.

"But as to your saying, that I prevent men from going on pilgrimage to Rome, in order to do penance there, you accuse me falsely. For I do not approve [nor disapprove]* of that journey, because I know that it does not injure all, nor profit all. I wish, in the first place, that you would ask yourself, if you acknowledge that to go to Rome is doing penance, why, for so long a time, have you damned so many souls whom you have kept in your monastery, and have even received to do penance there, obliging them to serve you, instead of sending them to Rome? You say, in fact, that you have a hundred and forty monks, that have all come to you to do penance, who have devoted themselves to the monastery, and not one of whom have you allowed to go to Rome. If it be so, that men must go to Rome to do penance, and yet you have prevented them, what will you say to this declaration of the Lord, 'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.' There can be no greater offence than to hinder a man from following a road that may conduct him to eternal happiness.

"We well know that this sentence of the gospel is very ill understood: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; . . . and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' On account of these words of the Lord, an ignorant multitude, neglecting all spiritual understanding, persist in betaking themselves to Rome, in order to obtain eternal life. He who properly understands the keys of the kingdom of heaven, does not seek for the local intercession of St. Peter. In fact, if we examine the force of our Lord's words, he did not say to St. Peter alone, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' In truth, this ministry belongs to all the true inspectors and pastors of the church, who exercise it as long as they are in this world; and when they have paid the debt of death, others succeed in their place, and enjoy

* [Nec approbo, nec improbo.—Gieseler, vol. ii., § 1, p. 102., 4th ed.; Band, ii., Abtheilung i.]

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the same authority and power. You may add the example of David, 'Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth.'

"Return, blind mortals, to your light! Return to Him who 'lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' This 'light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not.'* Hearken every one of you, who, not seeing or not regarding the light, walk in darkness, and know not whither you go, because that darkness has blinded your eyes; foolish men! who, by going to Rome, seek the intercession of the apostle, hear what St. Augustine says, in his ninth book on the Trinity. Come with me and consider why we love the apostle. Is it on account of his human countenance, which we well know? Is it because we believe that he was a man? No, certainly; for then we should no longer have anything to love, since the man exists no longer; his soul has quitted his body. But we believe that what we loved in him still lives. If the believer must believe God when he promises, how much more when he swears and says, 'Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in' that town; that is to say, if the saints whom you invoke were filled with a sanctity, a merit, and a righteousness as great as what those persons possessed, they should 'deliver neither son nor daughter.' And for this purpose he has declared it, namely, that no one may put confidence in either the merits or the intercession of saints; since if he himself does not persevere in the faith, in the righteousness, and in the truth, in which they persevered, and by which they pleased God, he cannot be saved. As for you who seek the intercession of the apostle by a pilgrimage to Rome, hear what St. Augustine, so often quoted,† says against you. Hear this, ye perverse people; fools as ye are; take warning once more: 'He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see? He that chastiseth the heathen, . . . he that teacheth man knowledge, shall not he know?'

"The fifth thing with which you reproach me is, that you are displeased because his apostolic lordship (*dominus*

* This passage reminds us of the device on the escutcheon of the Vaudois and their lords, a lamp lighted in the dark, with these words,—*Lux lucet in tenebris;* "The light shineth in darkness."

† This expression, "so often quoted," seems to indicate that the quotation from Claude, in Jonas d'Orléans, is incomplete.

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apostolicus) was exasperated against me, (thus you speak of the deceased bishop of Rome, Pascal,) and that he had honoured me with my appointment. But since the term apostolic in some degree means the guardian of an apostle, he certainly is not to be called apostolic who merely occupies the apostle's seat, but he who fulfils the functions of the apostle. As for those who occupy that seat without fulfilling its duties, the Lord has said, 'The scribes and the pharisees sit in Moses' seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works; for they say, and do not,'"* Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.

This letter, if read attentively, clearly shows the Christian and eminently evangelical character of Claude. We here see that the source whence he derived his courage and fidelity was the word of God; and we may conclude, from the continual use made of the Scriptures in his writings, that he preached† and circulated them in his diocese; that he must have given a fresh impulse to the study of holy writ, prompted the ministers of religion to teach nothing but what it contained, and conducted the sheep that were entrusted to his care to the one heavenly Shepherd who could feed them, and save them for ever.

It is easy to imagine the immense influence which such a man must have exerted during an episcopate of seventeen years. And even if persons could succeed in proving, which is not possible, that his work was isolated, without antecedent preparatory circumstances, and without any remarkable ulterior consequences;—if it could be shown that the bishops who followed him all laboured to destroy it, it would not be less certain that it once existed; and the possibility, or rather the probability, will remain, that it was perpetuated after him in many hearts, in some parts, at least, of his vast diocese; in the valleys of the Vaudois Alps, for example, which were less exposed than the open country to the sudden irruption of the papal authority.

But this extravagant supposition of a ministration of an unusual character, is untrue and untenable. Claude was no innovator. His work was not isolated. All the accounts we have given of the resistance of the faithful church prove

* Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xvi., col. 139—169, etc.

† In doing so, he conformed to the decision of the council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, as any one may be convinced by a reference to its acts.

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this. It was in the same, or the neighbouring countries, that Vigilantius had found a refuge among bishops who professed, like himself, a doctrine opposed to the worship of images and saints, to ceremonies at tombs, to pilgrimages, to fasts, to the celibacy of priests, and to a monastic life. Let us not forget that Serenus, on the other side of the Alps, at the beginning of the seventh century, accomplished a work similar to that of Claude, in the diocese of Marseilles; that in the eighth century many French prelates opposed the introduction of the same errors, and the alterations in doctrine that Boniface preached. And, lastly, it is to be remembered that the majority of the bishops in the wide domains of Charlemagne, of which Turin and Piedmont formed a part, resisted in the council of Frankfort (A.D. 794) the solicitations, prayers and orders of the pope's legates, and rejected the same worship of images which Claude banished from his diocese.*

No; the labours of the pious bishop were not isolated. At that very time, the conflict against the errors of Rome was vigorously carried on in differentc ountries; and if the partisans of the worship of images had sometimes the victory, as it appears they had under the episcopate of Claude's predecessor, it was soon disputed, and often reversed. Father Pagi himself, in his "Chronological and Critical Abridgment of History," citing Dionysius of Padua, after having made some rather curious acknowledgments respecting the introduction of images,† and the pretended motives which justified it in the eyes of Roman Catholics, confesses, "that it is by no means proved that this (the introduction of images) prevailed in all places, nor in the same manner; but it was effected in one place sooner, in another later, according to the ability and disposition of the people, and according as those who directed them judged it seasonable;" —(*expedire judicabant.*)‡

* It is worthy of notice, that Agobard, archbishop of Lyon, shared entirely in the views of his contemporary, Claude, as his writings assert. (Vide Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xvi., col. 241, etc.)

† He acknowledges "that in the first ages of Christianity the use of sacred images was not *frequent*," (he ought to have said, "was not *known*;") he adds, "that the motive or reason for their introduction was that they were regarded as a means of edification, and of spreading Christianity; that their adoption was reasonable when the superstitious regard for idols, formerly concealed in the heart, was no longer to be feared." Not a word of the prohibition contained in the word of God against it.

‡ Breviarium historico-chronologicum, etc. R. P. Pagi, t. i., P. 521—524, § 22.

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But the very words of Claude, in his letter to the abbot Theodemir, show us most clearly that the bishop of Turin merely carried on a work that had been already begun: "I do not teach a new sect," he writes; "I, who remain in the unity [of the church], and proclaim the truth. But, as far as it depends on me, I have suppressed sects, schisms, superstitions, and heresies; I have combated, crushed, and overturned them; and, by God's help, I will not cease to overturn them to the utmost of my power." Who does not see, that in opposing the worship of images within his diocese, Claude believed that he remained in the unity of the church; that he was defending the truth—the truth that was still known and revered? Who does not see, that in reforming abuses that were already introduced, Claude wished to repress a sect, gaining ground, perhaps, but still a sect, to combat schism,—to arrest superstition and heresy?

The strong language that Claude employs to designate the partisans of image-worship, and the energy of his remonstrances, show us a man who rather attacks his enemy than defends himself; so well guarded did he feel himself to be from danger by the mere strength of his position. The contempt with which he speaks of the pretensions of Rome, and of the pope himself,* whom he compares to the scribes and pharisees sitting in Moses' seat, is an index not only of his courage, but of his power.

Lastly; what completes the demonstration that the labours of Claude were not those of an isolated innovator, without predecessors in the diocese itself, or beyond it, is, his complete success. The images were taken from all the basilicks, to the great annoyance, it is true, of those who exhibited them; but without any serious opposition being raised from any quarter. It would even appear, that as he speaks only of their expulsion from the basilicks, the worship of images had not reached the country places, but only Turin, and perhaps the larger cities in the diocese. It is obvious, that a work accomplished with scarcely any opposition, in a wide tract of country, supposes the mass of the clergy and the church to be in its favour; and if we recollect that Claude filled the bishopric for at least fifteen years, we must be convinced that his zeal and fidelity, seconded by an intelli-

* It may be inferred that the title of *Pope* was not then prevalent, or Claude would not have failed to make some allusion to it.

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gent and devoted clergy, by the love of the believers and the conscience of the people, must have given an impulse to the cause of sound doctrine and the Christian life, which could not be checked all at once.

It may not be uninteresting to add to the foregoing the testimony of a modern Piedmontese author:—"Be that as it may," he tells us, "this bishop of Turin, a man of eloquence and austere manners, had a great number of partisans. These persons, anathematized by the pope, and persecuted by the lay princes, were chased from the open country, and forced to take refuge in the mountains, where they have kept their ground from that time, always checked, but always endeavouring to extend themselves.*

CHAPTER IV.

VESTIGES OF THE FAITHFUL CHURCH IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

THE episcopate of Claude of Turin seems, at the first glance, to be the last striking instance of the opposition of the sound part of the Christian church to the encroachments of the errors that were propagated in the west. In fact, from Claude of Turin to the writings of the Vaudois, that is to say, from the first half of the ninth century to the commencement of the twelfth, the history of the faithful church offers but few prominent and well-ascertained facts; yet it is not entirely destitute of them. Intelligent study and conscientious investigation bring to light scattered facts which at first seem like traces half effaced, but in which we soon recognise the vestiges of a church oppressed but always militant. These facts, impressed on the course of the world, at unequal intervals, and often in different places, converge towards a centre, and lead us back to countries in which we shall shortly find an evangelical church, exhibiting a mature Christian life, according to the doctrine of the apostles.

It is here necessary to take a survey of this epoch.

The end of the ninth, the whole of the tenth and eleventh

* Mémoires Historiques, par le marquis Costa de Beauregard, t. ii., p. 50.

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centuries, were times of incessant trouble; an epoch when a new social system was gradually rising on the ruins of the old, which had been overturned by a succession of calamities. The invasions of the Goths, Franks, Lombards, and all the ferocious hordes of the north, designated by the general name of barbarians, had been checked. The victorious sword of Charlemagne had driven them back to the frontiers. But the efforts of this great prince to reconstitute society on a solid basis, had only a momentary success. On his decease, interminable wars began afresh, under his sons and their successors, between the old and new population of his vast empire. The maritime invasions of the Normans and the Saracens aggravated the general confusion. The elements of ancient civilisation, though feeble and exhausted, still combated against the vigorous elements of the turbulent and savage life of the barbarians.

From this chaos a new social system arose, or rather society reconstructed itself in a new form, the feudal system. On all sides, society, after being shattered in pieces, was forming itself anew in a multitude of small, obscure, isolated, rival societies, obeying their chiefs, the lords of the soil, who were linked to one another by the complicated relations of *suzerain* and *vassal*.

In the conflict of aims which marked these times, the clergy were not forgetful of their temporal interests. The bishops and abbots also sought to emancipate themselves from the civil power. They desired to combine with their spiritual authority the civil jurisdiction over the cities and rural districts of their dioceses and parishes. In a word, they claimed the power, the rank, and the honours of lords, counts, and princes of the empire; and they gained their object.

But it will be easily comprehended that such ambitious projects impelled the clergy to a life of worldly agitation, military enterprises, intrigues, and passions, which diverted their attention from the duties of piety, and of meditation on the truths of religion. The superior clergy aspired only to power, riches, and pleasure. All their thoughts were bent on their proud pretensions, on luxury and worldliness. The inferior clergy, in their turn, became lax, and did not always preserve even a decent exterior. They were sunk, moreover, in the grossest ignorance. The monks, especially,

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became the instruments of knavery, and the encouragers of debauchery. The light of the gospel was hid under a bushel. Religion, already deteriorated by the controversy respecting images and the worship of saints, became continually more obscure, and was at last reduced to gross superstition. In the tenth century these evils were at their height, so that it has justly been styled *the iron age.*

During the whole of this period Rome was a prey to anarchy; division paralysed its force and activity. History shows us that the parties which existed in that city contended for the papal throne. The popes who were chosen spent their lives in defending their nomination, in combating their antagonists, and in strengthening their own party. But taking advantage of some favourable juncture, the vanquished party regained the ascendency, chose a new pope, and deposed the old one, who often was imprisoned and put to death. The majority of the popes in these times were undeserving of any respect; some were absolute monsters. Scandalous proceedings of the same kind disturbed most of the dioceses.

The eleventh century resembled the preceding in its general features. The same spirit of insubordination and corruption, of ambition, voluptuousness, and luxury in the superior clergy, prevailed;* the same relaxation of manners, the same grossness in the inferior clergy and the convents; among all classes an ignorance almost beyond belief.

Nevertheless, some laudable efforts were made. Schools began to flourish about the year 1050 in Italy. Literature reappeared in France, after the example of Spain. The tendency of Rome, in this age, was to regain the ground it had lost in the preceding, and to bring under the papal authority not only the ecclesiastical power, the bishops and abbots, and even councils, but the political power likewise, kings and emperors. It is not our present business to trace the history of those encroachments which began to be made, in the ninth century, upon the Carlovingian race, and were carried to the greatest lengths in the eleventh century, by Hildebrand, against the unfortunate Henry IV., emperor of Germany: it is sufficient to state, that during the eleventh century, as was the case during the preceding and

* It was about this time that councils had to fix the number of horses to be used by prelates on their journeys.

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the end of the ninth, the attention of the heads of the Romish church was diverted from the scattered remnants of the faithful church, preoccupied as they were with their own temporal interests, and the dangers and advantages of their position, while the whole social system was dissolving, and about to be settled on a new basis.

It will not be thought strange, that during this unhappy season of trouble and conflict, both political and ecclesiastical, when scarcely an individual in the Latin church engaged in the conscientious search after evangelical truth, the documents essential for a history of the struggle of the faithful church should be few and of very little service; the struggle itself having everywhere ceased, and the truth, where it still existed, no longer being noticed or attacked, on account of the general preoccupation of men's minds with worldly interests.

Having made these preliminary remarks, we proceed to examine the small number of documents known to us, which serve as distant landmarks to point out the Vaudois of the valleys of Piedmont, as successors and continuators of the primitive and faithful church.

The reader will bear in mind all that has been said in the preceding chapter. We have seen that in the diocese of Turin, in A.D. 839, the year of the decease of its worthy bishop, the gospel was preached and professed in its purity, and with fidelity.

The existence of a number (greater or less) of Christians, separated from Rome, in the north of Italy, is clearly ascertained by the epistles of Hatto, who, in the year 945, held the diocese of Vercelli, situated between Turin and Milan. The letters of this bishop have been preserved. In some of them, he speaks of persons who had left the church, and describes them as being in the neighbourhood of his own diocese. The doctrinal and other points which he specifies as separating them from the church of which he was a bishop, appear to be those which were held by the Vaudois.

These coincidences of place and doctrine are of great interest: they draw our attention to those districts where Claude of Turin laboured as a faithful shepherd of Jesus Christ, and confirm the fact that the little lamp of truth, once lighted in these parts, was never extinguished.

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The very words of Hatto sufficiently indicate, that the evil of which he complains was considerable, for he was sensible of it within his own diocese. Listen to one of his complaints: "Hatto to all the faithful of our diocese. Alas! there are *many* among you who turn our sacred worship into ridicule! Alas! that these miserable offenders have separated themselves from our holy mother church and the clergy, by whose means alone you can attain salvation."*

This quotation proves,—1. That these "miserable offenders," as the bishop of Vercelli was pleased to call the remains of the faithful church, were separated from the holy mother church, and the clergy of that church; that consequently their existence out of that church was an absolute fact, of which we must take note: 2. That the effects of this existence of a Christian church, separate from the pretended holy mother church, had been felt even within the diocese of Vercelli; and that the worship of saints, which had already been in much repute, as well as other vanities and errors, had received a check from that quarter; which shows that the light which shone in the darkness was not so very faint.

A passage from an author of the eleventh century may be considered as referring to the same subject. Pietro Damiano, writing in A.D. 1050, to Adelaide, countess of Savoy (of Susa properly) and duchess of the Subalpines,† complains that the clergy in the domains of this princess did not observe the ordinances of the church.‡

The chronicle of the monastery of St. Thron, in Belgium, written by the abbot Radulph, or Rodolph, between A.D. 1108 and 1136, contains a most important article. The chronicler, speaking of a country which he was anxious to visit when he should cross the Alps, on his way to Rome, describes it as a country polluted by an inveterate heresy respecting the body of our Lord: "Moreover, he heard that the land to which he had intended to travel was polluted with an inveterate heresy respecting the body and blood of the Lord."§

* Dacherii Spicilegium, t. viii., p. 110, as quoted by Dr. Gilly.

† Piedmontese.

‡ Opera Damiani, p. 566; Gilly's Researches, p. 88; Mémoires Hist. par le marquis Costa de Beauregard, I., p. iii.

§ "Præterea terram, ad quam ulterius disposuerat peregrinari, audiebat pol-

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This passage is important, as marking the locality of the heresy; it was a country (*terram*); and a country at the passage of the Alps, on the way to Rome. No doubt the designation is vague in one sense, but it is very precise in another,* in characterizing it as being in the Alps, or at the foot of the Alps; a description which perfectly agrees with the Vaudois valleys. But more especially, this country is represented as "polluted with an inveterate heresy," *(pollutam esse inveteratâ hæresi.)* This reproach is of great importance for our object. It demonstrates that this heresy was of ancient date, as having had its seat in that country, from which it could not be expelled, for it was inveterate (*inveterata*). It proves that the heresy in this country was not confined to a few isolated individuals, but existed among the people in general, since the whole country was polluted (*pollutam*) with it. The point on which the passage is less precise, is the doctrine which it terms heretical. It seems to consider it as relating only to the Lord's supper; but this would very properly mark the church of the Vaudois, who, as we shall see in the sequel, rejected the sacrifice of the mass.

Another testimony worthy of attention is taken from the writings of a man born in the neighbourhood of the valleys, namely, Bruno d'Asti, bishop of Segni, and abbot of Montcassin, about the year 1120. What he says relates not only to a disgraceful traffic in sacred things—to simony, but to the general corruption of the church in his time, and especially to the existence of the active promoters of a more Christian life; in other words, the existence of a faithful church. We translate the passage: "We have said," Bruno remarks, "that from the time of St. Leo, about A.D. 460, the church was already so corrupted, that it was difficult to find an individual not guilty of simony, or who had not been ordained by simoniacs; also up to the present day we meet with persons who, by erroneous reasoning, and not understanding the organization of the church, maintain that the priesthood has failed in the church since that time."†

lutam esse inveteratâ hæresi de corpore et sanguine Domini." Spicilegium Dacherii, t. vii., p. 493; Gilly, p. 88.

* That is, to every one who knows that it is necessary to cross the Alps in taking such a journey.

† Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xx., col. 1734.

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Bruno d'Asti has not named the Vaudois, but he has marked them with sufficient exactness; for while he confounds the pope St. Leo with another more ancient Leo, he quotes a claim formally set forth in the writings of the Vaudois, and repeated in those of their opponents; and he seems to allude to one of their best-established traditions, namely, that according to which the Vaudois trace back their belief to Leo, an associate and contemporary of Sylvester, bishop of Rome in the time of the emperor Constantine, as we shall see further on.

These expressions of a man who was born in the neighbourhood of the Vaudois valleys, which he uses while attempting to refute an opinion that still had currency among them conformably to their tradition, will doubtless carry great weight with all reflective persons.

These various facts forcibly demonstrate the existence, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, of a church distinct from the Roman, in the north of Italy.

To these ancient testimonies we shall add that of a modern author, the marquis Costa de Beauregard. This testimony is of so much greater importance, because M. Costa, as a Catholic, cannot be suspected of favouring the cause of the Vaudois, and as a Savoyard of noble birth, a friend of historical inquiries, and an author occupied on the history of his native country, he has had the opportunity of consulting all the documents in the archives. He expresses himself as follows: "To fill up the measure of these evils, they fought with one another on account of religious opinions; and carried on their controversies while surrounded by depravity and the grossest ignorance. Arianism was widely spread through Savoy, and Manicheism in Piedmont.* In the tenth century, we see a count of Turin and a bishop of Asti joining in arms to exterminate the Manicheans who were assembled in the Langhes, pursuing them with fire and sword, and committing them and their villages to the flames.

"The sectaries who took in France the name of Albigenses, were called in Italy *Paterini, Cathari*, or *Gazari*, names equivalent to that of *Puritans*. They afterwards joined themselves to the religionists in the valleys of Pinerolo.

* In the following chapter we shall state our opinion respecting the Manicheans of that period.

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"There exists also a chronicle of Fra-Dolcino, a heretic of the eleventh century, containing some notices of the Manicheism of which he was an ardent propagator in Biella, Novarra, and Vercelli, and the dogmas of which are in part still held by the Protestants in the valleys of Pinerolo."*

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGIOUS MANIFESTATIONS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

We must now adduce certain facts that occurred in the eleventh century, which indicate an unquestionable religious activity in the propagation of sound evangelical doctrines. Before enumerating such as have come to our knowledge, it will be proper to remind our readers that every manifestation has an origin, and every event its cause; that, consequently, the religious manifestations of the eleventh century, like those of succeeding ages, so remarkable for their evangelical character, also had theirs.

Without doubt, the word of God read and meditated upon, in different places, by sincere, humble, and believing men, was able to produce, in these times of darkness, effects analogous to those which it produced at a later period in the hearts and lives of a Luther, a Lefèvre, and a Zwingle; but if, in these religious manifestations of the eleventh century, we find indications leading us to suppose or perceive that many of them had their source and origin in the Alps which separate Italy from France, we shall have a new proof of the continued existence of an evangelical, faithful church in those countries.

Certainly, all the facts adduced will not have the same force, or be equally convincing; but when united and taken in connexion with what has been already said, they will add strength to the preceding proofs.

It must also be recollected that these facts have come down to us only in the writings of the adversaries of these

* Mémoires Hist., par le marquis Costa de Beauregard, t. i., pp. 46, 47, preface pp. xiii. and xiv.

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manifestations, through the medium of men who have ill understood them—who have often misrepresented them, and who have suppressed what it was their interest to conceal, in order to extenuate the criminality of their own degenerate and persecuting church.

The following are some of these facts:—

In the year 1017 according to some, or 1022 according to others, a religious manifestation attracted attention. Persons distinguished by the regularity of their lives, their knowledge, and their position in society, were accused of heresy at Orléans. They were fourteen in number, including a nun. The clergy were strongly represented, for six of these people were canons of Sainte Croix; among whom the names of three are preserved, Lisoïus, Héribert, and Etienne. One of them had been confessor to queen Constance. It was stated that they had held their peculiar views for some time, and that while remaining in outward connexion with the church, they celebrated a religious service in private. It was agreed on all hands, that they had been gained over to heresy by a female who came from Italy. Having been tried by a synod assembled for the purpose, they were condemned to the flames, because they would not abjure or retract their pretended errors.*

Fleury, a Catholic author, having spoken in detail of these sectaries, adds, "The adherents to this sect, who were found elsewhere, particularly at Toulouse, were burned, as is testified by Ademar, a monk of Angoulême, and a writer of that age."

The same Ademar, a contemporary of these pretended heretics, expresses himself as follows:—"These emissaries of Antichrist were spread through different parts of the west, and carefully concealed themselves, seducing as many as they were able, both men and women."†

In support of these facts, Usher, archbishop of Armagh, in Ireland, in the seventeenth century, cites a passage from the History of Aquitaine, by P. Pitherus, in these words: "All at once the Manicheans appeared in Aquitaine, (Gascony,) seducing people of every class, and drawing them away from truth into error . . . . so that they have turned

* Usserius, Gravissimæ Quæstionis, pp. 279, 280. Histoire Générale du Languedoc, t. ii., pp. 155, 156.

† Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, t. xiii., p. 416, etc.

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aside many simple persons from the faith." After mentioning the heretics of Orléans and Toulouse, he repeats what we have quoted from Ademar.*

Nearly at the same epoch, A. D. 1025, other sectaries were discovered at Arras, at the northern extremity of France, in Flanders. According to Dupin, a Catholic theologian of the seventeenth century, it was reported to Gérard, bishop of Cambray and Arras, but residing in the latter city, that "some persons had come from Italy, who had introduced a new heresy. They said that they were disciples of Candulph or Gandulph, who had instructed them in the commandments of the gospel and the apostles; adding, that they received no other scriptures, but observed these exactly." A synod was called. The accused parties were not condemned to the stake, because they abjured their new belief, and returned to the bosom of the church.†

Turin, also, had its heretics; in 1030, according to the account of Pierre de Vaux-Cernay, cited by M. Charles Victor Goguet, in the "Dissertation on the Albigenses," which he laid before the faculty of theology at Strasburg, in 1840.

Radulph Glaber, a writer of the eleventh century, tells us that in the year 1028 a sect found their way into the chateau of Monteforte, in the diocese of Asti, in Piedmont, who revived pagan and Jewish rites, or rather those of the Manicheans, according to Muratori. The bishop of Asti, and his brother, the marquis of Susa, in conjunction with other prelates or lords of the province, had made many attacks upon them without success. But Landolfo the elder states that Eribert or Aribert, archbishop of Milan, happening to be at Turin, caused one of these heretics, named Gérard, to be apprehended, and having learned from him that he held Manichean doctrines, sent troops against the chateau and took it. A few of the heretics abjured their tenets; the rest were burned alive in the Place du Dôme.‡

Other heretics were discovered in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne, about the year 1046, as we see by a letter of Rogerius II., bishop of Châlons, to Wazo, bishop of Liége. He accuses them of following the perverse doctrine of the

* Usserius, etc. p. 279.
† Dupin, Nouvelle Biblioth., t. viii, pt ii., p. 127.
‡ Bossi, Storia d'Italia, t. xiv., p. 187, etc.

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Manicheans, and of holding secret conventicles. He asserts that if rude and ignorant men joined this sect they very soon became able to speak better than well-educated Catholics, so that their unpremeditated talk seemed superior to the true eloquence of philosophers. He also remarks, that heretics might be known by their pallid countenances.*

In the synod assembled at Rheims, in 1049, under pope Leo IX., the new heretics who had made their appearance in Gaul were excommunicated.

Radulph Ardens also mentions that Manichean heretics polluted the territory of Agen, about the end of the eleventh century, but he leaves us in ignorance of the characteristics and circumstances of this religious manifestation.†

We might specify some other religious movements; for example, that which took place at Goslar, in Germany, in 1052, in consequence of which the emperor Henry IV., who was visiting that city during the Christmas holidays, caused those who were convicted of heresy to be apprehended, for the purpose, he said, of striking terror, and preventing others from falling into the same errors. But it is sufficient for our present purpose to have cited the foregoing facts.‡

It would be desirable to know exactly the doctrines professed by these men whom the church of those times branded with the name of heretics, and put to an ignominious death. They would throw much light on the question which now occupies us, that is, the spiritual relationship which possibly existed between the religious manifestations we have been detailing, and the Christians in the north of Italy, in the mountains of the diocese of Turin, who have been already mentioned, and will come again under our notice. Contemporary authors, it is true, have attempted to give an account of the tenets of these heretics; but judging of those times even by our own, and looking at the manner in which the Romish church speaks of the reformers of the sixteenth century, and of their lives and doctrines, though the Protestant churches were then existing, and consequently at hand to correct distorted facts, what can be expected from these same partisans of Romish

* Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, t. xi., p. 11, by Anselm.
† Usserius, etc., p. 281.
‡ Centuriat. Magdeb., Cent. xi., col. 246. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, t. xi., p. 20.

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errors, when they report to us the tenets and lives of martyrs who have had no one to defend their memory, and to protest against the unjust censures with which they have been branded? Did they understand the proper character of those manifestations? Will they initiate us into the real faith and practice of their victims? On these points we are very sceptical.

Let the reader judge for himself, from a fragment which is communicated by a Catholic writer of integrity—Fleury. He quotes a contemporary of the heretics of Orléans, and other sectaries of that age, all of whom he terms Manicheans: "These persons," he says, "assemble on certain nights in a specified house, each one with a lamp in his hand, and recite the names of demons in the form of a litany, till, all at once, they see a demon descend in the shape of a small animal. Immediately all the lights are put out, which is the signal for general debauchery with the females present: one of the offspring of this intercourse, when eight days old, is brought into the midst of their assembly, thrown into a large fire, and burned to a cinder. They collect these ashes, and preserve them with as much veneration as Christians preserve the body of Jesus Christ, as the viaticum [last sacrament] for the sick. Such was the magical virtue of these ashes that it was almost impossible to convert any one who had swallowed the smallest particle of them."

"This story," adds Fleury, "is so similar to the calumnies cast on the primitive Christians, that it seems a mere imitation; and yet, such is the account given by a contemporary author. Another writer says that they carried with them the powder of dead infants, and if they could make persons take any of it, they would directly become Manicheans, like themselves."*

This acknowledgment of the Catholic historian, Fleury, will serve to show the want of correctness that must be expected in documents which so grossly distort historical truth. Can we credit a statement of the doctrines attributed to the parties by such writers? No! this would be to acquiesce in the calumny and injustice that have been heaped on men who deserved to be better spoken of. They were reproached with the name of Manicheans, but we do

* Fleury, Hist. Ecclés., t. xiii., p. 416.

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not believe that they deserved it. The forcible expressions and energetic language with which they described the opposition made to God, and to the work of Christ by the prince of darkness, the prince of this world, the prince of the power of the air, Satan, the chief of the rebel angels, who works in the children of disobedience, who goes about as a roaring lion seeking to devour the children of God, who attempts to seduce even the elect;—yes! this effort of the pretended heretics to exhibit in strong colours the war waged by the wicked one against the living and true God, against our Lord and Saviour, may have been called Dualism and Manicheism by men devoted to a material and idolatrous worship of God, angels, and saints. So there are men in our day who reject the doctrine of the existence of Satan and his opposition to the work of Jesus Christ, because they think that they see in it a denial of the power of God,—Dualism and Manicheism; and especially because they do not believe, or do not know the word of God which reveals this melancholy truth.

We believe, then, that these so-called heretics were friends of the gospel, who, themselves illumined by the light that was almost everywhere hid under a bushel, attempted to replace it on a candlestick, but whose efforts were rendered abortive by that thick darkness in which Europe was enveloped. The following are some fragments of their doctrine, as given by a contemporary author, quoted by Fleury. Those who are taught of God will here recognise the lessons of the gospel in spite of the unfavourable form under which they are presented to us: "They affirm that baptism does not wash away sin; that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are not made by the consecration of the priest; that it is useless to pray to saints, whether martyrs or confessors; lastly, that works of piety are a useless labour, from which no recompense can be expected, and no punishment is to be feared for the most criminal pleasures."*

A fragment of a history of Aquitaine, published by Pistorius, and quoted by Usher, attributes the following errors to heretics in the time of king Robert and of pope Benedict VIII.:—"They deny baptism, the sign of the holy cross, the church, and the Redeemer of the world himself, the honour due to the saints of God, lawful

* Fleury: the same reference as before.

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marriages, and the use of meats." The heretics of Orléans, Toulouse, and other places, are also called Manicheans in this document.*

Natalis sums up the errors of the heretics of Arras in these few words: "The heretics deny the mystery of holy baptism, the sacraments of the eucharist, penance, holy orders, and marriage. They admit of no worship to confessors, no veneration for the Saviour's cross, the images of saints, churches, and altars. They deny purgatory, and say that Christian burial is of no advantage to the deceased."†

We find it also stated in Dupin, "that they attach no value to bells, nor to unction, nor to exorcism."‡

Radulph Ardens, according to Usher, speaks thus of the Manicheans of Agennois: "They falsely pretend to follow the lives of the apostles, saying that they may not lie, nor swear at all."§

It now remains to deduce some inferences from the foregoing facts.

We follow the traces of the church that continued faithful to evangelical doctrines. We seek for them in the dark ages; and we at once find religious manifestations, which, although misrepresented by the reports of victorious adversaries, exhibit to our view an opposition to the superstitious worship of a degenerate church, a return to evangelical doctrines, a life of self-denial, charity, truth, and purity, to the example of the apostles, whom they professed to take as their models. Although stigmatized by prejudice, ignorance, and hatred, these religious movements appear to us to be genuine. We believe that we discover among them, under the rubbish with which they have been covered, something more than materials for the fire,—hay, wood, and stubble; we catch a glimpse of gold, silver, and precious stones, built upon the true foundation. 1 Cor. iii. 12.

If now we endeavour to ascend to the sources of these religious manifestations, we perceive that if some are indigenous, if they seem to have issued from the very soil over which their subsequent course was directed, yet there are other springs which must be traced up to the distant and solitary valleys, where those gushing streams that afterwards

* Usserius, etc., p. 279.
† R. P. Natalis Alexandri, etc., t. vii., p. 82.
‡ Dupin, Nouvelle Biblioth., etc., t. viii., pp. 127, 128.
§ Usserius, etc., p. 281.

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watered the plains, displayed their wild beauty under the ancient shade of the lofty Alps, far away from the observation of the world.

No doubt, God has preserved, in all places, in his church, when invaded by error and idolatry, some faithful ones, who have not wholly bowed the knee to Baal. Such in France, in the eleventh century, was the illustrious Bérenger, principal of the school of Tours, of whom Téoduin, bishop of Liége, speaks, in a letter addressed to king Henry:—"The report," he writes, "is spread through Gaul and in all Germany, that Bruno, bishop of Angers, and Bérenger, of Tours, have revived the ancient heresies, maintaining that the Lord's body is not so much his body as the shadow and figure of his body, destroying lawful marriages, and abolishing, as far as lies in their power, the baptism of infants."*

But there can be no doubt that the evangelical truth which sought to manifest itself, was also conveyed to different places, by persons who were not natives of the districts in which they propagated it.

In fact, this heresy, almost the same wherever it appeared, is often ascribed to the seductions of numerous emissaries of Antichrist, spread through different parts of the west, active and insinuating men, who seduced the people imperceptibly, etc.

On these data, we think it must be admitted that this heresy, in many places where it existed, was the work of special emissaries, or, to use the proper term, missionaries. But we see by the writings of the Vaudois, which will be fully noticed in the sequel, that the missionary work was held in honour among them, and even engaged the special attention of their synods, since a fund was set apart for persons who were employed in such expeditions. This fact, confirmed by various other testimonies of their adversaries, tends to support the position we are maintaining. But more than this. Italy is pointed out, on two occasions, as the native country of these abettors of heresy. We have just seen it asserted, that the heretics of Orléans had been won over to heresy by a woman from Italy; and that the movement in Arras was owing to the teachings of some

* Fleury, Hist. Ecclés., etc., t. xii., p. 575.

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persons devoted to the study of the Scriptures, who also came from Italy.*

It was then, not impossible, and, in our opinion, it is probable, that the religious movement which took place in the eleventh century, and was unjustly taxed with Manicheism, was in a great measure a radiation of the light preserved in the diocese of Claude of Turin, on the Italian side of the Alps. We believe, therefore, that the religious manifestations we have been mentioning, go to prove the preservation of a faithful church in the bosom of the Italian Alps. But we shall shortly lay before our readers additional and more conclusive evidence.

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGIOUS MANIFESTATIONS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

The little success of the attempts made in the eleventh century to establish in the western church the pure doctrines, and to revive the spirit of the gospel, might lead us to apprehend that the cause of truth was entirely and everywhere suppressed, and that from the thinned ranks of the remnant of the faithful church there would arise no more courageous adversaries of error and superstition. After so many unfortunate attempts, there seemed to be no probability of success; why, then, should any one advance in a path leading to certain destruction? But Christian faith hopes when, humanly speaking, there is no hope. She hopes, because she trusts in her Divine Leader. She expects victory, not from an arm of flesh, but from the power of Him who says to her, "Cry aloud, spare not. —Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Impelled by faith, and fortified by hope, the redeemed servant of Christ does not ask, "Are there many of us?" Sufficient for him is the promise of his Lord and Saviour; and alone, if so it must be, he consecrates his life to the work of the ministry, and the salvation of souls.

* Ecrits des Vaudois, livre de la Discipline, (Writings of the Vaudois, book of Discipline,) ch. iv., second paragraph.—Léger, etc., pt. i., p.192.—Perrin, Hist. of the Vaudois, ch. iv.

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The fear of death and outrage cannot deter him. Like Paul, he goes forth for the conquest of the world in the name of Jesus Christ. His credentials and apology for such boldness are comprised in these few words: "I believe, therefore have I spoken."

This faith was not wanting to the feeble remains of the faithful church. If the lamp of truth, which was still burning in by-places was small, its flame was yet bright and well fed. In the year 1100 the church of the Vaudois valleys set forth its belief and discipline, and reflected its life, in writings with which we shall make our readers acquainted, with a clearness and precision that by no means indicate a recent origin. We need not, then, be astonished to see, at this same period, evangelical missionaries coming from these countries, or their vicinity, to carry on the work of their predecessors.

Two men especially attract our attention, Pierre de Bruis and Henry, his fellow-labourer. The first was a priest;* the second was often designated "the false hermit." They began to disseminate their doctrines in La Septimanie, which, according to Dupin, included Dauphiné and Provence. From Provence they passed into Languedoc and Gascogne, whence their so-called heresy penetrated into Spain and England, etc.†

Before we follow them into their field of labour, and inquire what doctrine they taught, it will be desirable to acquaint ourselves with their origin, which is already seen to be of importance. Pierre de Bruis was a native of Dauphiné, and Henry an Italian. In the preceding chapter we have seen that several religious manifestations had emanated from Italy. We have observed, in Chapter IV., that the provinces at the foot of the Alps, the districts of Vercelli, Piedmont, and Astesan, were infected with Manichean heresy,—that is, in our view, with evangelical doctrines. Henry, the false hermit, the companion of Pierre de Bruis, is surnamed the Italian, which we confess does not prove that he belonged formerly to those districts that were accused of heresy; nevertheless, this supposition does not appear extravagant, especially if we reflect that

* It would be interesting to know the exact nature of his priesthood; whether he had received orders from a known superior, or whether he was one of those who were persecuted, and sometimes called acephalous, (*acéphales,*) headless.

† Centur. Magdeb., Cent. XII., col. 832.

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the connexion between Henry and Pierre de Bruis, and the conformity of their doctrine, will be explained by the familiar intercourse that Dauphiné always maintained with Piedmont, and the Vaudois valleys in particular. In the twelfth century, these relations became more intimate than ever, since Dauphiné possessed some valleys on the eastern side of the Alps, (valleys which make a part of Piedmont at the present time,) as may be seen in the letters-patent of the year 1155, by which the emperor Frederic granted to the dauphin the right of coining money at Cesane, in the valley of Susa.* We also find that the valley of Pragela, or Clusone, belonged to Dauphiné. Thus the Vaudois valleys were wedged in by Dauphiné, by which they were bounded on three sides. On the basis of these geographical and political facts, nothing is easier than to explain the origin of the doctrine preached by Pierre de Bruis of Dauphiné, and by Henry the Italian, as well as their intimate connexion. More than this: if we trace with attention the labours of these two illustrious missionaries, scrutinize their lives, and examine their doctrines, we shall be satisfied of their affiliation to the religious movement of the subalpine countries, which has already been discussed, but of which a fuller account will be given in the chapters relating to the doctrine and life of the ancient Vaudois.

Few particulars have come down to us respecting the conflicts and sufferings of one of these distinguished servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, namely, Pierre de Bruis. It is only known that, after preaching and labouring to establish and extend the Saviour's kingdom, for twenty years, he received the crown of martyrdom, by being burned to death at St. Gilles, in Languedoc, A.D. 1126.†

More details are known respecting the adventurous life of Henry. After having laboured for some time in concert with Bruis, he parted from him, for what reason we are not informed. We may suppose that their work being well advanced, it was thought advisable that they should proclaim separately the good news of salvation and regeneration, for the conversion of a greater number. Henry at first directed his steps towards Lausanne. He came at a later period to Mans, with two other Italians.

* Histoire du Dauphiné, Genève, chez Fabry, 1772, t. i., *passim*, and p. 93, etc.
† Centur. Magdeb., Cent. xii., col. 832.

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They travelled barefooted, in all weathers, each carrying a staff, surmounted with a cross. The exact time of Henry's arrival at Mans is uncertain: Dupin gives the year 1110. Authors are better agreed as to the effects of his preaching in this city. Henry obtained from Héribert, who was bishop of Mans, and just on the point of leaving the place, permission to preach in the churches during his absence. His preaching made a powerful impression on his hearers. The people were fascinated. But the clergy, who at first approved and welcomed their foreign brother, were not slow to change their opinion, when they felt their personal credit diminished. The captivating orator was prohibited from preaching any more. The people in vain expressed their disapprobation of this step, and threatened that they would have no other pastor. Henry, though loved and supported by the multitude, was obliged to give way and depart. From Mans he proceeded to Poitiers; then, as some say, to Périgueux; afterwards to Bourdeaux, Toulouse, and the parts where he had already laboured with Bruis.*

In the year 1134, having been arrested by order of the archbishop of Arles, he was conducted by that prelate to the council of Pavia, which was held that same year. Henry was condemned as a heretic by that assembly, and imprisoned. By some means, however, he regained his liberty, and appeared again in the south of France. There he was opposed by St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, an eloquent and energetic man, who had gained a high reputation by the superior management of his convent, by his zeal, by different miracles of which he had the credit, and by his victory over Abailard, whose condemnation he obtained at the council of Sens, in 1140. By the efforts of this abbot and the legate Alberic, who were sent to Toulouse, in 1147, to repress heresy, Henry was delivered into the hands of the bishop of that city, and conducted, the following year, to the council of Rheims. Being condemned a second time, he was again thrown into prison, where he soon died, after more than forty years of toil and labour for the cause of the pure gospel. Many of these facts are contained in the letter of St. Bernard to Ildephonse or Alphonse, count of Toulouse and St. Gilles,

* Dupin, Nouvelle Biblioth., t. ix., p. 101. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, t. xiv., p. 430. Admonitio prævia—Giesler, p. 442.

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written at the time of his mission. If the injustice of the abbot of Clairvaux towards his enemies were not well known, we should be astonished to find him attributing Henry's abrupt departure from many cities, in which he had sojourned, to prosecutions for acts of immorality; but we well know that it was for his preaching and so-called heresy that this confessor of the faith was persecuted and forced to make his escape.*

The success of Pierre de Bruis and Henry was astonishing. The work in which they laboured, seconded by brethren whose names have not come down to us, was rapidly consolidated, and spread into many districts, in spite of the efforts of part of the clergy and the popes to destroy it; until at last, in the thirteenth century, the Roman pontiffs raised against it those brutal and bloody persecutions, known under the name of the crusades against the Albigenses.

The regions traversed by Pierre de Bruis and Henry soon swarmed with heretics, even in those parts where they had been partially checked. For example, at Périgueux, a city which Henry passed through in his way from Poitiers to Bourdeaux, there were found, in 1140, and throughout the country, Héribert informs us, a great number of heretics, who professed to lead an apostolic life. Another contemporary author, the abbot Morgan, the annalist, relates, that, about the year 1163, heretics of the same sort, who aspired also to lead an apostolic life, had made great progress in Périgord.†

At Toulouse, and other places where the new doctrine had been sown, the efforts of St. Bernard, who opposed it, had at first some success, particularly at the moment when the infant church was deprived of its leader, Henry, who died in prison. The Catholic churches, heretofore deserted, were again filled; the heretics concealed themselves; the preaching of the abbot of Clairvaux and his pretended miracles, seemed to have subdued the common people. This state of things, however, did not last long. The

* D. Bernardi Epistola, 241—Acta Episcop. Cenomanensium, cap. xxxiii.—Mabillionis Analecta, t. iii., p. 312.—Petrus Cluniacensis, in Maxima Biblioth., P.P., t. xxii., cols. 861, 1034.—Histoire du Languedoc, etc., t. ii., p. 1020.—Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, t. xii. p. 547, etc.

† Mabillionis Analecta, t. iii., p. 467.—Histoire du Languedoc, etc., in the preamble of Book xix.

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historians of Languedoc admit this. "St. Bernard had the happiness," they say, "to lead back to the faith those who had wandered; but in spite of all his care the heresy of the Henricians secretly kept its hold, and, some years later, it revived with so much vigour as at last to cause extreme desolation." *

The importance of this fact is confirmed by the acts of the council assembled at Tours, in 1163. The fourth canon, in which it is enjoined on the bishops of Toulouse and the neighbouring places, to have a watchful eye over heretics, mentions them in the preamble in the following terms:—"For a long time, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, there has arisen a damnable heresy, which, gradually spreading like a cancer, has already infected Gascogne and many other provinces." †

In A.D. 1165 or 1176, (authors differ as to the date,)‡ a council, held at Lombers, summoned before it certain heretics, who had been discovered in the province of Toulouse, and were known by the title of "good men," (*boni homines.*) After being examined in the presence of Peter, archbishop of Narbonne, Girard, Albi, Gaucelin, Lodève, and other bishops, they were pronounced heretics, and handed over to the secular power. The chief among them was called Olivier. They were numerous. The nobility partook of their opinions.

"But the condemnation of these heretics," we are told by the Benedictine historians of Languedoc, "did not stop their progress, either in the province or in foreign lands; they spread especially in Burgundy and Flanders, under the name of Poplicans." "In fact," they say in another passage, "the error made such astonishing progress, that it gained over the greater part of the ecclesiastics and the nobility of high, and part of low, Languedoc. Raymond, count of Toulouse, a prince zealous for the faith, resolved to remedy the evil. Recollecting the services of Saint Bernard, which had been rendered thirty years before to count Alphonse, his father, he applied to the chapter-general of Citeaux, assembled in September, 1177, and besought that body to come to his succour. 'This heresy,' added he, 'has prevailed to such a degree, that it has

* Histoire du Languedoc, etc., t. ii., p. 447.
† Ad Labbeum. . . Concil., t. x., col. 1419.
‡ According to Usher it was in 1176; according to the Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, in 1165.

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caused division between husband and wife, father and son, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Persons of the priestly order have suffered themselves to be corrupted; the churches are forsaken and fallen into ruin; they refuse to administer baptism; the eucharist is treated as an abomination. . . . . As for myself—I who am armed with two swords, and consider it my glory to be thereby appointed the avenger and the minister of God's wrath—I seek in vain for the means to put an end to such great evils, and I confess that I am not strong enough to accomplish the object; for the most distinguished of my subjects have been seduced, and have carried away with them the greater part of the people. . . . . I therefore humbly implore your succour, counsel, and prayers, to extirpate this heresy.' " *

At a later period, the same count Raymond adopted the very principles which he had at first disowned, and sacrificed for them his property and estates in the terrible crusade that was made against his people and himself.

We shall not undertake to recount the subsequent history of the so-called heretics of Languedoc and the neighbouring provinces; such a topic deserves to be treated of separately, as has been done already by various authors, to whom we refer the reader. For our present purpose it is sufficient to have shown the connexion of the religious movements in the south of France, during the twelfth century, with the similar manifestations of the preceding century, and with the religious state of some countries in the north of Italy, particularly Piedmont.

But before dismissing this subject, we have to give an account of the doctrines, which, according to the reports of their adversaries, were preached and propagated by Pierre de Bruis, Henry, and their fellow-labourers, in the countries above mentioned.

Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugny, attributes to Pierre de Bruis the five following points of doctrine, which he states in his ninth letter, entitled, "Against the Petrobrusians," and addressed to the archbishops of Arles and Embrun, as well as to the bishops of Gap and Die.

(i.) He (Pierre de Bruis) denies that children, before

* Histoire du Languedoc, etc., t. ii., pp. 4—46.

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they arrive at years of intelligence, can be saved by baptism, or that the faith of another person can be useful to them, since, according to those of his opinion, it is not the faith of another which saves, but the faith of the individual with baptism, according to our Lord's words: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."

(ii.) The second point consists in this—that we ought not to build either temple or church, but we ought to overturn the existing edifices of this kind; that consecrated places are not necessary for Christian devotion, because God, who is invoked, understands and hearkens to those who are worthy of being heard, whether in a tavern or a church, a market-place or a temple, before an altar or in a stable.

(iii.) The third article enjoins the cutting in pieces of the sacred crosses and burning them, because they have the form of the instrument which was made use of to torture Jesus Christ, and so cruelly to deprive him of life; the cross is not worthy of adoration or veneration, or any kind of supplication; on the contrary, by way of retribution for the sufferings and death of Christ, it merits all dishonour, such as being cut in pieces and burned.

(iv.) Bruis not only denies that the true body and blood of the Lord are offered daily and continually in the church by the sacrament, but declares that this sacrament is nothing, and ought not to be offered to God.

(v.) He (Bruis) ridicules sacrifices, prayers, alms, and other good works performed by living believers on behalf of such as are deceased, and affirms that these things cannot be of the slightest use to the dead.

"I have answered these five points," says the venerable Peter, "according as God has granted me grace, in the letter which I have addressed to your holinesses."*

The venerable abbot goes on to say,—"But after the zeal of the faithful, in burning Pierre de Bruis, near St. Gilles, had taken vengeance for the fire which he had lighted, and which had consumed the cross of the Lord; after this impious man had passed from the fire of the pile of faggots to eternal fire, the heir of his heresy, Henry,

* Maxima Biblioth. P. P., t. xxii., col. 1033.—[Also Gieseler's Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 524. Third edition. Bonn. 1832.

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with I know not what other persons, so far from correcting his diabolical doctrine, endeavoured to confirm it, and, as I have seen in a volume, which they say proceeded from his lips, he has published not only these five points of doctrine, but a great many more."*

We have read a letter of later date, to the above-mentioned prelates, in which the venerable Peter refutes the pretended false doctrines which he had just enumerated, describing their diabolical tendency in still stronger terms; but excepting some new developments, and a critique on church music, the two letters appear to us to be nearly the same.†

The Magdeburgh Centuriators, who have extracted and collected the different points of doctrine professed by the heretics of the south of France, in the twelfth century, mention some other articles of faith beside; for example, on the Lord's supper, "That the body and blood of Christ were not offered in the theatrical mass, and that it was not an oblation made for the salvation of souls; that the altars ought to be destroyed; that the doctrine of the change in the sacramental elements is false; that the sacred supper ought not now to be given to men, because it was once given by Christ to his apostles." Evidently, this last opinion is incorrectly reported, since, as we shall see by the testimony of St. Bernard, the so-called heretics of the south of France, partook of the supper. It certainly related to the expiatory sacrifice of Jesus Christ, which was offered only once, and which need not and cannot be repeated.

On Marriage: "That the priests and monks ought to marry, rather than be the prey of lust, or give themselves up to impurity."

On Chants and Instruments of Music: "That God is mocked by the chants which the priests and monks repeat in the temples; that God cannot be appeased by monkish melodies."

On Meats: "That it is allowable to eat meat on Sundays and other days."

On the Holy Scriptures: "A rumour is prevalent," said the abbot of Clugny, "that they do not receive the whole

* [Gieseler, p. 527.] Maxima Biblioth., ibid., col. 1034. The reader is requested to take particular notice of these expressions, as they prove the close connexion that subsisted between Pierre de Bruis and Henry, and the identity of their doctrine.

† Maxima Biblioth., ibid., cols. 1036, 1048—1076.

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canon; that is to say, all the writings of the Old and New Testament;" he also said, "that they received only the Gospels."

But here we beg to observe, that so grave an accusation as that urged by the venerable Peter against the heretics, of not receiving the whole canon of Scripture, rests on a very weak foundation, nothing more than "a prevalent rumour." Such a charge requires much stronger evidence than mere rumour to establish it.

He also says, "They believe in one canon; they do not grant the same authority to the fathers as to the Holy Scriptures."*

The same centuriators have also extracted from the writings of St. Bernard the errors which he noticed in the apostolic heretics. We translate the passage:

"The Apostolicals or Henricians; their doctrines, according to St. Bernard, as far as they can be ascertained, are:

(i.) "That infants ought not to be baptized.

(ii.) "That they (the apostolicals) have the power of consecrating daily the body and blood of Christ at their table, to nourish themselves, since they are themselves the body of Christ and his members.†

(iii.) "That virgins alone are allowed to marry, because God created man and woman virgins.

(iv.) "That continence must be sought by marriage.

(v.) "That the fire of purgatory does not exist. The reason is, that the soul when separated from the body passes into a state of repose or damnation.

(vi.) "That we must not pray for the dead.

(vii.) "That we ought not to ask for the intercession of departed saints.

(viii.) "That a man who lives in sin ought not to be a bishop.

(x.) "That it is not lawful to eat milk, nor what is made from it, nor anything that comes by procreation.

(x.) "They do not acknowledge the church, nor the

* Centur. Magdeb. xii., col. 832, etc.

† We read in the thirteenth sermon of Ekbert, abbot of St. Florin, the following words relative to the heretics of Cologne, of the same period: "They say that they alone make the body of the Lord at their tables. But they use the words with a double meaning; for they do not intend the true body of Christ, but they call their own flesh the body of Christ."

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pontificate; but assert that they, themselves, are the church.

(xi.) "That swearing or oath-taking is forbidden."

St. Bernard cites besides, several other points of doctrine and opinions of the apostolicals. Among other things he says, "That they depreciate the orders of the church; they do not receive its institutions; they despise its sacraments, and do not obey its commandments." He remarks that these doctrines have been collected by his own research, partly from altercations or disputes, and partly from the lips of those who had returned to the papal church. On the other hand, we may remark that there is reason to apprehend that prejudice and animosity have more than once led to incorrect and unfavourable reports of the doctrines of those who were looked upon as heretics. The reader will have already had reason to make this observation for himself; for evidently many of the heretical opinions as given by Pierre de Clugny and St. Bernard are incomplete, and presented in a false light; and we need only compare analogous opinions together, to be convinced that such is the case.

A contemporary author, whom we have already mentioned, Héribert, a monk of Angoulême, says of the heretics of Périgord and Périgueux in particular: "In the country of Périgueux, a multitude of heretics have appeared, who pretend to lead an apostolic life. They neither eat meat nor drink wine oftener than once in three days, and then very moderately. They bend their knees a hundred times a day. They do not take money. Their sect is very perverse and secret. They set no value on the mass, and say that the wafer is not to be taken, but a bit of bread. They adore neither the cross, nor the image of Jesus Christ; but rather hinder those who would. A great many people have been already seduced; not only nobles who abandon their wealth, but also scholars, priests, monks, and friars."*

The annalist de Morgan, in Thomas Gale, under the date of the year 1163, expresses himself nearly in the same manner. He adds a remarkable instance of the power of persuasion, and of the Christian life which they possessed; it is the only one we shall report: "If ignorant persons,"

* Mabillionis Analecta, t. iii., pp. 467—483.

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he says, "come to them, at the end of eight days they become so accomplished, that they cannot be surpassed either in information or exemplary conduct."*

The religious and evangelical movement did not remain confined within the limits of the south of France. Manifestations very similar, although presenting, as they are reported, some points of difference, appeared along the Rhine, in Flanders, Burgundy, Lower Britanny, and elsewhere. Evervin, writing to St. Bernard about the heretics discovered at Cologne, of whom a great number were burned, and the rest returned to the church, expresses himself as follows: "You know, my lord, that, on returning to the church, they have told us that they are a very great multitude, spread almost everywhere, and that they have in their ranks some of our ecclesiastics and monks. And those who have been burned, have urged in their defence, that this heresy has been propagated secretly from the times of the martyrs to the present day, and has existed in Greece and some other countries."

This spiritual soldiery, armed against error for the triumph of truth, gradually recruited its ranks through a long course of time, with prudence and a somewhat timid sagacity, and at last, as we have already seen, ventured on a more open warfare, in proportion as it saw its forces increase. Rome itself, the residence of the pope, the fortress of superstition, saw its enemy pass through its gates, and preach within its walls. In 1128, a foreign preacher excited as much surprise, as admiration or hatred, by his discourses. His name was Arnulph: his origin was never known. But thus much may be affirmed, that a Vaudois missionary would not have preached otherwise than he did. Let us hear the report made of him by Trithemius: "At this time, under pope Honorius II., a certain priest, named Arnulph, came to Rome, a man of great devotion, and a distinguished preacher. While he proclaimed the word of God, he rebuked the dissoluteness, the libertinism, the avarice, and the extreme haughtiness of the clergy. He exhibited, for universal imitation, the poverty and life of spotless integrity of Jesus Christ and his apostles. In truth, his preaching was approved by the Roman nobility, as that of a true disciple of Jesus Christ. But, on the other

* Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, t. xiii., p. 108.

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hand, it exposed him to the intense hatred of the cardinals and the clergy, who seized him by night, and put him to death secretly." *

In the ranks of the antagonists of Rome, of superstition, and of immorality, might be also seen men whose principles were, perhaps, not always founded on a simple faith in the pure gospel of Christ. Such was Abailard, in France; such was Arnaud of Brescia, in Italy. The latter dared, like Arnulph, to attack Rome in Rome itself. One word on his life and labours. Being a native of Brescia (Brixia), in Lombardy, he might have obtained a knowledge of the Vaudois doctrines, though history does not expressly affirm it. We are simply told that he was brought up in France, near the famous Abailard. His career was full of adventure, and his labours seem to have been as much political as religious. On returning to his native country, having taken the habit of a monk, he began to preach. Having been excommunicated by the Lateran Council, under Innocent II., in the year 1139, he was obliged to take to flight. He retired to Zurich, in Switzerland, and there propagated his principles. Being denounced by St. Bernard to the bishop of Constance, he was disturbed in his retreat, and passed again into Italy. He was at Rome, in 1145, in the time of Eugenius III. St. Bernard of Clairvaux once more wrote against him to cardinal Guido, warning him that "his conversation was honey, and his doctrine poison." "He has," he added, "the head of a dove, and the tail of a serpent." In his letter to the bishop of Constance, St. Bernard had involuntarily borne a favourable testimony to his enemy, when he said, "I wish that the doctrine of Arnaud of Brescia was as sound as his life is austere; and, if you would know him, let me tell you that he is neither gluttonous nor a wine-bibber; only, like the devil, he hungers and thirsts for the blood of souls." This refers to Arnaud's zeal for converting the world to his doctrines. In his preaching he dwelt incessantly on the crying abuse of the power and wealth of the clergy. According to Otho of Freisingen, Arnaud declared, "that priests who had landed property, bishops who possessed the revenues of vacant benefices (*régales*), and monks who had estates,

* Trithemius, or Chronica insignis, p. 157.—Léger, etc., pt. i., p. 152, who reports the facts a little differently, according to Platina.

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could not be saved; * that all these things belonged to the sovereign, and that he ought not to grant them to any but laymen." The poet Gunther adds, "that Arnaud despised the delicate meats, the splendid vestments, the misplaced pleasantries and boisterous mirth of the clergy, the ostentation of the pontiffs, the dissolute manners of the abbots, and the pride of the monks."

After having succeeded in concealing himself a long time at Rome, where his political opinions were much relished by the citizens, he was at last arrested in 1155, and burned there by order of the prefect Peter. His ashes were thrown into the Tiber, to prevent his disciples from making relics of them.†

All these antagonists of Rome, who sustained the cause of truth in the twelfth century, and who were connected with each other by an analogous or common origin, as well as by features of resemblance of more than one kind, received from their enemies particular denominations, besides the common appellation of heretics. It would appear, also, that they were sometimes designated by names of their own choosing. Branded, in the eleventh century, with the name of Manicheans, as favourers of ancient heresies; in the twelfth century, they were called Apostolicals, from their professing to lead lives worthy of the apostles. St. Bernard always gives them this title ironically, whether speaking of the disciples of Pierre de Bruis and Henry, or of the sectaries of Cologne. In the second half of the twelfth century, new designations were added to the preceding, according as the stream of pretended heresy flowed through new countries, and as some particular circumstance modified the course of this reformation more in its appearance than in reality. In various places, they bore the name of Cathari, or Purists, on account of the purity to which they aspired.‡ In Flanders, they were called Piphles, a word of unknown etymology; in many parts of France, Texerans, or Tisserands (weavers), from the trade to which many of them belonged. The heretics of Aquitaine, who passed over to England about the year 1160, were called Poplicans, as

* This is entirely in accordance with the principles of the apostolicals or Vaudois.

† Otho of Freisingen, p. 248.—Natalis, t. vii., pp. 88, 89.—Dupin and Fleury.

‡ The details are given in Usher, p. 269, etc.

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well as those of Vezelay; perhaps, because, in attacking pharisaic formalism, they insisted much on the humility, penitence, and faith of the publican in the gospel. The title Patarins, or Paterins, given in Italy and also in France to these same persons, was derived from the name of a quarter in Milan to which the married priests were banished, in 1058, to celebrate their worship; * or rather it is a synonym with persecuted, or those reserved for persecution, from the verb *pati*, which signifies to suffer.† It appears that they designated the heretical travellers, or missionaries, by the nickname Passagins.‡ They were also called Good Men (*boni homines*) in Germany and France. According to Gretser, when the innovators of Mayence were put down, the Inquisition demanded of them, "How often have you confessed to the heresiarchs, that is, those good-men who come to you secretly, pretending that they are called, in the apostles' stead, to go through all the world from place to place, to preach, to shrive, etc.?" § The same good-men were also called Perfect (*perfecti*) by those of the same faith; a term indicating their superiority over simple believers, who were designated by the name of The Consoled (*consolati*), on account of the peace of heart which the gospel communicated to them. ‖ The reproachful name of Insabbatés (mentioned for the first time by Eberard de Béthune under this form; Xabatatenses, from *xabatata*, a kind of wooden sandal,) was also given them; because, said father Natalis, they celebrate no sabbath or feast-days, and do not discontinue their work on the days consecrated among the [Roman] Catholics to Christ, the blessed virgin, and the saints.¶

It was more usual in the following century, though several examples may be cited in the twelfth, to designate the friends of alleged novel doctrines by the names of their country or particular leaders. Such were the names —heretics of Provence, Toulouse, Agen, and Picardy;

* According to Sigonius, De Regno Italico, book ix.
† According to De Vineis, Epist., book i., epist. 27 or 96.
‡ Usher, p. 306.
§ Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xxiv., col. 1520, etc.—Historiens des Gaules, t. xiii., p. 173.
‖ Usher, p. 293.
¶ Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xxiv., cols. 1520, 1572, etc.—P. Natalis Alexandri, etc., t. vii., pp. 94, 95.

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Albigenses, Lombards, Bohemians; Petrobrusians, from Pierre de Bruis; Henricians, from Henry; Arnaldists, from Arnaud of Brescia; Arnoldists, from a companion of Valdo; Leonists, from Léon, etc.

Lastly, and specially, we must mention that denomination which is the most celebrated and most worthy of our best attention—we mean that of Vaudois, which was constantly given by [Roman] Catholic authors from the thirteenth century, not to any one of the subdivisions of the alleged heretical sect, but to the whole sect. A single testimony, amongst many, will suffice to convince us of the generality of this designation: it is a work which was written about the year 1254, by a celebrated inquisitor, Rainier, or Reinier Sacco, of the order of preaching friars, who persecuted the Christians who were opposed to Rome. This work, which treats of all the heresies and pretended impieties that were attributed to the Cathari, Paterins, Toulousians, Albigenses, Passagins, Poor Men of Lyons, Arnaldists, etc., in a word, to the sectaries of the twelfth century, is entitled, *Livre de Rainier, de l'ordre des prêcheurs, contre les hérétiques Vaudois* (Valdenses), ["Book of Rainier, of the order of preachers, against the Vaudois heretics."] From this we infer, that, from the commencement of the thirteenth century, the name of Vaudois served to designate all the pretended heretics of the age.

Moreover, an author of the twelfth century, Bernard de Foncald (*Fontis-calidi*, warm-spring), near Saint Pons, in Languedoc, who wrote, according to Dupin, about the year 1180, gives the name Vaudois to the same heretics who are called Good Men in the acts of the Council of Lombers. "These Vaudois," he says, "although condemned by the same sovereign pontiff (Lucius II.), continued to diffuse with surpassing audacity, far and wide, through all the world, the poison of their perfidy. This is why Bernard,* lord archbishop of Narbonne, opposed them (at the Council of Lombers, when bishop of Lodève,) in the name of the church, as a fortress; in fact, having assembled a considerable number of the clergy and laity, monks and

* This Bernard Gaucelin, bishop of Lodève, conducted the cause at Lombers against the Good Men, and pronounced the sentence. He became archbishop of Narbonne in 1181. He does not appear in any other councils. See Historiens des Gaules, t. xiv., p. 430.

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seculars, he brought them to trial. In a word, after their cause had been examined with great care, they were condemned." The collection of the Historians of Gaul (*Historiens des Gaules*), in a summary which precedes the acts of the council, confirms, in part, the facts already mentioned.*

This name of Vaudois (Valdenses) given to heretics in the south of France, by an author of the same age and country, is an additional proof of the common origin of the religious manifestations on this side and beyond the Alps, a confirmation of what we have stated, at the beginning of this chapter, of the intimate connexion of Pierre de Bruis and Henry with the Christians of the valleys of Piedmont, with the inheritors of the principles of Claude of Turin and the friends of Vigilantius.

CHAPTER VII.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME VAUDOIS.

Historical clearness, and, what is still more important, truth, equally demand an exact knowledge of the origin of the name Vaudois, which was given to reputed heretics of the twelfth and following centuries, in France, the north of Italy, and Germany.

Three principal etymologies have been proposed. According to some, it is derived from Valdo, whose disciples were called the Poor Men of Lyons, with which epithet it may be considered as synonymous; according to others, Vaudois is derived from *vaux* (valleys), as Vallenses from the Latin word *vallis*, a valley, and Valdenses (most generally used) from *vallis densa*, a thick, or shaded valley. Lastly, in the opinion of others, the name Vaudois was a term of reproach, synonymous with sorcerer.

Let us examine each of these etymologies. Alain de l'Ile, or de Lille, who lived at the end of the twelfth century † and the beginning of the thirteenth, according to

* Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xxiv., pp. 1585, 1586.

† According to Bossuet, he died in 1202; according to Natalis, in 1181; Cave says that he flourished in 1215; and Visch, that he died in 1294.

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the most common opinion, expresses himself as follows:— "There are certain heretics who pretend to be just, while they are wolves in sheep's clothing . . . They are called Valdenses, from the name of their leader, Valdus."

Pierre de Vaux Cernay, or Sernay, an author known at the beginning of the thirteenth century, speaks, in his History of the Albigenses (*Histoire des Albigeois*), of the Vaudois who were spread among them. "There are besides," he says, "the heretics called Valdenses, after the name of one Valdius, of Lyons." *

This author notices, as one of the four marks which distinguish the Vaudois, the sandals which they wore after the manner of the apostles. But this usage may be traced back to a date much more ancient than he assigns to it, in referring it to Valdo; since the companions of Henry, the promoters of the sect of the Albigenses, wore them, as well as the Vaudois missionaries, and were often called Xabatatenses, from *xabatata*, as we have remarked in the preceding chapter.

Later [Roman] Catholic authors have agreed in admitting this etymology, which we reject with good reason, as will be seen. But before adducing our proofs, it will be proper to state what we know about Valdus, or Valdo, and his work.

Pierre, a merchant and citizen of Lyons, called also by historians Pierre Valdo, Valdus, Valdius, Valdensis, or Valdecius,† and Valdesius, having been deeply affected by the sudden death of one of his friends, in a party of pleasure, formed the resolution of renouncing the world, and labouring thenceforth only for his salvation.‡ Luther, the celebrated reformer of Germany in the sixteenth century, entered a convent, and devoted himself to the concerns of religion, in consequence of a similar event.§ Pierre gave his utmost attention to the reading of the Bible; it is even said that he translated some books of it from the Latin into the vulgar tongue. He also applied himself to the study of the Fathers. Stephanus de Borbone, or de Bella-

* Petri Monachi, cœnobii vallium Cernaii, etc.—Historia Albigensium, cap. ii., apud Duchesne.

† According to Usher, p. 159.

‡ This is Rainier's opinion, which we follow. Polichdorf, and an anonymous writer in the collection of the Historiens des Gaules, report the fact differently.

§ Consult Merle D'Aubigné's excellent work on the Reformation [published by the Religious Tract Society].

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villa, who gives us these particulars, adds: "This citizen (of Lyons) having often read these sentences and engraven them in his memory, determined to seek after that evangelical perfection which the apostles had practised. Having sold all his goods in contempt of the world, he distributed the money he had gained to the poor, and dared to usurp the office of the apostles, preaching the gospel and the things he had committed to memory, in the streets and public places. He encouraged men and women to do the same, whom he collected around him, and confirmed in the knowledge of the gospel. He sent men of all trades, even the meanest, into the surrounding country, to preach. These men and women, ignorant and illiterate, running over the country, gaining admission into town-halls; and preaching in public places, and even in churches, excited others to do the same." *

Detachment from the world, and zeal for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ according to the gospel, were the characteristics of the religious movement that was abetted by Pierre, the merchant of Lyons. It was in allusion to the first of these peculiarities, the most striking in the eyes of the devotees of the world and of wealth, that the disciples of a man who had reduced himself to poverty in order to follow Jesus Christ were called the Poor Men of Lyons. Their great success in the conversion of souls, the truly apostolic life of the former merchant, quickly drew on himself and his adherents a violent persecution. Anathematized and prosecuted by Jean de Bollesmanis, or Bellesmains, archbishop of Lyons, Pierre made his escape into Picardy, where he remained awhile. He then withdrew into Vindelicia, the present Suabia and Bavaria, where he sojourned a long time; at last, he went into Bohemia, and there ended his days.†

Pierre, the merchant of Lyons, may be regarded as the most eminent continuator of the labours of Pierre de Bruis and Henry.

We now resume our inquiry respecting the name Vaudois, which [Roman] Catholic writers have derived from

* Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xxv., p. 264.—Stephanus de Borbone (or de Bellavilla) Liber de septem Donis Spiritûs Sancti, pt. iv., ch. xxx.; in Echard, t. i.

† Usher, p. 266, who quotes Thuanus (De Thou) Hist., c. v.

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Valdo, as if he had been the leader of the Vaudois sect, and the author of this reputed heresy.

The Vaudois, they assert, received their name from that of Valdo.

(i.) We observe, that in the canons of councils, and other official documents relative to the disciples of Pierre, the merchant of Lyons, these persons never receive the appellation of Vaudois, but are always designated by the name of the Poor Men of Lyons; the name Valdo is never mentioned further. A treatise of an anonymous author, quoted in Martène, on the heresy of the *Paores* of Lyons, never gives the name of Vaudois to Pierre's disciples; moreover, it never gives him the name Valdo, but always that of *Valdensis*, that is, the Vaudois, which is very different; for this designation, being equivalent to an adjective, would mark the origin of the religious opinions of the person to whose name it is affixed.

(ii.) In the next place we remark, that Pierre, the merchant of Lyons, was not the originator of the religious movement which appeared in France before the commencement of the twelfth century, since he did not preach till about the year 1180; and if the reputed heretics of Agen, Toulouse, Albi, and other places, were called Vaudois, this name could not have been given them on account of Valdo, as he was not their leader.

(iii.) The name Vaudois could not be derived from that of the merchant of Lyons, for the name Valdo never belonged to him. In his time, about the year 1180, it was still the custom to have only one name, that given at baptism, for family names had not then been brought into use: it is true that a particular designation was often added to the baptismal name, that, for instance, of a person's residence or profession. By this qualifying epithet, the individual in question was sufficiently distinguished from every other; but our supposed leader of the sect of the Vaudois, whose name was Pierre, is ordinarily distinguished by one of the following qualifications,—Pierre, a citizen of Lyons; Pierre, a merchant, or trader of Lyons.

It has been said that the appellation Valdo, sometimes and subsequently given to Pierre, indicates the place of his origin, and may be considered as synonymous with native of Vaud, or *Valdum*, or *Vaudram*, which might have been

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a Lyonnese town. But why this double designation of place? Pierre was sufficiently, and very properly, distinguished by that of citizen, or merchant, of Lyons, as he really was. Besides, Valdo would be very incorrectly derived from Valdum, or Vaudram, even on the gratuitous supposition that he was a native of such a town. The right word would have been Valdunensis, or Vaudramensis. And even if this name Valdo had been taken from the place of his birth, why all this uncertainty in the designation and orthography? For Pierre is called Valdo, Valdus, Valdius, Valdensis, Valdecius, and Valdesius, etc.*

A surname so undecided, so varied in its form, so rarely employed during his lifetime to designate Pierre,† the merchant of Lyons, cannot be regarded as the root of a name so precise and invariable as that of Vaudois, given to the reputed sect that invaded France, Germany, Italy, Spain, etc., in the twelfth century; while this uncertainty in the pronunciation and orthography of the appellative Valdo, may be easily accounted for, if we take it to be a surname synonymous with Vaudois, an adjective equivalent to—the Vaudois.

(iv.) A comparison of dates brings us to the same result, showing us that the Vaudois heretics, in Latin *Vallenses*, or *Valdenses*, were so known and designated before the time of Valdo.

It is a well-authenticated fact, that it was the archbishop Jean de Bollesmanis, or Bellesmains, who anathematized Valdo and his disciples; and it is certain that this prelate obtained the see of Lyons in 1181, the date of the sitting at Verona, of the council which, under Lucius III. condemned, for the first time, the Poor Men of Lyons.

It was not, then, earlier than the year 1181 that the heretics could be called Vaudois, from their supposed leader, Valdo. But we can cite two authors who mention the Vaudois prior to the date of 1181. One of them is Eberard de Béthune, who, according to Dupin, flourished in the year 1160, and who, speaking of heretics, says, "Some of them call themselves Vallenses, because they live in a

* Usher, p. 159.

† We suppose that it may have been so used during his lifetime, but we have no proof of it.

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vale of sorrow or tears, and bring the apostles into derision." *

The other writer, Bernard, abbot of Foncald, before quoted, thus expresses himself on the same subject: †— "While pope Lucius, of glorious memory, presided over the holy Roman church, new heretics suddenly raised their heads, who received a name that was an omen of their future lot, being called Valdenses, from a dark, dense valley, because they are involved in deep and thick shades. These heretics, although condemned by the sovereign pontiff abovenamed, have, with unparalleled audacity, not ceased to emit their perfidious poison, far and wide, throughout the world." The author of these lines having dedicated the book from which we have taken them to Lucius III., who was pope from 1181 to 1185, and mentioning another pope of the same name, already deceased, of glorious memory, must allude to events that happened before 1144, the date of the death of Lucius II. ‡ The Valdenses, or Vaudois, were, therefore, already known by this name before 1144, and, consequently, long before Peter Valdo, since he was not persecuted for heresy till after 1181, under Jean de Bellesmains, who anathematized him, and was only made archbishop of Lyons at this latter date. §

But, in the comparison of these particulars, we have something more than mere dates to go upon. The testimonies of Eberard de Béthune and of Bernard de Foncald demonstrate, in another way, the baselessness, the vanity, and nullity of the [Roman] Catholic opinion which derives the Vaudois heresy, and the name of Vaudois, from Valdo; so that even if it were possible to throw a doubt on the preceding evidence, by arguing the uncertainty of this or the other date, it would not be less certain that two authors prior to Pierre Valdo (or contemporary, or even posterior, if you please—it signifies little), in naming the sect of the

* Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xxiv.

† [Gieseler's] Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 562, 3rd ed., Bonn, 1832.

‡ A letter from a bishop of Liége to the same pope (Lucius II.) describes the heretics as "ancient enemies," who have spread themselves from Mount Guimar into France, and who have a settled organization and ecclesiastical discipline; but he gives them no particular name. Martène and Durand, Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum, t. i., col. 777.

§ Bernard, in Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xxv.

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Vaudois, make no mention of Valdo; and so far from deriving the name of these sectaries from the name of one of their leaders, they assign it a totally different and local origin. We say then to our opponents, If you admit that the writings of Eberard and Bernard are prior to Valdo and his labours, then you must also admit, since these authors name the sect of the Vaudois, that it was prior to Valdo, and could not derive its name from his. But if you maintain that Eberard and Bernard were contemporaries of Valdo, or posterior to him, you must admit that since they attribute another origin to the sect of the Vaudois, and had better means of ascertaining the truth than you have, the name Vaudois was not derived from Valdo.

We think, then, we have proved that the name Vaudois, given by [Roman] Catholic writers to Christians, who were regarded as heretics in the twelfth century, was not derived from the name of Valdo. We rather believe that Pierre, a citizen and merchant of Lyons, was called Valdo, on account of the resemblance of his labours to those of the Vaudois; perhaps, also, because he had been received into their communion, and instructed in part by them,—a conjecture neither impossible nor improbable, but which we shall not pursue any further.*

The [Roman] Catholic opinion on the origin of the name Vaudois is, therefore, erroneous.

Another etymology of the name Vaudois has been given. Eberard de Béthune, about the year 1160, says:—"Certain heretics call themselves Vallenses (from *vallis*, a valley), because they dwell in a vale of sorrow or tears;" and Bernard de Foncald, about A.D. 1180, says, "They were called Valdenses (from *vallis densa*, a shady valley,) because they were enveloped in deep and thick darkness." Among the moderns, Léger, in his "General History of the Vaudois" (*Histoire Générale des Vaudois*), derives the name Vaudois from Vaux or Val; and an ancient pastor of the valley of San Martino, within the precincts of the Vaudois valleys, has declared that, according to tradition, the valley in which he

* This is the opinion of a Roman Catholic Piedmontese historian, who is no friend of the Vaudois; we mean M. Charles Botta, who thus expresses himself in his remarkable History of Italy:—"The Vaudois were thus called, either because they dwelt in the valleys, or because Valdo, a celebrated heresiarch of the twelfth century, communicated his name to them *after embracing their opinions*." The anonymous writer, quoted by Martène, appears to have taken the same view as ourselves, since he calls the leader of the sect, Valdensis—the Vaudois.

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dwells was once called *Val Ombreuse* (shady valley). Without absolutely rejecting an etymology which is founded on the nature of the locality inhabited by the Vaudois, and even acknowledging that there is an apparent foundation for it in the Latin words, *Vallenses* and *Valdenses*, yet, as far as the French word, *Vaudois*, is concerned, we are in favour of the derivation given in "The Noble Lesson."

In fact, this venerable and original monument of the ancient Vaudois church—"The Noble Lesson"—assigns another etymology to the name Vaudois, the third to which we have referred, and the last that we have to examine. This precious witness of the Vaudois faith, which is of the date 1100, expresses itself, in verses 368—372, in the following manner:—

["Si n'i a alcun bon, que ame et tema Yeshu Xrist,
Que non volha maudire, ni jurar, ni mentir,
Ni avoutrar, ni aucir, ni penre de l'autruy,
Ni venjar se de li seo enemis
Ilh dion qu'es *Vaudès*, e degne de punir." *]

Which we translate thus:—

"If there be any one who loves and fears Jesus Christ,
Who will not curse, nor swear, nor lie,
Nor be unchaste, nor kill, nor take what is another's,
Nor take vengeance on his enemies,
They say that he is a *Vaudès*, and worthy of punishment."

For a long time, this word Vaudès was taken to be only a variation of Vaudois; but it is now acknowledged to contain a cruel reproach, and to be equivalent to an accusation of sorcery. The word Vaudès has, in fact, in the Romance language, the meaning of sorcerer, and has not yet ceased to be used in that sense in the patois of the canton de Vaud.

This interpretation is also supported by other proofs. Rubis, quoted by Perrin, says, in express terms: "When they speak of a sorcerer, they call him Vaudès." We read in Mezeray's History of France, in reference to Joan of Arc, then in the power of the English, A.D. 1430, "Those members of the University who remained at Paris, the base slaves of English tyranny, immediately urged that she might be handed over to the ecclesiastical power to bring her to trial as a Vaudoise—enchantress, heretic, im-

* See the original in Giesler, p. 561; Hallam's Middle Ages, with variations from Léger (p. 28), iii., 470; and in Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont, fol., Lond., 1658, p. 114.

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postor, etc." The epithet Vaudoise is placed here close by that of "enchantress."*

The monk Belvedere, in his report to the illustrious congregation for the propagation of the faith (*de propagandâ fide*), printed at Turin in 1631, charges the Vaudois with sorcery, in the following passage: "The unfortunate valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, San Martino, and Perosa, owing to the vicinity of France to Italy, or to the mountains which naturally render them very strong, have always been subject to various plagues, either heretical locusts, or infidel caterpillars, blight, or sorcery."†

We see clearly, by this account of a Romish inquisitor, that the valleys where the principal remains of the Vaudois church at present exist, were accused of having been *always* infected with sorcery, etc.

In the times of ignorance, fanatical priests have accused of secret intercourse with the spirits of darkness those whom an enlightened faith or unbelief caused to withdraw from the [Roman] Catholic churches.‡ The Romish superstition—and a cruel system of persecution very often, for the purpose of exciting an ignorant people to frenzy—designated as sorcerers, men whose lives were perfectly free from the sentiments and actions imputed to them.§ Now, since it is a certain fact that the Vaudois have often been held up to popular hatred as sorcerers, can we be surprised if at a time when superstition and ignorance were at their height, the tenth and eleventh centuries, a name so odious was generally given to them, and was not withdrawn? How can we refuse to credit such a misapplication of the epithet, when we read in an anonymous author, quoted by Martène and Durand, and who wrote about the year 1447, "that the Vaudois, by means of diabolical spells, assembled

* Mezeray, Histoire de France, ii., 17.

† "Le sfortunate valli de Lucerna, Angrogna, S Martino, e Perosa, per la vicinanza della Francia c'ha coli' Italia, o per la proportione di montuosi siti che gli danno natural fortezza, sempre sono state soggette a varj flagelli di eretiche locuste, o d'infidi bruchi, rubigni, o cavallette." Belvedere, ch. xiv., p 242.

‡ Costa de Beauregard quotes from Duboulay (t. iv.) an account of a concubine of a heresiarch monk, Dolcino, an eager propagator of Manicheism in Bielli, Novarra, and Vercelli, in the sixteenth century, who passed for a witch, and adds that both were dismembered, cut in pieces, and burned, (t. i , p. 47.)

§ What Christian does not know that the Son of God was called a Samaritan by the Jews, and that they even said of him that he had a demon, and expelled demons by the Prince of demons?

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suddenly by night, being speedily transported, in great numbers, to some forest or lonely place?" *

The origin attributed to the name Vaudois, in "The Noble Lesson," appears then to us to be justified by facts. It would be interesting and satisfactory, no doubt, to know at what period the little faithful church received a name equally unjust and odious; but on this point proofs are wanting. All we know is, that it was prior to the twelfth century, as it is mentioned in "The Noble Lesson," which was written, as the author himself intimates, in the year 1100.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE VAUDOIS OF PIEDMONT IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

HAVING given an account of the religious movement which agitated France and other countries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and which, as we have seen, probably took its rise in the Alps situated between France and Italy, we must return to the Vaudois valleys, to resume the thread of their particular history, to recount their traditions, and to explain the state of their church.

Let us first notice some historical facts. Without going back to the documents cited in chapters III. and IV., which attest the existence of a so-called heretical church in the bosom of the Alps, from the fourth century, we shall only remind the reader that at the commencement of the twelfth century, and long before Valdo's time, the Chronicle of Saint Thron, in Belgium, written between 1108 and 1136 by the abbot Radulph, mentions a region of the Alps as polluted by an inveterate heresy; and that Bruno d'Asti, about the year 1120, speaks of the Vaudois, though not designating them, it is true, by this name, but with sufficient details, particularly in what he says of their traditions, to enable us to recognise them without difficulty.

To these testimonies, which are given at length in chapter IV., we add the following.

* Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum, à Martène et Durand, t. v., col. 501.

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Honorius, a priest of Autun, at the beginning of the twelfth century, speaks of certain heretics, whom he calls *Montani, or Mountaineers, and describes in these few words: "The Mountaineer heretics are thus named from the mountains.* In the times of persecution they concealed themselves in the mountains, and separated from the body of the church."

Eberard de Béthune, about the year 1160, expresses himself in terms but slightly different on the same subject: "They are called," he says, "Mountaineers; because, in a time of persecution, they concealed themselves in the mountains, and for this reason they erred in relation to the Catholic faith." And although this last author does not say that the heretics, whom he calls Vallenses in the twenty-fifth chapter of his book, and represents as missionaries come from a valley of tears, are the same as those whom he calls Montani, or Mountaineers, in the twenty-sixth chapter, yet he says nothing to the contrary; for Eberard, in the long list he has made out of all possible sorts of heresy, passes over in silence the Vallenses whom he had before named, and cites only the Montani. This omission of the Vallenses can only be accounted for on the supposition that the Vallenses are the same as one of the classes of heretics whom he there names and describes. This is exceedingly probable, considering the resemblance of the signification in the names Montani, Mountaineers, and Vallenses, that is, inhabitants of the valleys; and likewise, considering the analogy of the details he gives of the persecutions suffered by the Mountaineers, and those which afflicted the inhabitants of the vale of sorrow, or of tears.

We may further add, that the name Montani was given to a people of Liguria, established in the Alps, adjacent to the Vagienni (at present the inhabitants of the marquisate of Saluzzo), and bordering on the Vaudois valleys.*

And we need not be astonished that, according to this last explanation, the so-called Vaudois heresy should have extended more to the south in the mountains of Liguria, just as we have seen, in chapter IV., that it extended more to the east in Biella and Novarra; for nothing is

* For Honorius, see Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xx., col. 1039; for Eberard, t. xxiv., cols. 1575—1577; for Montani, see Geographia Antiqua Cellarii, t. i., p. 518; or Plinii Geog., cap. xx.

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more certain. Let our readers only call to mind what we have said of its conquests in Astesan, in the tenth century. We shall elsewhere have an opportunity of proving, by fresh details, this extension of the Vaudois church beyond the limits within which it is confined at the present day.

An ancient writer, Gioffredo, informs us that the Vaudois heresy, which he erroneously supposes to have proceeded from France, had already extended, in the year 1198, not only into the valleys of Angrogna, Lucerna, and San Martino, in the diocese of Turin, but also into the plain. "Not content," he says, "with remaining hid in the caverns of the mountains, they (the Vaudois) have had the audacity to sow false doctrine in the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, fixing a centre at Bagnolo, from which circumstance it is believed that some of them have acquired the denomination of heretics of Bagnolo," (Bagnolenses,) as Rainier Sacco writes, about the year 1250. This is why James, bishop of Turin, desirous of expelling this pestilence from his diocese, organized a persecution against them, after having obtained for that purpose, in the year 1198, a decree of the emperor Otho IV., to which we shall again refer in the sequel.*

Should it appear surprising that the Vaudois sect, or, rather, the remains of the faithful church, could maintain itself so long without severe persecution, in the ancient diocese of Claude of Turin and elsewhere, in spite of the oppressive tendency of the Romish church, we must repeat what we have said before, in chapter IV., of the political agitations and contests in the tenth and eleventh centuries,† during which the attention of the heads of the Romish church were turned away from the scattered remains of the faithful church, preoccupied as they were with their worldly interests, and with the dangers and advantages of their position as secular princes.

One general cause which also favoured the preservation of various small companies of the faithful church, was the inherent vital power of Christian principle, which is such

* See Gioffredo, Storia delle Alpi Maritime, in Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ, t. iii., p. 487; cit. Spondanus, an. 1198.

† The agitations and contests were carried to the greatest lengths in Piedmont and Lombardy, where, to the elements of discord existing among innumerable petty sovereignties, were joined the efforts of a number of free cities, which aimed at repelling these vexations for their own preservation.

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that it cannot be altered or perverted wherever it has spread its roots, except by a very slow process.

Other special causes were combined with this general and powerful one. Thus, in the first place, the innovations adopted in the popish church, in regard to images, the mass, the real presence, etc., took a considerable time to spread themselves, as history shows. In the second place, for a long time, nothing more was attempted than insensibly to undermine the ancient doctrines, to apologize for novelties, and to refute those who attacked the innovations. We may cite, as examples of this fact, the writings of St. Jerome against Vigilantius, of Jonas of Orléans against Claude of Turin, of Pascase Ratbert against the ancient doctrine of the eucharist, maintained a long time after by Bérenger of Tours, and others. In the third place, for a long time it was thought sufficient to excommunicate and anathematize heretics, or those who were thought to be such. Of this the councils furnish numerous examples. In course of time they proceeded to much greater lengths; they shut up in cloisters and subjected to severe penance those whom they deemed opponents. But it was hardly till after the power of the popes had reached its height, in the time of Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), that here and there a few persons of note, holding opposite opinions, perished by a violent death, either by fire or sword. But systematic persecutions, such as the crusades and the horrible inquisition, are not of earlier date than Innocent III.*

It is, then, easy to understand how fidelity and truth could be so long maintained, especially where circumstances were favourable.

It will be proper here to notice a circumstance of high importance, which serves forcibly to explain the fact of the preservation of evangelical truth, from the time of Claude of Turin, in the territory which is still occupied by the Vaudois; it is this, that in the most remote feudal times these valleys were governed by a powerful lord, who held

* This remark may enable our readers to understand how, in proportion as the power of Rome, founded on falsehood by the spirit of falsehood, was able to maintain itself, it indulged in that excess of tyranny and barbarous cruelty, by which so much innocent blood was spilt from the time of Innocent III. to Innocent XI., under whom the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the dispersion of the Vaudois took place in 1685 and 1686.

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his domains directly of the empire, and was himself imbued with Vaudois doctrines. This very important fact is recorded in the work we have already cited of a [Roman] Catholic author, who was better qualified than any other person to ascertain its truth—the marquis Costa de Beauregard. These are his words: "Besides the earldoms (comtés) which sprang from the great marquisates, we cannot doubt that there were others of very ancient date, created by the emperors in favour of the principal barons of this country, and that they had only the simple titles of counts granted to some lords who held them immediately of the emperor. Such were the counts of Castellamonte, Blandra, Lucerna, and Piossasque, to whom the Piedmontese history gives this qualification, from the eleventh and twelfth centuries."

According to this evidence, the counts of Lucerna, lords of the valleys,* held immediately of the empire, and were, consequently, independent of every neighbouring prince; and so little was their power inferior to that of the counts and marquises in the vicinity, that in their valleys, which their natural position rendered easy to defend, they could protect their vassals against every foreign invasion. The same author adds, "We do not see, however, that the princes of Achaïe, who lived so near them (the Vaudois), persecuted them. It is even believed that some of the counts of Lucerna, immediate vassals of the empire and principal lords of these valleys, at a very ancient period, shared their belief.†

In the absence of other historical documents‡ the armorial bearings of the house of Lucerna are sufficient, it appears to us, to prove the fact just stated. They are symbolical; they present a flambeau (*lucerna*) emitting a brilliant light in the midst of darkness. The surrounding device is explanatory—*Lux lucet in tenebris*, "*The light shineth in darkness.*" These armorial bearings and this device, which the Vaudois of the valleys, even to this day,

* Or, at least, of the valley of Lucerna.

† Let it be recollected that this was also the case with the counts of Montfort in Astesan. See Mémoires Historiques, etc., t. i., p. 64, t. ii., p. 51.

‡ One document, which certainly exists, would interest the Vaudois in more than one respect, namely, the treaty by which the counts of Lucerna and the marquis of Angrogna submitted to the house of Savoy. The conditions of this deed were certainly favourable to the Vaudois. These were the franchises and religious liberties which they have always claimed, but, for the most part, in vain.

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love to regard as theirs, attest, by their symbolical signification, the antiquity of evangelical truth in the valleys of Piedmont. They attest that from the time when the name of Lucerna was given to the most considerable part of these valleys, and to its then count, that is, from the tenth or eleventh century, according to the testimony of the marquis Costa, a long time before Valdo, the light of the gospel shone in darkness, in the midst of the Romish superstitions which had spread over almost all the kingdoms of the west.

We believe, then, that we have proved, as far as the absence of more precise documents will permit, that the Vaudois of Piedmont are not a sect which owes its origin to Valdo, an accidental phenomenon of the twelfth century, an isolated religious movement, but a branch of the primitive church preserved by a striking Divine intervention, flourishing apart in the midst of the rubbish which had covered the trunk that once nourished it, and had crushed and withered all the other branches. The church of the valleys was a young infant, that had escaped, unperceived, from the disaster which deprived its parent of life, and had lived concealed in desert places, among the valleys and rocks, till the day when it involuntarily attracted attention; while its sisters, magnificently attired, forgot in slavery and corruption the memory of their pious and faithful mother; and, by their levity and dissoluteness, forfeited the incorruptible inheritance which the Lord intended to have secured to them by his atoning death.

For further illustration of the subject, we proceed to report the traditions of the Vaudois church.

CHAPTER IX.

TRADITIONS OF THE VAUDOIS WHICH ATTEST THEIR ANTIQUITY.

The Vaudois have a twofold tradition respecting their origin: one, more general; the other, more in detail; and both very exact.

In all the persecutions they have passed through, from

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the fifteenth century and later, in the appeals they have made at different times to their sovereign, the Vaudois have always, as formerly, maintained that the religion they followed had been preserved from father to son, and from generation to generation, from time immemorial: *Da ogni tempo, e da tempo immemoriale,* ("from all time, and from time immemorial,") is the language of their appeals.

Moreover, not only the Vaudois of Piedmont, but all those who have laid claim to the name, in all places, have constantly maintained that they received their way or religious belief from Léon, an associate and contemporary of Sylvester, bishop of Rome, under the emperor Constantine the Great.

This tradition, under its second form, is more precise than the first, and rests on a historical basis. We read, in fact, in the Fasciculus Temporum, "The temporalities of the church which the prelates began to possess about this time, (the time of Sylvester and Constantine,) often occasioned violent altercations among the doctors; some asserting that it was just and advantageous for the church to have an abundance of temporal goods and worldly honours, and others maintaining the contrary." Léon was one of the latter, and would have preferred Christian liberty, with poverty, to a rich benefice, the possible cause of servility and dissoluteness.* This tradition agrees with what Honorius d'Autun and Eberard de Béthune, in the twelfth century, tells us of the Mountaineers (Montani;) that is, as we believe, of the Vaudois: "That, in the times of persecution, they concealed themselves in the mountains, and separated themselves from the body of the church, or wandered from the Catholic faith."

Should any one hesitate to regard this quotation as a confirmation of tradition, we would appeal to another by father Moneta, professor and inquisitor at Bologna, about the year 1244. Speaking of the Vaudois, in whom he was disposed to see only recent sectaries, this author expresses himself as follows:—"It is evident that they take their origin from Valdecius, a citizen of Lyons, who commenced this work a little more or less than eighty years ago: thus they are not the successors of the primitive church, and therefore not the church of God. But if they assert that

* Fasciculus Temporum, in Pistorio, t. ii., p. 47.

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their way was prior to Valdo, let them show it by some testimony." *

By this passage we see, that if Moneta combats the antiquity of the Vaudois church, he nevertheless testifies that these reputed innovators regarded themselves as successors of the primitive church, as the church of God, and consequently maintained that their way was prior to Valdo. This quotation clearly shows that about the year 1244, eighty years or more after Valdo, the Vaudois of Piedmont refused to admit the recent origin that was assigned them, and took their stand on a direct descent from the primitive church.

A second inquisitor, Peter Polichdorf, a German, according to some, a contemporary of Moneta, according to others, a century later, also says:—"The Vaudois heretics, those children of iniquity, falsely pretend before foolish people that their sect has continued since the time of pope Sylvester; that is to say, when the church began to possess temporalities." †

The inquisitor Rainier Sacco, a violent opponent of the Vaudois Cathari, among whom he had lived some years before entering the order of preaching friars or dominicans, and who wrote about the year 1250, not only speaks of this tradition, but gives many particulars besides, respecting the sect of the Leonists. After saying that of the seventy sects that were formed without the church, there only remained four, of which that of the Leonists was one, he adds:—"Of all the sects that exist or have existed, there never has been one so pernicious to the church as that of the Leonists; and that for three reasons: first, because it is the most ancient, since, as some assert, it has been preserved from the time of Sylvester,—according to others from the days of the apostles; secondly, it is the most widely spread,—in fact, there is hardly a country where it is not to be found; thirdly, while all other sects strike with horror those who hear them, on account of their awful blasphemies against God, this of the Leonists manifests a great appearance of piety, inasmuch as its members live justly before

* Venerabilis P. Moneta adversus Catharos et Valdenses, lib. v., cap. i., sec. 4. Romæ, 1743.

† Maxima Biblioth., P.P., t. xxv., in præfat., cap. i., p. 278.

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men, have true faith in God, and believe all the articles of the creed.*

Notwithstanding the intentional or involuntary confusion of Rainier in designating sects, confounding what he ought to separate, and separating what he ought to unite, and although, in this particular case, he appears to confound the Leonists with the Poor Men of Lyons, there can be no doubt that, in what he says about the Leonists, in the passage just quoted, he had in view, not the disciples of Valdo, or Poor Men of Lyons, (since he assigns to the Leonists an origin prior to these last by several centuries,) but the Vaudois, whom the [Roman] Catholics of his time already affected to confound with the Poor Men of Lyons. Everything, in fact, that he says of the Leonists perfectly corresponds with what we know of the history and tradition of the Vaudois, and with what we shall exhibit in the sequel of their doctrine and piety.

The etymology of the name Leonists is altogether favourable to our views; we cannot perceive in it a derivative from Lyons, while it seems perfectly natural to derive it from Léon, with whom the Vaudois connect their religious opinions.

Lastly, the tradition which we have reported of the origin of the Vaudois, is confirmed by an archbishop of Turin, Claude de Seyssel, who from 1517 to 1520 occupied the diocese in which the Vaudois valleys are situated, and who had the means of acquiring an exact knowledge of their opinions. But as he only repeats what is known to us, and treats it as a fable or a tale, we shall spare our readers the quotation of the passage.†

This tradition has also been preserved in the evangelical churches, the descendants of those of the valleys; in Bohemia and Moravia, for instance.‡

But we shall not dwell longer on this point: it is enough that we have well established its certainty. The value of such a tradition, to which the writings of the Vau-

* Maxima Biblioth., P.P., t. xxv., caps. v. and vi., p. 264, etc.

† R. P. Claudii Seyssellii, archiep. Taurin., adversus errores et sectam Valdensium Tractatus, c. i.

‡ Such a tradition is reported in the work, entitled *Histoire des Persécutions de l'Eglise de Bohème de* 894 *à* 1632 (History of the Persecutions of the Church of Bohemia, from 894 to 1632).

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dois allude,* as a proof in favour of the antiquity of their church, will appear indisputable to every honest and intelligent person.

CHAPTER X.

WRITINGS OF THE VAUDOIS.

A STRIKING testimony to the antiquity of the Vaudois church exists in the original manuscripts which it possesses from the year 1100 to 1230; the greater part of them fifty years prior to the religious manifestation in which Pierre Valdo took the lead. These works in verse and prose, in the Romance or Vaudois language, form the stock of a great number of similar productions, animated with the same spirit, written in the same dialect, or in Latin, at different periods, but almost all prior to the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

To Léger, the historian and Vaudois pastor, we are indebted for the preservation of these precious memorials of the piety and ancient origin of the Vaudois church. Foreseeing, probably, the storm that was rising against it, and which, after giving portentous tokens of its approach during his life, terminated in the lamentable catastrophe of 1686, Léger collected the writings of the Vaudois and sent them, in 1658, to sir Samuel Morland, the English ambassador at the court of Turin, who brought them to England, and deposited them in the library of the university of Cambridge. Léger made a second collection, but smaller, which he deposited himself in the library of Geneva.†

Above forty years before, about the year 1602, a number of Vaudois writings had already been sent to P. Perrin, by direction of a synod held in the valleys; they had been collected particularly in the valley of Pragela. This author has preserved a list of those that were in his possession.‡

* An allusion is made, amongst others, to this tradition, in the 409th verse of "The Noble Lesson," in this expression, "All the popes from Sylvester to this one."

† A catalogue of both is given in an appendix to the original of this work.

‡ This list is also in the same appendix. Léger, part i., p. 74: Vignaux, a pastor who exercised his ministry in the valleys for forty years, from 1539, collected, according to Perrin, many manuscripts in his time. "It is to this good

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The general character of these writings is doctrinal and practical; some are controversial. Their doctrines are expounded in a very simple manner. We find there neither theological formulas nor systematic exposition, unless in the Catechism and Confession of Faith. Revealed truths are generally announced in their scriptural form. Instead of comments on grace, election, and predestination, these profound mysteries are taught in the terms which the Holy Spirit has chosen. In such a frequent and faithful use of passages of Holy Scripture, the Vaudois *barbes*, or pastors, showed great wisdom. Although written at a period of general darkness, we can detect nothing exaggerated, nothing superstitious, in these documents of the religious life of the Vaudois. The moderation and propriety of their language, even on controverted topics, which are frequently touched on, never leaves them, and is more striking, since these qualities are extremely rare among their adversaries. Their spirit is a truly Christian spirit.

It is also to be observed in the ancient writings of the Vaudois, that doctrine, so far from being separated from morality, gives it constant support. Faith and piety, the contemplation of divine truths, and a life of obedience and devotedness to the Saviour, are invariably united in their literary productions. They treat all Christian subjects with gravity and a practical aim; the natural corruption and misery of man, the remission of sins by the work of Jesus Christ, the fear and love of God, charity and brotherly love, forgiveness and endurance of injuries, watchfulness and prayer, humility, contempt of the world, detachment of the affections from earthly objects, patience, resignation under the evils of life, the duties of pastors and spiritual guides,* of husbands and wives, of parents and children. There must have been a profound knowledge of the gospel, a development of vital piety and Christian intelligence, in order to

servant of God," says Perrin, "that we are indebted for the collection of these ancient works of the Vaudois; for he gathered as many as he could find, and carefully preserved them. At the close of his life, he gave to certain individuals the memoirs he had prepared respecting the Vaudois, and all the old books he had got together in the valleys." Vignaux himself says, "We have at hand some ancient books of the Vaudois, containing catechisms and sermons written in the vulgar tongue, which contains nothing that makes for the pope or popery. It is wonderful how they could see so clearly, in a time when the darkness was more intense than that of Egypt."—Perrin, Geneva, 1619.

* They had and still have elders in every division of the parishes, whose business it was to preserve order and to afford consolation to the afflicted.

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reach so high a standard of truth and morals at the end of the eleventh century.

Some of the Vaudois treatises are altogether polemical. The critical position of these evangelical Christians, exposed to the attacks of the Romish church, rendered controversy unavoidable. They were obliged to defend their faith and to explain their doctrines. Besides their Confession of Faith and their Catechism, the Vaudois barbes composed polemical works on antichrist, imaginary purgatory, true purgatory, the invocation of saints, etc.

Among the original works of the ancient Vaudois, we must reckon a translation of the Bible into the Romance language. The numerous quotations made from it in "The Noble Lesson," in the "Antichrist," and other treatises of that period, are proofs of it. But there is still more positive proof: Léger declares that he possessed it. In the Library at Cambridge, manuscripts of the books of the Bible, or of detached chapters, are deposited; and the library at Grenoble boasts of having a complete manuscript of the New Testament in the same dialect: there also exists a copy at Zurich. Mapée also informs us, that at the Romish council, held in 1179, under pope Alexander III., certain Vaudois presented to that pontiff a volume written in the old French (Gauloise) language, (then the Romance,) which contained the text of the Psalms and several books of the Old and New Testament, with a commentary.*

The important question of the authenticity of these writings will occupy our attention for a short time. It divides itself into two principal points—their origin and their date.

Everything goes to prove the Vaudois origin of these writings. It was among the Vaudois, and nowhere else, that they were preserved and afterwards collected. From whom did they receive them, and what motive could they have for adopting the works of foreigners? These mountaineers were not devoted to literature. The writings they possessed and preserved could only be their own. These books expressed nothing, more or less, than the belief and pious intentions of the Vaudois believers through all ages.

The greater part of these writings is in the Vaudois language, a particular dialect of the Romance, as Raynouard

* Usher, p. 286.

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observes, who studied it carefully and profoundly. But this Romance language, in the Vaudois dialect, continued to the Reformation the constant language of the inhabitants of the valleys, the only one used in their religious services; and it is still employed, in the present day, as a patois by the common people.* We do not know that the Vaudois Romance dialect has been spoken anywhere else. The writings, therefore, that have been collected among the Vaudois, and in their dialect, can only be theirs.

Lastly, it is a fact attested by history, that the ancient Vaudois wrote books. An anonymous author of the thirteenth century says positively, in speaking of the Vaudois, "They have invented certain verses (measures), which they call the thirty degrees of St. Augustine, in which they teach, in some degree, the practice of virtue and to avoid vice, and have adroitly introduced their rites and heresies, that they may be learned more readily and impressed more strongly on the memory, as we recommend for the use of the laity the creed and the Lord's prayer; they have also invented other attractive writings (*beaux écrits*) with the same design." †

It is also stated, as we have seen, by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugny, that Henry, the false hermit as he was called, who, as we think, was very probably a Vaudois, wrote a book containing his opinions. But, as he has not given any further description of it, we have no means of judging whether this work was one of those in the catalogue, in the appendix before mentioned. But from what Peter the Venerable has said, we may, at least, infer that, in his time, certain writings, called heretical, were extant; that is, at the commencement of the twelfth century.‡

The second question to be discussed, in order to demonstrate the authenticity of the writings of the Vaudois, relates to the dates they bear. It may be put in this form,—Are the writings of the Vaudois of the dates they profess to be? Do their superscription and composition agree?

* Particularly in retired places, where the inhabitants have less intercourse with the Piedmontese.

† D. Martène, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, t. v., autore anonymo, Tractatus de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno. The close of the article entitled, De Studio Pervertendi.

‡ Petri Vener. Epist., quoted above. [See pp. 44, 45.]

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Among the ancient writings of the Vaudois, five only have dates affixed to them. "The Noble Lesson" and the Catechism bear date A.D. 1100;* the Treatise on Antichrist and the Confession of Faith have that of 1120; and the Treatise on Purgatory that of the year 1126. Many moral poems, which Raynouard assigns to the epoch of "The Noble Lesson," are without date, as well as the other manuscripts, one only excepted, which bears the date of 1230.

The date of the Romance translation of the Bible must necessarily be earlier than that of all the other Vaudois writings, because there are scarcely any which do not contain passages from it.

This circumstance, that five or six Vaudois manuscripts only have dates, is particularly favourable to their authenticity. If they had been affixed after the appearance of the writings, and without foundation, we do not see why the author of such a fraud should not have made use of it in reference to a greater number, or even to all.

We, moreover, appeal to the testimony of Raynouard, in favour of the correctness of these dates. It is known that this modern writer has applied himself specially to the study of the Romance language, of which the Vaudois is a particular dialect, not differing from the rest, as, for example, the Provençal, excepting in certain terminations and some other slight peculiarities. Raynouard has proved the antiquity of this Romance language. He has demonstrated its existence from the time of Charlemagne, in most of the countries that submitted to this prince, from the Rhine to Rome. He has explained its formation, and composed a grammar of it, with numerous examples. Now, among these we have remarked a great number which are taken from the writings of the Vaudois, either their poetical pieces, or their translation of the New Testament.† Thus the antiquity of the writings from which these examples are taken is demonstrated. The author, it is true, does not express himself categorically, excepting on the date of "The Noble Lesson;" but we may judge, by the place he

* "The Noble Lesson" contains its date in the following words, translated literally from the original:—"Eleven hundred years are now entirely past, since the hour was written," (v. 6). See the Appendix. [Hallam's History of the Middle Ages, iii., 467.]

† These examples will be found, t. i., pp. 112, 113.

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assigns in his work to the principal Vaudois documents, that he admitted the correctness of the dates they bear, and that he also considered many of their other writings to be very ancient; for, in his Introduction on the Troubadours, after the pieces collected under the title of "Actes et Titres" (Acts and Titles), from A.D. 960 and the following years, and which come down to 1080, he points out the Vaudois poetry, as forming a continuation of them in the order of time: hence we are authorized to believe that he judged not only those writings in verse of the Vaudois, which bear the date of the twelfth century, but also many others of their poetical pieces, to be very little later than the year 1080.

Raynouard was so convinced of the antiquity of the Vaudois writings, that he has made use of them to prove the converse of our proposition; that is, to support his demonstrations on the language he had been studying. "If we reject," he says, "the opinion of the existence of a primitive Romance language, that is, of an intermediate idiom, which, by the decomposition of the language of the Romans, and the establishment of a new grammatical system, furnished the common type from which the different idioms of Latin Europe have been modified, it will be difficult to explain how, in the valleys of Piedmont, a people separated from others by their religious opinions, by their manners, and above all by their poverty, have spoken the Romance language from a very ancient period, and have made use of it to preserve and transmit the tradition of their religious doctrines, a circumstance which attests the high antiquity of this idiom, in the country which this people inhabit."*

The author goes on to say, "The poem of the 'Nobla Leyczon' bears the date of the year 1100. The sect of the Vaudois is, then, much more ancient than has been generally believed." And a little after: "The date of the year 1100, which we find given in this poem, merits all confidence. Persons who read it with attention will perceive that the manuscript has not been interpolated, etc. Lastly, the very style of the work, the form of the versification, the agreement of the two manuscripts, (that of Cambridge and that of Geneva,) and the kind of various readings they pre-

* Raynouard, t. ii. Introduction, p. cxxxvii.

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sent, all unite in favour of the authenticity of this poetical composition."

If Raynouard, on account of the main object he had in view, has expressed himself more explicitly about the date of the Vaudois poems, yet he has equally acknowledged the antiquity of their prose writings:—"The treatise on Antichrist," he says, "bears the date of the year 1120."

Thus we see that this distinguished writer, without prejudice or any interested motive, and having only in view the Romance language, after a long and profound study of the ancient religious documents of the Vaudois, pronounces them authentic, and confirms the correctness of their dates. Such a decision appears to us to be of very great weight.

We ought not to omit, moreover, the remark, that "The Noble Lesson" contains proofs of the correctness of the date it bears. Let us cite an example. We find such a proof in what it says in the 384th and following verses, particularly in the 396th: "He (the sinner) makes terms with the priest, to obtain absolution." The absolutions for money were granted in the most scandalous manner in the eleventh century, according to the Benedictines, the authors of the "Literary History of France," who, in speaking of that period, say in so many words,—"By means of a sum of money, the greatest offenders found priests who would readily give them absolution." Now it was at the latter end of this century that the author of "The Noble Lesson" wrote.*

If the authority of Raynouard puts the correctness of the date of the Vaudois poems beyond a doubt, we are able, in our turn, to bring forward, as in the case of "The Noble Lesson," internal evidence of the authentic date of one of the prose writings, that, namely, on Antichrist; it is this:—

Having defined Antichrist, the author continues,—"Such is the man: accomplished in sin, he exalts himself above all that is called God, and that is worshipped; he is opposed to all truth, and is seated in the temple of God, that is, in the church, making himself to be God; he comes with all sorts of seductions for those that perish. And since this rebel has already reached his perfect state, we are no longer to wait for him, (or to seek out who he is,) for by God's permission he has reached old age, since he already shows

* Histoire Litteraire de France, t. vii., pp. 5, 6.

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signs of decrepitude. In fact, his power and authority are diminished, and the Lord Jesus destroys this rebel by the breath of his mouth, by means of many men of good will, and causes a power to interfere which is opposed to him and to his adherents; he overthrows the places in which he dwells, and his possessions, and causes division in that city of Babylon, where each successive generation has acquired a fresh vigour of maliciousness."

The Antichrist of the Vaudois treatise is the Romish religious system, its agents and its ritual, the pope, and the idolatry of which he is the centre. History shows that in the year 1120, the time when this work was composed, the Romish system had attained its height, and was beginning to decline, for a while at least. In the person of Gregory VII.—the ancient monk, Hildebrand—the papacy attained its greatest power, and displayed the most audacious pretensions. It was towards the close of the eleventh century, that is, on the 25th of January, 1077, that the temporal power humbled itself before the usurped authority of the pretended successor of St. Peter, when the unfortunate emperor, Henry IV., for a long time the most powerful prince in Europe, waited for three days, fasting and standing barefoot in the snow, till the proud rival of his power deigned to pardon him, take off his excommunication, and restore to him the right of governing his own dominions.

The victory of Rome was complete under Hildebrand, but their maturity of power bordered closely on decay, as the treatise on Antichrist expresses it in the passage quoted above:—"The rebel has reached old age, and already shows signs of decrepitude." In fact, what does history tell us? Henry IV., deceived in his attempt at a generous reconciliation, again seized the crown which Hildebrand believed he had wrested from him, collected an army, made himself master of Rome in 1084, established pope Clement III., by whom he was crowned afresh, and drove Gregory VII. into exile, who died at Salerno. Literally, "Jesus," as the passage we have quoted asserts, "slew this rebel Antichrist by the breath of his mouth, by means of many men of good will, and by causing an antagonist power to interfere." Rome was then closely pressed by a long siege, and, having been taken by assault, "the places where Antichrist dwelt were overthrown."

Henry V., like his father, defended the imperial crown

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against the renewed pretensions of the popes who succeeded Hildebrand. In the year 1111, he came to Rome at the head of a numerous army, overawed the city, and threw Pascal II. into prison. The treaty of peace with this pope having been annulled when he regained his liberty, after the emperor's departure, Henry marched a second time to Rome, entered it in triumph, drove out his adversary, and nominated another pope, Gregory VIII., who crowned him a second time. Rome still struggled, and, after Pascal's death, attempted to appoint his successor without the emperor's concurrence, in the person of Gelasius II. But this new pope was driven from Rome, and Henry's nominee, Gregory, kept possession of the papal throne, by the will of the emperor. This took place in 1118.

There can be no doubt that the Vaudois treatise on Antichrist alludes to these events: the very terms of the passage to which we have referred are evidence of this. The date of 1120, which the treatise bears, cannot, then, be fairly disputed, supported as it is by so striking a historical agreement.

Some objections have been raised against the authenticity of the dates of the Vaudois writings; and although, after what has just been said, they will not possess much weight, we feel it right to examine them.

It has been remarked, that in some Vaudois treatises, particularly in that on Antichrist, the quotations of passages from the word of God have the notation of chapters and verses, besides that of the book; and it has been thence inferred that the origin of the writing was much more recent than that indicated by the date, since it can be shown that the division of the Bible into chapters and verses was not made before the thirteenth century, about the year 1250. But, for this objection to have any force, it must be proved that the manuscripts on which this discrepancy is charged are the very originals; since, on the other hand, if they are only copies of a more recent date, we may readily understand, that, for the instruction of their readers, the copyists,* who, without doubt, were the barbes, or Vaudois pastors, availing themselves of their acquaintance with this useful division, added the notation of the chapters and verses,

* Admitting that there might have been other copyists beside the barbes, it cannot be doubted, from the fact of their employment, that they possessed the requisite knowledge.

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without thereby subjecting the text to any falsification or deterioration. We have a stronger warrant for admitting this explanation, because all the quotations are not accompanied with the notation of chapters and verses, which would probably have been the case, had this useful addition been made by the author himself.

That the writings of the Vaudois were in fact often copied, is what we should suppose, from the habitual and almost daily use made of them by the catechumens of the pastors, by the pastors themselves in their ministerial labours, and by the believers in general, who sought for weapons against their adversaries in the arsenal of their national and religious literature, as well as in the Bible. But as regards one work, "The Noble Lesson," a different solution may be given of the difficulty. Raynouard has settled, that the two manuscripts extant of this poem were copied at distant intervals, or from different manuscripts, because in one the preposition *avec* (*with*) is expressed by *au*, and in the other by *cum;* and he concludes that the Cambridge manuscript, which has always *au*, is more ancient than that of Geneva, which has *cum.**

The authenticity of some books has also been disputed, because they contain quotations from the fathers. This remark applies particularly to the tract on purgatory, of the date 1126. The ancient Vaudois, it is said, acknowledged in matters of faith no authority but that of the Bible; they never cited the fathers; therefore the tract on purgatory is not genuine. But it is easy to reply, that, maintaining their principle perfectly inviolate, that the Bible alone is of authority in matters of faith, the Vaudois could demonstrate the error of their adversaries on purgatory and other points, by appealing to the testimony of those fathers of the church, on whom the Roman catholics principally rested their doctrine.

An anonymous and quite modern author has made another more serious objection against the tract on purgatory, although, by a strange mistake, he imagines that he is urging it against the work on Antichrist. He justly observes, that the Vaudois writing at the beginning of the twelfth century quotes a more recent work, namely, the

* The prepositions *au* and *con* are both in use at the present day, in different localities, but with precisely the same signification. *Au mi*, *con mi*, both mean, *with me.*

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Milleloquium of St. Augustin, which is a compilation from the writings of that father made by one Augustinus Triumphus, who appeared with applause at the Sorbonne, and at the council of Lyons, in 1274. Certainly this objection is very forcible and startling; how can it be met and refuted? By the mention of a very simple fact, already stated, namely, that the writings of the Vaudois were often copied, and sometimes, we may add, with considerable variations. It has been proved, in fact, that the extracts published by Léger from the Purgatory, and which gave rise to the objection, were taken from an abridgment, and not from the original treatise, which is of far greater extent; a treatise which exists among the manuscripts in the library of Geneva, and is numbered 208. The author of the abridgment has cited the Milleloquium, which doubtless was at hand; while the original treatise frequently quotes St. Augustin himself, at one time from his book on the sacraments, at another from his work on the doctrines of the gospel, and again from a discourse on the words, "Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Here it is that the passage occurs, "My brethren, let no man deceive himself; there are only two places," (that is, paradise and hell,) "the third (purgatory) does not exist at all," etc. Any one may convince himself of the fact.

Do not the numerous quotations from St. Augustin, in this treatise, authorize us in supposing that the anonymous author of the twelfth century, quoted above and printed in Martène, refers to it when he mentions a Vaudois writing called "The Thirty Degrees of Saint Augustin?" And then, what will the objection raised against it signify?

Lastly, it has been remarked, that these writings speak of the persecutions endured by the Vaudois; and hence it is inferred that they could not be productions of the twelfth century, since they were not persecuted in their valleys till a much later period. But this objection falls to the ground, if, on the one hand, we reflect that there might be persecutions of which history has preserved no record; and on the other, if it be granted that the heretics destroyed by fire and sword, at Asti, Orléans, Toulouse, Arras, and other places, in the eleventh century, were regarded as brethren by the Vaudois.

The authenticity of the Vaudois writings of the year 1100,

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1120, 1126, and 1230, being once admitted, we believe it is in our power to deduce from them the antiquity of the church from which they proceeded. It is not, in fact, at its first rise, that a religious society exhibits its doctrines and its practice in numerous writings; for, before opinions are reduced to formal statements, they must be settled and fixed in the minds of men; and so, also, before those characteristics, whether general or particular, that compose the life of a society are committed to writing, the facts from which they are deduced must have had time to take place. In a word, it is not at the epoch of its formation, but at that of its full growth and maturity, that a religious society abounds in books of edification, instruction, and controversy, and in Christian poetry. It appears to us, then, to be demonstrated, that in the year 1100, the date of the poem of "The Noble Lesson" and of the Vaudois Catechism, the church of the valleys, far from being merely in the dawn of evangelical light and in the first stages of its development, had already attained the age of strength and reflection; and since no fact is mentioned in history which explains in what way the Vaudois doctrine penetrated into the valleys, during the two or three preceding centuries, while many facts render its existence probable from the time of Claude of Turin, and even earlier, it follows that the Vaudois church, which produced such remarkable writings at the commencement of the twelfth century, was a continuation of that which this faithful bishop instructed. She had lived in obscurity, training and fortifying herself, preparing for the combat, from the days of this pious successor of the apostles till those in which a Pierre de Bruis, a Henry, and so many other courageous disciples of Christ, were seen descending from the mountains, bringing with them the fragrance of the pure gospel; and till the appearance of these religious writings in the Romance language, which were designed to proclaim the truths of revelation, and to hold up to imitation the holy life of the children of God. From being feeble and timid, the Vaudois church became strong and courageous. Repose no longer suited her fidelity. She renounced it in publishing her thoughts; she did more—she proceeded to make a succession of sacrifices in order to achieve the triumph of the truth!

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CHAPTER XI.

THE BELIEF OF THE VAUDOIS.

THE belief of the Vaudois has, like their writings, a strongly marked character of fidelity to the Scriptures, and thus is found to be in harmony, on all essential points, with the faith of the primitive church, and the different evangelical churches to which the reformation gave birth.

A complete and minute parallel between the Vaudois doctrines and those of the primitive church would detain us too long; we must confine ourselves to the principal features.

And in the first place, we remark, that the Vaudois remained faithful to the pure tradition of the church of the first ages, in what concerns the source and rule of the Christian faith. With them the source of the truth was entirely and only in the word of God; and they recognised as such, the canonical books of the Old Testament, which the Jews had already received as inspired, and the books of the New Testament, such as were generally in use. As to the books which the Jews have transmitted to us as apocryphal, they said, "We read them for the instruction of the people, but not to confirm the authority of the doctrines of the church." *

As to the rule of their faith, they rejected every point of doctrine which did not appear to them conformable to the instructions and spirit of the word of God; at the same time, they professed to believe and observe everything which it reveals and ordains. This wise and faithful rule served them as a fence against error, and an answer to the attacks of their adversaries. Prove by the Holy Scriptures that we are in error, (they said to such persons,) and we are ready to submit. From the most remote period this declaration, always the same in spirit, if not in express terms, was one of the distinctive features of their religious physiognomy. Taking literally that injunction of the Spirit of God respecting revealed truth, "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it;" the ancient Vaudois constantly rejected doctrines that were based on authority and human tradi-

* (See Confession of Faith, Article iii.)

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tion; they repelled, with holy indignation and horror, images, crosses, and relics, as objects of veneration or worship; the adoration and intercession of the blessed virgin Mary and the saints; they consequently rejected the feasts consecrated to these same saints, the prayers addressed to them, the incense and tapers that were burned in their honour; they likewise rejected the mass, auricular confession, purgatory, extreme unction, and prayers for the dead, holy water, Lent, abstinence from meat at certain times and on certain days, imposed fasts and penances, processions, pilgrimages, the celibacy of the clergy, monkery, etc., etc. Their declaration on these points is as explicit as it is strong.

"We have always believed," they say in their Confession of faith of the year 1120, (articles 10 and 11,) "that all things invented by men, such as the feasts and vigils of the saints, holy water, abstinence on certain days from meat and other kinds of food, and, in short, all such things, and especially masses, are an abomination, which ought not to be mentioned in the presence of God. We hold in abomination human inventions as antichristian; inventions for which we are disturbed, and which are prejudicial to liberty of spirit."

We nowhere find that the Vaudois occupied themselves with the vain questions that have often been agitated with warmth, such as the perpetual virginity of Mary, and her pretended dignity as mother of God, her nativity, assumption, and other such points, of which no mention is made in the Holy Scriptures.

The Vaudois subscribed, moreover, to the articles of the Apostles' Creed. We read at the head of their confession of faith—"We believe and maintain firmly all that is contained in the twelve articles of what is called the Apostles' Creed, regarding as heresy whatever is not conformable to it." They also received the Athanasian Creed, which is found among the manuscripts in their language, and the decisions of the first four general councils, as not departing from the rule of doctrine maintained among them, namely, the word of God.*

To specify the belief of the Vaudois on some fundamental points, we add that their faith in God is scriptural. "We

* See Léger, vol. i., p. 116.

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believe in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," they say in art. 2 of their Confession. "This God, all-powerful, all-wise, and all-good, has made all things by his goodness." (Art. 3.)

In reference to man they express themselves thus: "God formed Adam in his image and in his likeness; but through the malice of the devil, and by Adam's disobedience, sin entered into the world, and all are sinners in Adam and by Adam." (Art. 4.)

They received the doctrine of redemption in its simplicity and purity. With them, salvation is gratuitous; it is a gift of God through the work of Jesus Christ, a gift granted to all those who believe. "We believe" (say they, Art. 7,) "that Christ is to us life, truth, peace and righteousness, Shepherd and Advocate, sacrifice and Priest; that he died for the salvation of all believers, and rose again for our justification."

Their belief respecting the state of men after death is perfectly conformable to the gospel. We read in the 9th article of their confession of faith, "We believe, likewise, that after this life there are only two abodes (places); the one for those who are saved, which we call paradise, and the other for the lost, which we call hell; we deny altogether that purgatory dreamt of by Antichrist, and imagined contrary to the truth."

The Vaudois admitted only the two sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ, namely, baptism and the holy supper, which they administered conformably to their institution. "We believe," they say in art. 12, "that the sacraments are signs or visible forms of invisible graces. We maintain that it is good for the faithful sometimes to use these said signs or visible forms, if it can be done; and yet we believe and maintain that the faithful may be saved without receiving the said signs, if they have neither place nor means for using them." And they add (art. 13), "We have known no other sacraments besides baptism and the eucharist."

The Vaudois were not forgetful of one essential point for the true disciples of Jesus Christ, submission to the civil power, and which it was desirable to specify, in order to shut the mouths of gainsayers who charged them with not recognising the authority of the magistrate. "We

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are bound," they declare, in art. 14, "to honour the secular power by submission, obedience, good-will, and the payment of tribute." After the example of the first Christians, and according to the order of their Divine Master, they rendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.

Such, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was the belief of the Vaudois, as exhibited in their writings, from the year 1100 to 1126, and in their other treatises.

It may, perhaps, be noticed, that no mention is made in a special manner of some particular doctrines, such as election, predestination, and grace. This silence seems to show, that they followed and received in simplicity of heart the declarations of Scripture, without indulging a desire to penetrate these profound mysteries.

To complete this brief exposition of the doctrine professed by the ancient Vaudois, it remains for us to lay before our readers some of the opinions that have been passed upon them, and the accounts which have been given by Catholic writers, their adversaries. Certainly, as might be expected, the Vaudois doctrines have not been presented by them in an advantageous light, and very often they have been distorted; nevertheless, it is not difficult to distinguish the truth in their statements from the error or falsehood.

One of these adversaries of the Vaudois, father Richini, accuses them of maintaining that it is not necessary to confess to men, but that it is sufficient to confess to God; that external penances are not necessary for salvation; and that when the sinner repents of his sins, whatever may be their number, if death surprises him in this state, he goes straight to paradise.

Though it is not probable that the Vaudois expressed themselves in terms so little befitting the subject as the preceding, yet we acknowledge that the doctrine thus announced was essentially theirs. Not having seen in the Holy Scriptures the obligation of confession to the priest, or of penances, they confined themselves to confession of sins to God, on which they insisted with so much the more force; and they believed, according to the gospel, that a sincere repentance, united to a living faith in the Saviour, sufficed to obtain from the Divine mercy the

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pardon of sin, and an entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

According to father Richini, the Vaudois also said,—"that all good men are, as such, priests; and that every individual in a state of grace has as much power to grant absolution as we acknowledge the pope to possess. . . . . They despise the absolutions and excommunications of the church, saying that none but God is able to excommunicate." The most ancient authors express themselves in the same manner.*

This statement is correct; the Vaudois acknowledging in no man the right to absolve sins otherwise than by declaring to every believer that Christ has delivered him from condemnation, could affirm that every believer had as much right as any one, whoever he might be, consequently as the pope himself, to declare the believer absolved or saved, by announcing to every contrite and believing heart the benefit of the death of Jesus Christ. As to the pretended right which the Romish church arrogated to itself of binding or absolving, we may see the view taken of it by the Vaudois, by reading in "The Noble Lesson" of the year 1100, from verse 378 to the 413th, and in the treatise on Antichrist of the year 1120, to the fifth and sixth paragraph. †

"They ridicule the papal indulgences," Richini says again, "absolutions, the power of the keys conferred on the church, the dedication and consecration of churches or altars, calling these ceremonies feasts of stones. They say that the whole earth is equally consecrated and blessed of God; for this reason they acknowledge no peculiar sacredness either in cemeteries or churches."

It is well known that the Vaudois were often reduced to the precarious state of the first Christians. The congregation met in the first place that offered, oftentimes under the vault of heaven, in a desert, in woods, or in caves. They never imagined that the temple imparted sanctity to the persons assembled, nor that any value could be attached to the mere building; for the whole earth belonged to the Lord. Jesus taught the Samaritan woman by Jacob's well, and his disciples on a mountain, by the sea-shore, or in a

* Richini, Dissertatio secunda, cap. iii. de Valdensibus in libros Moneta.—Rainier and Polichdorf, c. xxxiii—Eberard, cap. xii.—Moneta, liv. v., cap. 5.

† (See the Appendix to the original work.)

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ship, as well as in the temple at Jerusalem. If the Vaudois condemned the dedication and consecration of churches or altars, designating them "feasts of stones," it was because the presence of the Lord consecrates the church; and it is by prayer, and not by ceremonies, that this blessing, is obtained. As for cemeteries, they could hold them in little esteem, on account of the purity of their faith and their exalted hopes. Of what importance could the place of rest for their mortal remains be to them, while expecting the resurrection? Their only desire was, that their souls might be admitted into the presence of their Lord; yet it is known that the Albigensian Vaudois, the disciples of Pierre de Bruis and Henry, had cemeteries.

In the *Gestes* of Toulouse, Nicolas Bertrand says positively, on the authority of Guillaume de Puylaurens:—"As to the ceremonies and rites of the church, they reject them entirely, and make them an object of derision; for, according to Rainier, they ridicule altars and their consecration, vases and sacred furniture, sacerdotal ornaments, wax-tapers, incense, holy water, and other religious rites. They not only reject saints' days, but also their invocation; they despise relics, and the canonization of saints; and refuse all credence to the miracles which God works at their tombs by their intercession. They affirm that there is no being but God, to whom every kind of adoration is due; accordingly, they proscribe all adoration and honour rendered to the cross—to what we believe to be the body of Jesus Christ, to saints and their images."*

It would seem, by this account, as if the Vaudois, in combating Romish errors, employed no weapons but those of derision and contempt; but this is plainly an exaggeration, as any one may convince himself, by taking a glance at their writings. The knowledge of the truth imparts a better inspiration to its defenders. Severity of language is often united with the persuasive efforts of charity; and if irony sometimes escape the lips, it is by accident and in the presence of hypocritical adversaries.

Catholic writers have also said, "The Vaudois ridicule religious singing and Divine service, and say that it is

* Richini, loc. cit.—Polichdorf, chs. xvi., xx., xxii., xxiii., xxxiii.—Bernard de Foncald, ch. xii.—Ermangard, chs. viii., ix.—Eberard, ch. xvii.—Moneta, liv. v., chs. i., ii., iii., viii., and x.

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insulting to God to sing what we wish to utter to him, as if he could not understand our prayers without our chanting them."

This account is incorrect; the Vaudois could not object to singing in churches, and psalms and hymns; for they would have condemned what God has ordained in his word, to which they were so submissive. Besides, we cannot doubt that they themselves would have admitted, as an act of worship, the singing of God's praises, since any one may see, in the library at Geneva, many hymns of the ancient Vaudois, forming in the whole a considerable collection (the Geneva manuscript.) It cannot, then, be questioned that the censures they expressed related to the abuses of the Romish church in singing in an unknown tongue, and in substituting masses, and other chanted services, for acts of worship "in spirit and in truth."

"The Vaudois," it is also said, "maintain that those who do not observe the prescribed fasts, and who eat meat according to their own pleasure, commit no sin, provided they do not give offence to others: thus, in private, they eat meat on any day and in any place whatever, provided no one takes offence at it." *

This testimony is honourable; it confirms our conviction that the Vaudois had no other rule of faith than the word of God, and they knew how to unite charity and truth.

Richini says again, "They accuse of sin whoever pronounces or executes a capital sentence; they regard as homicides and reprobates those who preach crusades against the Saracens or Albigenses." Rainier reports (chap. v.) that the Vaudois regard the pope and all the bishops as homicides on account of the wars (*propter bella.*) Moneta treats the same subject at length, in his fifth book, chap. xiii.

Must the first proposition be understood as expressing an absolute disapproval of capital punishment? We know not how to understand it otherwise. But it is, at least, very striking to see this important question already resolved by the Vaudois of the twelfth century. As to the censure passed on those who excited others to war, and

* Ibid.

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particularly on the pope and bishops who preached in favour of the crusades, and took part in many other wars, we find it perfectly in harmony with what we know of the reverence of the Vaudois for the spirit of the gospel.

An old anonymous writer, already quoted, thus expresses himself:—"The Vaudois affirm, that the clergy and priests who have riches and possessions are children of the devil, and the creatures of perdition. They condemn as guilty of sin those who pay them tithes and make them offerings. They say that this is, as it were, fattening lard."

Rainier discusses this question more at length. He writes:—"These heretics teach that we ought not to pay tithes, because they were not paid in the primitive church; that priests and monks ought not to have prebends nor possessions; that bishops and abbots ought not to enjoy the revenues of vacant bishoprics; that they ought not to divide among themselves land and population; that it was wrong to endow monasteries and churches, and to make wills in their favour; that churches ought not to possess any revenue, but that the clergy ought, after the example of the apostles, to labour with their own hands for their livelihood."*

As it is true that the Vaudois taught and practised detachment from the world; that they censured avarice, covetousness, worldliness, and sensuality, and that their barbes or pastors laboured with their own hands for their subsistence; as it is undeniable that the Romish clergy of the middle ages thought more about getting rich and enjoying themselves than being models of Christian virtue; it may be easily understood and explained how the Vaudois indulged in no measured reproaches, and perhaps sometimes exaggerated, in its application, a principle that in itself was just.

As to the authority of the church in matters of faith, it is very true that the Vaudois refused to every ecclesiastical or other body, and to every individual, the right of fixing the sense of Scripture in an absolute manner,—of imposing their interpretation as a rule of faith; in a word, of adding to, or taking from the word of God, under the pretext of giving it greater clearness. But it is an exaggerated statement to pretend that the Vaudois made no account of

* Richini, ibid.—Polichdorf, ch. i.—Eberard, ch. x.—Moneta, liv. v., ch. 8.

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councils and the fathers of the church. Their writings prove that they cited them, not, it is true, as a rule of faith, but as a support and confirmation of their manner of viewing truth conformably to the Holy Scriptures.

It cannot, then, be denied that the Vaudois doctrine was pure, as far as it is given to human weakness to express it, since it flowed only from the word of God, received with a humble and submissive heart.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE VAUDOIS.

"EVERY good tree bringeth forth good fruit," said the Head of the church, our Lord Jesus Christ (Matt. vii. 17.) According to this invariable rule, a church that pretends to be founded on the word of truth ought to give proof of its being so by institutions, usages, and practices, in which faith, humility, zeal, the love of God and one's neighbour, renunciation of the world, purity of heart, and all the other fruits of the Spirit, are exhibited. Such virtues were not wanting to the Vaudois church. We shall have occasion to point out numerous and sublime examples of them in the course of this history, as the facts come under our notice. For the present, we shall describe the organization of the ancient Vaudois church, and the principal features that distinguish it.

One unquestionable proof of the piety of the Vaudois church is the strict and eminently evangelical discipline which it established. This Discipline has been handed down to our times, having been preserved in the habits and obedience of all, been laid down in authentic statutes, and copied in ancient manuscripts. Without being able to assign a precise date to the copy of it which we have, and which the historian Léger has preserved for us, we can affirm that it was prior to the Reformation, as is shown by the testimony of the reformers Bucer and Melancthon who approved of it.*

Its simplicity and severity also attest its antiquity.

* Léger, Histoire Générale, part i., pp. 190—199.

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"Discipline," as the document from which we are extracting asserts, "is an assemblage of all the moral doctrine taught by Jesus Christ and the apostles, showing to each individual the manner in which he ought to live and walk worthily in the righteousness which is by faith, agreeably to the calling he has received, and what ought to be the communion of the faithful in the same love of good, and the same departure from evil."

"To attain this object, the church has pastors who direct it. Great care is exercised, so as not to consecrate any to this office but true believers." In fact, the aspirants to this important charge were required to give proof of their humility and sincere desire to consecrate themselves to the work of the ministry. The barbes,* or pastors, trained their successors:—"We give them lessons," they say in their Discipline; "we make them learn by heart the whole of St. Matthew and St. John, and all the canonical Epistles, a good part of the writings of Solomon, of David, and the prophets. And afterwards, if a good testimony is borne to their character, they are admitted by the imposition of hands to the office of preaching." The right of consecrating them was vested in the pastors. "Among other powers which God has given his servants, he has given them power to choose leaders (pastors) who may govern the people, and to appoint elders to their offices, according to the diversity of their employments, in the unity of Christ, as the apostle proves in his Epistle to Titus (chap. i. 5): 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city as I had appointed thee.'"

As to the discipline of the pastors, it is said:—"Whenever any one of our pastors has fallen into any disgraceful sin, he is expelled from our society, and the office of preaching is taken from him." As to their support, it is said:—"Our food and clothing are supplied and given to us gratuitously, and in the way of alms, as much as is

* The title *Barbes*, anciently given to the Vaudois pastors, is synonymous with the word uncle. It is now no longer given to them. Léger says that after the year 1630, when the plague had carried off all the Vaudois barbes with the exception of two (or three), Genevese and French pastors were introduced, whom the people saluted respectfully by the title of *Monsieur le pasteur*. Nevertheless, the word barbe is not quite obsolete; it is still used as a term of respect in addressing an old man, etc.

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needed, by the good people whom we teach." The barbes, moreover, all applied themselves to some useful art, particularly medicine and surgery.

No hierarchichal distinction was established; the only difference that existed between the pastors was that arising from age, or services performed, and personal respect.

"The barbes usually assembled once a year in a general synod to consult respecting the affairs of their ministry, most frequently in the month of September," says our historian, Gilles. "In these synods," he adds, "they examined and admitted to the holy ministry such students as appeared qualified, and also named those who were to travel to distant churches."* We learn in the sequel, that the space of time ordinarily assigned to their mission was two years. They were to remain in their distant stations, till other pastors came to take their places. The pastors who were fitted for these expeditions undertook them courageously, although they were often exposed to much danger.

Gilles states further, in speaking of times not so ancient: "They also had extraordinary meetings by deputies from all parts of Europe, where Vaudois churches existed. Such was the synod held at Laux (Laos), in the valley of Clusone, in the time of our immediate ancestors, when one hundred and forty pastors of the Vaudois met together from different countries.†

These facts are confirmed by many writers. In the bull of pope John XXII., addressed to Jean de Badis, inquisitor in the diocese of Marseilles, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, we read among other things:—"It has come to our ears, that in the valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, etc., the Vaudois (Valdenses) heretics have increased and multiplied, so as to form frequent assemblies in a kind of chapters, in which they meet to the number of five hundred." It can only be to the synods that this passage refers.

Tradition reports that the school of the Vaudois barbes

* When did this long-established practice commence? It would be very interesting to have some information on this point. It would perhaps account for the existence of so many unknown priests who are often referred to in this document.

† Gilles, Histoire Ecclésiastique, pp. 16, 17. Geneva, 1644.

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was in a retired glen, the Pra-di-torre, in the centre of the mountains of Angrogna.

It appears that some pastors were married; while the greater part were not so, though not on account of its being prohibited, but that they might be more free for the service of the Lord.*

The elders (*regidors*) were chosen by the people (and from among the people) to collect the alms and offerings. The money they received was taken by them to the general council, and there, in the presence of all, handed over to their superiors. One portion was reserved by the latter for those who were to go to distant parts as the messengers of Christ, as will be mentioned afterward, (chap. XIII.,) and another was appropriated to the poor. A third part was allotted to the support of the barbes.

The instruction of the children formed an important part of the Discipline. "Children," it is said, "must be rendered spiritual towards God, by means of discipline and instruction. He who instructs his son confounds the enemy, and when the father dies he may almost be said not to be deceased, for he leaves behind him a living likeness. Therefore instruct thy son in the fear of the Lord, and in the way of holy habits, and of the faith. Furthermore, hast thou daughters? watch over them, lest they err. For Dinah, Jacob's daughter, corrupted herself, from having exposed herself to the eyes of strangers."

Fraternal correction was established as well as ecclesiastical. "Correction is to be administered in order to inspire fear, and to punish those who are not faithful, and that they may be delivered from their wickedness and restored to sound doctrine—to faith, charity, hope, and everything that is good." Firmness, prudence, and charity were observed in the administration of reproof. If the offender resisted brotherly exhortations, and his fault had been serious and public, should he refuse to amend, ecclesiastical penalties were inflicted on him. He might be deprived "of all assistance from the church, of the ministry, of the fellowship of the church, and of union with it."

The frequenting of taverns, "those fountains of sin and schools of the devil, where he works miracles of his own kind," were prohibited, as well as dancing, "which is a

* Gilles, Ibidem.

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procession and pageant of the evil spirit. In the dance, the devil tempts men by means of women in three ways—by touch, sight, and hearing. In the dance, God's ten commandments are broken; the hearts of men are intoxicated with temporal joys; they forget God, they utter nothing but falsehood and folly, and abandon themselves to pride and cupidity."

The Discipline regulated marriage, and required the consent of parents; and, in short, recapitulated in a summary manner the principal rules of Christian conduct contained in the gospel.

An ecclesiastical organization so powerful, and so conformed to the spirit of the gospel, could be derived only from one source; namely, an acquaintance with the word of life, and an habitual submission to its precepts through faith.

A familiar acquaintance with the Bible, and submission to its teachings, formed, in fact, the distinctive feature of the ancient Vaudois. The investigation of the Holy Scriptures was not the duty or the privilege of the barbes alone and their pupils; the layman, the laborious rustic, the humble artisan, the mountain cowherd, the mother of a family, the young girl watching the cattle and working the while with her spindle, studied the Bible attentively and conscientiously. The inquisitor Rainier reports that some of the common people could repeat the whole of the book of Job, which is certainly not an easy task, and many of the psalms. The same author puts into the mouth of a Vaudois missionary the following words: "Among us, it is an unusual thing if a woman cannot repeat, as well as a man, the whole of the text in the vulgar tongue." Assuredly Rainier could not have made such assertions without foundation.

So laborious and general a study of the word of God among a people, forms of itself alone the indication of a character deeply serious and reflective, and eminently moral. It implies a wide development of religious sentiment, as well as ancient and venerable habits of piety. A fruit of faith, it is like fruits which have in themselves the germ of a plant of the same kind; it possesses, in its turn, the principle of its reproduction, at the same time that it nourishes souls who are already rendered fruitful.

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Yes; the constant study of the Bible, which is a work of faith to the believer, becomes, to him who witnesses it, seed which will germinate in due time, while it continues to be also vital nourishment to the faith that is still weak.

One of the agents of Rome in the persecutions against the Vaudois, the inquisitor Rainier Sacco, has done them justice, in his book against the Valdenses, when he says, "The heretics may be known by their manners and their language; for they are well-ordered and modest in their manners; they avoid pride in their dress, the materials of which are neither expensive nor mean. They do not engage in mercantile pursuits, in order that they may avoid temptations to falsehood, swearing, and fraud. They live by their labour as artisans; their men of learning are likewise shoemakers. They do not amass wealth, but content themselves with what is necessary. They are chaste, especially the Leonists. They are temperate in eating and drinking. They do not frequent taverns or dances, and are not addicted to other vanities. They are on their guard against the indulgence of anger. They labour constantly. They study and teach; they also pray, but little. . . . They may be known also by their concise and modest discourse; they guard against indulging in jesting, slander, or profanity." *

We claim also the testimony of St. Bernard. The heretics of whom he speaks are not, it is true, the Vaudois of the valleys of Piedmont, but they are, as we think has been proved, their disciples, their children and brethren in the faith, their companions in labour—those who in the south of France were called Apostolicals, because they aspired, like every Christian friend of the gospel, to reproduce, in their language and actions, the doctrine and life of the apostles. Along with reports dictated by prejudice and the ill-will of a partisan of Rome, the writings of St. Bernard contain some remarkable concessions. Reproaching the heretics for refusing to take an oath, he asks them on what passage of the New Testament they support their practice. And then he acknowledges that "they glory" (though erroneously in his opinion) "in following it to every iota." This single feature says much. Men

* Maxima Biblioth, P. P., t. xxv., chs. iii. and vii., cols. 263, 264, 272.—See also a similar passage by another author, col. 275.

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who studied scrupulously to follow the gospel, and who for conscience' sake, and to obey their Lord, refused to take an oath, could not but be moral men. St. Bernard, carried away by his prejudices, accuses "this wicked heresy of being skilful in lying not only in speaking, but also in the actions of the life. If you ask," he says, "what is its faith? nothing is more Christian; if you ask, what is its manner of life? nothing is more irreproachable. And it proves what it says by the effects. In testimony of his faith, you see a man frequent the church, honour the priests, make his offerings, confess, and partake of the sacraments. What can be more faithful? * In regard to life and manners, he strikes no one; he circumvents no one; he does not exalt himself above any one. Fastings render him pale; he never eats the bread of idleness, but labours with his own hands for his livelihood." †

An archbishop of Turin, Claude de Seyssel, who, about the year 1517, endeavoured to draw the Vaudois of the Piedmontese valleys within the pale of the Romish church, attests, that "as to their life and manners, they were irreproachable among men, applying themselves with all their power to the observance of the commandments of God." ‡

De Thou, in his Universal History, has preserved the account given to Francis I. by Guillaume du Bellay de Langey, who had been commissioned by that prince to collect information respecting the Vaudois of Provence, Mérindol, Cabrières, etc., colonies of the Vaudois of Piedmont. "He found," says the author, "by the most exact scrutiny, that those who were called Vaudois were persons who, for three centuries, had received from certain lords some uncultivated lands on certain conditions; who, by indefatigable labour and constant cultivation, had made them fertile in corn and pasturage; that they knew how to endure toil and privations with patience; that they abhorred quarrels and law-suits; that they were compas-

* This would be scarcely honourable for the Vaudois; but we may venture to say, that the imputed fact was only true for a short time, or in individual cases. The Christians mentioned here by St. Bernard were, perhaps, only recently converted when he came to Toulouse and other places, and he has attributed to the generality what was true only of persons who were timid and imperfectly convinced. It should be particularly observed, that Rome was not yet entirely sunk in its errors and superstitions, since heretics were permitted to preach, as Henry at Mans, etc.

† Divi Bernardi Opera; Parisiis, 1548, Sermo 65, pp. 170 and 171.

‡ Léger, pt. i., p. 184.

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sionate towards the poor; that they paid with much exactness and fidelity tribute to the king and the dues to their lords; that their continual prayers and the innocence of their manners made it sufficiently apparent that they honoured God sincerely." *

Lastly, a Piedmontese historian, Botta, in speaking of more modern times, remarks, "In short, the Vaudois, whether it was the effect of their religion, of their poverty, of their feebleness, or of the persecutions which they endured, have preserved integrity of manners, and it cannot be said that they threw off the reins of authority in order to yield to the impetuosity of the passions." †

After these various proofs, and all these testimonies, it must be acknowledged that the ancient Vaudois honoured by their character, their words, and their life, the profession they made of submitting in all things to the gospel.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MISSIONARY ZEAL AND PROSELYTISM OF THE ANCIENT VAUDOIS.

A PROMINENT feature in the religious physiognomy of the ancient Vaudois, and one which merits special attention, is their spirit of proselytism and their missionary zeal. In this respect, also, the Vaudois church resembled that of the first Christians.

With a deeper sense of the blessedness of knowing and serving God, according to the pure gospel of Jesus Christ, the more that the adjacent countries were continually sinking lower into the errors and superstitions of Rome, the Vaudois church was sensible of the duty that resulted from her position and her obligations to her supreme Head. She was aware that if she had received and preserved the faith by the reading and preaching of the word of life, she was also bound, in gratitude to the Saviour, and from love to her brethren who were plunged in error, to make known to them that gospel which is "the power of God unto salva-

* Histoire Universelle, par De Thou, Bâle, 1742, t. i., p. 539.
† Storia d'Italia di Carlo Botta, Parigi, 1832, t. i., 369, 370.

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tion to every one that believeth ;" in a word, to fulfil the duty expressed by the apostle of the Gentiles, and even long before by king David, in these words, "I believed, and therefore have I spoken," 2 Cor. iv. 13 ; Psa. cxvi. 10.

The church which engraved on its seal a torch burning in darkness, with this motto, *Lux lucet in tenebris*,—("the light shineth in darkness,") this church was not unmindful to put in practice the Saviour's injunction, on which that image was founded, and which is thus expressed : "Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick ; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men," Matt. v. 15, 16.

Bernard de Foncald, a Roman Catholic author of the twelfth century, speaking of the members of the Vaudois sect that were spread through France, says, "They all preach here and there, without distinction of age or sex ; and maintain that every one who knows the word of God ought to spread it among the people and preach it." An anonymous writer of the following century expresses himself in these terms in his treatise on the heresy of the Poor Men of Lyons : "They (the Vaudois) employ all their zeal in drawing numbers with them into error. They teach very young girls the Gospels and the Epistles, that they may be habituated to embrace error from their infancy ; and when they have learned a little in these books, they use their utmost efforts to teach it to others, wherever they may happen to be, if they consent to hear them favourably."*

It was, no doubt, a dread of the efforts of this well known spirit of proselytism, which induced the magistrates of Pinerolo, in the year 1220, to prohibit the inhabitants of that city and its environs, at the risk of a penalty, from showing hospitality to a Vaudois man or woman.†

It is also an incontestable fact, that the Vaudois church sent out numerous and active missionaries in all directions. The ancient Discipline of the evangelical churches of Piedmont, cited at length in the preceding chapter, is a proof of it ; for it tells us that a part of the money collected by the elders was placed by them in the hands of their superiors,

* Maxima Biblioth., P. P., xxiv. cols. 1586—1600. In Martène, etc. Tractatus de Hæresi pauperum de Lugduno, auctore anonymo.

† Liber Statutorum civitatis Pinaroli. Augustæ Taurinorum, anno 1602.

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who distributed it to those who went to distant parts. Gilles, in his Ecclesiastical History, gives some interesting details and facts relative to the Vaudois missionaries, at a more recent period, it is true, but yet prior to the Reformation. These details illustrate the application and development of the very brief article in the Discipline, which was itself, no doubt, a summary of the ancient practice of the church.

The same writer states that the barbes in their ordinary synods "examined and admitted the students who were eligible for the sacred ministry, and nominated those who were to travel and to go to distant churches in Calabria, Apulia, Sicily, and other parts of Italy, and also in other countries. This mission was ordinarily for two years, and continued till the places were supplied with other pastors, sent by another synod of the Valleys."

He adds, in the following chapter (iii.), "it (the synod,) generally sent them out two and two; one, who was more familiar with the places, roads, persons, and affairs, and the other belonging to the newly-chosen, in order that he might acquire practical knowledge," etc.*

The author likewise informs us that a minister of the same name as himself, Gilles, was more than once employed as a missionary in Calabria, about the time when the Reformation broke out. Gilles adds, on this subject, a singular fact, which we think worth recording. "The pastors," he says, "who were fitted for foreign service, readily undertook it, although generally attended with considerable danger, because it was for the honour of God and the salvation of men: the barbes also accustomed their disciples, from the first, to such implicit obedience that none of them would have dared to attempt anything important without the advice and permission of their leaders."†

We conceive that this entire submissiveness of the younger barbes to the more aged and to the leaders, has led Roman Catholic authors into an error, and made them believe that the Vaudois had a clerical hierarchy, like themselves, of bishops, etc. But nothing in their history or writings authorizes us to believe in the existence of any other distinction among the barbes, excepting that of age, experience, and personal qualities, which determined their

* Gilles, pp. 16, 17, 20, etc. † Ibid, p. 16, 17.

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choice of leaders as circumstances might require, as is still practised, and no doubt was always practised, in this church.

In support and confirmation of what has been said of the missionary zeal of the Vaudóis, we may refer to the religious manifestations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, called forth by some well-known foreigners, as Pierre de Bruis and Henry, for example; others by unknown individuals, as the female who came from Italy, to whom the heresy at Orléans is attributed.

Even their adversaries acknowledge the fact. Thus Eberard de Béthune, speaking of the Vallenses, whom he also calls Xabatatenses, says, "They cannot visit and see foreign countries, without endeavouring to pass for so many Christs,"* that is, he says, for Christians, disciples of their Master. We attach the same meaning to the following passage from Bernard de Foncald: "These Valdenses, although condemned by the same sovereign pontiff (Lucius II.), continued to pour forth, with daring effrontery, far and wide, all over the world, the poison of their perfidy."†

Mapée is still more explicit, when, speaking of the Vaudois who appeared at the Lateran council in 1179, he adds, "These people have no settled home anywhere; they travel here and there, two and two, barefooted, in a woollen dress, professing nothing, and having all things common like the apostles."‡

The inquisitor Sacco (or Rainier) furnishes many similar testimonies on the same subject. We will only mention one, which is very much to the point. He tells us that the Vaudois missionaries gained access to the higher classes by going about as pedlars. "They offer for sale to people of quality ornamental articles, such as rings and veils. After a purchase has been made, if the pedlar is asked, 'Have you anything else to sell?' he answers, 'I have jewels more precious than these things; I would make you a present of them, if you would promise not to betray me to the clergy.' Having been assured on this point, he says, 'I have a pearl so brilliant that a man, by means of

* We see, that the missionaries had been obliged to abandon the clerical costume here, and had adopted another, perhaps, as they believed, in imitation of Christ.
† Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xxiv., col. 1572, 1586.
‡ Usher, pp. 269, 270.

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it, may learn to know God; I have another so splendid, that it kindles the love of God in the heart of him who possesses it,' and so forth. He speaks of pearls metaphorically; then he repeats some portion of Scripture with which he is familiar,—such as that of Saint Luke, 'The angel Gabriel was sent,' or the words of Jesus Christ in John xiii., 'Before the feast,' etc.

"When he has succeeded in gaining the attention of his hearer, he passes on to that passage in Matt. xxiii. and Mark xii., 'Woe unto you that devour widows' houses,' etc. If asked to whom these denunciations are to be applied, he says, 'To the clergy and the religious orders.' Then the heretic compares the state of the Romish church with his own. 'Your doctors,' he says, 'are ostentatious in their dress and their manners; they love the highest seats at table (Matt. xxiii.) and desire to be called masters (Rabbi); but we do not seek such masters.' And again: 'they are unchaste; but each one of us has his wife, with whom he lives chastely.' And again: 'they are the rich and avaricious, to whom it is said, "Woe unto you, rich men: who have here your reward." But as for us, we are content if we have food and raiment.' And again: 'they are like the voluptuous, to whom it is said, "Woe unto you that devour widows' houses," etc. We, on the contrary have, in one way or another, enough for our wants. They fight, stir up wars, kill and burn the poor. It is of them it is said, he that "taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." We, on the contrary, endure persecution from them, for righteousness sake. They wish to be the only teachers: and thus it is to them it is said, "Woe be unto you who hold the key of knowledge." Among us, the women teach as well as the men, and a disciple of seven days' old instructs another. Among them it is a rare thing to find a doctor who knows literally three consecutive chapters of the New Testament; but among us there is scarcely a woman who does not know as well as any man how to repeat the whole of the text in the vulgar tongue. And because we possess the true Christian faith, and all teach a pure doctrine, and recommend a holy life, the scribes and pharisees persecute us to death, even as they treated Christ himself.

"'Besides this, "They say and do not; they lay heavy

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burdens on men's shoulders, and will not themselves move them with one of their fingers;" but as for us, we do what we teach. They strive to keep human traditions rather than the commandments of God; they observe fasts, feast-days, times and seasons of presenting themselves at church, and many other rules of mere human prescription; we persuade men only to observe the doctrine of Christ and his apostles. In like manner, they load penitents with heavy punishments, which they do not touch with their fingers; we, on the contrary, after the example of Christ, say to the sinner: "Go and sin no more;" and we remit all their sins by imposition of hands; and at death we send their souls to heaven;* whilst as for them, they send all souls to hell!'

"After this or some such address, the heretic says to his hearer: 'Examine and consider which is the most perfect religion and the purest faith, whether ours or that of the Romish church, and choose it, whichever it may be.' . . . . And thus, being turned from the Catholic faith by such errors, he forsakes us. A person who gives credit to such discourse, who imbibes errors of this kind and becomes their partisan and defender, concealing the heretic in his house for many months, is initiated into all that relates to their sect."†

The foregoing details can leave no doubt respecting the existence of Vaudois missionaries and the spirit of proselytism which animated the whole church. We shall have more than one occasion to refer to this characteristic in the course of this history.

Eckbert, or Egbert,‡ an author of the middle of the twelfth century, whose writings are valuable to any one who can discriminate between facts and suppositions, or the false applications by which they are disfigured, confirms what the Vaudois have told us respecting their missionaries. In his first sermon against the Cathari, who are no other than the Vaudois, speaking of those among

* We have seen that the doctrine of the Vaudois was conformable to the gospel; it is represented correctly in the accounts already given, but here it is distorted. The Vaudois never remitted sins even to a penitent sinner, still less to him who was not so; but declared that Christ remits them to the true believer, and so likewise as to admission into heaven.

† Reinerus, Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xxv. col. 275, and following.

‡ He was abbot of St. Florin, near Trèves. The Cathari, or Vaudois, of whom he speaks, were discovered in the country bordering on the Rhine.

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them whom he calls the elect, and others call perfect, and who, we believe, were the barbes, he expresses himself in these terms: "They send out from among all these elect those who appear fitted to uphold their error, either where it exists already, or to extend and disseminate it where it is as yet unknown."*

M. Planta, in his History of the Helvetic Confederacy, quotes a passage from the Chronicle of the Abbey of Corbie, taken from a manuscript which he believes was written about the beginning of the twelfth century. This quotation, while interesting as an example of missionary zeal, is also an additional proof of the antiquity of the Vaudois church of the Alps, as Hallam remarks in his View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages. "Some laics of Suabia, Switzerland, and Bavaria, persons seduced by the ancient race of simple men who inhabit the Alps and their vicinity, and who love ancient things, wished to abase (*humiliare*) our religion and the faith of all the Christians of the Latin church. Merchants belonging to the people of these Alps who commit the Bible to memory, and who have an aversion to the rites of the church which they call new, often find their way from Switzerland (ex Suiciâ) into Suabia, Bavaria, and northern Italy. They refuse to honour (*venerari*) images, they have an aversion to relics, they live on vegetables, rarely eat meat, and some of them never. We therefore call them Manicheans; some of these persons having come to them from Hungary, etc."†

We cannot conclude this subject without recalling to mind a fact which we have already noticed in chapter III., as well as in chapters v. and vi. of this history; namely, the appearance in different places, during more than three hundred years, of priests or foreign preachers, unknown, but pointed out to the attention and inspection of the prelates, as not belonging to any church, nor being subject to any spiritual chief; on which account they are often called Acephali [headless]. In our opinion, these men, or at least many among them, might be the emissaries, or rather the missionaries, of the faithful churches

* Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. xxiii. col. 602.

† History of the Helvetic Confederacy, by Planta, vol. i., pp. 179, 180 [p. 93, 4to edit.], quoted by Hallam, [iii., 467.]

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—of the Vaudois church, for example—still surviving in various places the general apostasy, the Romish heresy. These priests, without a name, and without an ordination, approved of by the apostate church, were, perhaps, the spiritual guides sent to rouse the zeal and reanimate the drooping faith of scattered flocks, as well as to win new souls to Christ. Such were the priests twice denounced by Celestin to the prelates of Gaul; those denounced to Zachary by Boniface of Germany; the acephalous clerks anathematized in the councils of Mayence or Arras in the year 813, of Pavia in 850 and 855, and of Melphi, a city of La Pouille, in 1090; in short, an Arnulph, a Pierre de Bruis, a Henry, and many others.*

CHAPTER XIV.

PERSECUTION OF THE VAUDOIS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the number of Vaudois Christians was considerable in all parts; but, as we have shown at the end of chapter VI., they were known under different names, derived from their particular leaders, or owing as much to ill will as to certain circumstances.

In France, the work begun by Pierre de Bruis and by Henry, received a new impulse from Pierre Valdo, or Pierre the Vaudois. The preaching as well as the exemplary self-denial and charity of this faithful and pious servant of Jesus Christ, combined with the labours of his disciples, who were branded with the honourable name of the Poor Men of Lyons, had rendered essential service to the cause of Christian truth. General attention was directed to these manifestations. The effect they produced was so powerful, that the remembrance of former ones was in a measure effaced; and most persons living at the time make mention only of Pierre Valdo and his disciples. The state of religious affairs when he appeared was not recollected:

* For the Councils see the Magdeburgh Centuriators, Cent. ix., cols. 369, 370, 419, 420.—Delectus Actorum Ecclesiæ Univ., t. i., pp. 750, 922, 1555.

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the relation in which he probably stood to the Vaudois who had preceded him was not suspected; and by an egregious mistake, some through ignorance, and others by an inexplicable confusion, made him the chief of the Vaudois sect, to which he was only affiliated, though inferior to none of its members in activity. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the zeal of the Poor Men of Lyons, joined to the efforts of the Petrobrusians, the Henricians, and other sectaries, had remarkably increased the numbers of the Vaudois in almost all the provinces of France.

Germany, as well as Italy, abounded with many enemies to Rome. They belonged to all classes of society. Among them were to be found nobles, plebeians, clergy, monks, persons belonging to the religious orders, townspeople and peasants. Tritème, who states this fact, informs us that, at the date of the year 1229, the Cathari—a subdivision of the Vaudois, as we have seen in chapter VI.—were spread, though secretly, through Germany and Italy, in Lombardy especially, in such numbers that, as was said by some belonging to them, they could travel from Cologne to Milan, and be hospitably received every night on their road by members of their fraternity.*

One of them, mentioned by the name of *Maître Nouveau* (*New Master*), and who suffered martyrdom at Vienna, in Austria, in the year 1299, averred that in that same country, in Bohemia and the adjacent districts, they amounted to more than 80,000. Our readers will recollect that Pierre Valdo, when obliged to flee from Lyons, after having spent some time in Picardy, in Vindelicia, took refuge in Bohemia, where he ended his days.

The inquisitor Rainier Sacco informs us, also, that Italy in his time, about the year 1254, was filled with Cathari. Besides the Bagnolensian heretics,† (so named from Bagnolo, a city situated in the vicinity of the present Vaudois valleys,) Rainier speaks of the Cathari of Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, and the duchy of Milan. He mentions also those of Vicenza, Florence, and the valley of Spoletto. After enumerating sixteen churches belonging to the Vaudois Cathari, established through all Europe as far as Constan-

* Tritème, pp. 224—232.

† This fact is confirmed by Gioffredo. Storia delle Alpi Maritime;—in Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ, t. iii., p. 488.

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tinople, he adds, that if their number (the number of the *perfect*, without doubt, that is, of the principal among them,) did not exceed four thousand, the believers (that is, no doubt, all who were affiliated to them,) were innumerable. Besides many of these churches, which he places in France, as the Albigensian, he names those of Bulgaria, Sclavonia, etc.*

A movement so general and so opposed to the Romish worship could not fail to excite great indignation in the bosom of the pope, the prelates, and the clergy. Very soon a cry of wrath and vengeance resounded from the south to the north, and the persecution, which had hitherto been only partial and local, extended to all points. Superstition trembled for its altars, its images, and its false miracles. Ignorance was offended with evangelical light. Wounded pride and avarice anticipated the ruin of the credit and revenues of the clergy. A war of extermination could alone save the Romish establishment from the terrible blow with which it was threatened by the efforts of the Vaudois Christians for the propagation of pure doctrine, by the example of their self-denying lives, their charity, their purity, and their good works. The prelates and the pope therefore invoked the assistance of the temporal power, and by its aid laboured to destroy their enemies; nor did they stop till they saw themselves masters, and supposed they had suppressed or annihilated them.

All the particulars of this work of iniquity have not come down to us. The cries of many of its victims never reached beyond their prison-walls, or the crowd that assembled round their funeral pile. The correspondence of Rome and the archives of the inquisition contain many a secret and abundant details which have not transpired. On many points, we are acquainted with only some isolated facts.

To begin with one of these facts, not very circumstantially given, but relating to the countries most frequently mentioned in this work, the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, we shall cite the first decree of persecution of which we know, obtained specifically against the Vaudois by the Roman clergy, and emanating from the imperial power. It is dated A.D. 1198. Otho IV., when he visited Rome in order to be crowned by the pope, granted it at the request

* Maxima Biblioth., P. P., t. XXV., col. 269, and following.

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of James, bishop of Turin. The following are the principal passages, translated from the Latin:

"Otho, by the grace of God august emperor, to his well-beloved and faithful bishop of Turin, grace and goodwill, etc. It is our wish that all those who do not proceed in the right path, and who strive to extinguish in our dominions the light of the Catholic faith by their perverse heresy, should be punished with imperial severity, and that in all parts of the empire they should be separated from intercourse with the faithful. By the authority of these presents we enjoin you, in reference to the Vaudois heretics (*Valdenses*), and all those who sow the tares of falsehood in the diocese of Turin, and who attack the Catholic faith, teaching any perverse error whatever, that you expel them from the whole diocese of Turin, supported by the imperial authority. To this end we confer upon you, etc., etc." *

What use the bishop of Turin made of the powers thus granted to him is not known, but we cannot doubt that he persecuted those against whom he obtained this commission, and that the heretics of Bagnolo and their neighbours in the Vaudois valleys, as well as those who were settled in the open country, were subjected to its severities.

The ordinance of count Thomas of Savoy, and the magistrate of Pinerolo, of the year 1220, already cited in a preceding chapter,† might be introduced here under the head of persecutions, since it prohibited every inhabitant of that city and its environs from showing hospitality to the Vaudois, either men or women. This severe measure shows the state of proscription in which the Vaudois of this part of Piedmont were placed, whenever they ventured beyond their valleys.

Some isolated facts which have escaped oblivion, make it apparent that religious persecution was carried on with vigour in other parts of Italy. Thus we read of a female, called Tedesca, or la Tedesca, (the German,) whose punishment by fire occasioned great tumults at Parma in 1277,

* Taken from Spondanus in the year 1198, and the archives of Turin. See Monum. Hist. Patriæ, t. iii., p. 488.

† It may be inferred, we think, from this quotation, that Thomas, who had taken a part in the crusade against the Albigenses, and who left the Vaudois of the Piedmontese valleys undisturbed, as it appears, was not yet their sovereign. It would be much later that the marquis of Lucerna submitted to the house of Savoy.

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during which the convent of the dominican inquisitors was pillaged. In the district of Domo-d'Ossola, in 1307, the heresiarch Dolcigno was pursued sword in hand, with his numerous partisans and followers, and was accused of reviving the sect of the Cathari and the Paterins. Having assembled to the number of three hundred, they were attacked and defeated, and their leader burned.*

But the greatest severity of the church of Rome was exercised on the friends of the gospel to the west of the Alps, the disciples of Pierre de Bruis, Henry, and Pierre Valdo. Its concentrated rage was especially let loose for a number of years over the beautiful champagne country watered by the Tarn and other tributary streams of the Garonne in the vales of the Durance, and the plains washed by the lower Rhône and the waves of the Mediterranean. It assailed without pity those conscientious and enlightened men, who only aimed at offering to God a purer worship than had been taught them by the Romish priests. These cruel persecutions are known by the name of the crusades against the Albigenses; a name taken from the city and territory of Albi, one of the principal centres of the Vaudois sect in the south of France.

It forms no part of our plan to give the history of this great act of iniquity: such a subject requires a separate treatise; and we refer our readers, for the details, to the historians who have written expressly upon it. We confine ourselves to noticing the means employed by the court of Rome and their results.

It was by carnal weapons that the pretended vicar of Jesus Christ and his clergy undertook to bring back the heretics within the pale of the Romish church; while the apostle who won the greatest number of souls to the Christian faith, the apostle Paul, exclaimed, "We do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal," 2 Cor. x. 3, 4; and Jesus Christ said to St. Peter, who wished to employ the sword, not to assail opponents, but to defend the beloved person of his Divine Master, "Put up again thy sword into his place," Matt. xxvi. 52. Pope Innocent III. began the work by combining persuasions with menaces; appeals to Roman Catholic fidelity, with insinuating measures of the most able and refined policy

* Bassi, Storia d'Italia, t. xv., p. 391—520.

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towards the reigning princes. The selection of agents who were perfectly adapted for such a mission, seemed to assure him of success. They were, in the first instance, Rainier and Guy, monks of Citeaux, who were sent in 1198, with the title of legates, into the infected countries. In 1204, Innocent joined to them Pierre de Castelnau, archdeacon of Maguelone, with full powers. But whatever pains they took, however pressing their exhortations, or severe their menaces, their mission was attended with little success, till the Spaniard, Dominic Gusman, who thenceforward became so celebrated, began to give a new direction to their proceedings.

"Considering," says father Tournon, in his Life of Dominic, "that the violent methods which had hitherto been adopted against the apostates, had only served to irritate them; that the luxury and self-indulgence of the Catholics scandalized both the friends and enemies of the church; that the Albigenses on the contrary, by a pious exterior, conciliated the confidence of the people and the esteem of the great; that the cupidity and dissolute conduct of those (the priests) whose profession engaged them to the greatest sanctity, formed a deadly taint which caused their religion to be blasphemed, while the heretics, believing they might discredit the doctrine of those whose manners could not be respected, made use of this state of things to cherish in ignorant persons that spirit of revolt with which they had inspired them against their legitimate pastors; Dominic concluded that he must make use of persuasion and example rather than terror, and tread in the steps of the apostles, by preaching and living like them, always travelling on foot like St. Peter and St. Paul, without equipage, money, or provisions. He had no doubt that such a line of conduct would prejudice people in their favour, and would gradually reform the manners of the clergy, and confound the hypocrisy of the heretics." *

This advice was followed; bishops and legates themselves became missionaries, and not without some success. They did not even shrink from public disputes. But the method of persuasion being too slow to satisfy the extravagant hopes that were entertained, and deviating too much from the exclusive and tyrannical proceedings of Rome, the

* Tournon, Vie de St. Dominique, liv. v., p. 36.

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legates had recourse to excommunications and the employment of force.

Everything being prepared, Innocent launched his thunders against Raymond, count of Toulouse, whom he excommunicated, and abused him in an outrageous manifesto. He, at the same time, urged the king of France, the dukes, princes, and lords of that country and the neighbourhood, to a crusade against the heretics; exciting them by the promise of plunder, besides magnificent and eternal rewards in heaven for the blood of the martyrs which they should shed. In obedience to his orders, in the year 1209, a hundred thousand crusaders* at least, under the conduct of the count de Montfort, commander-in-chief of the army, and Amalric, abbot of Cîteaux, the pope's legate, invaded the heretical territory of Languedoc.

Dominic, irritated by the little success of his eloquence, now loudly demanded the infliction of temporal chastisements on those whom he was unable to convert. With a crucifix in his hand, he showed himself in the midst of the soldiers, dressed in a long white robe and black mantle, as the inexorable messenger of war, or rather as the befitting agent of Antichrist. To hear him, it was by fire and sword that heaven was to be avenged. When, in the first campaign, Béziers was taken and sacked, in the heat of the massacre, even the canons, who were walking in procession to meet the crusaders, were involved in the same fate as the heretics. "Kill them all," said Amalric, the faithful legate of a pitiless pope; "kill them all; the Lord knoweth them that are his!" From the banks of the Rhône to those of the Lot, funeral piles were continually burning. The confiscation of their property, tortures, horrible torments and flames, were reserved for all those professing the so-called heretical doctrine, whom the sword and lance had not slain on the field of battle.

While bands of ferocious and greedy warriors attacked the strong places, the châteaux and cottages of the Albigensian sectaries, Foulques, bishop of Toulouse, and his associates of Languedoc, Dominic and his disciples, skilful and willing instruments of Antichrist, spied out by means of their emissaries, and denounced, examined, and con-

* Some writers give a much higher estimate of the numbers of this army.

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demned unfortunate persons, without number, whom they tore from their families.

Years of experience having shown what signal services an association of intriguing monks, accusers, and persecutors, could render to the cause of religious oppression, Innocent III., in the year 1215, at the council of Lateran, approved of the plan which Dominic laid before him of founding an order of mendicant monks and preaching friars, for the conversion and suppression of the enemies of the church; and in the following year, Honorius III., the successor of the sanguinary Innocent, confirmed the institution, and constituted the order. These preaching friars were, at a later period, called Dominicans, from the name of their founder, and received special privileges for the extirpation of heretics.*

To spy out and discover the unbelievers, to convince them of their errors, to persuade them to return into the pale of the church, and, if they refused, to draw up the indictments, to arrest the accused, to conduct the criminal proceedings, to pass sentence, and cause it to be executed by means of the secular power; such were the functions which were delegated to this order, from which the ever-execrable tribunal of the inquisition shortly arose.

From the year 1215, the Dominicans, in conjunction with the bishops, began to celebrate with pomp those acts of faith, (*auto-da-fé,*) as they were called, by a deplorable abuse of language, in which they exhibited the persons condemned before a crowd of spectators, and then burned them with apparent devotion, according to the customary ceremonial in the most solemn rites of Roman Catholicism. Ye holy martyrs of the Christian faith! dying of want in prisons,† or on the rack, or crowded on the funeral-piles, you were judged, like your Divine Master, worthy of suffering, victims of the hatred vowed by hypocrisy and superstition against the truth. Like Jesus, your Saviour, accused of blasphemy, and condemned by the leaders of his people, at the very time when he proclaimed before them

* About the same time St. Francois d'Assise founded a second order of mendicant monks, known by the name of Minor Friars and Franciscans. They showed themselves to be worthy rivals of the Dominicans.

† One of the most barbarous punishments consisted in *immuring* (*emmurer*)—that is, inclosing the sufferer within four walls, and feeding him scantily through a wicket, or even leaving him to perish with hunger.

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the accomplishment in his own person of the prophecies and promises, you, his faithful disciples, were declared worthy of death, and devoted to the eternal fire reserved for the impenitent, when you were endeavouring to do honour to the light of the gospel, and were confessing the name of Jesus, the King of glory, in opposition to the followers of Antichrist! Holy martyrs, treading in the steps of Stephen, we trust that, in the midst of your sharpest sufferings, when the flame glowed around your scorched and palpitating limbs, you were able to behold, like the faithful deacon of Jerusalem, the heavens open and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God! Your last looks were those of gratitude, and your last words, while here below, those of triumphant faith. Honoured be your ashes scattered to the winds! venerated be the remembrance of your fidelity! and, above all, God grant that your perseverance, in confessing his name by a worship in spirit and in truth, and your fidelity, even to martyrdom, may not be a lost example to us!

To attain the end for which their order was instituted, and to show themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them, the Dominicans, equally malignant and fanatical, went through the towns and districts of Languedoc, establishing provisionary tribunals of the inquisition in different places. They had the barbarity to decide that the children of heretics, if above seven years old, might be sentenced to be burned to death, as having, at that time of life, reached the age of reason. Cardinal Conrad, the new legate of the pope in 1222, ardently upheld this sanguinary tribunal. The fury of the inquisitors being increased by his support, exasperated the people of Languedoc to such a pitch, that they ran to arms on all sides. Conrad, wielding the thunderbolts of Rome, launched forth excommunications, called the faithful to his banner, invoked the aid of war and destruction, and preached a new crusade against the Albigensian Vaudois.

Raymond VI. was dead, and so was his enemy, Simon de Montfort; their sons, Raymond VII. and Amauri, crossed their swords against one another on the field of battle, as their fathers had done. Louis VIII., king of France, placed himself at the head of the friends of the pope, who committed unheard-of cruelties in every quarter. Louis IX.,

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whom Rome has canonized under the title of St. Louis, followed in the same track. Having obtained the submission of the count of Toulouse and his principal allies, the ancient supporters of the Albigensian Vaudois, he issued a strong ordinance against all heretics. They were put out of the pale of the common law, deprived of their civil and political rights, and prosecuted. Large sums were offered to persons for laying informations against them, or arresting them. The council of Toulouse, of the year 1229, took similar measures in reference to the ecclesiastical administration and the rights of the church. It specially interdicted laymen from keeping in their possession the books of the Old and New Testament, with the exception of the Psalms. They were forbidden, above all, to translate any part of them into the Romance language.

Heresy, notwithstanding, was not destroyed; it even made progress in some parts of the desolated countries. Gregory IX., the Roman pontiff, attributed the ill success of the measures against it to the negligence of the bishops, who were more occupied about their temporal affairs than the welfare of their flocks. He resolved, therefore, to take from them the cognizance of the fact of heresy, and to vest it solely in the preaching friars; this immense power he granted by a decree dated April 12, 1233, to the disciples of Dominic, in the diocese of Toulouse principally, and in the archbishoprics of Bourges,* Bordeaux, Aix, Arles, Auch, Narbonne, Vienne, and Embrun. He placed the inquisitors under the special protection of the counts of Toulouse, Foix, and other lords, as well as the seneschals of France; requiring the latter to render their assistance whenever it was called for. As a sequel to this ordinance, tribunals of the inquisition were established and made permanent at Toulouse, Carcassone, Avignon, Montpellier, Albi, and Cahors. Their authority was everywhere recognised, and even at the last creation of the parliament at Toulouse, in 1444, their sentences were executed without appeal.

Is it necessary to add, that the Dominicans showed themselves worthy of the pontifical confidence? They displayed unequalled zeal, indescribable severity, limiting themselves to no rule, or rather breaking all rules. They dived into

* Places, no doubt, where the progress of heresy was most strongly marked.

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the secrets of families, set relations and friends against one another, exasperated and overwhelmed all generous minds with anguish. Thus they at last obtained their end. The prisons were crowded with victims, and often required to be enlarged; funeral piles were reared in all parts. Every one who did not renounce his convictions, or who did not succeed in concealing himself, or dissembling his belief, perished in the flames, or pined away in a dungeon. It is estimated, that, in the first fifty years of this century, a million of Albigenses lost their lives, victims of the hatred, barbarity, and superstition of the Romish church.

These statements are mostly taken from the History of the Inquisition in France, by M. de la Mothe-Langon, Paris, 1829.

Alas! in exterminating or imprisoning the majority of the Vaudois Christians, and in giving them no rest in the very spots where their labours had been most successful, their persecutors succeeded in stopping the progress of that glorious awakening which the return to the Holy Scriptures, and to the sound and ancient doctrine of the gospel, had produced. They flattered themselves, no doubt, that they had stifled it altogether.

In such results, the court of Rome rejoiced; she hastened to prosecute her infernal work, and to employ the same means in all places where heresy was informed against, wherever the secular power submitted to be the instrument of her vengeance, and the exterminator of its own subjects.

The Vaudois of Germany had also their turn, and could not escape persecution. Eighty persons were apprehended in Strasburgh alone, of whom the greater part were delivered to the flames. The famous inquisitor, Conrad de Marpurg, adopted a sure method of convicting the accused, by subjecting them to the ordeal of heated iron. In the year 1233, a great number of heretics were burned in different parts of Germany by the exertions of this preaching monk and inquisitor, who at last paid for the sufferings he had inflicted by a violent death. In the course of this century, the same punishments were often renewed. Matthew Paris reports, that, in the year 1249, four hundred and forty-three heretics were condemned to the flames in Saxony and Pomerania.

Among the victims belonging to Germany, to the

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astonishment of the spectators, an inquisitor, the monk Echard, an ancient persecutor of the Vaudois, took his place at the stake. During the very time that he was putting interrogatories to persons accused of heresy, the Spirit of God touched his heart; their constancy in the midst of their sufferings made him yield to the gospel: an illustrious triumph of the faith!—We are without information as to what took place in Italy.

CHAPTER XV.

THE VAUDOIS, RETREATING FROM PERSECUTION, FOUND COLONIES IN THE ALPS.

The Vaudois, persecuted in the south of France with unparalleled and incessant violence, sighed after some repose. Many of them had found a temporary refuge in the domains of the king of Aragon; others had migrated into different provinces of France, as Picardy, Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace; into different parts of Germany; into Bohemia especially, and even into Poland; others had taken refuge in Lombardy and the Italian cities which were more particularly under the influence of the Ghibelines, and where, consequently, the papal power had less influence, and where intestine dissensions, as well as external contests, left the clergy no leisure for indulging in persecution.*

A great number took refuge in that part of the Alps which forms the frontier of France and Italy, the same Vaudois valleys where the pure doctrine of the gospel had been preserved from before the time of Constantine, and had been propagated far and wide by its missionaries during the preceding centuries. They filled with their weeping families the valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, and San Martino, that of Pragela or the Clusone, the high valley of the Po, those of Susa, Fraissinière, and l'Argentière, the vale of Loyse (or Louise) or Pute, where their brethren in the faith had been already established for centuries, and where we shall very soon meet with them again.

* Perrin. Histoire des Vaudois, pp. 233—246. Histoire de l'Inquisition en France, par de la Mothe-Langon, t. ii., p. 587.

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The multitude of the refugees in that quarter became so large, that the land could not support them. It was necessary to plan new migrations to find an outlet for this superabundance of population. Different causes, which our distance from this period and the want of documents prevent our appreciating, directed numbers of the Vaudois towards the southern extremity of Italy, to Apulia and Calabria, in the kingdom of Naples.*

This settlement of the Vaudois in Apulia is mentioned in a report as recent as 1489, by the legate de Capitaneis, to the archbishop of Embrun, in which he notices similar establishments in Liguria and Italy, adding this fact, that when the Vaudois (whom he incorrectly represents as coming from Lyons) decided on forming them, there were more than fifty thousand of them in the Alps, on the confines of Dauphiné, and in the dioceses of Embrun and Turin.†

An ordinance of the emperor Frederick II., dated at Padua, in the year 1244, supports our account. "We ought to pursue them," it says of the Vaudois, "with so much the more vigour, the more audaciously they set themselves to oppose Christianity and the Roman church by their superstitions on the confines of Italy and Lombardy, where we know, from certain information, that their malice has committed the greatest ravages: they have already spread themselves even into our kingdom of Sicily."‡

The province of Calabria, in the kingdom of Naples, where the Vaudois founded one of their principal colonies, is a beautiful country, protected by mountains, and formed of smiling valleys and fertile plains. Orange-trees and olives display their fruit not far from chesnuts and larches. The persons who were sent to explore the district came back equally satisfied with its fertility and the conditions of settlement offered by the lords of the soil. An advantageous treaty for the colonists was soon concluded, and a considerable number of Vaudois prepared for their departure. The young people married before they emigrated.

On their arrival, they founded in the neighbourhood of Montalto a town called Borgo d'Oltramontani, or Oltro-

* Hist. de l'Inquisition en France, t. ii., p. 613. Gilles, Hist. Eccles., p. 18.
† Taken from Léger, Hist. Générale, t. ii., p. 22.
‡ Hist. de l'Inquisition en France, t. ii., p. 538.

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montani; that is, the town of the Ultramontanes, because the new settlers originally dwelt beyond the Appenines. The stream of emigration continuing to flow in the same direction, the Vaudois built, at a little distance from the first town, another called San Sesto, afterwards the site of one of their most celebrated churches. They also founded Argentino, La Rocca, Vacarisso, and San Vincente. At length, the marquis Spinello permitted them to build Guardia, a walled city, which has retained the name of Guardia-Lombarda, situated on an eminence near the sea; and he granted important privileges to the inhabitants, so that, in time, it became opulent and considerable. The Vaudois, or Ultramontanes as the natives called them, increased greatly, and prospered for a length of years in their happy colony.

More than a century later, about the year 1400, in consequence of the severities practised by the inquisition in Provence and Dauphiné, under the eyes of the popes at Avignon, the Vaudois who had fled from these provinces into the valleys, determined on a new emigration into the kingdom of Naples, where they founded in Apulia, the five small cities of Monilone, Montanato, Faito, La Cella and La Motta. Lastly, about the year 1500, the Vaudois of Fraissinière and other valleys, to escape persecution, established themselves in the neighbourhood of their brethren, in the valley of Volturata. Thus we may understand how, from these different centres, the Vaudois could spread themselves all over the kingdom of Naples, and even to Sicily. We shall give an account, in the sequel, of their lamentable end.*

These colonies maintained direct and constant relation with the Vaudois of the valleys, who provided them with pastors, according to the decision of their synods. According to their established custom, the barbes, or pastors, undertook their distant journey by two and two—one of them advanced in years, already acquainted with places and persons, and experienced in practical matters; the other younger, in order to be trained to his vocation. Both in going and returning they visited the faithful who were scattered through the towns and country places of Italy, exhorting and consoling them; a proceeding not entirely

* Gilles, Histoire Ecclés., p. 18, and following.

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unknown to their adversaries.* The barbes of the valleys possessed a house in each of the cities of Florence, Genoa, and Venice,† and probably elsewhere; but it was only at intervals, when the pastors were passing through on their missionary travels, that the faithful of these cities and other places fully enjoyed an evangelical ministry; while, according to all appearance, the colonies of Apulia and Calabria retained for a continuance, till they were replaced, the pastors who had been sent to them by a preceding synod.

At a period not exactly known, towards the end of the thirteenth century, perhaps at the commencement or in the course of the fourteenth century, the Vaudois of the valleys, to remedy the inconvenience resulting from their being crowded within too small a compass, turned their thoughts again towards Provence, which many of their forefathers had been forced to quit during the crusades against the Albigenses. Fertile though uncultivated lands in the inhabited valleys that border on the river Durance to the east of Cavaillon, having been granted to their deputies by the proprietors on advantageous conditions, they sent thither the surplus of their population. Their industry, integrity, and exemplary conduct were recompensed by unexampled prosperity‡. Cabrières, Mérindol, Lormarin, Cadenet, Gordes, towns of considerable size, were successively founded and enlarged by them. Such was their prosperity, that when Francis I. caused them to be persecuted and massacred by the infamous d'Oppède, in the year 1545, not less than twenty-two towns, villages, and hamlets were destroyed.

It will appear from this recital, that the Vaudois church,

* Gilles relates that a barbe of his name having gone into a church at Florence, heard a monk who was preaching exclaim: "O Florence! What does Florence mean? The flower of Italy. And so thou wast till these Ultramontanes persuaded thee that man is justified by faith, and not by works; and herein they lie."—Gilles, p. 20.

† In the list which Perrin gives of the barbes about the year 1602, we find among those whose memory was preserved for more than three hundred years, one named Jehan, from the valley of Lucerna, who was suspended for some fault from his office for seven years, during which time he stayed at Genoa, where the barbes had a house, as they also had a handsome one at Florence.—Perrin, p. 66.

‡ The exact date of the founding of these colonies is uncertain. According to Camerarius, who reckons that they had in his time existed two hundred years, they must have been formed in 1345. De Thou assigns them a duration of three hundred years, which would place their origin as far back as about 1245. (Camerarius de Excidio, etc.; and De Thou, i. 293.)

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in spite of the dreadful persecutions it had endured, especially in the south of France, was yet so strong and numerous, and spread over so many places, that it might have been hoped that the sound doctrine and purity of worship transmitted by its means from the times of Constantine the Great, would long maintain the struggle against the efforts of Babylon the Great; but the hour was come when Rome proceeded to attack the Vaudois of the Alps in their retreats, and thus threatened a fatal blow to the militant, and already much enfeebled, church.

CHAPTER XVI.

FIRST PERSECUTIONS KNOWN, AGAINST THE VAUDOIS OF PIEDMONT, IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE churches of Vaudois origin being in ruins in the south of France, and on the point of dissolution wherever the emissaries of Rome had free access, the moment seemed come for pursuing these defenders of the evangelical faith to extremities among the retired mountains, in the bosom of which a considerable part of them lay, as it were, entrenched. They occupied, halfway between Turin and Grenoble, the two declivities of the Alps which incline to the east and west of the snowy peaks of the mountains Genèvre and Viso. Their humble dwellings, erected on the sides of the mountains either in groups or scattered, reached to the bottom of the valleys. To the west, among the woods of the high Alps of Dauphiné and Provence, the most elevated and retired valleys were inhabited wholly, or at least in great part, by the Vaudois. In the diocese of Embrun, in particular, there was not a valley without some of their churches. But the most noted were, the High Valley of the Durance, and the adjacent glens of Argentière, Fraissinière, and Loyse, or Pute.

To the east, all the glens and valleys which descend from the High Alps to the plain towards Pinerolo and Saluzzo, those which are watered by the Clusone and the Germanasca, the Pélice and the Grana, tributaries of the Po, and by the Po itself—namely, the vale of Pragela, the

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valley of San Martino, the vale of Angrogna, the valley of Lucerna, that of the Po, and of Bagnolo, etc., were then, and had been for centuries, the earthly fatherland of the faithful Vaudois of Piedmont.

Into these ancient and venerable retreats of the pure faith, the pretended vicar of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world and the Prince of peace, planned to carry a cruel persecution. This scourge had already approached several times, and caused many tears in the district of Embrun, and, no doubt, in the plains of Piedmont also, though history is silent respecting it. But the hour was come for it to burst on the mountain region of the ancient diocese of Claude of Turin,—the very spot where the light of truth was still burning.

Pope John XXII., desirous of prosecuting the work begun by Innocent III., and, to do it systematically, ordered Jean de Badis, inquisitor at Marseilles, to join his efforts with those of Albert de Castellatio, who resided in Piedmont in the same capacity. In his bull, dated in the year 1332, this pope directed his legate's attention to the Valdenses, or Vaudois, of the valleys of Lucerna and Perosa. He complained of the increase of these heretics, of their frequent meetings in the form of chapters, (probably by this term he meant their synods,) at which as many as five hundred persons were often present. He accused them of having killed the rector Guillaume, after mass, in a place that he calls Villa,* and of having risen against the inquisitor De Castellatio, when about to exercise his office. A detailed account of this first attempt at persecution against the valleys of Lucerna and Perosa has not come down to us. All we know of this expedition, as having really occurred, is, that De Badis succeeded in entrapping Martin Pastre, one of the Vaudois leaders, whom he sent to Marseilles and imprisoned; but, by the pope's orders, he recalled him to Piedmont, to be judged by Albert de Castellatio and subjected to torture, if needful, in order to denounce his associates.†

In 1352, pope Clement VI. gave it in charge to William,

* Rorengo says that Guillaume was slain at Angrogna, where he was rector, and that he was taken off for having given information of the heresy to Castellatio. We can assert that there is no locality at Angrogna answering to the name of Villa, but there does exist a town called Villaro to the west of La Torre.

† De la Mothe-Langon, t. iii., p. 217.—Léger, part ii., p. 20.

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archbishop of Embrun, and Pierre de Mont, Franciscan friar and inquisitor, to extinguish heresy. The lords, judges, and consuls (syndics) of the province were invited to lend him their aid.

But, once more, the results did not answer the expectations of the pontiff. (De la Mothe-Langon, t. iii., p. 256.) In page 254 of the same work, we meet with a strange letter written to the same pope, which might have occasioned the persecution which he undertook, after he had been ten years in the pontificate. Yet, as this possibility is not expressed, we shall content ourselves with having referred to the letter.

The pope also urged the dauphin, Charles of France, Louis, king of Naples, and queen Joanna, his wife, to persecute the heretics. This latter circumstance serves to confirm the fact of there being Vaudois colonies in the kingdom of Naples; for why should the pope address this prince, if there were no heretics in his dominions? The invitation addressed to the queen of Naples, who possessed territory in the marquisate of Saluzzo, near the valleys, adds a fresh presumption to the evidence we have already given of the existence of the Vaudois in many parts of this marquisate.*

These solicitations, also, of the court of Avignon had not, at this time, the results that were hoped for.

Two years later, James prince of Acqui, of the house of Savoy, ordered Balangero and Ueto Rorengo to imprison those of the Vaudois sect who had been discovered in the valley of Lucerna and the neighbouring valleys.†

Urgent appeals for the destruction of heresy were continually addressed by the papal court at Avignon to the secular authorities. But, far from displaying the requisite zeal, both magistrates and people seemed to lean to the side of clemency. Gregory XI., when writing, in 1373, to Charles V., the king of France, to complain of his officers for thwarting the inquisitors in Dauphiné, says, "They put obstacles in the way of the inquisitors, forcing them to hold their tribunal in places exposed to the attacks of the enemies of the faith; not permitting them to institute pro-

* Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ, t. iii. p. 860.

† This fact shows that the marquises of Lucerna had at that time made their submission to the house of Savoy. Histoire de la Ville, etc., de Pignerol, t. iii., p. 35.

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ceedings against the heretics without the concurrence of the civil judges, and constraining them to reveal the secrets of their proceedings. They release condemned sectaries from prison; they even refuse to take an oath to act against these obstinate people. Lose no time," he adds, "to rectify such proceedings, under pain of drawing down upon you the indignation of the holy apostles Peter and Paul."*

But though the inquisitors, who were commissioned to extirpate the Vaudois faith, were often ill seconded, yet they made many victims, and caused much suffering.

These incessant severities and excessive acts of violence impelled the Vaudois, in 1375, to make some deplorable reprisals. They attacked the city of Susa, forced the convent of the Dominicans, and put the inquisitor to death. They are likewise accused of having taken the life of another inquisitor of Turin, perhaps near Bricherasco, at the entrance of the valley of Lucerna.†

The great schism in the church of Rome, which took place in 1378, by the election of two popes, Urban VI. at Rome, and Clement VII. at Avignon, did not occasion any abatement in the persecution. The inquisitor, Borelli, having in vain cited all the inhabitants of Fraissinière, Argentière, and the vale of Loyse, to his tribunal, caused a great number to be arrested. By his orders one hundred and fifty Vaudois men were brought to Grenoble and burned alive, besides many women, girls, and even young children, all of the vale of Loyse. In the valleys of Argentière and Fraissinière, eighty victims, men and women, were handed over to the secular power; and such was the determination to punish them, that, in many cases, they were executed without any other sentence than a general declaration of being criminals furnished by the holy office. "There is evidence," writes a catholic author, "that many accused persons were thrown into prison only for the purpose of seizing on their property. Blood or gold," he adds; "this is what the inquisition required."‡

The same inquisitor, Borelli or Borille, has been accused

* De la Mothe-Langon, t. iii., pp. 270, 271. It may easily be imagined that the interests of the secular princes did not always coincide with those of the pope.
† Ibid., p. 278.—Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ, t. iii., p. 861.—Rorengo, in l'Histoire de Pignerol, by Massi, t. ii., p. 35.
‡ Ibid., p. 289.—Perrin, Hist. de Vaudois, p. 114.

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of having practised great cruelties in Susa, at the head of an armed troop, and particularly of having laid waste the valley of Pragela, or Clusone, in the dead of winter, at the Christmas of the year 1400. The Vaudois historians lay the odium of this attack on people belonging to the valley of Susa.* The peaceable inhabitants of Pragela, unexpectedly assailed, at a season of the year when they fancied themselves protected by the snows which covered the ridges and declivities of the mountains, could only flee with the utmost haste, men, women, and children, to the heights and rocky steeps. The fugitives, being pursued without intermission till nightfall, fell, many of them by the sword of the enemy, or were taken prisoners; others, still more wretched, perished miserably of hunger and cold on the rocks, covered with snow and ice. The most numerous company fleeing in the direction of Macel, in the vale of San Martino, passed the night on a lofty mountain, on a spot still called the Albergan, or the Refuge. The heart is pained at the recital of their sufferings. Let it suffice to say, that in the morning fifty poor little children (some say eighty) were found dead with cold; some in their cradles, others in the frozen arms of their poor mothers, lifeless like themselves.†

The popish troops, who had passed the night in the dwellings abandoned by the unfortunate inhabitants of Clusone, the next day took the road to Susa, laden with plunder, and destroying what they could not carry off. They are charged with having hung on a tree a poor aged Vaudois woman, Marguerite Athode, whom they met with on the mountain of Méane.

This bloody incursion, when it was noised abroad, terrified the people of Dauphiné and Piedmont, and at the same time roused their indignation. They manifested their sentiments with so much energy, that the pope enjoined on the inquisitor to moderate his zeal and to exercise more prudence, from an apprehension that heresy might make still greater progress. This general dissatisfaction and these remonstrances lead us to suppose that even the Roman Catholic population had suffered from this

* The storm came thence, but they may have been ignorant of its cause.

† De la Mothe-Langon, t. iii., p. 295.—Perrin, p. 116.—Léger, part ii., p. 7.

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expedition, in which no particular care had been taken to spare them.

It would seem that the persecution directed against the Vaudois died away at the beginning of the fifteenth century, to be revived, at the close of it, with fresh violence.

About the year 1460, the archbishop of Embrun commissioned the Franciscan monk, John Veleti, or Veileti, to take measures against the survivors in Fraissinière, Argentière, and the vale of Loyse. He discharged his mission with so much barbarity, partiality, and bad faith, that he irritated and troubled the whole country, and complaints were made against him to king Louis XI. In the examination of accused persons, he altered and dictated their answers to his questions without scruple. For example: if an accused person were asked—Do you believe that, after the sacramental words have been pronounced by the priest at mass, the body of Christ is in the host? if the Vaudois replied, No; Veleti would write down or dictate, The accused confesses that he does not believe in God. This iniquitous priest made many faithful disciples of the Lord pass through the fire.*

Under the government of Louis of Savoy, between 1440 and 1465, twenty-two females, denounced as Gazaris, or Vaudois, were burned at Coni, as having relapsed. They belonged to Bernezzo (Burnecium), a town of the neighbourhood, in which, according to the expression of a Roman Catholic Piedmontese author, the heresy of the Poor Men of Lyons was rank. We notice this fact, because it is one of a small number, and among the last of those which show that the Vaudois church formerly extended in Piedmont, towards the south, far beyond its present limits.†

At the instigation of Giovanni Compesio, and of the inquisitor Andrea di Aquapendente, who, on Nov. 28, 1475, had published very severe bulls against the Vaudois, the duchess Iolante, a French princess, widow of Amédée-le-Bienheureux, and guardian of his son Charles, ordered, in January, 1476, the governors of Pinerolo and Cavor, and the podestà (the head of the police) of Lucerna, and her other officers in these districts, to take active measures for the suppression of heretics. In her ordinance, the

* De la Mothe-Langon, t. iii., loc. cit.
† Rorengo, in l'Histoire de Pignerol, t. ii.

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duchess thus expresses herself: "It is our pleasure that the inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna especially may be able to enter (*venire possint*) into the bosom of the holy mother church." The expression enter (not return) might lead us to suppose that up to this time there had not yet been any thought of denying the simultaneous and prior existence of the Vaudois church with that of Rome.*

These orders were executed, and it frequently happened that the Vaudois, when they ventured beyond their valleys for commercial or other purposes, were seized and delivered to the inquisitors, who did not fail to put some of them to death. The consequence was, that there was hardly a city in Piedmont in which some of their number were not punished. Jordan Tertian, a barbe, or pastor, was burned at Susa. Hippolyte Roussier mounted the funeral pile at Turin. Villermin Ambroise was hung at the defile of Méane, and so was Anthoine Hiun. Ugon Chiamp of Fenestrelles was taken at Susa, and brought to Turin. There, being tied to a stake, his bowels were taken out and placed in a large vessel: his martyrdom was soon accomplished.†

But what could these single acts of severity effect towards satisfying the impatience of Rome? How could a little blood appease the wrath of the irreconcileable enemy of the Vaudois—an enemy who could put on a level with crimes punishable by the edge of the sword or by fire, the claim of evangelical Christians to think for themselves, and the assertion of the right of examination in matters of faith? Having commenced the application of her oppressive systems to the worthy and timid inhabitants of the neighbouring valleys with some partial success, how could the persecuting church stop in her career? Her pride was interested in continuing the war which her jealousy, her thirst of power, her avarice and her hatred, had begun. But, to render her triumph certain, it was necessary that the attack, from being partial, local, crafty and slow, should become general, violent, rapid, and terrible. An expedition of the same kind as that which annihilated the Albigenses, was resolved upon against these thousands of

* Raccolta degli Editi, etc.; Stamperia Sinibaldo, etc.
† Léger, part ii., p. 7.

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labourers and herdsmen, whose firm and unwavering faith had resisted the assaults of the Romish superstition, as the lofty summits of their mountains withstood the threatening storms, and the shock of winds and tempests.

Innocent VIII., a worthy successor of that Innocent III., who proclaimed the first crusade against the Christians, charged Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, with the execution of his cruel projects, and gave him the inquisitor Blaise de Bena, of the order of preaching monks, as his colleague. He accredited them to the king of France and the duke of Savoy, as well as to all the lords, as nuncios and apostolic commissioners in their domains, and especially in Dauphiné and Piedmont, to proceed against that most pernicious and abominable sect of mischievous persons, called Poor Men of Lyons, or Vaudois, "which," he says in his bull, "has unhappily for a long time been prevalent in Piedmont and the neighbouring parts." And though he acknowledges that the objects of his wrath possessed an appearance of sanctity, he orders them to be crushed like venomous snakes, and to be exterminated if they refuse to abjure.*

The papal bull promised, as a recompense to all those princes, lords, or others, who should arm themselves with the buckler of the orthodox faith, and bring help to the aforesaid legates, plenary indulgence, remission of their sins once in their lifetime, and the same in the article of death; and, what was not less tempting, it granted permission to each person to appropriate to himself any possessions of the heretics, whether lands or goods.†

Very soon nothing was heard of but the bull of Innocent VIII. All the countries that bordered on the Cottian Alps resounded with it. At Embrun, Susa, Pinerolo, Turin, Vienne in Dauphiné, Lyons, and even at Sion in Valois, nothing was talked of but the approaching crusade. The whole population was roused. Charles VIII., king of France, and Charles II., duke of Savoy, sanctioned the expedition, and the lords made preparations for it. A numerous army was on the march to surround the fortress of heresy on all sides, and attack it simultaneously. Albert de Capitaneis, armed with sufficient powers, called forth,

* Extract from the bull of Innocent VIII., Léger, part ii., p. 8.
† Ibid.

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urged, and directed the crusaders. Who could hope to escape a heart so hard, and a hand so strong?

The year 1488 was destined to be a time of sore distress to the Vaudois, and of everlasting shame to Rome. De Capitaneis had two bodies of soldiers under his orders: one, formed in France, was designed to invade the valleys of Dauphiné, and to come in aid of the other, which, setting out from Piedmont, was to surround the eastern valleys, and, approaching the French frontiers in a semicircle, would destroy all the heretics on its way.

The first of these divisions, commanded by count de Varax, lord of La Palu, and royal lieutenant, ascended the mountains of Dauphiné, and invaded the vale of Loyse. All the horrors of war fell at once on the affrighted inhabitants of this valley. The papists treated them with unparalleled barbarity. Those who were first slain by the sword were the most fortunate. Those who made their escape to the recesses of the rocks and the depths of caverns, known only to the inhabitants of the valleys, were pursued thither; large fires were kindled at the entrance of their hiding-places, and left them only the choice between a horrible massacre from without, or death by suffocation if they remained within. The greater part resigned themselves to the latter. It is reported that four hundred young children were found stifled in these caverns, and that three thousand persons perished in these terrible encounters. The misfortunes of the vale of Loyse spared the repetition of them to the neighbouring valleys of Argentière and Fraissinière. Seeing no hope of safety but in energetic resistance, they guarded the passes, defended themselves valiantly, and very soon saw their persecutors retreat for a time.

A corps detached from the army that was assembled in Dauphiné, on the western side of the Alps, crossing the elevated defiles of the mountains, came suddenly by Cesane, on the eastern side, into the valley of Pragela, or Clusone, the most northern of all the Vaudois valleys. The hostile force, falling unexpectedly like an avalanche on a people occupied as usual in their peaceful labours, surprised them without the means of defence, threw them into consternation, laid waste and ravaged their towns, pillaged their cottages, and massacred the inhabitants. The fugitives

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themselves were not able to escape the fury of their pursuers. As in the vale of Loyse, inflammable materials were heaped at the entrance of the caverns, to which they had retreated from the fury of their pitiless adversaries; and if they tried to escape from the flames that devoured, or the smoke that stifled them, they were instantly slain by the sword. Of all the valley of Pragela, the villages of Fraisse and Méane suffered the most. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Clusone, recovering from their first alarm, organized themselves at different points, fell, in their turn, on their enemies, and succeeded in repulsing them.

The army collected in Piedmont, by the urgent appeals of the pope's legate, Capitaneis, and destined to extirpate the Vaudois heresy from the valleys of San Martino, Perosa, and Lucerna, as well as Pravilhelm and other places in the valley of the Po, was now ready to invade these unhappy countries. It is asserted that there were not less than eighteen thousand men in the ranks, besides a great number of Piedmontese, who followed them, in order to merit the plenary indulgence promised by the pope, and to take their share in the plunder.

No record has been preserved of all the particular acts of this great persecution; so that we cannot even name all the places laid waste, or all the Vaudois churches that were destroyed. But it is very probable that, from this epoch, the ruin must be dated of numbers of the Vaudois, in the towns and villages of the plain of Piedmont.

As for the attacks on the valleys, strictly so called, we possess more details. It appears that one division of the army penetrated with no great difficulty into the valley of Lucerna. This was too large, and the ground too little broken for men unaccustomed to war to oppose effectively the entrance of a numerous body of soldiers, well armed and disciplined. San Giovanni, La Torre, Villaro, Bobbio, and all their hamlets, were occupied by the enemy. God alone knows all that was inflicted on those who had not escaped in time.

Bobbio is the last village in the plain of the valley of Lucerna, peacefully seated in the midst of chestnut-trees and vines, surrounded by beautiful and gently-sloping meadows, at the base of gigantic mountains, through which the Pélice forces its way, and rolls along murmuring and covered

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with foam. From this fertile spot, rich in the beauties of nature, but then laid waste by greedy and pitiless soldiers, a defile opens to the north between the rocks. The mountain-path tracked upon it by herdsmen rises to the ridge of Mount Julien, (Giuliano,) which, not far from the formidable peaks of the French frontier to the west, and the heights of the valley of Angrogna to the east, separates the valley of Lucerna, on the south, from that of San Martino on the north. Following its course, always in a northerly direction over the opposite slope, across pasture-land and woods, we descend at last to the hamlets of the commune of Prâli, scattered over a plain inclosed by steep mountains. It was to this spot, and through the pass we have been describing, that seven hundred men, detached from the papal army which occupied the valley of Lucerna, brought all the horrors of war. They had hoped to surprise this peaceable district, which, from its position at the extremity of the valley of San Martino, and out of any direct road, might have thought itself secure from attack. For an instant the invaders might suppose they had succeeded. They had reached the hamlet of Pommiers, when they found themselves assailed by the united Prâlins with a courage so impetuous, that they could make but little resistance. Fatigued by a long and rapid march over roads, uneven, slippery and steep, astonished at meeting, instead of affrighted and suppliant fugitives, armed men full of ardour, and some of them urged on by gloomy desperation, they soon gave way, and were all cut in pieces, save one, an ensign. During the massacre, he escaped along the torrent, which he reascended, and concealed himself under a great mass of snow, in a cavity which had been formed by the melting of the snow, (for it was summer,) and there he remained till cold and hunger forced him to descend and implore mercy from those whom he would have massacred. His request was readily granted. The Prâlins, appeased by their success, allowed him to go in peace, to announce the defeat and death of all his companions.

The efforts of the crusading army were directed principally to the vale of Angrogna, which might be regarded as the heart of the valleys; and was doubtless then, as on many other occasions, the place of refuge, and the fortress of the affrighted inhabitants. This glen, a lateral and

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northern branch of the valley of Lucerna, descends from the north and west, where the sharp ridges of Soiran, l'Infernet, and the Rous, separate it from the Alpine pastures of the valley of San Martino towards the south-east, and opens by an abrupt bend to the south into the valley of Lucerna, to the east of the town of La Torre. The spinal ridge of rocks and peaks which, from the Rous on the west, inclines eastward, and terminates in the magnificent Vandalin, with its pyramidal sides, closes the glen on the south, and separates it from the valley of Lucerna, as far as the spot where it merges into that valley. On this side it is impregnable. From the heights of Soiran, on the north, the chain of mountains which separates the vale of Angrogna from the valley of San Martino and the half-valley of Perosa, lies to the south-east, flattened and uniform all the way from Mount Cervin. It is called the *Séa* of Angrogna. It turns, at last, towards the south, and descends in an undulating manner from the heights of Roccamanéot upon the sides of San Giovanni, and is lost in the valley. On the declivity of this chain first towards the south, and then the west, the principal hamlets of the valley are situated on gentle slopes. This vast plain, with a regular surface, cleared of woods, and covered with pasture-land in the higher parts, inclines afterwards more decidedly, subdivides and breaks in the lower part into diversified ridges, shaded by a forest of magnificent fruit-trees, and terminates by precipitous ravines in the torrent of Angrogna at the bottom of the valley. The road which leads from La Torre to the populous hamlets scattered over these fertile slopes, follows the windings of the river, undulating and bending, according to the inclination of the hills, on the left bank, half-way up.

To attack Angrogna on this side would have been folly. The steeps, the bends, the rents of the ground, furrowed with streams, as well as the shelter of the chestnut and walnut trees, with their thick foliage, which perpetually intercept the view, would expose an army to continual surprises, and enable a small number of resolute men to stop it at every step, and would subject it to perpetual losses, and to be attacked and hurled down the precipices which are all along the road.

But if the valley of Angrogna could not be forced on this

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side, it might be by gaining the high plateau by means of the gentle declivities which rise from the plain of San Giovanni, at the entrance of the valley of Lucerna, in a northerly direction, towards the Séa of Angrogna, by the heights of Roccamanéot. Once arrived there, a hostile troop is master of the higher plateau. No obstacle opposes its march, till it reaches the rocks which inclose the retired vale of Pra-di-torre: it may then rush down, like a devastating torrent, on the hamlets it overlooks, and which have no further means of natural defence.

It was by the latter road we have been describing that the army of crusaders prepared to invade the central valley of Angrogna. They left their quarters, and prepared to climb, by the declivity of San Giovanni, the southern side of the hills, directing their march towards the upper plateau and rock of Roccamanéot. On these hills, the poor Vaudois had to sustain a very severe combat. They prepared for it by prayer. Their enemies, as they advanced, saw them prostrate, and heard the petitions they offered aloud to God. The papists ridiculed them, being full of confidence in their own numbers, equipments, and valour. But the Divine mercy secured the victory to the smaller number; God hearkened to those who relied upon him. Among the assailants, one of the principal leaders, Le Noir, of Mondovi, another Goliath defying Israel, boasted, with horrible blasphemies, of the carnage he would make among these heretical herdsmen, when, having raised his visor on account of the heat, and to show his contempt, he was struck between the eyes by an arrow discharged by Peiret Revil, of Angrogna. He fell; and his death so terrified his companions in arms, already surprised and embarrassed by the obstinate resistance of the Vaudois, that they turned their backs on those whom they had before despised, and fled with much loss. The joy felt for so great a deliverance was expressed on the field of battle, and in all the valley, by thanksgivings and hymns of praise.

The enemy, irritated by their loss, and ashamed of the defeat, having reassembled all their forces, again assailed the valley of Angrogna, and made themselves masters of all the plateau and the hamlets on the left side of the torrent as far as Rocciailla, a mass of rocks which descends

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abruptly from the neighbouring heights of La Vachère, southward to the very bed of the torrent, and separates the lower and cultivated valley of Angrogna from the upper. This latter valley is perfectly alpine in its character, and has the form of an immense funnel, broken on the eastern side; it is bounded on the south by the sharp ridge of the majestic Vandalin, on the west by the snowy summits of Sella Veglia and the Rous, on the north by the frightful rocks of the Infernet and Soiran, and on the east by the Rocciailla, a mass of rocks not very pointed, but steep and rugged, which confine the torrent of the Angrogna at its outlet.

In the centre of this funnel is an extensive meadow, bounded on one side by the torrent, and on the other by some buildings; it is the Pradutour, or Prédutour—Pra-di-torre—so celebrated in Vaudois history. On this spot, according to tradition, was once situated that celebrated school of the barbes, or pastors. which preserved the holy doctrine of the primitive church undefiled and pure, which fed the flame of evangelical truth in these retired mountains, and diffused its light to a distance by means of its missionaries. This retired glen, fertile in its lower parts, was chosen in almost all the persecutions as a last earthly refuge,* with some other spots equally inaccessible. Thither the population of Angrogna, and the fugitives who had joined them, hastily betook themselves, and crowded their families into it, with the little property they were able to save.

In ascending the lower valley of Angrogna, as was done by the victorious army of the papists, the only way of reaching the Pra-di-torre was through a defile† at the foot of inaccessible rocks, which only open wide enough for the passage of the torrent and a narrow road. It was in this contracted gorge, between Rocciailla and the Angrogna, that the victorious bands entangled themselves. The more advanced were on the point of penetrating into the refuge of the Vaudois, the Pra-di-torre, when all at once they were enveloped in a thick fog. They could not distinguish a single object, nor tell whereabouts they were; they dared

* Pra-di-torre was not the only place which served as a retreat, but all the low neighbouring country, which includes Ciauvia, Chiot, Chaudet, etc.

† The enemy attempted afterwards to penetrate by other roads, but with the same ill success.

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not advance for fear of a surprise, but halted in a state of extreme disquietude. At this juncture, the Angrognines, emboldened by this interposition of Providence in their favour, issued forth from all their retreats, vigorously attacked their perplexed aggressors, whom they defeated, put to flight, and pursued. Profiting by the knowledge they possessed of the locality, they soon came up with them, by crossing the rocks, and took them in flank. The fugitives, choking up the narrow road, were crowded together, and in pressing forwards precipitated one another over the rocks into the foaming waters. The fog, the precipices, the rocks, and the torrent, made more victims on that day than the swords of the Vaudois. The number of deaths was very considerable. Tradition has preserved a faithful memorial of one of the men whom the hand of God smote in this defeat—a captain Saguet, or Saquet, of Polonghera, in Piedmont, a man of colossal size, who filled the air with his blasphemies and his menaces against the Vaudois. His foot slipped over the edge of a rock, he fell into the boiling waters of the Angrogna, was carried away, and thrown by them into a whirlpool or basin, which still goes by his name; Tompi Saquet.

Many other assaults were made on the Vaudois in their different retreats. It is known that the valleys of Perosa and San Martino suffered from the cruelties of the army of the legate Capitaneis. Pravilhelm, in the valley of the Po, was also attacked. Much blood was shed in these repeated combats. The unfortunate inhabitants were oppressed with grief, and recovered very slowly from their disasters; yet the course of years has succeeded in effacing the recollection of the greater number of the scenes of desolation which deformed this period. This, however, is well known, that God everywhere succoured his children; and that after this army had for a twelvemonth hovered over these valleys and the adjacent parts, like a menacing tempest, the prince of Piedmont, Charles II.,* put an end to a war so injurious to his subjects. This young prince, only twenty years of age, being desirous of peace, expressed his displeasure at this cruel conflict, and sent proposals of peace to the Vaudois. He entrusted this mission to a bishop who

* Gilles attributes this peace to duke Philip, but he is mistaken, for this prince was then in France, and did not begin to reign till 1496.

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came to Prassuit, a hamlet of the valley of Angrogna, to confer with the mountaineers. The prelate assured them of the good-will of their sovereign, and of the kindly reception he was ready to give them; and succeeded in persuading them to send a deputation.

The Vaudois sent twelve of the principal persons among them to Pinerolo, whom the duke graciously received. He questioned them for a long time, and, after hearing their answers, candidly declared that he had been misinformed both as to their persons and their belief. He wished to see their children; for it had been certified to him that they were all born with some monstrous deformity, such as one eye in their foreheads, four rows of black teeth, and other things of that sort. When he found that those who were brought to him were beautiful and well made, he could not repress his indignation at having been so grossly imposed upon. Being undeceived as to his opinion of his Vaudois subjects, he accepted the gift which the deputies offered him in the name of the people, confirmed them in their privileges and accustomed liberties,* and promised that they should be unmolested in future.

Such was the issue of this cruel crusade of the year 1488, undertaken in the name of a merciless religion, and which owed its termination to the sense of justice in a wise prince. Alas! how frequently shall we have occasion to see the same facts and the same characters present themselves again, with only some variation of circumstances. Calumny has been but too often a weapon in the mouth of Rome to destroy the faithful Vaudois.

After the peace of 1489, several years passed away in tranquillity for those of the Vaudois who survived the cruel persecution we have been narrating. But the year 1500 was marked by a most violent attack on the Vaudois in the upper valley of the Po, in the marquisate of Saluzzo. Their neighbours, the Vaudois of Bagnolo, so numerous, and formerly so well known, had now entirely disappeared. The story of their misfortunes has not come down to posterity. We know not when or how they ceased to exist; but the arm which effected their extirpation could be no

* We feel certain that these privileges and liberties were those renewed by the marquises of Lucerna in favour of their subjects, when they submitted to the house of Savoy.

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other than that which decimated the valleys. The same spirit of darkness infused thoughts of destruction into the heart of Marguerite de Foix, widow of the marquis of Saluzzo, against her Vaudois subjects of Pravilhelm, the Biolets and Bietone, in the upper valley of the Po. Being assailed and persecuted with unceasing rancour, these poor people saw no hope of safety but in flight. They retired to the valley of Lucerna. From that place they addressed petitions to their sovereign, for five years, to be reinstated in their dwellings and possessions. Vain hope! The only reply was the dishonourable proposal to sell their souls by accepting popery. Such a mercenary and criminal proceeding was foreign to their simplicity: they demanded justice, and that being refused, they resolved upon taking it by force. Perhaps, in doing so, they went beyond the bounds of Christian moderation. Under the conduct of one of their number, an intrepid man, they unexpectedly returned in arms to their ancient dwelling-places. Sword in hand, they drove away the papists who had established themselves there, and struck such terror into the surrounding population, that, expecting repose only by a compromise with the legitimate and ancient inhabitants of the contested territory, and recollecting, no doubt, the friendly relations that had formerly existed between them, they joined in imploring from their sovereign the free return of the Vaudois to their villages. This was granted, as well as the enjoyment of their liberties in what concerned their faith.

Thus the persecutions raised against the Vaudois, who were faithful to the religion of their fathers, terminated for a time.*

CHAPTER XVII.

THE VAUDOIS AND THE REFORMATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE peace of 1489 could not heal all the wounds inflicted on the Vaudois by persecution. It is true that the kind language of the duke of Savoy had at first excited

* Our authorities for this part of the narrative are the works of De la Mothe-Langon, Perrin, and Gilles.

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hopes in many hearts; but it was too soon perceived that the new state of things was very uncertain and precarious. The Vaudois population was considerably diminished in the valleys. Could it be otherwise, after so many conflicts and massacres? And in the towns and villages of the plain of Piedmont, where some Vaudois churches had existed, cruel persecution had destroyed them; it had slain, dispersed, or driven into concealment, their members and adherents. The loss of so many friends and brethren was most mournful, and the ruin of so many Vaudois congregations, that were lights in the midst of darkness, was irreparable. If the Vaudois churches in the bosom of the Alps could henceforth have been secure from the snares of the enemies of their faith! but their plots, though more concealed, were not the less kept in operation. Instead of crusades with an armed force, which were suspended for a time, owing to the humanity or policy of the prince, the Romish clergy had recourse to secret manœuvres, the employment of underhand methods, and the regular agency of the tribunals of the inquisition. These latter, by virtue of the privileges granted by the civil authority, had the right of judging special cases of heresy which might occur. The external situation of the Vaudois, already decimated, weakened, and impoverished by the war of 1488, was therefore very precarious, notwithstanding the peace concluded with their sovereign. In such times, when disasters had been succeeded by an uncertain peace, or one which gave little confidence to the enfeebled population, if no event, nor any new incentive occurred to invigorate their depressed energies, a torpor seized them; the dread of fresh misfortunes, if any exertion were made, paralysed their members, and a cowardly desire of repose made even slavery acceptable.

Such was the lamentable condition of the Vaudois population of the Piedmontese valleys after the peace of 1489, enfeebled, impoverished, decimated, in dread of fresh persecutions. A timid spectator of the isolated sufferings of those of her sons who ventured into the plains of Piedmont, and were arrested by the inquisition,* the Vaudois church,

* Perrin, in his Histoire des Vaudois, says, (p. 155,) "The monkish inquisitors always commenced law proceedings against those whom they could lay hold of, and particularly lay in wait for them at a certain convent, (no doubt the convent of l'Abbadie,) near Pinerolo, from which they delivered them to the secular power.

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while seeking an alleviation of her sorrows in the promises and kind language of her prince, was threatened in her interior life. A great number of her members, occupied with their temporal interests, and forgetting the Saviour's injunction on the duty of confessing his name, had recourse to shameful and criminal dissimulation. In order to be shielded from all interruption in their journeys on business, they obtained from the priests, who were settled in the valleys,* certificates or testimonials of their being papists. To claim them, they frequented the Roman Catholic churches, were present at mass, confessed, and had their children baptized by the priests. It is true that they fancied that they palliated their fault by saying to themselves, when they entered the temples of the enemies of their faith, "Cave of robbers, may God confound thee!" It is true that they also attended the preaching of the barbes, or Vaudois pastors, and submitted to their censure.† But these precautions, far from acquitting them, made their duplicity, and their divided heart, and the severe judgment which their own consciences passed upon their conduct, more striking. The Vaudois church, in tolerating so great a scandal, evidently suffered a stream of impurity to flow into the channels of her spiritual life, which had been hitherto nourished by the pure water of the word of God alone. She manifestly incurred the risk of altering her faith, and modifying the profession of it.

But the invisible Head of the church, the Lord who had redeemed her by his blood, watched over this feeble but ancient portion of his inheritance with love. As a friend never shows himself more faithful than in the moment of danger, nor more tender than in the hour of affliction, so the Lord Jesus came to deliver the Vaudois church when her temptations were aggravated, and to console her under all her sufferings, by announcing his triumph over antichrist in the REFORMATION. How much is contained in that single word!

"Reformation!" It expresses nothing less than a deep, radical, and complete renovation of the form, constitution, and life of the church; nothing less than a return to its

* It is very doubtful whether there were other ministers, excepting at La Torre, Lucerna, and Bricherasco. This would form the subject of an interesting investigation.

† Gilles, p. 28.

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primitive state; than a re-establishment of doctrine, morals, and divine service on the foundations laid by our Lord himself and the apostles, and an aspiration after a new life of faith, self-denial, charity and holiness; in one word, a life hid with Christ in God. For a long time, even in the church of Rome itself, reform had been talked of: princes, magistrates, men of science and letters, ecclesiastical persons, and numbers of the faithful among the laity, had at different times demanded it: even the assembly of bishops at the council of Constance wished to attempt it, but always in vain. The evil was too great; the plague too deep and inveterate; the body itself too tainted, for the cure to be attempted in good faith and with the consent of all its members. Every one was sensible of the evil, and marked its symptoms, but no one in the church pointed out its true cause. No one was for applying to it the only efficacious remedy, namely, the faithful preaching of the word of God. The youngest child among the Vaudois could have indicated it; but for the Romish church to discover the remedy, and consent to employ it, needed a direct intervention of Divine Providence; for how could the cruel persecutors of the Albigenses and Vaudois, of her own accord, seek for the cure in the very book which had animated, and still sustained and consoled the objects of her hatred?

This miracle of mercy God was pleased to effect in many places, and in more than one heart at once, that the glory might redound to him, and not to any human being. He awakened the love of the truth, and excited here and there a spirit of inquiry, which for a long time had been unknown in the Romish church. He put into the hands of men "after his own heart" the text of the holy Scriptures, and revealed the meaning to them by his Spirit. In France, an old man, a distinguished doctor; in Germany, a young monk, Martin Luther, concerned for his own salvation, in a convent in Saxony; in Switzerland, Zwingli, a young curé, devoted to his pastoral duties, at Glaris, in the bosom of the Alps, and afterwards to the office of preacher in the celebrated abbey of Notre-Dame-des-Ermites, (our Lady of the Hermits,) or of Einsiedlen, re-established simultaneously, by the sole study of the Bible, and without being

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privy to one another's labours, the vital doctrines of the gospel.*

No sooner were they initiated into evangelical truth, and regenerated by it, than these men, blessed from on high, had only one desire, that of glorifying God, by communicating to others, their friends, their relations, and their contemporaries, the grace which had been shown to them. In their familiar conversations, they excited great interest in recounting the providential circumstances by which God had put into their hands the sacred text, and opened their hearts to its inspirations. By these recitals, they produced in many souls the lively and profound emotions which they had themselves experienced; the joy, the ecstasy, the alarm, the penitence, and the gratitude, which by turns had taken possession of their own minds in reading the declarations of God's word. By their preaching and public instructions, these illustrious reformers, above all those of Germany and Switzerland, had poured streams of light, and infused a vital warmth, into a multitude of sincere hearts. By their publications, by their commentaries, and especially by the translation, printing, and dissemination of the holy Scriptures, they had brought within the reach of all those who possessed some elementary instruction, and, through them, within every one's reach, the knowledge of God and of his Christ, according to the gospel.

The light was replaced on the candlestick. By its vivid and pure radiance the superstitions, the idolatry, the errors, and the vices of Rome, appeared in all their deformity. Thousands of sincere souls turned from the way of destruction in which their blind leaders had hitherto kept them, and advanced with joy, confidence, and hope, in the paths of the gospel.

The Reformation had extended itself in Germany and Switzerland; it had tried its strength at Paris, Meaux, and various other places, when the report of its operations resounded as far as the Vaudois churches of Piedmont, Dauphiné, and Provence. These ancient churches, isolated, surrounded by enemies, weakened, and somewhat discouraged by persecution, were roused at the consolatory news of a return to the word of God, to the doctrine of salvation

* See Merle D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century.

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by faith in Jesus Christ, and to a purer life, in countries heretofore papal. They hastened to collect certain information, and to enter into connexion with their new brethren. As early as the year 1526 the barbe (or pastor) Martin, of the valley of Lucerna, had returned from one of these journeys of inquiry, and brought back many books printed by the reformers. This fact is proved by the deposition of one Bartolomeo Féa, who lived near Pinerolo, but, having been cast into prison on account of his religion, confessed to the inquisitors that the aforesaid barbe Martin, on his return from Germany, had called at his house, shown him the books which he brought back, and given him a wonderful account of the reformation that had taken place.*

Of all the journeys of the Vaudois barbes at this period, that of Georges Morel, of Mérindol, and Pierre Masson,† a native of Burgundy, is the best known. Having been deputed by the Vaudois churches of Provence and Dauphiné‡ to visit the reformers of Switzerland and Germany, they held a conference with the brethren of Neuchâtel, Morat, and Berne, with Berthold Haller, and doubtless, also, with William Farel;§ and in the month of October, 1530, they presented to Œcolampadius, the reformer of Bâle, a long document in Latin, in which they gave a complete account of their ecclesiastical discipline, worship, manners, and doctrine, requesting, at the same time, his advice on several points.

This document, marked by a humility and openness of heart not common even among brethren in the faith, throws great light on the internal state, at that time, of the Vaudois churches in the south-east of France. It is also probable that this state was more or less that of their neighbours, the Vaudois churches in Piedmont, but perhaps in a less degree of declension. The preceding accounts give us a glimpse of this; the sequel will render it certain.

The exposition made by the barbe Morel, and which may be found in Scultetus, or in Ruchat, shows that there was among the Vaudois of that time a sensible inferiority in

* Gilles, p. 30.

† G. Morel's companion is called Latome by Scultetus.

‡ Perrin asserts positively that they were sent by the Vaudois churches of France, and not by all the Vaudois churches.

§ [See the Life of William Farel, from the German of the Rev. Melchior Kirchhofer; published by the Religious Tract Society, London, 1837, pp. 102—104, 271.]

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their acquaintance with saving truth, and especially in the profession of evangelical faith, if we compare them with their ancestors, such as they are made known to us by history, and the religious writings of the twelfth century.*

The information given by Georges Morel respecting the barbes, or pastors of the Vaudois churches, agrees in general with what we know of their ancient discipline. Yet we may trace indications in his statement of a certain unsettledness or uncertainty on some points of doctrine or discipline, an imperfect acquaintance with the Scriptures, and, as it strikes us, a limited knowledge of their very interesting religious literature.

The candidate for the pastoral charge, having been employed in agricultural labour, or as a herdsman, till the age of twenty-five or thirty, came before the barbes, and made known his wishes. If the inquiry respecting his character proved satisfactory, he spent the winter months for the next three or four years in self-improvement: he learnt by heart the Gospels according to Matthew and John, the catholic (or general) Epistles, and a good part of those of St. Paul. After this, he had to pass a year or two in retirement. In this part, Morel speaks of sisters, or virgins, living together in perpetual celibacy, and says that it was to the place where these resided that candidates were sent, to prepare in silence for the functions of the sacred ministry, to which they were afterwards appointed, by partaking of the eucharist and imposition of hands. This kind of religious society of females is a fact without parallel in the Vaudois history, and, if it be true, would prove, in conjunction with the celibacy of the barbes, then generally practised, that Romish notions had become considerably prevalent at this period, at least in the churches of Provence.

The holy ministry, as it appears, was exercised in faith and love. The doctrine taught was, for the most part, the same as in remote times; it was always, in essential points, evangelical. Yet it would appear that, in what regards the acceptance of salvation, and the internal life of the Christian, the barbes at that time allowed an immense share to the human will. "We believe," say they, "that all men have naturally some gift, which God has bestowed

* Scultetus Annalium Evangelii, etc., Heidelbergæ, 1618, t. ii., p. 294.—Ruchats Hist. de la Réformation de la Suisse, t. ii., p. 319, and following.

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on them, one man more, and another less; so that men can do something by this power which is given them, but especially when God stimulates and excites it, as he says himself: 'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock.'" Moreover, they did not admit predestination, excepting with certain explanations, which reduced it to be nothing more than an anticipated view of human intentions and actions by the omniscience of God.

Some Romish tendencies are also perceptible, such as auricular confession, but without superstition or tyranny. They asked the reformers whether it was proper to have degrees of dignity among ministers of the word of God, such as bishops, priests, and deacons? whether the distinction of sin, as original, venial, and mortal, were correct? whether it was allowable to pray for the dead? which were the ceremonial, and which the civil precepts? whether these ordinances were entirely abolished by the coming of Jesus Christ? They rejected purgatory, as a fiction of antichrist; also, all the inventions of men, such as saints' days, vigils, holy water, abstinence from meat at certain times; and, in particular, they looked upon the mass as a horrible abomination before God. But they tolerated one great evil: through weakness and fear of their persecutors, they had their children baptized by the priests, and communicated at the mass.

The injustice and cruelty of their enemies having brought the Vaudois into numberless dangers, and occasioned their adoption of *particular modes of acting,* George Morel inquired whether open force or stratagem could be authorized in cases where life and property were endangered? He also proposed the question, whether it was allowable for the faithful (Vaudois) to plead before unbelieving (Roman Catholic) judges?

Œcolampadius, like the other reformers, beheld with deep emotion and delight their foreign brethren, deputed by the ancient Vaudois churches, the small remnant of evangelical Christians who had escaped, as by miracle, from the persecutions of Rome. With all his colleagues, he blessed God for the preservation of these disciples of the truth; these lowly flocks, scattered at the foot and in the bosom of the Alps; saved with difficulty from the snares that were constantly laid for their lives as well as their

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souls. These sentiments are expressed in the answer of the reformer of Bâle to the Vaudois of Provence, dated October 13, 1530. "It is not," he tells them, "without a lively sentiment of joy in Christ that we have learned from Georges Morel who takes such faithful care of your salvation, what are your religious belief and worship. We render thanks to our most gracious Father that he has called you into such marvellous light, during ages in which such thick darkness has covered almost the whole world, under the empire of antichrist. We acknowledge also that Christ is in you; we therefore love you as brethren; and God grant that we may be able to testify the affection of our hearts by its fruits!"

To these expressions of kindness and proofs of attachment, the reformer felt himself impelled to add some Christian observations and counsels of truth, which fidelity demanded of him: "As we approve of many things among you, so there are several which we wish to see amended. We are informed that the fear of persecution has caused you to dissemble, and to conceal your faith. Now you know that with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation; but that those who are ashamed of Christ before the world, will not be acknowledged by him before his Father. Because our God is truth, he will be served in truth; and as he is a jealous God, he will not permit his own people to put themselves under the yoke of antichrist,—for there is no concord between Christ and Belial. You commune with unbelievers; you take part in their abominable masses, in which the death and passion of Christ are blasphemed. For when they boast of making satisfaction for the sins of the living and the dead by their sacrifices, what is the consequence, unless it be that Christ has not made satisfaction by his one sacrifice? that Christ is not what his name of Jesus signifies, that is, a Saviour,—and that he died for us in vain? And in saying Amen! to their prayers, do we not deny Christ? How many deaths would it not be better to suffer? . . . . . I know your weakness; but it becomes those who know they have been redeemed by the blood of Christ to be more courageous. . . . . *It is better for us to die than to be overcome by temptation.*" . . . . . .

Œcolampadius replied in the spirit of the reformation to

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all the other questions which they had proposed to him, giving the required explanations and counsels. It is not necessary to detail them here. Suffice it to say, that the doctor of the Reformation and the pastor of the ancient Vaudois church, felt themselves to be brethren, and the Lord gave them the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

From Bâle, the two deputies of the Vaudois went to Strasburg, to confer with Bucer and Capito. They took a letter of recommendation to the former from Œcolampadius, dated Oct. 27, 1530.

This direct communication of the Vaudois barbes with the reformers of Switzerland and Strasburg has still a very legitimate interest for us in the present day. It is delightful to see that the conscientious study of the word of God led the reformers, when they left the Roman church, to reconstruct a church which, from its first formation, won the esteem and sympathy of the ancient Vaudois churches, which had preserved the doctrine and worship of the first ages of Christianity as pure, at least, as it was in their power to do. It is equally instructive to see the reformed churches, which it has been attempted to depreciate, by calling them new, confirming by their unity of faith, and even by their community of forms, with the Vaudois churches, the antiquity of their doctrine, worship, and ecclesiastical organization. Some slight differences on secondary points, which have been noticed, do not weaken this assertion any more than some slight symptoms of decline in a little persecuted flock would.

The two Vaudois barbes having fulfilled their mission, and being furnished with the answer of Œcolampadius, set out on their journey homewards. One of them, Pierre Masson, could not escape suspicion; he was waylaid and arrested at Dijon, imprisoned, and condemned to death. Georges Morel was more fortunate, and passed unnoticed with his letters and papers, and arrived safely in Provence.*

The answer of Œcolampadius produced a powerful impression throughout the Vaudois churches. The pastors of the valleys discussed among themselves, and in conferences with their neighbours, the questions of which it treated. As some diversities of opinion still existed, and

* Perrin, p. 216.

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it was thought proper to revisit the reformers of Germany and Switzerland several times, it was also decided to convoke a synod, in order to terminate the business. All the Vaudois churches were to be represented in it. The Swiss pastors were invited. A great number, convened at Grandison, in French Switzerland, chose as their representative William Farel, that bold and faithful reformer, and Antony Saunier, both natives of Dauphiné.*

The presence of Farel at the Vaudois synod is confirmed by the deposition of a Vaudois, who was cast into prison by Bersour, in the persecution of 1535. Jeannet Peyrel, of Angrogna, deposed that he had kept guard for the ministers who taught the good law, who were assembled in the town of Chanforans,† in the centre of Angrogna, and said that amongst others there was one called Farel, who had a red beard, and a beautiful white horse, and two others accompanied him, one of whom had a horse almost black, and the other was very tall, and rather lame.‡

The synod met in Angrogna, at the place called Chanforans, and commenced its sittings September 12, 1532.§ It was solemn and decisive. All the questions had been sufficiently matured; they were then debated very freely for six days.‖ At length the synod, or assembly of the barbes and heads of families, prepared a short confession of faith, which may be considered as a supplement to the ancient confession of faith of the year 1120, which it does not contradict in any point. It consists of seventeen articles, which are as follows:¶

"1. We believe that divine worship ought to be performed in spirit and in truth, for God is a Spirit, and desires that those who worship him should do so in spirit and in truth.

"2. That all those who have been, and shall be saved, have been chosen by God before the foundation of the world.

* Ruchat, t. iii., p. 176 and 557.

† Now a lone house, near Odins, towards Le Serre. ‡ Gilles, p. 40.

§ Perrin misdates it Sept. 12, 1535, since the Vaudois church was at that time harassed with persecution. Léger, pt. i., p. 95, is equally wrong in fixing it December 12, 1532. This time of the year would have been far too severe for the journey of the Swiss deputies and of so many pastors from beyond the Alps.

‖ Gilles, p. 41.

¶ Léger, pt. i., p. 95. Copied from a manuscript in the library of the University of Cambridge. See also Gilles; and Perrin, p. 157.

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"3. That it is impossible that those who have been ordained (elected) to salvation should not be saved.

"4. That whoever establishes the free-will of man denies entirely the predestination and grace of God.

"5. That no work is good but that which God has commanded, and none bad but what he has forbidden.*

"6. That a Christian may swear by the name of God without contravening what is written in Matthew v. 34, provided that he who swears does not take the name of the Lord in vain. It is not taken in vain when the oath tends to the glory of God and the welfare of one's neighbour. Moreover, an oath may be taken before a magistrate, because he who fills the office, whether he be a believer or unbeliever, holds his power of God.

"7. That auricular confession is not commanded of God, nor appointed by the Holy Scriptures; that the true confession of a Christian is to confess to God alone, to whom belong honour and glory; that there is another sort of confession, which is, when any one seeks reconciliation with his neighbour, spoken of in Matthew v.; a third sort of confession is, when any one has committed some public offence, and confesses it also publicly.

"8. That on Sundays we ought to cease from our earthly labours, from zeal for God and love towards our servants, and that we may apply ourselves to hearing the word of God.

"9. That a Christian is not permitted to avenge himself in any manner on his enemy.

"10. That a Christian may exercise the office of a magistrate over other Christians.

"11. That the Scriptures do not fix any time for a Christian's fasting.

"12. That marriage is not forbidden to any one, in any condition whatever.

"13. That whoever forbids marriage teaches a diabolical doctrine.

"14. That whoever has not the gift of continence ought to marry.

"15. That the ministers of the word of God ought not

* We follow Léger, pt. i., p. 95, and Perrin.—Gilles adds the following words, "And that man can do things indifferent which God has not forbidden, according to the occasion, as he can also refrain from doing them."

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to be transferred from one place to another, unless for some great good to the church.

"16. That it is not incompatible with apostolic communion that the ministers possess some private property to support their families.

"17. Touching the sacraments: The Holy Scriptures show that Jesus Christ has left us only two sacraments—baptism and the eucharist, or the holy supper; that we partake of the latter, in order to testify that we persevere in the holy faith according to our baptismal engagement, and to celebrate the remembrance of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, who died for our redemption, and has washed us from our sins by his precious blood."

The synod of Angrogna also adopted a decisive resolution for the well-being of the Vaudois church, which had been compromised for a number of years by the fear of persecutions. It was decreed by common consent, that they should cease entirely from all the arts of dissimulation by which they had hoped to escape the notice of the enemies of the faith; that henceforth they would take no part in any of the popish superstitions; that they would not acknowledge as a pastor any priest of the Romish church, and never have recourse to his ministrations in any case, or under any circumstances. They likewise resolved to cease from all concealment in their religious assemblies; that the worship should be carried on openly and publicly, in order to give glory to God.*

These resolutions met with some opposition in the synod, on the part of some barbes, who were either friends of the ancient order of things, or timid. Two of them, of foreign extraction, Daniel de Valence and Jean de Molines, withdrew without authority from the general assembly, and made their complaints to the churches of Bohemia and Moravia.

Relations equally ancient and close united the Vaudois of France and Piedmont to the evangelical Christians of Bohemia and Moravia. The origin of these latter is probably to be dated from the end of the twelfth century, the times of Pierre Valdo† and his immediate disciples, the Poor Men of Lyons. Being driven about by per-

* Gilles, p. 30.

† On Pierre Valdo and his disciples, see ch. vii. of this history.

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secution, and dispersed in various places, they had become, in the hands of God, the means of revival and union for churches that were still governed by the word of God, in the bosom of which they had found a refuge; and thus, amongst others, for the churches of Bohemia and for the ancient Vaudois churches in the valleys of the Alps. It was in Bohemia that Valdo himself terminated his admirable and useful career.* He found a Christian church there, which, like all those of the Sclavonian race, had received Christianity through the medium of the Greek church, and which, like all her sisters, abhorred the yoke and errors of Rome. Attached to the Holy Scriptures, which she read in an excellent Sclavonian translation, the language of the country, the church of Bohemia had welcomed, with a cordial feeling of Christian brotherhood, Pierre Valdo and his friends, who had been persecuted for their fidelity to the word of God; and, owing to the well-known activity of the Poor Men of Lyons, and the journeys of the Vaudois barbes, who travelled in all directions to evangelize their brethren, the churches of Bohemia, and, at a later period, those of Moravia, entered into strict fellowship with the Vaudois churches of France and Piedmont. And, once brought into connexion with one another, these two churches, both daughters of the primitive church, loved each other as two sisters, and never ceased to interchange proofs of their affection.

In the instance now before us, the churches of Bohemia and Moravia testified their cordial affection and esteem for the Vaudois church by their general counsels, given in the spirit of the gospel. It is evident by the letter they wrote, and which the two dissatisfied barbes brought back the following year, (1533,) that these churches had been but imperfectly informed; but we may at least infer from its contents that they always felt a lively interest in the spiritual welfare of their Vaudois brethren. The latter, from regard to their brethren of Bohemia and Moravia, held a synod in the vale of San Martino, the 15th of August, 1533; and after having confirmed the resolutions of the synod of the preceding year, decided on communi-

* Does not Valdo's retiring to Bohemia authorize us to believe that a connexion had already existed between the church of Bohemia and the Vaudois church?

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cating them, with suitable explanations, in a fraternal letter to the churches of Bohemia and Moravia. In consequence of this, Jean de Molines and Daniel de Valence left the valleys, never to return.

This strenuous but ineffectual opposition of the two barbes, who were, moreover, not natives of the Vaudois valleys, rendered the intimate agreement of the spirit of the Reformation with that of the Vaudois still more apparent. The ancient and venerable Vaudois church, still faithful, in its somewhat impaired old age, to the true apostolical traditions, came forward gladly to hold out the right hand of fellowship to her younger sister, the offspring of the conscientious study of the Bible. They recognised each other as children of the same Father—as servants of the same Lord; they embraced one another, feeling themselves to be one in God's sight; and acknowledging, with transports of delight, that thus blended they were the beloved spouse of Jesus Christ.

Glory be to God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen!

CHAPTER XVIII.

IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE UNION OF THE VAUDOIS CHURCH WITH THE REFORMED CHURCH.

The resolutions adopted at the synod of Angrogna in 1532, and confirmed the following year, were soon put in practice. Repentance for preceding acts of dissimulation stimulated ardent minds to give proofs of the sincerity of their love to God, and their attachment to his word. A clearer view of their duty strengthened the faith of the feeblest: a zeal, that had been languishing for some years, revived afresh in all hearts. A Christian life, not entirely new, but renovated, circulated faithfully through all the branches of the Vaudois churches. Barbes and private Christians supported one another, and rendered mutual aid in realizing the same desire—that of glorifying their Saviour in the midst of idolaters. Their ardent wish was to reproduce in their actions the device engraved to this day on the seal of the Vaudois churches of Piedmont—a light shining

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in darkness. Proofs in confirmation of this zeal are not wanting: we shall adduce them in their proper order.

And first of all let us mention an external, but very convincing proof: the renewal of persecution on the part of the papists. Religious animosity never pursues the lukewarm; it is never roused by the sight of timid men who dissemble, and whose sole aim is to escape observation. Resistance and opposition alone provoke it; antagonism inflames it. Two years had not elapsed after the synod of Angrogna, when persecution began; at first in Provence, in the year 1534, at the instigation of the bishops of Sisteron, Apt, and Cavaillon, and in the following year in Piedmont, by the endeavours of the archbishop of Turin and the inquisitor of the same city. The duke of Savoy, Charles III., yielding to their solicitations, referred the cruel office of pursuing the pretended Vaudois heretics to a nobleman in their neighbourhood, the lord of Rocheplatte, Pantaléon Bersour, who, from his frequent residence at his chateau of Mirandol, (Mirandeul,) or in the city of Pinerolo, at the entrance of the valley of Perosa and not far from that of Lucerna, had greater facilities than any other person of knowing the places, the circumstances, and the men.

For the purpose of obtaining all the information possible, Bersour, furnished with ducal letters for the parliament of Provence, betook himself to the dioceses of that province in which persecution had recommenced. Having obtained copies of the depositions relative to the accused, as well as permission to assist at the subsequent examinations, he furnished himself by this means with very precise data relative to the late events, and the persons who were the most devoted to the interests of evangelical religion in the valleys of Piedmont. For, as we have already said, the Vaudois of the domains of the duke of Savoy maintained a constant connexion with those of Dauphiné and Provence, and their barbes often passed the Alps to edify the churches of their brethren. It was even found that many of the persons who had been apprehended on the charge of heresy were Piedmontese subjects, refugees in France, and that one of them who died in prison was from Rocheplatte, a lordship peopled with Vaudois, and belonging to the ducal commissioner.

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On his return to Piedmont, Bersour laid before the inquisitors the list of denounced or suspected Vaudois, and received from the duke Charles, by letters patent of August 28, 1535, an order to proceed forthwith to inflict punishment on the offenders. Having assembled a troop of about five hundred picked men, foot and horse soldiers, he made an inroad on the valley of Angrogna, penetrating it by way of Rocheplatte, through roads which were well known to him. But the enterprise was not more than half successful. The disturbed and threatened population had placed scouts, who gave information of the approach of the invader soon enough to dispute the victory, and to snatch part of the booty from him, as well as the prisoners made at the first onset. Strong remonstrances having been addressed to him by the countess Blanche, widow of the count of Lucerna, and lord of Angrogna, who reproached him with not having respected the memory of her husband, and with having treated him, herself, and their children with insult, in assailing her subjects without her knowledge, Pantaléon Bersour ceased his attacks on that side and among the mountains, to fall upon the districts of the plain instead, which were inhabited by Vaudois. With these unfortunate persons he filled his chateau at Mirandol, the prisons and convents of Pinerolo, and the inquisition of Turin, where Benoît de Solariis with his assessors conducted criminal proceedings against them. A great number of them suffered in the flames. The words of one of these martyrs of the faith deserve to be preserved. Catelan Girardet, who had been arrested at Revel, in this same year, 1535, was led to punishment. When he reached the pile, he asked for two stones. Having received them, he rubbed them violently one against the other, and said to the attentive spectators, who were astonished and curious to know his motive for so strange an act, "You think to abolish our churches by your persecutions, but you can no more do it than I can destroy these stones with my hands, or eat them."

The persecution would have raged much longer, if political circumstances had not all at once put an end to it. Francis I., king of France, laying claim to certain rights in Piedmont on behalf of his mother, the queen Louisa, sister of duke Charles, and demanding a passage for an army intended to recover Milan, had met with a refusal, and pre-

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pared to enter his uncle's domains by main force. The fears which so dangerous a situation excited in the duke's government, forced him to give an order which humanity and sound policy would have previously dictated,—namely, to stop the persecution against the Vaudois. In fact, it was important for him not to alienate entirely the attachment of the population that was settled on the frontier of his enemy, and who occupied the usual passes of the Alps, and had it in their power either to surrender them, and thus inflict a severe blow on their imprudent sovereign, or to defend them with tried fidelity, and to be a substitute in their valleys for a body of troops which he might then send elsewhere. Thus Bersour's persecution was suddenly stopped.

One unfortunate effect for the Vaudois valleys, of the rupture otherwise so favourable for their cause, between their sovereign and the king of France, was the arrest and death of one of their best pastors, Martin Gonin, of Angrogna. He had gone to Geneva, at the beginning of 1536, to confer there on ecclesiastical affairs with some learned theologians, and to make a purchase of books. He was endowed with superior talents and some rare qualities, and though only thirty-six, had already travelled and laboured much for the churches, in Piedmont and elsewhere. But on his return, he was arrested in Dauphiné; being a Piedmontese, he was taken for a spy, sent to observe the preparations for war in France. The parliament of Grenoble having pronounced him innocent, he was on the point of being released; but the jailer, on searching him, found some papers relative to religion: he was thereupon again imprisoned and brought to trial for this latter fact. When examined on his belief, he made a frank and unreserved confession of it, and he resisted, at the same time, all importunities and solicitations to induce him to change his religion, and was condemned to be drowned in the Isère. This barbarous sentence was executed on the night of April 26, 1536. It was apprehended, that if it had taken place in the day-time, the gentleness and pious discourse of the martyr would have moved and shaken the resolution of the spectators. The death of this faithful servant of God was deeply regretted in the valleys, where he was justly appreciated, and where the want of pastors began to be felt.

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The commitments to prison, and the punishments inflicted for two years on the Vaudois of France and Piedmont, are not the only proofs that we have of the increase of Christian life among them in consequence of their intercourse with the reformers. They gave another striking proof of it, during the very time of their persecution, in defraying the cost of the first edition of the French Bible. They contributed for this object fifteen hundred gold crowns,—a considerable sum at that time, and especially for a small population of country people and herdsmen. It was at the synod of Angrogna, in 1532, in the presence of Farel and Saunier, deputies from the Swiss churches, that in consequence of the scarcity of manuscripts of the sacred books, and the increasing difficulty of copying them, the resolution was passed for translating into French and printing the sacred Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament. P. Robert Olivétan, a relation of the celebrated Calvin, the reformer of Geneva, was commissioned to undertake this work. This Bible was printed in folio, and in black letter, at Neufchâtel in Switzerland, in the year 1535, by Pierre de Wingle, commonly called Piccard. The Vaudois spirit, that attachment to the word of God which in former ages was manifested by the pains taken by individuals to commit whole books to memory, now reappeared in every heart, renewing its youth, and eager to avail itself of the recent invention of the press, to facilitate, for all who knew how to read, the possession, at a trifling expense, of a copy of the Holy Scriptures.*

Another proof of the increase of the Christian life among the Vaudois, is, on the one hand, the zeal displayed in preaching pure doctrine, and on the other, the eagerness of the people in coming to hear it. It would be difficult to decide which showed the most courage and self-denial—the preachers who sought to do good to souls, or the hearers, hungering for the bread of life, flocking to their faithful shepherds, without dread of committing themselves, often even at the peril of their lives. The country people came in crowds to the appointed places of meeting. By degrees the citizens and inhabitants of the plain resorted thither. Even the lords protected the evangelical faith, and openly declared themselves in its favour. In a short time the barbes were not sufficiently

* Perrin, Hist. des Vaudois, p. 161—Gilles, ch. vii. pp. 43, 44—Ruchat, Réformation, etc., t. iii., pp. 176—493.

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numerous for their work and the new cares which claimed their attention. Those among them whose office it was to instruct and train candidates for the sacred ministry,* were obliged to cease from this employment, in order to give themselves entirely to preaching and the care of souls. They soon found it necessary to have recourse to foreign academies belonging to the reformed—that of Geneva, for example—either to send thither young Vaudois who had devoted themselves to the evangelical ministry, or to obtain additional pastors from thence, who were now required on account of the increasing number of the congregations and hearers of the truth.

From this period may be dated the use of the French language in the worship of the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont. Hitherto it had been carried on in the common language of the country, that is, in the Romance language, in which all their ancient writings were composed. Henceforth the French was generally employed,† for the editions of the Bible printed at the expense of the Vaudois and circulated in their houses were in this language, and the body of pastors likewise spoke it, owing either to their origin, or the course of their studies.‡

The religious movement which had commenced at the synod of Angrogna, in 1532, extended and strengthened itself still more when the political differences between Piedmont and France supervened, and particularly when the latter power invaded and occupied the territory of the former. The attention of the government being absorbed by concerns which seemed more pressing, it neglected for years to watch or to check the proceedings of the Vaudois; and it was not roused till the papists, surprised, confounded, and irritated by the success of the once oppressed church, raised the cry of alarm. The priests who had been previously settled in the valleys,§ having lost all hope of ever seeing the people brought under Romish domination, and judging that for the future no further revenue would be obtained from them, voluntarily withdrew in despair; and with them went the mass. That these happy results took

* This fact evidently implies the existence of that school of the barbes in the Pra-di-Torre, which we have before mentioned.

† In civil affairs the Italian language was used.

‡ Gilles, chs. vii., viii.—Perrin, p. 161.

§ It is still a question in what part of t valleys they were established.

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place is not denied by Roman Catholic writers; so far from it, they complain of them bitterly. This is done by father Belvedere, in his report, addressed in 1636, to the Congregation for the propagation of the faith, in which he makes many mistakes, and, amongst others, has this absurdity,—that the reformer Farel had been appointed governor of the valleys by a count of Wurtemberg, in the name of the king of France, and had persecuted the papists. But, however singular the explanations he gives of the facts that he reports may be, the latter fully confirm all that we have stated. Among other things, he says expressly: "The heresy had reached such a height in the valley (of Lucerna), that from all parts of Piedmont, subject to the king, people came to hear the preachers, contrary to the king's wish, who either was ignorant of it, or pretended to be so."*

But, while the Vaudois of Piedmont enjoyed the respite which political commotions had obtained for them in their religious concerns, and made use of it to consolidate and extend their church, they received most melancholy intelligence respecting their brethren the Vaudois of Provence, of which we shall now proceed to give an account. (See what has been already said in ch. xv.)

The reader will recollect, no doubt, those flourishing Vaudois churches, founded in Provence, at the end of the thirteenth century, in the valleys that border on the Durance, to the east of Cavaillon. Here were situated the towns and villages of Cabrières, Mérindol, Lormarin, Cadenet, Gordes, and many others besides, as celebrated for their long prosperity and high reputation, as for the terrible persecution which put an end to their existence.

Already, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, efforts had been made to prejudice king Louis XII. against them. They had been represented to him as infamous people, who, having separated from the church of Rome, lived in the commission of all kinds of abominations. But the king, having sent to these places two honourable men, in whom he placed confidence, namely, his confessor Parvi, and Adam Fumée, master of requests, who made a favourable report of the manners and piety of the people, gave orders that they should be left undisturbed.†

* Gilles, c. vii., p. 45—Perrin, p. 161.
† La Mothe-Langon, t. iii., p. 425.

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In the year 1534, under Francis I., the searchings, punishments, and imprisonments on religious accounts were begun anew. The parliament of Aix, at the instigation of the bishops of Sisteron, Apt, and Cavaillon, had proceeded with rigour against the Vaudois of these countries, as we have mentioned a few pages before. The parliament allowed itself to be so deceived and blinded by intrigue, calumny, and fanaticism, that in 1540 it condemned the Vaudois to general destruction, to the loss of life and property, and their country to be made a desert. The benevolent intervention of Guillaume du Bellay, lord of Langey, and governor of Piedmont, since it had been occupied by the French, retarded the execution of the ordinance. He had the courage to represent to the king the injustice of this barbarous decree. He showed that it would affect a worthy population, who were distinguished among other virtues for temperance, chastity, patience, fidelity to their prince, industry, hospitality, and a genuine piety devoid of superstition. Enlightened by the judgment of this honourable lord, Francis I. refused to confirm this sentence. But as irritating calumnies were spread without ceasing against the unfortunate Vaudois, and false rumours designedly circulated, till they reached the ears of the king, accusing this peaceable people of plots against the government, of clandestine armaments, and even of levying troops with the intention of getting into Marseilles, it might be anticipated that the fatal blow would soon be struck. The drawn sword and lighted torch which Romish hatred waved in menace over the heads of its victims only waited the signal for general havoc. At last it was given.*

Francis I., at the instigation of one of the princes of the Romish church, a pretended successor of the apostles, the odious cardinal de Tournon, decreed the punishment of the Vaudois of Provence. On the first news of this alarming project, the evangelical cantons of Switzerland vainly interceded in the most urgent manner with the king; all they obtained was a dry answer not to meddle with the affairs of his government, any more than he would trouble himself about theirs. Calvin, the illustrious reformer of Geneva, would have gone and thrown himself at the feet of the French monarch, but had been taken ill, and Farel was too

* Léger, pt. ii., p. 330.—Gilles, p. 47.

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much oppressed by the infirmities of age to undertake the journey. Viret, one of the reformers of the Pays de Vaud, set out to request favour for his co-religionists, bearing with him letters of recommendation, not only from the reformed states of Switzerland, but also from the Protestant states of the league of Smalkald. But all these efforts at mediation were useless.*

The order for destroying the heretics of Provence having been once issued, no time was lost in putting it into execution. A hard-hearted, avaricious man, irritated, moreover, it is said, because a lady who possessed the seignorial right of many of the Vaudois villages had refused him her hand—John Meinier, baron d'Oppède, first president of the parliament of Provence, and royal lieutenant of the province, in the absence of count de Grignan, marched against the innocent people whom he had disgracefully calumniated. At the head of a troop of the militia of Provence, besides two thousand regular soldiers, and accompanied by commissioners, nominally his colleagues, but in reality quite under his influence, he attacked his devoted victims in April, 1545. These poor people, whom he had represented to the king as armed rebels, furnished with all the munitions of war, and entrenched in places difficult of access, never dreamt of defending themselves; they saw no safety but in flight.

A modern author gives the following account of this atrocious transaction:—"The shrill outcries," he writes, "the blasts of the savage horns and other signals in use at this period, to announce the approach of a hostile force, warned the Vaudois in the different villages and hamlets, of the coming of the terrible Oppède. Every one abandoned his home, leaving his little fortune in it: each wished to save his aged father, his wife, his children, and nothing more. They hastened to the mountains or the neighbouring rocks, or the bottom of precipices, without sparing a thought on what they had left, or rather hoping that the love of plunder would detain their persecutors, and turn them aside from the pursuit.

"During this time, the Catholic army set fire to the houses, filled up the wells and fountains, tore up the vines, cut down the trees, left not one stone on another, sparing neither gardens, nor hospitals, nor bridges, in a word, nothing that

* Ruchat, t. v., p. 253.

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existed in this unfortunate country. The Vaudois, dying with hunger and sorrow, exhausted with fatigue and want, continued their uncertain march. In a short time, the women, children, and old men, overcome by fatigue, were forced to stop. They were abandoned in despair ;* and yet some hope was indulged that all Christian charity would not be extinguished in the heart of these devout assassins, that they would not dare to butcher weakness, innocence, and decrepitude. A Piedmontese soldier unexpectedly found this troop of wretched fugitives in a kind of plain, and from the mountain above rolled down stones to warn them of the approach of the band of murderers commanded by the baron de la Garde. But no strength was left to the remains of this Vaudois troop,—they stirred not, but awaited their fate with resignation. The soldiery, guided by the monkish inquisitors,† rushed upon the women, whom they treated with such licentious indignity that the greater number died on the spot, without a wish to survive their honour ; the rest perished of suffering and hunger, after having been stripped even of their last garment.

The expedition commenced on the 14th of April, with the sacking of Cadenet. On the 16th, they set fire to the villages of Pepin, La-Mothe, and Saint Martin, belonging to the countess of Ceudal, (the same who had refused her hand to Oppède.) There the poor labourers were slain without making resistance ; as to the females, the young were violated, and the pregnant women, with the children, were massacred. From some they cut off their breasts ; the elder children and mere babes might be seen dying of hunger on the corpses of their mothers, for the baron d'Oppède had interdicted all persons (under pain of being hung), from furnishing provisions to any one of this accursed race. The population of these places were swept entirely away, either by the flames or the sword. Only those were saved alive who were destined to work in the galleys.

On the 17th of April, Oppède, at the head of a body of

* Gilles says, p. 49, that they were about five hundred.

† Gilles, in his history, mentions this fact as having occurred after the destruction of the villages, which is very probable. To be just, we ought to add that he does not relate these indignities ; that he says on the contrary, that one of their leaders prevented them at this time from committing those abominable acts which they perpetrated elsewhere.

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Piedmontese, who had been formed into regiments at the expense of France, advanced towards the villages of Lormarin, Ville-Laure, and Trèzemines, which were burned by his orders on the following day; while the wretches who came from Arles on this sacrilegious crusade set fire to Genson and Laroque, on the other side of the Durance. Oppède, whose approach justly inspired terror, found in Mérindol only one young man, Maurisi Blanc, a half-witted lad, who surrendered to a soldier on conditions of being allowed to ransom himself for two crowns. Oppède apparently assenting to these terms, paid the two crowns, and claiming Blanc as his own, caused him to be tied to a mulberry tree, and shot.

The two hundred houses which formed the village of Mérindol were entirely razed, after having been set on fire on the 18th. Cabrières still remained: it was a large fortified town, and situated three leagues from Cavaillon. The inhabitants had closed the gates: cannon were brought to force them open on the 19th. On the first discharge of artillery, those who were in the place cried out to the besiegers that they made a show of resistance not from a spirit of disobedience to the king's orders, but only to protect themselves from the first attack of a furious soldiery, and that they would voluntarily surrender themselves, provided their lives were guaranteed, and that they might be allowed free egress to go to a foreign land, to pray according to their own views. The lord of Cabrières accompanied the assailants. He made terms for his vassals, and was promised that their cause should be carried before the parliament, and that no violence should precede the judicial decision. The terms of capitulation being concluded, Cabrières surrendered. Oppède, no longer concealing the black villany of his heart, caused all the men to be seized, to the number of sixty. They were led to an adjacent meadow, and by his orders cut in pieces. "Cut in pieces," we say,—for they cut off their heads and limbs, uttering all the while the most horrible blasphemies and shouts of victory. The females of all ages, with child or not, were shut up in a barn, which was then set on fire. One soldier, touched with pity, (and who therefore must have been an indifferent Catholic,) made an opening in the wall, that they might save themselves; but his comrades

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pushed them back into the flames with their pikes and halberds. Many Vaudois were found alive in caves, where they had concealed themselves. They were brought out into the great hall of the château, and massacred in the presence of the baron d'Oppède. Eight hundred persons of both sexes had sought an asylum in the church; the dissolute rabble of Avignon, who had run together to take part in the pillage and murder, received the commission to massacre them all without mercy.

Similar enormities were committed in La Coste, and in all other parts of the country inhabited by the Vaudois. It is too painful to continue the recital. One fact, however, may be mentioned. Some who were concealed in retired places implored Oppède to be content with taking their property, and to allow them to retire to Geneva. His answer was, "I will send you to dwell in hell with devils, you, your wives, and your children; so that no memorial of you shall be left."

Twenty-two Vaudois villages were burned; nearly five thousand persons lost their lives; seven hundred men were sent to the galleys. The name of Vaudois disappeared from Provence.

A general cry of indignation was raised throughout France; but the cardinal de Tournon became the apologist of the assassins to the king. Yet it is said that Francis' conscience was oppressed and tormented by the deed, and that on his death-bed, two years after, he expressly enjoined his son, Henry II., to chastise its perpetrators. Most of them, however, escaped punishment.*

While the Vaudois of Provence experienced the utmost severity of a government enslaved to the priests of Rome, and violently prejudiced against evangelical truth, the Vaudois of Piedmont enjoyed a far better position.

The authority of Francis I. in Piedmont being an usurpation, this prince, who persecuted the reformed in his own hereditary kingdom to the utmost, was obliged to proceed with more caution against the pretended heretics of his new domains, lest his violence should serve as a pretext for rebellions, and consequently lead to complicated embarrassments. Not but that, at intervals, harsh measures had

* La Mothe-Langon, t. ii., pp. 429—442.—Gilles, ch. vii., p. 47.—Ruchat, t. v., p. 253.

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been adopted, and some had even suffered death.* But compared with what took place elsewhere, the external position of the Vaudois church in Piedmont was favourable. As to its interior life it was most satisfactory, and left nothing to be desired, as we said at the beginning of this chapter. During the first twenty years of the French occupancy, from 1536, the Vaudois, or, which is the same thing, the Christian spirit, was so spread or manifested, not only throughout all the extent of the valleys, but through all Piedmont, that there were few towns or villages of any importance where some of their brethren or friends were not to be found, and among them even lords and persons of distinction.

The concourse of hearers who flocked from all the hamlets of the valleys and different places in lower Piedmont round their pastor for instruction and edification, became so great, that it was impossible to avoid something like display in the assemblies of the faithful. The meetings were become entirely public, conformably to the decision of the synod of Angrogna in 1532, when they took the last step in this act of fidelity by constructing temples. Before that time they had held their meetings either at the houses of the barbes, or of private individuals, or in the open air. It was at Angrogna, that bulwark of the Vaudois church, that the first temple was built in the place called San Lorenzo. Soon after another was erected in the same commune, but higher up in the valley, at a place called Le Serre, about half an hour's walk from the former. In the same year (1555) several other communes of the vale of Lucerna put their hand to the work for the same purpose; and in 1556, several temples were raised in the valley of San Martino for the Vaudois, or evangelical worship.

While many hearts rejoiced, in 1555, and rendered lively thanks to God for the building of these edifices, many were also grieved, and many tears were shed, in the same year, at the news of the martyrdom of two of their dear pastors.† Being natives of France and refugees at Geneva, they had responded to an appeal from the valleys, and

* It is alleged that Francis I. replied to the humble appeals of these pretended heretics, that he would not burn them in France to support them in the Alps. Léger, t. ii. p. 28.

† They were Jean Vernou, of Poitiers, and Antoine Labori, of Quercy.

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had come there to exercise their ministry, and subsequently undertook a journey to Geneva. On their return from this city to their faithful flocks, in company with three * French Protestants, they were arrested at the Col de Tamiers, in Savoy, and suffered martyrdom at Chambéry, towards the end of April, 1555, after having avowed their faith and obtained a glorious victory over all temptations. Some weeks before, the parliament of Turin had burned in the castle yard, in this last-mentioned city, the bookseller Barthélemi Hector, of Poitiers, whom some persons of the higher ranks in the Vaudois valley of San Martino had delivered to the inquisition on the charge of having come to sell Genevese books in the valley. His sincere answers and courageous confession of faith affected the hearts even of some of his judges. But the cold and selfish considerations of the world dictated the sentence of death. The multitude who surrounded his funeral pile testified their lively interest by many tears; and from their midst might be heard murmurs and invectives not a few, against the monks and inquisitors.

Two other ministers also, about the same time, were exposed to imminent danger in Savoy. The barbe Gilles, of the Gilles family, on his return from the colonies of the kingdom of Naples, having passed through Venice, and cleared the frontiers of Germany, was bringing Etienne Noel, a Frenchman, from Lausanne to the valleys. One day they fell in with a company of officers of justice at an inn. Being compelled, by the artful civilities of the chief of the archers, to sup with him, they had great difficulty not to commit themselves in answering his wily questions about their occupations and the object of their journey. Perceiving, on rising from table, that they had not laid asleep all the suspicions of their examiner, and that he seemed hardly willing to pospone further interrogatories to the next day, they proposed retiring to rest, with the view of proceeding on their route without delay. Their compassionate host being well rewarded, gave them some addresses, and having let them out privately, they gained the fields, the woods, and the mountains, and happily reached the valleys, praising God for so great a deliverance.

* Guiraud Tauran, of Cahors, Jean Frigulet, of Nismes, doctor of laws, and Bertrand Bataille, a student of Gascony.

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Noel was nominated pastor of Angrogna, and Gilles of Villaro.

At this period, several pastors, most of them French but some Italians, arrived in the valleys. One of the former, Humbert Artus, a little after his installation at Bobbio, was one day surrounded by the magistrate, monks, and other papists of the place, eager to enter into a debate with him, and conducting themselves very tumultuously. But when he required that the discussion should be in due form and order, and offered to maintain it in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, whichever they chose, and on any subject they pleased, these eager gainsayers withdrew in confusion, and left him in peace.

The year 1556, the twentieth of the French domination in Piedmont, was marked by an attempt to bring the mass of the Vaudois within the pale of the Romish church, by the joint influence of persuasion and threats. The parliament of Turin, besides being prompted by the pope's agents, and the orders of Henry II., king of France, had lately heard of the erection of Vaudois temples in various parts of the valleys. Indignant at this audacious proceeding, they devolved the business of repressing heresy on two of their members, the president de Saint Julien and the councillor de Ecclesiâ (della Chiesa), who set out on their mission in March, with a numerous retinue. In the valley of Perosa, where at that time there was no pastor, and everybody fled at their approach, they found not a single person to converse with. Having reached the valley of San Martino, they there published an edict menacing those who should resist, but conciliating and flattering those who should hasten to make their submission. Having met with no success, they descended to Pinerolo, where they caused a number of accused persons to be brought before them, several of whom they condemned to various punishments. It was on this occasion that a labourer whom they asked why he had brought his child for baptism to the temple at Angrogna, replied,—because baptism was there administered according to the institution of Jesus Christ. This same man being ordered to have his child re-baptized immediately, and having obtained permission to pray before he gave his answer, embarrassed de St. Julien extremely, when he said to him after praying,

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"Be pleased first to give me a writing, signed with your own hand, by which you absolve me from the sin I may commit in re-baptizing my child, and take upon yourself the punishment I may incur before God." The president, astonished at this language, contented himself with saying coldly, "I have my own sins to answer for, without charging myself with yours. Take yourself out of my sight." Departing immediately, the poor man was not troubled again about the matter.*

Wishing to produce a deep impression on the valley of Lucerna, the commissaries made their appearance at Angrogna, accompanied by a great number of lords, priests, and monks, besides their ordinary attendants. The president, after visiting the two temples, ordered one of the monks to preach. The pastors and people were obliged to listen to a discourse which urged them to become obedient to Rome; and when they requested that a pastor might speak in reply, they were met by a refusal. The president then addressed the assembly in the names of the king, the marshal de Brissac, his lieutenant in Piedmont, and the parliament of Turin; he summoned them to turn papists and to deliver up their pastors, threatening them, in case of refusal, with similar ruin to that which had destroyed their brethren in Provence.†

To all this, the people, worthy of their pious ancestors, replied with the most admirable simplicity and fidelity, that they were resolved to live agreeably to the word of God, in obedience to all their superiors, in all things possible, so that God were not wronged; that as to their religion, if it could be proved by the word of God that they were in error, they were ready to acknowledge it. The president, on the following days, went through the Vaudois communes in the valley of Lucerna. Things took exactly the same course there as in Angrogna. Neither threats nor caresses could lead astray the descendants of so long a series of pious servants of God.

This general appeal having been unsuccessful, St. Julien

* Léger, pt. ii., p. 28.

† See the summary of the edict in Gilles, whom we have followed in this fact, p. 58. In the following paper are the answers that were made by the Vaudois churches, and particularly a brief confession of faith, conformable in other respects to what we know of the Vaudois.—See also Léger, pt. ii., pp. 106, 107.

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had recourse to special measures with individuals. He sent for the principal persons separately, flattered them, made them tempting offers, or tried to terrify them by threats; but all in vain. He addressed himself a second and a third time to the communes, but they remained immovable. Their answers were always dignified, firm, and respectful. Their actions evinced true Christian courage. Always and universally they refused to give up their ministers and schoolmasters.*

Little satisfied with the result of his efforts, the president St. Julien made his way back to Turin with his colleague, della Chiesa. Their report rendered no assistance to the deliberations of the parliament, who, not knowing what to do, sent the above-named commissioners to France, to lay the answers of the Vaudois before the king and his council, and to give all requisite explanations by word of mouth. As the royal will was not known by the parliament till after the lapse of a year, the churches of the valleys enjoyed during that term the delightful fruits of peace, contrary to the desires and attempts of their adversaries.

An enemy more dangerous to their souls than persecution itself sought to instil a subtle and mortal poison into the consciences of the Vaudois believers and the Protestants scattered through Turin and the other towns or villages of Piedmont. This was Dominic Baronius, of Florence, a popish preacher. This man, for a long time not understood, condemned in his book on the Roman Constitutions, and in other works, the principal errors of his church, and approved, almost without exception, of the truths proclaimed by the Vaudois and reformed churches. But notwithstanding this, he endeavoured to persuade persons that, according to times and places, it was allowable to conceal one's belief by taking a part in contrary practices, even, for example, to go to mass, provided that it was disapproved of entirely, and sound doctrine held. Such principles might have stifled the germ of spiritual life in many hearts too much inclined to worldly prudence, if the prayers and representations of the pastors of the valleys, as likewise the letters of the ministers of Geneva, and especially a book written by one of them, the Italian Celse Martinengo, had not refuted such

* Gilles p. 58.—Léger pt. ii., pp. 106, 107.

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wretched doctrines, and combated such lax and degrading sentiments.

The glorious death of two martyrs of the Christian faith proclaimed still more loudly the duty of confessing one's belief in the face of persecutors. One of these faithful witnesses of the truth was Nicolas Sartoire, of Quiers, in Piedmont, a young man at that age when life appears most attractive, and a student educated at the expense of the republic of Berne, who came to pass a few weeks in his native country, by way of relaxation from his studies. He had scarcely stepped across the frontier when he was arrested, and instead of the pleasure he anticipated he had to prepare to ascend a burning pile. They sought to make him deny his faith, and laid snares for his youth: but he preferred death and the peace of God's chosen to a life gained by unfaithfulness. In spite of urgent appeals from Berne to obtain his release, he was burned at Aosta, on the 4th of May, 1557.

The second martyr was fifty years old. His character had been matured by reflection, by observation of human actions, and the study of the word of God; his name was Geofroi Varaille. He was a native of Busca, in Piedmont, and by birth a papist. His father had even been distinguished among the leaders of the army that laid waste the valleys in 1488. The only son of a persecutor, Geofroi became a monk, and was sent as a popish preacher to travel through Italy, and in this capacity became the companion of Ochino, of Sienna, the founder of the order of the Capuchins. At this period, while preaching to others, he had already detected many errors in the Romish religion. He was attached to the pope's legate in France, was honoured, and enjoyed several benefices, and resided for a long time at the court of the king, till the year 1556, when unable any longer to hide from himself the errors of the Roman system, and unwilling to risk his salvation, he quitted the legate and retired to Geneva. Here he continued to gain instruction in the truth and in the proper method of teaching it, till he received ordination by imposition of hands for the evangelical ministry, in 1557. At this time, the evangelical church of San Giovanni, in the valley of Lucerna, was in want of a pastor. Varaille was sent there, and preached for some months with great success. Having been invited to

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Busca, his native place, in the environs of which there were a few believers, he quitted the valleys for a few days, as he intended, but never saw them again, for he was arrested on his return, on the information of the monks, who were on the watch for him. While a prisoner on his parole at Bargé, he might have escaped if he had thought of nothing but his life. He even prevented the Vaudois of Bibbiana, who were his parishioners, from coming to rescue him, telling them to leave the matter with God. At Turin, the archbishop, the president St. Julien, and other personages of rank who had known him, made use of every expedient to induce him to return to the Roman church. It is needless to say that they lost their time. Abandoning all hope of gaining him by promises, his judges condemned him to degradation and the flames; and this sentence was carried into effect at Turin, March 29, 1558. His firm and joyful countenance, as he went to death, and the grave and pious address he made at the place of execution, astonished his adversaries as much as they animated and edified the minds of those who were disposed to listen to the truth. He was first strangled, then burned.

A good old man, who had already suffered much for the gospel, was forced to assist at the punishment of Geofroi Varaille; after which he was scourged and marked with a hot iron.

About the same time, another minister of the valley of Lucerna, returning to Geneva, was arrested at Susa, and brought to Turin. But on the day fixed for his martyrdom, one of the executioners feigned illness; the other, after having inflicted punishment on some malefactors, and fearing he should be forced to execute the minister, absconded; the German executioner refused to do it, so that the execution was put off; and a fortunate circumstance having occurred, the pastor succeeded in making his escape and returned to his friends.

In the month of March, 1557, however, the commissioners St. Julien and Chiesa arrived from France, and came back to Pinerolo, with fresh directions to continue and finish, if possible, the work they had undertaken in the preceding year; namely, the intimidation and the forced *return** of

* We have seen that the word "return," which the Catholics are fond of using, is quite inapplicable. The Vaudois must have left that church before they could be said to return to it; but this was not the case.

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the Vaudois churches within the pale of the Roman church. At Pinerolo, they cited into their presence the notables of the valleys, communicated to them the king's order to submit to the papal yoke, and gave them only three days to make their decision. Having gained nothing by this step, they went from place to place, assembling everywhere a general council of the heads of families, and communicated to them, with many threats, the express will of the king. But everywhere they received the same answer; a protestation of submission to the sovereign in temporal affairs, and a declaration of firm and inviolable fidelity to God, according to the teachings of his word, in matters of religion.

In the hope of accomplishing their purpose by rigorous measures against the most considerable persons in the valleys, they ordered the pastors, schoolmasters, and notables of the communes (to the number of forty-three for the valley of Lucerna,*) to appear before them at Turin, on the 29th of March, 1557, under pain of terrible punishments if they failed. The victims thus marked out, not venturing to go near a city which had been fatal to so many of the faithful Vaudois, and having sent only an epistle in their stead, an order was issued by the parliament to seize the pastors and schoolmasters of the three valleys, and bring them prisoners to Turin; threatening the syndics with the loss of their property and lives if they did not deliver them up.

The danger, certainly, was great; but God, whose mercies are infinite and his providence admirable, watched over his servants. The king of France had too many affairs on hand

* It may be interesting to the descendants of many of these notables to find here the names of their ancestors who were marked as victims on account of their evangelical belief:

From Angrogna—Noël, minister; Jean Dubroc, schoolmaster, and his assistant Paul Ghiot; Laurent Rivoire, Jean Stringa, Guillaume Malan, Antoine Odin, Laurent Viton *alias* Peron, Antoine Fraschia, George Monastier, Isaac Musset, François Tussiane, Colet Buffa, George Stalè, Pierre Bertin.

From San Giovanni—Simon Appia, Antoine Daniel, Barthélemi and Jafrè Danna, Jean Malanot, Guillaume Thurin, Antoine Simond, François Daniel, and Guillaume Girardet.

From Rora—Artuset Durand, Etienne Durand, Jacques Morglia, Jacques Mirot, Jacques Marauda, Louis Mirot.

From Bobbio—M. Humbert Artus, minister; Jean Bodet, Antoine Bodet, Jacques Bonjour, and Jacobin Rua.

From Villaro—Gille or Juliano Dughet, preacher; Peiron Moussa, Guillaume Pelenc, Jacques Alaisan, Claude Rambaud, Barthélemi Viton, Jacques and Ciabert Dalmas.

Many of these names are preserved in families to the present day; some are widely spread.

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to dream of occupying the valleys with a military force, and of persecuting with an armed band. The Protestant cantons of Switzerland, moreover, at the solicitation of Farel and Théodore Beza, interfered by writing to the parliament of Turin and the marshal de Brissac, and by an embassy to the king, and thus obtained a suspension of the decree against the Vaudois. The princes of Germany adopted similar measures. Our friends of the valleys, favoured by these circumstances, enjoyed some respite during the latter part of the French domination in Piedmont, that is to say, till 1559.*

CHAPTER XIX.

THE VAUDOIS, ONCE MORE UNDER THE RULE OF THEIR LEGITIMATE PRINCE, ARE PERSECUTED WITH THE UTMOST RIGOUR.

After having been subject to France for three-and-twenty years, Piedmont was restored to its legitimate sovereign on the 3rd of April, 1559, by the treaty of Château Cambrésis, with the exception of Turin, and three strong cities in the neighbourhood, with their territory. Thus the Vaudois valleys were once more under the dominion of the house of Savoy. The reigning duke, Emmanuel Philibert, who, in 1553, succeeded his father Charles III., (author of the persecution of Bersour,) was a prince justly esteemed, and as much distinguished by his valour as by superior talents and the wisdom of his administration. He had just married Margaret, sister of the king of France. This princess, instructed in the excellence of evangelical principles by her illustrious relations, Margaret, queen of Navarre, and Rénée of France, daughter of Louis XII., was well disposed towards the reformed. The Vaudois might, therefore, hope for tranquil times and the enjoyment of the worship of their forefathers.

But in making the terms of peace, the contracting parties entered into reciprocal engagements to combat the reformation and to destroy heresy. The reign of Emmanuel Phili-

* Gilles, p. 70.—We have generally followed this author in the narrative contained in this chapter. For the mediation on behalf of the Vaudois, see Ruchat, t. vi., pp. 195, 196.

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bert, consequently, could not be established, without leading to religious persecution. Deplorable and disgraceful necessity, if it were so! It is also certain, and the fact has been established in the preceding chapter, that the Vaudois doctrine was no other than that of the reformation; that it gradually spread through Piedmont, during the French domination, and that in the valleys especially, as at its beginning, the so-called heretical church had very much increased, and had substituted a general and public profession for its ancient system of dissimulation. The clamours of the zealous papists, who felt wounded in their belief, and irritated by the success of the friends of the Bible; the alarms of devotees; the incessant lamentations of the superstitious partisans of images; the discontent of many lords, who were disquieted about the effects which the religious changes among their vassals might have on their revenues; and lastly, and above all, the complaints of the priests, whose influence diminished as much as their income;—all these accused the brave Vaudois to the government of the young duke, and sought only for vengeance under the mask of religion and justice. We may believe that the judgment of the prince was in favour of a peaceable and moderate administration, and that the wish of his heart, enlightened by the gentle representations of his consort, would have led him to spare his inoffensive subjects. But being personally ignorant of that piety which is according to the truth, and brought up in the errors of Rome, how could he resist the solicitations of the inquisition, the prelates, and the pope's nuncio, with the lords of the court, and the ambassadors of France, Spain, and various Italian princes in coalition against the Vaudois?

Urged on by so many enemies of the gospel, Emmanuel Philibert, after reigning a year, published on the 15th of February, 1560, at Nice, where he resided, (Turin being still in the hands of the French,) a persecuting edict against the Vaudois and the reformed in his domains. It prohibited every one of his highness' subjects from going to hear the non-catholic preachers in the valley of Lucerna, or any other place, under pain of a fine of a hundred dollars of gold for the first offence, and of being sent to the galleys for life, for the second. Half of the fine was promised to the informer. New ordinances followed very soon

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after, increasing in severity; and, among others, one enjoining attendance at mass, under pain of being condemned to the flames. The execution of these edicts was confided to a prince of the blood, Philip of Savoy, count de Raconis, a cousin of the duke, and to George Coste, count de la Trinité. To carry on the legal proceedings, there were joined with them Thomas Jacomel, inquisitor-general, a cruel, licentious man, and councillor Corbis, in whom violence had not extinguished sensibility, as he proved by resigning his commission after having been present at some scenes of barbarity, and the provost-general of justice.* They began the enforcing of the ordinance of persecution at Carignan; and first of all on a stranger, in order to strike terror into the numerous members of the reformed church in that opulent city. His name was Mathurin.† After having confessed his belief, he was sentenced to be burned, according to the terms of the edict, if in three days he did not retract and consent to go to mass. His faithful wife, Jane, obtained leave to see him, wishing, she said, to speak to him for his good. She had scarcely entered his cell, when, like the courageous mother in the book of Maccabees, she exhorted her husband in the presence of the commissioners to persevere in the profession of his faith for the salvation of his soul; not to trouble himself about anything relating to this world, not even his punishment, which would not last long, nor his leaving her a widow and desolate; for she was resolved to go with him to death, if such were the will of God. The threats of the commissioners could not shake either her or her husband. She even obtained leave, by her entreaties, to suffer punishment on the same day, and on the same pile, with her husband.

The faithful in Carignan, and in a multitude of other places, persecuted to the extreme, fled to Turin, then belonging to France, or elsewhere. Their property was confiscated; but they saved their lives, for a time at least. It is melancholy to add, but truth requires it, that many abjured their religion through fear of death, and to preserve their fortunes for their children.

The executioners of the vengeance of Rome pillaged the

* Léger, pt. ii., p. 34.—Gilles, ch. xi., pp. 72, 73. See the same author for all that follows.

† He is called *Marcellin* in a letter written to a lord of Geneva by Scipio Lentulus, a pastor of the valleys at that period.—(Léger, pt. ii., p. 34.)

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districts of Méane and Mattis, in the vicinity of Susa, which were peopled with Vaudois. They condemned the inhabitants to the galleys, or to other punishments, and burned the worthy minister to death slowly at a small fire. The valley of Barcelonette, and other places that had lately submitted to the duke, experienced similar treatment.

Gradually, the persecution which was raging all round the valleys approached the ancient fortress of evangelical truth. Accounts from all quarters of the devastations, confiscations, arrests, ignominious sentences, punishments, and abjurations, reached this region, which was destined to the same evils. In so critical a juncture, the pastors and principal persons of the valleys, met together to advise on means for warding off the danger, if possible. They implored with ardent and humble prayers the direction of the Spirit of God and the effects of his all-powerful grace. It was then decided to write to the duke, the duchess, and the council, to lay before them the state of affairs, and the justice of their cause, and to implore the clemency of a sovereign whom they had never intentionally offended.

In the letter to their prince, they claim from his justice the right granted to every accused person, even the most criminal,—that of being heard before they were condemned. They then solemnly protest their attachment to the true faith, and to the pure and spotless religion of the Lord Jesus Christ. They declare that the doctrine they followed was that of the prophets, the apostles, of the council of Nice, and Athanasius; that they voluntarily received the decisions of the four principal councils and the writings of the ancient fathers of the church, in every point in which they did not depart from the analogy of faith. They aver that they rendered most heartily the obedience due to their superiors, and that they sought peace with their neighbours. That, as regarded their opinions, they by no means refused instruction; that, so far from opposing a free council, in which every question should be debated and determined by the word of God, they desired it with all their heart, and prayed God to dispose the prince to grant one. They then implore their sovereign to consider that the religion they followed was not a new one, as some persons would have him believe, but that it was the religion of their fathers, grandsires, and still more remote ancestors, and of their

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predecessors the holy martyrs, confessors, prophets, and apostles. They then make mention of these confessions of faith, saying that they had proposed it to the examination of the doctors of every university in the Christian world, with a promise of renouncing every error that might be found in it, if it could be proved by the word of God; but that not one had been pointed out to them. Consequently, they requested to be tolerated. "In the name of the Lord Jesus," they write, "we request, that if in us or in our religion any error or fault be found, it should be shown to us; but if we have the truth, pure and irreproachable, it should be left to us pure and entire. One thing is certain, most serene prince, that the word of God will not perish, but will abide for ever. If, then, our religion is the pure word of God, as we are persuaded it is, and not a human invention, no human power will be able to abolish it. This is what Gamaliel urged in defence of the apostles, and every one must acknowledge its truth. 'Refrain from these men,' said he: 'and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God,' Acts v. 38, 39."

The courageous Vaudois then remind their prince that it had been in vain attempted in former times to destroy the religion of their ancestors by persecution, and they conjure him not to join with those who had stained their hands with innocent blood. They promise to render him entire fidelity and perfect submission in everything which would not affect their faith, wishing to "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." "And we pray with all our heart," they add, "that our all-good and all-powerful God may please to preserve your highness in all prosperity." The letter was signed in the name of the inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, Perosa, San Martino, and innumerable other inhabitants of the country of Piedmont.

The letter addressed to the duchess was in a different style: it contained no apology. The writers expressed much confidence in her. They spoke to her as a protectress and a friend. They detailed the sufferings which the disciples of the word of God had already endured at Carignan and other places, and the terrible threats with which all those

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were visited who would not consent to attend at mass; and, in imploring her benevolent and powerful mediation with the prince, her consort, they reminded her of the examples of Esther and other pious women, and of other believers who had saved the persecuted children of God.

The letter addressed to the council reiterated the considerations and petitions contained in the letter to the duke, enforced by fresh arguments. It dwelt on the obligation of Christians to prevent the effusion of innocent blood, and of the account they must render of their administration to God. It urged them to remember what God had said and done on account of the blood of one righteous man, Abel, and to consider what he would do for the blood of so great a number of the faithful whom they were persecuting to death. Finally, it claimed for themselves, Christians secluded in their mountains, the same tolerance that was granted to Jews and Saracens in the most considerable cities of Piedmont.

The Vaudois added to this letter an apology or defence of their religion, as well as of their present and past conduct. They victoriously refuted some unjust accusations and calumnies. They also sent their confession of faith.

It was no small difficulty for men who were regarded as worthy only of contempt and reprobation, and given up beforehand to the executioners of justice, to get their justification and requests safely into the hands of their prince and princess, who had been imposed upon by misrepresentations. One of their two friends, who had visited Nice for this purpose, de Castillon, allowed himself to be dismayed by the apprehension of affronts and insults. But the other, Gilles of Bricherasco, being kindly received by the count de Raconis, did not leave his residence till he had placed all the documents in the hands of the duchess, with the assurance that she would lay them before the duke. The Vaudois also requested the intercession and good offices of one of these lords, the count Charles of Lucerna, lord of Angrogna.

But while the deputies of the Vaudois repaired to Nice, and during the three months which elapsed before Gilles had delivered the letters to Margaret of France, the state of things, which was already so threatening, became worse, and the hatred felt against the friends of the Bible

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manifested itself by acts of violence. Some of the lords of the country were the first to become agents of persecution, and rivalled the inquisitor and his tools in barbarity. While the Dominican, Jacomel, and the councillor Corbis, who were established at Pinerolo, signified by letters to the Vaudois that it was their duty to submit to the church of Rome, and to go to mass, and the count de Raconis entered into a conference at San Giovanni, in April, 1560, with the syndics and ministers, without any other result than an exchange of words, several lords ill-treated their vassals and neighbours on account of their religion. In the valley of Lucerna, great complaints were made of count Guillaume, who with some friends, and at the head of his servants, arrested and denounced the Vaudois who attended their own places of worship; particularly those of Bibbiana, Campiglione, and Fenile. He turned this proceeding into a trading speculation, receiving for his trouble half the fine of a hundred gold dollars imposed by the edict on every delinquent when convicted for the first time.

In the valley of San Martino, two brothers, Charles and Boniface Truchet, (or Truquet,) incessantly harassed the Vaudois in their seigniory of Rioclaret. They were impelled by hatred of evangelical religion. Even during the French domination, they did all in their power to hinder the public performance of religious services. These were the persons who arrested, and delivered up to the inquisition, the bookseller Hector, who was burned at Turin. They had latterly made two attempts to seize the pastor. The first time, they left him for dead in the arms of his faithful parishioners, who fought for him; and the second time, they would have arrested him in the temple itself, having already laid hands on him, but for the determined resistance of the congregation. The edict of persecution had been solicited by them. They had even obtained permission to raise a hundred men, and to employ them in forcing the heretics to submission.

Accordingly, in the month of April, 1560, they made a sudden assault on the hamlets in the commune of Rioclaret, which were scattered over the sides of the mountains, ravaging and slaughtering. The day had scarcely dawned; the terrified inhabitants rushed out of their dwellings, the greater part without clothes, uttering cries of alarm to warn their brethren, and sought a refuge

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on the heights that were still covered with snow. The minister escaped, but not without great difficulty; and while the population, driven away by the discharge of musketry, were destroyed by cold and hunger in the retreats of the woods and rocks, their impious assailants loaded themselves with their property in the forsaken cottages. A minister of the valley, soon after his return from Calabria, hearing of the invasion, wished to go and console his brethren in distress, but was discovered, seized, and conducted to the abbey of Pinerolo, where Jacomel and Corbis condemned him to the flames with another man belonging to the valley of San Martino. The fugitives, however, beheld the dawn of deliverance, on the fourth day; four hundred of their brethren in the vale of Clusone, subjects of France, being moved with compassion at the news of their misfortune, crossed the mountains, and threw themselves on the hostile troop and dispersed it. The two Truchets were exasperated, and repaired to Nice, complained to the duke, and requested succour. Everything was promised them. They were also permitted to rebuild the castle of Perrier, which had been destroyed by the French twenty years before, and to place a garrison in it. The personal circumstances* of these lords alone stopped the explosion of their wrath for a time.†

Towards the end of the month of June, Philip of Savoy, count de Raconis, and chief commissioner, came a second time into the valley of Lucerna, accompanied by his colleague, the count de la Trinité. Having assembled the ministers and the syndics, they informed them that their letters had been sent to Rome by the duke, who waited for the pope's reply. Then addressing the leading men of the communes, they insinuated that persecution would cease immediately, and the prisoners be set at liberty, if the churches would consent to hear the preachers whom the duke should send to them, and if they withdrew the right of preaching from their pastors, while they made trial of the former. The syndics replied, on the spot, to the first point: if the proposed preachers announced the pure word of God, they would hear them; but if otherwise, they would not. As to the second point, they requested that they might

* They were taken by the Turks at sea, near Nice, but afterwards ransomed.
† Gilles, ch. xiii., p. 83, etc.

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have till the next day to consider it. Their answer was, that they could not silence their pastors, as long as they were ignorant whether the new preachers were the true servants of God, and ministers of the pure gospel of truth: a prudent and wise answer, and worthy of pious magistrates. They likewise refused to send back those of their pastors who were foreigners. As the commissioners of the duke required an answer in writing to their demands, the council of the communes assembled on the 30th of June, and gave one drawn up in decided terms, and yet with all the respect and courtesy due to the dignity of the prince to whom it was addressed. The dissatisfaction of the commissioners was excessive. In their wrath, they republished the edicts, and the persecution broke out more violently than ever.

Among the greatest enemies whose fury the Vaudois had to dread, the monks of the abbey of Pinerolo must not be forgotten. Not content with living in opulence, it was at all times a special gratification to them to hunt the Vaudois. The present moment seemed to them particularly well suited for doing it on a large scale. For this purpose, they took into their pay a numerous band of wretches, who frequently made incursions on the evangelicals of the valley of Perosa, and of Saint-Germain in particular, a village only about a league and a half distant from Pinerolo. In one of their expeditions they succeeded but too well. Having gained over a man who was well known to the pastor of this latter place, they sent this traitor very early, before day, to the parsonage, requesting the attendance of the faithful pastor in an urgent case, who suspected no danger till it was too late; that is, when he saw himself surrounded by the cut-throats of the abbey. He attempted to save himself by flight, and, at the same time, aroused the villagers by his outcries. Alas! it was too late. He was hit, wounded, and carried off. Many of his faithful parishioners were also taken with him, and several women. Some were massacred in attempting to rescue him from the soldiers. The pastor, a few days after, was tied to the stake. By a refinement of cruelty, and for the amusement of the spectators, the poor female prisoners were forced to carry the faggots to the fire which was to consume their spiritual guide. The Romish priests needed no instruction in the methods of inflicting suffering.

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The mercenaries of the abbey of Pinerolo, (de l'Abbadie,) about three hundred strong, made fresh expeditions against Saint-Germain, and laid it waste. They also attacked Villaro of the Perosa, not far from it, and the neighbouring villages, Prarustin and San Bartolomeo. They extended their incursions as far as Fenile, Campiglione, and other places in the plains, at the opening of the valley of Lucerna. Plunder was their favourite occupation. The prisoners were for the most part sent to the galleys. Their approach was the signal for a general flight. The persecuted peasantry hardly ventured to reap the crops. Famine and sore distress were spread over all parts of the Vaudois mountains in the direction of Pinerolo.

These assassins, hired by the monks, in due time, however, met with their match. The inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna, moved with compassion for the calamities of their brethren, first formed a plan for protecting them, by means of a strong detachment of armed men, who should keep guard while the persecuted people got in their harvest, and put their affairs in order. Complete success crowned their efforts; but, after their departure, the depredations began afresh, till one day the people of Angrogna, who were reaping their fields on the heights that overlook Saint-Germain, heard a discharge of musketry, and perceived a numerous body of armed men making their way to the village that lay at their feet. As soon as the cry of alarm was raised by their brethren, the Angrognines, well-armed, rushed into the plain, like an overwhelming avalanche. Having divided themselves into two bands, while one put the papists to flight, the other took possession of the bridge over the Clusone, to cut off their retreat. The enemy, thus surrounded and beaten, had nothing left but to abandon their dead and wounded, and to throw themselves into the stream. Fortunately for them, the waters were low, owing to the dryness of the summer; yet many perished, being struck by the shots that were fired from the banks. The Angrognines, on reckoning their number, found that they were about four hundred strong, and were on the point of marching to the abbey of Pinerolo, to deliver their captive brethren, which could have been easily done, as was afterwards known, since the monks and their people, being panic-stricken, had quitted the convent and taken refuge in

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the city. But the want of an experienced leader, and prudential considerations, restrained them from venturing into the stronghold of their infuriated enemies, who had already sounded the tocsin in their villages, and would soon do the same in Pinerolo.

The Vaudois of the valley of Perosa, on the left side, who were subject to France, also had their troubles at this period. They were obliged sometimes, like their neighbours, to have recourse to arms to defend themselves.*

Nevertheless, the duke and his council were seriously occupied with the requests and representations which the poor Vaudois had addressed to them in the spring. The duke, imagining that his religion was the best, and that its excellence could be demonstrated by sufficient reasons, and unquestionably also by the Holy Scriptures, to which the Vaudois always appealed when they spoke of defending theirs, was inclined to agree to holding conferences in which well-informed Catholics might demonstrate the truth of the Roman religion, and the error of the Vaudois worship.† This proposal had been communicated to the pope, but did not meet with his approbation. The pontiff replied that he would never consent to make the points of his religion matters of debate; that the constitutions of the Roman church must be admitted absolutely, without dispute or exceptions; and that nothing remained but to proceed with the utmost rigour against the recusants; that he would consent to send a legate with theologians to instruct the penitent, and to absolve those who abjured heresy, but that he was not sanguine of great results from this method; that it would be most expedient to proceed against them in the way of punishment, and even by force of arms. He offered the duke his assistance, if required.

The pope's advice was adopted by the council. They only modified it on one point. It was thought proper that the ecclesiastical commissioner should attempt to convince the Vaudois of their errors, and to instruct them, before proceeding to the last extremities. For this mission, a man of note among his equals was chosen, though his merit

* Gilles, pp. 94, 95.

† Botta himself says, "Il duca, desideroso di non far sangue, pensò d'instituire un colloquio, per cui sperava di potergli acquistare alla religione dei piu." "The duke, desirous of not shedding blood, thought of appointing a conference, by which he hoped to gain them over to the religion of the many."—Storia d'Italia, t. ii., p. 423.

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was not equal to his reputation, namely, Antoine Poussevin, commander of Saint-Antoine de Fossan. He came to the valleys, furnished with very extensive powers, and anticipating an easy triumph. He preached with much parade at Cavor, Bibbiana, and Lucerna, making great pretensions, and pouring forth a stream of threatenings and invectives against the evangelicals. At San Giovanni, where he had called together the syndics and ministers of the valley of Lucerna, he thought to convince those present by the word of God, by proving to them that it made mention of the mass, in using the word *massah*, which signifies to consecrate. He maintained that since the Holy Scriptures contain the word *massah*, in the sense of consecrating, the mass is taught in the Holy Scriptures. The ministers whom he flattered himself he had crushed and reduced to silence by this argument, had no difficulty in proving to him that the quotation was not correct—that there is no mention of the mass in the sacred text—that the word *massah* never has this sense—and especially that the Bible nowhere teaches the doctrines represented or set forth in the mass, such as the repetition of our Lord's sacrifice, the adoration of the host, and many other errors.

Poussevin, who had not expected to find in these despised ministers theological and biblical knowledge of which he himself was destitute, abruptly closed a discussion which he could not maintain with honour, and, hurried away by passion, indulged in reproaches and threats. The nobles and officers of justice who accompanied him were ashamed of his ignorance; they were also deeply humbled by the marked inferiority in which this discussion placed their religion as well as their priests.

These occurrences took place in the course of the months of July and August.

A little later, probably in the beginning of September, the Vaudois, understanding what sad results would be likely to follow from the report Poussevin would give of his ill success to the court, availed themselves of the duke's return to the north of Piedmont, to write to him again, and appeal to his justice and compassion. They also addressed Rénée of France, widow of the duke of Ferrara, an enlightened princess, and friendly to the reformation, imploring her to intercede in their favour, in her journey to

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the court of Piedmont; but the irritation was too great at head-quarters. It was there thought that too much consideration had been shown towards obstinate religionists; and that it would be right to compel them to abjure.

From the month of October a report spread through the valleys that the duke was levying and assembling troops to exterminate the inhabitants. The Piedmontese who were connected with the Vaudois, urged their relations or friends to abjure or to make their escape while there was yet time. The count Charles of Lucerna also sought, by a clever manœuvre, to lead his vassals of Angrogna into a criminal defection, to the dismissal of their pastors, the admission of new preachers, and the celebrating of the mass in their commune. A convention had even been signed, when the people acknowledged their fault and disavowed all that had been done.

It only remained to prepare for the storm that was gathering and muttering as it approached, and was soon to burst on the valleys. The pastors and principal persons assembled repeatedly, and deliberated as to what measures it would be desirable to take, in order to avoid the total ruin with which they were threatened; and, first of all, being convinced that God alone could deliver them, and that their only refuge was in his mercy and grace, they decided not to countenance any measure that would be prejudicial to his honour, or opposed to his word. They agreed to exhort every one to apply to God seriously, with true faith and sincere repentance, as well as by humble and ardent prayer. Relative to precautionary measures, they decided that every family should collect their provisions, clothes, and utensils, and carry them away, together with all infirm persons, to the most elevated dwellings at the foot of the heights and crags. At length, about the end of October, at the approach of the papist army, they held a public fast, and on the following Sunday partook of the Lord's supper. At this solemn juncture, the people were evidently strengthened from on high. They were resigned to the trials with which it pleased God to visit them for the holy cause of his gospel. In the cottages and on the mountain-tracks, as they were removing from their homes, these martyrs of the truth might be heard encouraging one another with edifying discourses and sacred songs.

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As to making a defence, there was a diversity of opinion. Some urged that they should not use arms till the last extremity, when they were pursued to their hiding-places on the mountains. Others were in favour of an immediate resistance, alleging that it was the pope, with his satellites, rather than their prince, who made war upon them, since, as it was affirmed, he engaged to pay a great part of the expense of the expedition;* and as to bloodshed, if there were any, the guilt would lie not on those who defended their lives, their families, and their religion, but on those who attacked them unjustly. Not to be willing to defend themselves till they were reduced to their last asylum in the mountains, when the enemy would have pillaged and destroyed everything in the hamlets below, would be to destroy themselves without remedy, since no means of subsistence would then be left. They earnestly besought, therefore, that they should defend themselves as soon as the enemy entered the valleys, while trusting in God, the protector of the oppressed. This opinion prevailed, and they prepared for the combat.

On the 1st of November, the Piedmontese army, of at least four thousand infantry, and two hundred horse,† composed in part of officers and soldiers who had grown old in the wars of their sovereign with France, and commanded by the count de la Trinité, arrived at Bibbiana on the Vaudois territory, and the next day commenced operations in the valley of Lucerna, by an attack on the heights of Angrogna, nearest to San Giovanni. To oppose these experienced and disciplined troops, the Vaudois had only a small number of men, badly armed, without order or military science, having on their side, besides the assistance of Heaven, nothing but their native courage, their knowledge of the locality, and the habits of mountaineers; for although the total population of the Vaudois valleys at that time amounted to eighteen thousand souls,‡ it is a well-known fact that their armed men did not exceed twelve hundred, who were, moreover, scattered at great distances from one

* "Fifty thousand dollars per month, and the relinquishment for one year of the revenue of all the ecclesiastical property in the domains of his highness."—Gilles, ch. xviii., p. 115.

† These are the numbers given by the pastor of San Giovanni, Scipio Lentulus, in his letter to a lord of Geneva.—Léger, pt. ii., p. 35.

‡ See the above-mentioned letter of Lentulus.

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another in their three valleys. To the attack on the heights of Angrogna, by a body of twelve hundred Piedmontese, they could only oppose two hundred men, got together very hastily. These, nevertheless, did their duty so well that the enemy sounded a retreat, leaving more than sixty dead on the field, while the Vaudois lost only three!* The same day, the army occupied La Torre, a small town on the plain, in the heart of the valley of Lucerna, and peopled for the most part by Roman Catholics. La Trinité put the castle in repair, which was situated to the north, on a hill at the entrance of the valley of Angrogna, and which had been destroyed by the French during their occupation of the country. He placed a strong garrison in it, which became notorious for its cruelties. He also occupied the castle of Villaro, in the same valley; that of Perosa, in the valley of the same name; and that of Perrier, in the valley of San Martino. The main body of the army was at La Torre, whence it would advance to the north on Angrogna, to the west on Villaro and Bobbio, and to the south on Rora. To the east, San Giovanni, Bibbiana, etc., were already occupied.

On Monday, the 4th of November, La Trinité made another attempt, by an expedition to La Combe, a populous hamlet on the height which commands Villaro, whither the inhabitants of this commune had withdrawn their families and effects; but his troops were obliged to retreat with loss, as well as at Taillaret, a mountain hamlet on the north-west of La Torre. In these combats, the Vaudois gave proof of their military capacity, and of their courage and fixed resolution to die rather than surrender their families to the enemy. The general perceived that he could make little progress, unless he made use of artifice and policy. He had discovered in these mountaineers such sincerity and good-nature, joined with an ardent desire for peace—such a total ignorance of intrigues, and a confidence so extraordinary in the good faith of others—that he saw at once the use which might be made of these qualities. Having skilfully set Jacomel, the inquisitor, to work, and especially Gastaud, his private secretary, who pretended to love the gospel, the count was not ashamed to deceive the principal persons of Angrogna, whom he had sent for,

* According to the same letter.

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repeating to them the pretended language of the duke and duchess, most flattering to themselves, and, at the same time, the best adapted to lay their suspicions asleep ; leading them to suppose, that, by means of certain compliances, everything might be arranged amicably. He thus succeeded in making them deposit, in the house of one of their syndics, some of their arms, which he seized, to allow the celebration (merely for form's sake, as it was pretended,) of a mass in the temple of St. Laurent, at Angrogna, and to lead him, a hostile general, to Pra-di-torre, a natural fortress, their ordinary refuge in times of persecution. Certainly the people of Angrogna displayed a superabundance of confidence or of simplicity. To crown the whole, he induced them, and, after their example, the other communes, in spite of the opposition of some intelligent men, and of the greater part of the ministers, to send the principal persons of their valleys as a deputation to the duke, then residing at Vercelli, (Turin being still in the power of the French) in order to obtain peace.

By this artifice, the count de la Trinité gained more than one point. He laid asleep the vigilance of these poor people ; he weakened their resolution by the hope of peace ; he deprived them of their best counsellors, and prevented them doing anything against him, for fear of putting in peril the negotiation, and even the lives of their chiefs, who were actually in the hands of the papists. On the other hand, by these measures, the count imposed no constraint upon himself, and was left quite free in his movements, as we shall soon see.

Scarcely had the deputies left for Vercelli when the count began again to molest the people of Taillaret, a large hamlet in the commune of La Torre, situated to the north-west, at the foot of the majestic Vandalin. This locality is of peculiar importance in time of war, being at the junction of the mountain roads, which form a communication between the higher hamlets of Villaro and the town of La Torre, and likewise between these same hamlets and town, and the glen of Pra-di-torre, in the valley of Angrogna. Complaining of the want of respect shown to him, and of threats against his people, (in the style of the wolf in the fable,) he required, first of all, that they should humble

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themselves before him; then that they should surrender all their arms; then he pillaged all their dwellings, no doubt, in order that they might be abandoned, and that the road to the mountains might be left open to him. He also made a great number prisoners. He acted in the same manner in the hamlets of Villaro. The oppression became such, that at La Torre, under the very eyes of the general, nothing was secure; and the evangelical inhabitants of the town endeavoured to secrete themselves, their wives, and their daughters, with whatever they could carry away, in the caverns of the rocks, although it was winter. Others more fortunate found an asylum in the neighbouring communes. The soldiers tracked them to their hiding-places. Let us mention one instance. They found in a cavern an aged man, a hundred and three years old, and his grand-daughter, who took care of him. After having killed the venerable man, they would have violated the girl, but she sprang over the precipice, preferring death to dishonour.

La Trinité also exacted a contribution of six thousand dollars from the valley. He then required the dismissal of the ministers; at least, he said, till the return of the deputies. They were obliged, or rather thought they were obliged, to consent. He hoped to be able to make himself master of their persons on their departure; but the Vaudois took such precautions, that they conducted them in safety, even across the snows and the high passes of Giuliano, and then through the vale of San Martino to their brethren of Pragela in the French territory. Stephen Noël, pastor of Angrogna, alone was excepted, as by favour of the count, who pretended to hold him in high esteem. But it was soon seen that this was done only in the hopes of carrying him off with greater certainty. The scheme happily failed, thanks to the attachment of Noël's parishioners, who protected him against the soldiers sent to seize him, and conducted him out of their reach.

At last, the count de la Trinité, having destroyed all the wine and all the crops that he could not carry away with him, and having broken in pieces all the mills he could lay hands on, led his army into winter-quarters in the plain, leaving strong garrisons in the forts and castles of La Torre, Villaro, Perosa, and Perrier.

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During their leader's absence, these garrisons committed all kinds of cruelties and atrocities. But it is more creditable to be silent upon them, than to relate them.

The inhabitants of the valleys waited with great impatience for the deputies who had been sent to Vercelli, for the purpose of obtaining an honourable capitulation. At length, tidings came of their return to their beloved mountains, to the bosom of their families, and their persecuted brethren. But it was seen, even before they uttered a syllable, by their appearance of sorrow, and their downcast looks, that they brought no good news, that they had been cruelly deceived, that they were ashamed both of themselves and of the part they had been made to act. Gastaud, the count's secretary, they said, had frightened them, and made them present to the duke a letter totally different from the one which their brethren of the valleys had charged them to deliver. They had been made to ask pardon of his highness and of the pope's legate. During the six weeks of their sojourn at Vercelli, they had been continually worried by the monks. They had been loaded with insults and threats, till they felt themselves constrained to promise to go to mass. They brought back a formal order to the Vaudois communes to receive the priests, to contribute to their support, and to consent to the Romish worship, and consequently to the introduction of the mass, under pain of a general extermination.

What was to be done? Their situation had become worse than before. There remained only to choose between apostasy with peace, but at the price of their soul's salvation, and fidelity to God, his word, and the apostolic church, with a prospect of terrible and immediate sufferings, but with the approbation of conscience, and the hope of the crown of life in heaven with the Lord. Placed between these two alternatives, the people chose the good part. They preferred life eternal to the good things of the present world. They rejected the disgraceful conditions which had been imposed upon them in the name of the prince. They recalled their pastors, and again held divine service publicly, and in the usual form. Where the introduction of some images into the temple had been allowed, as for example at Bobbio, they pulled them down with indignation. Everywhere the generous intention was decidedly manifested

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of suffering everything, even to burning, flight, and death, rather than deny the faith of their fathers.

The pastors also received in these critical circumstances letters full of affection and Christian sympathy from their brethren in foreign parts. The assurance of a lively interest which they conveyed to them, the knowledge of the prayers that were offered up for them in various places, the advices of the purest brotherly love, and the exhortations to look alone to God for deliverance,—all these testimonies did them good; they felt themselves less alone in the conflict.

The sincere attachment which their neighbours and brethren in the faith of the vale of Clusone, or Pragela * had always shown them, both in brighter days and in times of distress and persecution, but particularly in the latter, suggested a renewal of their ancient union. Deputies from the three valleys crossed the mountains, covered with snow, and brought proposals of alliance to the communities in Clusone, whom their sovereign, Francis I., king of France, had also issued orders to persecute. The alliance was accepted without hesitation, and immediately ratified. It was agreed to render mutual succour with all their disposable means, whenever their ancient apostolic church should be persecuted. The fidelity of the contracting parties to their respective sovereigns † was, however, carefully reserved. The messengers from the valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino received the oath of their brethren in Dauphiné, who in their turn sent deputies to receive the oath of their allies. They arrived by way of Giuliano at Bobbio, where the alliance was unanimously sworn to by the assembly of all the heads of families. On the next day, they were spectators of the first aggressive act of these peaceable men, who, in the hope of peace, had always hitherto kept strictly on the defensive. All the people of the western hamlets in the valley of Lucerna rushed down, like one of their mountain torrents, on the fortress of Villaro, and demanded the release of their relations who were confined in its dungeons. The gentry

* A valley to the north of the three Vaudois valleys of Piedmont: the vale of Clusone, is the continuation of the valley of Perosa.—See the map.

† Although the vale of Clusone is on the eastern side of the Alps, inclosed in the Piedmontese possessions of the house of Savoy, it anciently made a part of Dauphiné, and still belonged at that time to France.

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of the district who were in the castle, aided the garrison in making a vigorous defence. The Vaudois wanted artillery and other means for carrying on a siege. One division of them had to guard the road to La Torre, for they there fought three times in four days with the troops which the commandant of the castle in the latter place had sent to succour his companions in arms. The besieged, however, being ill supplied with provisions, and above all in want of water, were obliged to capitulate on the tenth day. They surrendered the fortress, which was immediately demolished, and thought themselves well off in being conducted to their advanced posts, and escaping with their lives.

In the interval, the deputies of all the communes had met and ratified the alliance with an oath, promising mutual succour, and engaging to determine on nothing without consulting one another. Among the measures of detail which they adopted, we must not omit noticing the levy of a chosen troop of one hundred musketeers for constant service, and destined to hasten to any point where an attack was threatened, and on that account called "The Flying Company." It is also worthy of notice and commendation that two pastors were appointed to attend them alternately in all their expeditions, to remind them of their Christian duties, to check all excess, and regularly to celebrate religious service.

It was quite time to prepare for the warfare; for the count de la Trinité having heard of the siege of Villaro, hastened to collect his troops that were scattered in winter-quarters over the plain, and to throw them into the valley of Lucerna. Having arrived on February 2nd, 1561, the day after the surrender of the fortress, he renounced for a time his purpose of taking vengeance on the further end of the valley; but, after having again tried, though uselessly, to divide his adversaries, by making offers and promises to the people of Angrogna, he resumed his preparations against the citadel of these mountains; we mean, the higher part of the valley of Angrogna, called the Pra-di-torre. This spot, celebrated in the history of the valleys,* is in the shape of an immense funnel, of which the sides are of different heights, and which is much broken on one of them. It is girt on the north by the high rocky cliffs of l'Infernet and Soiran, which

* See ch. xvi.

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separate it from the vale of San Martino ; on the west by the impassable chain of the snowy mountains of the Rora, and the indented peaks, rivalling the Vandalin, which envelope the alpine valley of La Sellaveilla, with its summer cottages ; on the south by the sloping sides of the superb Vandalin, which sinks by sudden declivities to the wide table-land of Costa-Roussina, whence it descends on the south towards Taillaret, and the plain of La Torre ; lastly, on the east, by pasture-lands, more or less inclined, and by a mass of rocks, called Rocciailla, which, although inferior in height to the proud peaks in the vicinity, form, nevertheless, an insurmountable barrier between the foot of Mount Cervin, on the north, and the torrent of Angrogna, on the south. Between these lofty mountains and La Rocciailla, a meadow called the Pra, or Pra-di-torre, with its small town, is stretched by the side of a pure and murmuring stream, and on all sides, on the slopes, the little domains with their rustic buildings surrounded by orchards. This district is thickly peopled in summer, though much less in winter ; but it had not ceased to be so in the rigorous months, from the end of 1560 and the commencement of 1561. The return of the count de la Trinité to the valleys caused the inhabitants of Angrogna immediately to take refuge in their ancient asylum. A mill was already in existence there for the use of the locality, and they prudently constructed a second.*

The enemy, clearly perceiving that the asylum of the Pra-di-torre was (so to speak) the heart of the valleys, and that the only method of inflicting a fatal wound was to make themselves masters of it, directed all their efforts to this quarter. After two successive attacks on the lower part of Angrogna, the first, fruitless, by the Sonnagliettes or Roccamanéot, and the second, made on different sides at once, with large forces and complete success, although dearly purchased, the count de la Trinité was master of the country as far as Rocciailla and la Cassa. Then, after having set fire to all the hamlets, without being able, however, to burn down the two temples, he assaulted the Pra-di-torre on the 14th of February, at three different points ; namely, by its natural entrance on the south-east, along the torrent and at

* Gilles, ch. xxiii., p. 142.

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the foot of Rocciailla, by the heights which separate it on the north-east from the valley of Pramol, and on the north, by those of the valley of San Martino. The attack by the ordinary road on the south-east, was announced by the conflagration. At the sight of the flames, consuming the forsaken hamlets, the refugees might suppose that the army was approaching; they would perhaps have thrown themselves in a mass in this direction, if they had not suspected a feint, and recollected that at all events a few men would suffice to defend so narrow a passage. They were not mistaken. The attack on this side was only feigned. Six musketeers stopped and put to flight the hostile detachment. Another division which suddenly appeared on the plateau of La Vachère, to the north-east of Rocciailla, coming from Pramol,* where it had passed the night, met with the same fate. But while our warlike peasantry were pursuing them, there was descried in the direction of the Pra-di-torre, on the ridges of the high mountains which separate it on the north from the vale of San Martino, a considerable body of soldiers rapidly descending. A cry of alarm was raised. The defenceless multitude addressed a fervent prayer to God, and while some ran to give notice to their principal force, which was occupied in pursuing the fugitives on the side of La Vachère, only twenty-five or thirty men went up to meet the enemy. Being very soon rejoined by their victorious brethren and by the Flying Company, they fell on their knees, in sight of the papists, praying God to succour them, and then assailed their adversaries so impetuously that they fled panic-stricken before them. Twice the unfortunate soldiers, fatigued by an extraordinary and forced march over the slippery turf or the rolling stones of the mountain, turned about, preferring to fight rather than to clamber up the same endless declivities which they had just descended; and twice, terrified by the spirit and rising courage of the Vaudois, they again fled and dispersed in all directions. The strong-limbed, practised mountaineers soon came up to them, and despatched them. The slaughter was great, and would have been still greater if the chaplain of the Flying Company had not checked it whenever he could make his voice heard.

* In making this circuit by St. Germain and Pramol, the enemy had gone round the dangerous passage of La Cassa, a little to the east, composed of the *débris* of broken and scattered rocks.

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This combat cost the lives of two of the principal officers in the count's army. One, Charles Truchet, lord of Rioclaret, who had persecuted his own vassals as we have seen, and was one of the promoters of this war, was first struck to the ground by a stone from a sling, and being left by his men, had his head cut off with his own sword. He was lamented by his general and the army, for he was valiant and experienced. The other officer, Louis de Monteil, who was among the first that fled, had already passed the summit of the mountain, when a young man of eighteen came up with him in the snow, refused his ransom, and killed him.

Thus the hopes of the papists, relative to this great enterprise, vanished. God granted the victory to his children. The pastors, and all who were unable to fight, never ceased, from morning to evening, to call upon his name,—like Moses, Hur, and Aaron, when Israel fought with Amalek. In the evening, the air resounded in all directions with songs of praise and expressions of gratitude to God. By this victory, the Vaudois gained considerable booty in arms, clothing, and warlike stores.

Not having been successful at the Pra-di-torre, La Trinité, who had already burned the greater part of the hamlets of Angrogna, vented his wrath on some villages in the vale of Lucerna. He surprised the village of Rora, composed of eighty families, and situated in a glen behind the mountain which rises on the right bank of the Pélice, to the south of la Torre and Villaro, and which, inclining towards the east, pours its waters into the river just named, a little way from the town of Lucerna; yet, in spite of the forces which the general sent, he did not make himself master of the village till the third day; and such was the determined courage of as many of the inhabitants as could bear arms, and particularly of the Flying Company, who were sent to their aid, that all the families, and even some of their goods, were saved, and brought across the snow by dangerous paths to Villaro, where they were received with the most cordial hospitality.

Villaro had also been pointed out by the count to his officers as a place to be attacked. His army moved from la Torre in three divisions; the main body consisting of infantry, by the high road; the cavalry with the pioneers,

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and some light troops along the Pélice, in the plain; the third column followed, on the other side of the river, the path which goes behind La Torre and passes between Bobbio and Villaro. The duke's troops had the advantage of being in an open country. The Vaudois were obliged to give way on all points. Perhaps they were too much bent on defending some advanced posts. At this time, they were turned, and obliged to retreat, with some loss, abandoning Villaro, to take a position among the vineyards at the entrance of La Combe, which the enemy was never able to force. They beheld their large and beautiful village burned before their eyes; but considered themselves as less unfortunate, in this disaster, than if the enemy had established and fortified themselves in their abodes.

La Trinité continued his ravages to the further end of the valley, pillaging, burning, and slaughtering. He even attempted to attack, with considerable forces, the higher hamlets in the commune of Villaro; but he was compelled to give up the attempt, and to retire with loss.

The end of February was now come. The count, seeing his army much reduced, spent a month in reinforcing it. New troops arrived every day at head-quarters. The duke of Savoy even obtained from the king of France ten companies of foot-soldiers, and some other choice troops.* A body of Spaniards also joined the standard of persecution, so that from four thousand men, which composed the army of La Trinité at first, the numbers rose to about seven thousand? It included in its ranks the nobility of the country. At the head of such a fine army, the count thought himself sure of success, and his first efforts were directed against the heart and bulwark of the valleys, the asylum of all the fugitives, the celebrated Pra-di-torre. On the 17th of March, he attacked it on the east, by the road along the torrent, below Rocciailla, by the brow and ridge of the mountain to the north-east of the same Rocciailla, where the Vaudois had erected, over all the breadth, a formidable rampart,† and by an intermediate path a little below this last, a dangerous path across the rocks, and

* See Léger, who quotes the Histoire Universelle' of d'Aubigni. (Léger, pt. ii., pp. 36, 37; Gilles, ch. xxv., p. 150.)

† There was at this point a natural rampart, La Cassa, already mentioned; another rampart was raised on the Gavia, commanding the post; and a third on the other extremity of La Vachère, called the barricades.

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which, on that account, the Vaudois had not thought of lining with defenders. The enemy had well-nigh penetrated by this narrow passage, for all the forces of the Vaudois were collected at the principal places of defence; happily, the enemy was perceived in time and repulsed. Beaten at once, at all the three points of attack, the general saw his best officers killed before his face, and his choice and renowned troops decimated. He gave up, therefore, the design of continuing the assault on the following days, although he had made preparations for so doing, and retreated the same evening with his harassed army and the wounded, leaving a great number dead at the foot of the rampart and on all the approaches.

While the defeated army was making a hasty retreat, the Vaudois might have caused it irreparable loss by attacking it in the defiles, across the torrents, or along the precipices; and this was the wish of a great many. But the principal leaders, and especially the ministers, were totally averse from it, reminding them that it was agreed to employ arms only to defend their lives, and to use them only as long as they were threatened. Admirable moderation! and the more exemplary, since those towards whom it was exercised were devoid of pity.

The success of this affair restored courage and hope to the Vaudois. Their enemies, on the contrary, were disconcerted, and cast down. "God fights for them!" they exclaimed; and these words were echoed through Piedmont. Even the count appeared desirous of peace, and made proposals for a treaty with these invincible peasants. They replied that they also wished to see the war at an end, and followed by an honourable peace, which should allow them to serve God with a good conscience. But they did not dare to trust him, after having been duped more than once by his fair words, and having even experienced that he talked of peace when he was meditating the most violent attacks. They showed more confidence in Philip of Savoy, count of Raconis, who, although chief commissioner of the persecution, seemed to disapprove of this war. They received his envoy favourably,—the same Gilles of Bricherasco, who had succeeded in placing their complaints, requests, and apologies, in the hands of the princess of Savoy, at Nice, in the preceding year; but a most melan-

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cholv event occurred to interrupt this negotiation. Gilles, although it was growing late, wished to return the same evening to the count's quarters. They gave him an escort; but having dismissed it too soon, he was killed by two men of Angrogna, who met him. The measures they at once adopted towards the count de Raconis, and the immediate surrender of the offenders, freed the Vaudois authorities from all suspicion of being implicated in the act; but for a time it interrupted the negotiations.

During this parley, the count's army marched to the valley of San Martino, to raise the siege of the castle of Perrier, which was closely invested by the Vaudois of the vicinity, and by their neighbours and allies of the valley of Clusone. At its approach the besiegers retired, with their brethren of the lower villages, to the hamlets in the upper part of the valley, where they successfully defended themselves for a month, and then had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy retire.

The Vaudois, who had retreated into the most rugged and savage localities, pressed and crowded into a few huts with all their families, saw their provisions rapidly diminish, while, at the same time, the number of their fugitive brethren, who resorted to them in quest of shelter and food, increased. It might have been apprehended that famine would come, in addition to so many other sufferings, to weaken their bodies and discourage their hearts; but He who fed Elijah by the brook Cherith, supplied the wants of his servants who had taken refuge among the sources of their mountain-torrents, and replenished the vessels of the widows, the children, and the poor, with flour and oil, according to their desire, as he once did for the pious widow of Zarephath.

The genial mildness of spring began to be felt even on the mountains. But while the sovereign Benefactor and Disposer of all things was awakening creation to new life, and shedding fertility over the earth, the cruel count de la Trinité was only planning how to destroy God's noblest creatures, and moisten the soil with their blood. He longed, at any cost, to penetrate the asylum of the Pra-di-torre, to quench his thirst in a stream of blood, like a famished wolf, who, with open jaws and parched tongue hanging from his mouth, prowls for days, with fury in his heart, round a multitude of sheep and lambs, in a well-

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inclosed fold, seeking for some opening by which to enter in. Such an entrance the count hoped that he had found at last. He planned to surprise the Pra-di-torre through the hamlet of Taillaret, which, it may be remembered, is situated to the north of La Torre, on the south side of a moderately elevated plateau, at the foot of the eastern side of Vaudalin, which plateau separates the valley of Lucerna, and the commune of La Torre in particular, from the higher vale of Angrogna, on the Pra-di-torre. To succeed on this side, it was absolutely necessary to reach the plateau of Costa Roussina unobserved, with the whole of the forces employed, before the alarm could be given; otherwise the troops would be liable to be assailed from the higher ground, and infallibly driven back, while climbing up a slope of more than two leagues in length. The woful end of Truchet and his division, who were cut in pieces in a like situation, by a small number of herdsmen, was a sufficient lesson. It was therefore necessary, if possible, to lay asleep the vigilance of the people of Taillaret and their neighbours. The count, whom it cost but little to play the hypocrite, persuaded some influential individuals of Taillaret, and in particular captain Michael Reymondet, to come and see him, having sent them the necessary passport. He flattered their vanity by saying that the duke esteemed them, and would give them proofs of his good-will if they would lay down their arms and cease to exhibit distrust and a spirit of revolt by the incessant patrols they so unnecessarily kept up. He assured them, that if they remained quiet, he would prevent the soldiers from giving them the least vexation; but, on the contrary supposition, he would punish them with the utmost rigour.

The vanity of these poor people being thus wrought upon, they promised to remain quiet, and they kept their word, notwithstanding the warnings and reproaches of the minister of the Flying Company, to whom they gave an account of their journey. The minister, foreboding what would happen, collected his company of musketeers at La Combe di Villaro, placed sentinels, and sent messengers in different directions to announce an impending attack: in fact, at daybreak, the small corps of picked men who had already rendered such great services to the Vaudois cause, were warned by the advanced sentinels that the papists

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were marching on Taillaret. They immediately set out by a dangerous road, along slopes and precipices, with the intention of coming above Taillaret, where they would overlook the enemy. Nevertheless, the latter, in several bands, surprised all the small towns in this extensive quarter. A regiment of Spaniards were distinguished for their excesses. The credulous Reymondet escaped, not without difficulty, with his wife and her newly-born infant. The troops reached the plateau. The Vaudois musketeers could not arrive in time. From the summit of the mountain, the enemy saw before them, to the north, the large and deep oval of the Pra-di-torre. In less than an hour, descending by the slopes of Barfé, they would have reached the dwellings on the south side. But they preferred following a path which would allow them to attack the Pra-di-torre from above; this proved their destruction. The Vaudois had finished their customary morning prayer, when, almost at the same time, their sentinels gave notice of the enemy's approach at three points; by the plateau on the south, which we have just mentioned, and on the east by the two roads to the north and south of Rocciailla. Twelve men only threw themselves forward to meet the column issuing from the plateau by the narrow path, and they were sufficient to stop it.

A traveller little accustomed to a mountainous tract, would advance with hesitation and trembling on a path scarcely visible down a steep declivity. The steps of the great part of the duke's soldiers were not more firm; they halted, therefore, when they saw their narrow passage stopped by six resolute men; and stones, and fragments of rocks, which six others were detaching from the neighbouring heights to roll upon them, threatening to hurl them down with one bound into the ravine. But their hearts failed them entirely when they saw the agile and intrepid mountaineers running in constantly increasing numbers to the aid of their advanced guard. They turned their backs and fled precipitately to the plateau, where some of their troop were resting. In the meanwhile, the Flying Company advancing along the flank of the Vandalin, gained the heights which overlooked the plateau, and screening themselves behind large trees, rocks, and low walls that separated the pasture lands, opened a close and deadly fire. The

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popish troops, crowded together and exposed, lost a great number, while the sharpshooters of the mountains had only three killed. At last, having made another attempt to act on the offensive, they retreated, not by way of Taillaret, which would have been too exposed, but across the summit of the mountain which sinks insensibly, and directing their course to La Torre, which, owing to its small breadth, was more easily defended.

As to the two columns which were advancing by Angrogna, as they were not to act alone, but simply to support the attack made on the side of Taillaret by causing a diversion, they retreated as soon as they saw their companions in arms put to flight on the neighbouring mountain.

Such was the issue of the last attack made on the Vaudois in this campaign. The count de la Trinité, probably fearful, after so many reverses, of being attacked in his quarters at La Torre by the warlike mountaineers, broke up his encampment the same night and retreated to Cavor with a part of his troops. From that place, he threatened again to ravage the whole country, to destroy the corn in the blade, the vines, and the trees; but a dangerous illness, which brought him to the brink of the grave, prevented the execution of his evil designs. During his compulsory inactivity, the Vaudois renewed their relations with Philip of Savoy, count de Raconis, which had been interrupted by the murder of Gilles of Bricherasco. This prince, who, in the discharge of his office, as chief commissioner, had always given proofs of moderation, showed himself favourable to peace. He consented to transmit to the duchess the desires and request of her persecuted subjects, for the purpose of obtaining conditions such as their consciences could accept. Having received the necessary powers for negotiating, the count de Raconis displayed a confiding benevolence which shortened the negotiation, and after a month of preliminary conferences, brought about an agreement which settled all the questions at issue, and was signed by both parties.

A general pardon was granted to all persons in the valleys and elsewhere, who had taken arms against his highness and against their particular lords on account of religion.

The liberty of assembling in the customary places to hear sermons, and to perform all the acts of their religion, was granted to the greater part of the communities of the three

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valleys,* and likewise of building edifices for this purpose. But the right of preaching and holding meetings was formally denied beyond the limits indicated in the capitulation. Nevertheless, the ministers were authorized to make pastoral visits to such of their people as were residents in places where they had not the public exercise of their religion,† provided these visits were made with prudence and discretion. It was specified that the answers which the Vaudois might give, when interrogated concerning their faith, were not to be regarded as an infraction of the present treaty, nor as preaching for the purpose of making proselytes.

All the fugitives of the said valleys, and all those who had abjured, or promised to abjure, before the war, were permitted to return to their houses with their families, and to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. Their goods were to be restored to them; all those, at least, which had been taken from them in the course of the war. A similar promise was made to the inhabitants of the valley of Méane, and of St. Barthélemi.

Restitution was guaranteed to all, by legal means, of their movables and cattle (excepting what had been carried off by the soldiers), as well as the redemption of the articles sold at the same price as the purchasers had paid for them. The same right was secured to the Roman Catholics against the Vaudois.

To the Vaudois‡ all franchises and immunities were confirmed, as well as all privileges, whether granted by his highness, or his predecessors, or by the lords, provided they were vouched by public documents.

* The places where the Vaudois were authorized to hold their religious assemblies were the following:—in the valley of *Lucerna*, Angrogna, Bobbio, Villaro (with this condition, that if the sovereign should build a fort in this place, the religious meetings should no longer be held in the town, but in one of the hamlets, or some other place approved by the inhabitants) Val-Guichard, Rora;—in the commune of *La Torre*, the hamlets of Taillaret and La Rua di Boneti (the town of La Torre was excluded);—in the valley of *San Martino*, Praali, Rodoret, Macel, Maneille;—in the valley of *Perosa*, Peui, a hamlet of the parish of La Perosa; le Grand-Dublon (a hamlet of the parish of Pinache), St. Germain (in the quarter of Dormillouse), Rocheplatte (in the Gaudens). The right of meeting in the temples was refused to those of San Giovanni, of the town of La Torre, of Bibbiana, Rioclaret, etc.

† The capitulation mentions especially those of the commune of Méane, as well as those of Saint-Barthélemi, near Rocheplatte, as authorized to enjoy this privilege.

‡ In the capitulation no particular name, as for example that of Vaudois, is given to those with whom it is made. They are only described as inhabitants of the valleys (*ceux des vallées*).

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The proper administration of justice was promised to them.

A list of the fugitives who were to return was to be prepared and transmitted to his highness.

The duke reserved to himself the liberty of erecting a fortress at Villaro; but he gave, at the same time, the assurance that it should not be employed to the prejudice of the property and consciences of the people of the valleys.

The duke also required the aforesaid to dismiss such of their pastors as he named; but, in return, he permitted them to fill up their places. He excluded, however, the pastor Martin, of Pragela, from their choice.

The right of celebrating the mass and other services of the Romish worship in all the parishes of the valleys was renewed by his highness; but the liberty of not being present at them was granted, in return, to those of the opposite religion, while they were under obligation not to molest those who wished to attend such services.

All the expenses of the war were remitted to the aforesaid, as well as the eight thousand dollars which they owed his highness out of the sixteen thousand which they had engaged to pay.

All the prisoners that remained in the hands of the soldiers were to be released for a moderate ransom: all those who had been sent to the galleys for their religion were to be set at liberty gratuitously.

Permission was granted to all the inhabitants of the valleys of Méane, and other places mentioned in the capitulation, except the ministers, to stay, to come and go, to buy, sell, and traffic in the dominions of his highness, provided their settled residence was within their limits,* and that they abstain, in their journeys, from controversy, preaching, and holding assemblies.

This treaty of peace was signed at Cavor the 5th of June, 1561, in the name of the duke, by Philip of Savoy, count de Raconis, and in the name of the communities of

* The history of Pinerolo mentions, after this article, a supplementary article which is not found in the copy given by Léger. The substance of it is, that a Vaudois might obtain a dwelling beyond these limits, in the domains of his highness, if he found employment there as a servant or farmer, or if he acquired property there, provided he did not hold religious meetings, etc. This article, not known to Léger, and quoted by a Roman Catholic author, is not without its importance.—See Storia di Pinerolo, Torino, 1834, t. iii., p. 54.

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the valleys, by two pastors, François Val, minister of Villaro, and Claude Berge, minister of Taillaret, and by two of the principal deputies, George Monastier, syndic of Angrogna, and Michael Reymondet, envoy of Taillaret.*

Such was the arrangement which was effected, thanks to the noble and generous heart of the distinguished Emmanuel Philibert, seconded by his royal consort, Margaret of France, by the honourable Philip of Savoy, count de Raconis, and certainly by the majority of a just and enlightened council. Whether we call it a compact, a treaty, or a patent, matters little ; the essential point is, that the contract took effect according to the engagement of the parties who signed it. To call such an act (which was one of clemency, it is true, but also of justice,) "a blameable weakness," as is done by the historian Botta, because the duke of Savoy permitted the consent of his Vaudois subjects to regulate and determine the points of this arrangement, appears to us a criticism as ill-founded as it is unjust ; for why should a sovereign not allow his people to express their adhesion to the solemn act which regulates their relations to him ; especially when, being of different religions, the matter in hand is to settle a mode of living which may harmonize his rights with the discharge of the duties which they feel themselves obliged to render to God ? Far from being chargeable with weakness, the prince who condescends to the religious wants of his subjects only shows himself just ; and if he consent to grant them guarantees by an agreement signed by the two parties, he gives a proof of high wisdom, and places himself in the elevated and glorious position of father of his people. Certainly the house of Savoy never had to regret the policy it followed on this occasion. If, in order to meet the requirements of Rome, it has often persecuted its Vaudois subjects, by afterwards treating them with kindness, it so won their hearts, that their attachment, fidelity, and devotedness to it has never failed.†

Botta further remarks, that although the duke adhered to the edict for some years, he would never ratify it, nor

* Léger, pt. ii., p. 38 The other deputies were Rambaud, of Villaro ; Arduino, of Bobbio ; Jean Malanet, of San Giovanni ; Pierre Pascal, of the valley of San Martino ; and Thomas Roman, of Saint-Germain, for the valley of Perosa.

† Storia d'Italia da Carolo Botta, t. ii., p. 428, etc. Paris : 1832.

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cause it to be registered by the senate and by the court of exchequer,—a formality indispensable for giving it the form of an edict to be observed. But this argumentation is strange. The authenticity of the treaty cannot be denied;* and its actual observance, had it been for ever so short a time, is equally a sufficient proof to establish its validity. The sequel of this history will show, moreover, that it became the basis of the ordinary relations between the civil authorities and the inhabitants of the valleys. It is lamentable that recourse should be had to such a subterfuge, when it is so essential that the word of a prince should be treated with respect and confidence. All honour to Emmanuel Philibert, who during his whole life was faithful to the agreement which was made in his name!

But though the two parties immediately interested agreed to the convention, finding it to be for their mutual advantage, there was one person who felt highly displeased: this was the pope, to whom the duke communicated the transaction. The Roman pontiff complained bitterly. He thought that this "pernicious example" of tolerance would find imitators, and that by their lax indulgence, heresy would take perpetual root in the many kingdoms placed under his crosier. The monks and priests of Piedmont made themselves very busy, and if they did not succeed in breaking the treaty, they at least retarded or shackled its execution; particularly in what concerned the restitution of the confiscated† or pillaged goods, and the liberation of the prisoners, particularly those who had been sent to the galleys. Nevertheless, Philip of Savoy, count de Raconis, having agreed to lay the grievances of the Vaudois before the duchess, that excellent princess, after consulting with the venerable pastor, Noel of Angrogna, obtained the redress of all their wrongs and the strict execution of the treaty.

The persecution lasted fifteen months, seven of which were spent in obstinate warfare.

We now leave the valleys of Piedmont, and transport

* Léger gives in his history irrefragable proofs of the legal validity of this document; pt. ii., p. 200, etc.

† This restitution met with obstacles, especially at Bibbiana, Fenile, and Campiglione, small towns in the valley of Lucerna, at the extreme frontier towards the plain.

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ourselves to one of their ancient colonies, in Calabria, to be witnesses of its entire destruction.*

CHAPTER XX.

DESTRUCTION OF THE VAUDOIS COLONIES IN APULIA AND CALABRIA.

The religious life which the Reformation had awakened in the ancient Vaudois churches of the Alps, manifested itself, though more slowly, among their colonies in the kingdom of Naples. The evangelical doctrine, constantly taught for three centuries by the Vaudois barbes in their regular missions among their brethren of Apulia and Calabria, had maintained in the hearts of this persecuted race an indestructible aversion from Romish errors, at the same time that it gave their manners a character of mildness, sobriety, chastity and fidelity, which struck all persons in their vicinity, though a certain timidity or prudence constrained them, in the presence of the enemies of their faith, to conceal part of their sentiments, and of their acts of worship. No district was more peaceable or flourishing in the whole kingdom of Naples than that which was inhabited and cultivated by the Vaudois of Calabria, not far from Montalto, and of which San Sesto and Guardia were at that time the most remarkable places. The indefatigable activity of these labourers, their order, their good manners, while they were a source of happiness for themselves, had gained for them the favour of their lords, who derived considerable advantages from them,—such as higher rents, and much greater security than from any other of their vassals. "The clergy and priests alone," says an ancient author, "complained that they did not live like other people in matters of religion; that they made none of their children priests or nuns; that they gave themselves no concern about chants, wax-tapers, lights, bells, or even masses for their dead; that they built temples without ornamenting them with any images; they

* For the whole of this chapter see Gilles, chs. xi. to xxviii. Léger, pt. ii., pp. 29—40.

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never went on pilgrimages; they had their children instructed by unknown foreign schoolmasters, to whom they showed much more respect than to themselves, paying them (the clergy) nothing but the tithes, just as they had agreed with their lords. They suspected that these said people had some particular belief, which prevented them from connecting themselves or mixing with the original inhabitants of the country, and that they were bad Roman Catholics." Nevertheless, the abundance of the tithes, and the regularity of their payment, added to the dread of displeasing the lords, had restrained the suspicious and irritable zeal of the priests of the country.*

But at the news of the triumphs of the Reformation, the noise made by its doctrines, and the profound emotion they excited in Italy, suspicion was again awakened, and marked with a restless eye the most trifling proceedings of intelligent and generous men. The inquisition, watching its prey, followed like bloodhounds the traces of the numerous writings, and especially of the sacred books, which were circulated in all places by the recent invention of printing; and when the Vaudois colonies of Calabria awoke from their slumbers, agitated by the gales of the spirit of life which blew from the north, they were encountered by the ferocious aspect of their sworn foe, watching every step they took, and seeking to penetrate into their most secret thoughts.

Being informed by the barbes who were sent to them,† of the courageous resolutions of the synod of Angrogna, in 1532, and feeling constrained to glorify their Saviour openly by the example of the reformed churches, as well as by that of their brethren of Piedmont, the Vaudois colonies of Calabria wished to associate with the barbe Etienne Négrin, who had come to them from the valleys, a minister ordained at Geneva, above all others the city of the Reformation. They deputed for this purpose one of their principal men, Marco Uscegli, who, on reaching the city of Calvin, spoke on behalf of the Italian church, and obtained what he desired for it. A young Piedmontese, named Jean Louis Pascal, was then finishing his studies at Lausanne;

* See Perrin, Histoire des Vaudois, p. 197.

† See Chapter XVII.—The minister Gilles, ancestor of the historian, was the last of these barbes who could return in peace to the valleys.

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he had quitted popery for the gospel, and the military service for that of the Lord Jesus Christ. By general consent he was appointed for the perilous mission in Calabria.* He set out with Uscegli, leaving his betrothed bride† at Geneva, whom he was never more to see in this world.

Pascal's energetic ministry was not in vain. His preaching took possession of the souls of his hearers. The light so often hid under a bushel was now placed on a candlestick; but its splendour, beneficial to the sound eyes of the true believers, irritated the diseased organs of the papists, and alarmed the principal lord of the Vaudois of Calabria, the marquis of Spinello. Roused by the outcry raised by the bigots of his religion, and perhaps fearing lest he should himself be suspected of heresy if he did not act, the marquis, who had been heretofore so indulgent, now had recourse to measures of severity. He cited before him the principal of his vassals along with Pascal. He censured and threatened them, and cast the faithful pastor and his friend Uscegli into the dungeons of Foscalda. This was in 1558, or 1559. The diocesan bishop of Cosenza, not being contented with these arrests, took the matter into his own hands. He attempted a forced conversion of the prisoners, if that were possible; and at the same time persecuted the destitute flock, in spite of the secret efforts of the marquis to turn his blows aside.

The apprehension of Pascal, and the perseverance of the faithful Calabrians in the evangelical doctrine having attracted the attention of the pope, his holiness delegated cardinal Alexandrin, inquisitor-general, to put an end to heresy in the kingdom of Naples. The first essay at forced conversion was made in the spring of 1560, at San Sesto, a considerable town in the neighbourhood of Montalto. Promises, exhortations, and threats were alternately employed: nothing was neglected to overawe or seduce the inhabitants; but rather than attend at mass they all fled together to a wood in the mountain. The inquisitors,

* M. I. P. M * * *., in an article on the Vaudois of Calabria, in the Revue Suisse, (Lausanne, 1839, t. ii., p. 691,) asserts, on the authority of a Grison minister of that period, that Pascal set out for Calabria, accompanied by another pastor and two schoolmasters.

† [Her name was Camilla Guerina. See M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy, p. 283.]

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unable to pursue them instantly, betook themselves with all speed to the Vaudois city of Guardia, about twelve miles distant. Having shut the gates, they assembled the population, and falsely announced the return of the inhabitants of San Sesto to the pale of the Romish church. They pretended to love them, and pressed them to imitate so excellent an example. The marquis of Spinello joined his entreaties to those of these deceitful wretches, and promised them new temporal advantages; and these poor people, deceived and surprised, yielded and promised to comply with the demands made upon them. The truth, however, soon became known to them, and a considerable part escaped and proceeded to join the fugitives of San Sesto. Two companies of soldiers were sent in pursuit of them. In vain the unfortunate beings begged them to come to terms with them, and allow them to emigrate; they were only answered by denunciations of death. Thus constrained to defend themselves by arms, they put their enemies to flight.

This victory gained them some days of repose; but it brought into Calabria the viceroy in person, at the head of a considerable number of troops. The fugitives were tracked in the woods by dogs trained for the purpose, to the foot of trees in which they had taken refuge, or to the copses and pits where they were secreted. Scarcely any escaped, but all were either taken prisoners or killed. While the viceroy threatened universal destruction, the inquisitors affected compassion, and were lavish of their expressions of peace, and thus drew the credulous people into their snares, who, as the chronicler Gilles says, thinking to escape the fury of the lion, threw themselves into the jaws of the serpent.

When these double-faced men had, by their artifices, got possession of more than sixteen hundred persons, they threw aside the mask and the executions began. They wished to fix on their victims the odium of lewdness, and therefore put them to torture, hoping to force from them the confession that in their religious assemblies they were guilty of detestable impurities. But the patience of the tortured baffled their vile design; no one confessed. Charlin expired on the rack itself; his bowels being forced out. Verminel, who had even consented to apostatize, was kept for eight hours on an instrument of torture, called *a hell*, without being prevailed upon to confess to such infamous calumnies.

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Marçon, the father, was beaten with iron chains, and then killed. One of his sons had his throat cut; and the other was precipitated from a high tower. Bernard Conte, for having thrown away from him a crucifix which they wished him to hold, was led to Cosenza, and there, covered with pitch, he was burned like a pine torch; a horrid punishment, copied from Nero. Sixty women were tortured: some of them were burned; others died of their wounds; the most beautiful disappeared. Eighty-eight men of Guardia were butchered at Montalto, by order of the inquisitor Panza. "I confess," says a witness of this scene, a Roman Catholic, in a letter which has been preserved to us,* "I can only compare these executions to a slaughter-house. The executioner came, and called out one of the unfortunate creatures, and having wrapped his head in a cloth, led him to a spot adjoining the house, made him fall on his knees, and cut his throat with a knife. Then, taking off the bloody veil, he came for another prisoner, who underwent the same fate; in this manner eighty-eight persons were butchered. I leave your imagination to picture this horrible sight. At this very moment I can hardly restrain my tears. No one can ever describe the meekness and patience with which these heretics suffered such a martyrdom and death. A small number of them, when at the point of death, declared that they embraced the Catholic faith; but the greater part died in their infernal obstinacy. All the old men ended their lives with an imperturbable calmness; only the young manifested some agitation. A shudder comes over my whole frame when I picture to myself the executioner with the bloody knife between his teeth, holding the dripping napkin in his hand, entering the house, and, with his arms covered with blood, seizing the prisoners one after another, as a butcher goes and takes the sheep he is about to slaughter."

Their bodies, when quartered, were fastened to stakes all along the road from Montalto to Château-Vilar, a distance of thirty-six miles, for the terror of heretics, and the satis-

* See this letter in Porta, Historia Reformationis Rhetiæ, t. ii., pp. 310—312; and in Pantaleon, Rerum in Eccles. Gestarum, pp. 337, 338. The author of the letter also says, "These people were originally from the valley of Angrogna, near Savoy; and in Calabria they call them Ultra-Montanes. They still occupy four cities in the kingdom of Naples; but I have not learned that they conduct themselves amiss. (See the article on the Vaudois by M. I. P. M * * *, in the Revue Suisse, t. ii., p. 707.)—[See also M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy, p. 263.]

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faction of the Catholics. Those who were not massacred, and yet would not abjure, were sent to fill the Spanish galleys. Some only escaped by flight and reached the valleys, (the women dressed as men,) when the persecution described in the preceding chapter was at its height; some, still later, after incessant dangers, being forced to travel only by night, very frequently to go up the course of rivers till they could meet with fords, scantily fed on seeds, roots, fruits, and what they could get as alms, or purchase in out-of-the-way places. Many of them were stopped on the road and delivered up, the order having been given throughout Italy, to all officers of police, lightermen, bargemen, and others, not to allow to pass, and to every inn-keeper, not to lodge any stranger presenting himself without a certificate from his parish priest, attested at each stage of his journey from the place of his setting out.

The churches of the Vaudois valleys mourned over those of Calabria that were thus destroyed; especially the pastors who had exercised their ministry among them, and who knew each of the victims whom the survivors named to them. Their hearts were melted with sorrow when they learned the fate of their colleague, Etienne Négrin, who, after having resisted all the solicitations and seductions of the priests in the prison of Cosenza, died of starvation or of other secret tortures. As to Louis Pascal, he consummated, after all the others, at the stake at Rome, in the presence of the pope, the cardinals, and an immense concourse of spectators, the sacrifice which he had begun in separating himself, for a time as he supposed, from his betrothed, to visit Calabria. Neither flatteries nor importunities; nor the continual threats of a crowd of monks and priests; nor the bodily sufferings he endured in damp prisons, where he was not even allowed straw; nor the prayers and tears of a dear brother* who remained a papist, who implored him to recant, and to tempt him more strongly, offered him half his property; nor the sad remembrance of a tender friend, who though not yet espoused, would by his death be left, as it were, a widow; no human power,—in short, nothing could move this faithful and tried soul. It was decided at last to

* His brother thus writes: "It was hideous to see him, bareheaded, his arms and hands tied so tightly with small cords that they penetrated the flesh, as if he were about to be led to the gibbet. Seeing him in this state, and going forward to embrace him, in my distress I fell to the ground, by which I increased his suffering."—Crespin, Histoire des Martyrs, fol. 520.—M'Crie, p. 285.

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punish him without waiting any longer. The pope determined to give himself the pleasure of being present at the last moments of so obstinate a heretic, who had constantly called him antichrist.

On Monday, the 9th of September, 1560, an excited multitude might be seen eagerly pressing towards the court of the castle of St. Angelo. A scaffold, and close by a pile of fagots, had been already placed there. In the immediate vicinity, rose an amphitheatre of richly decorated benches, on which were seated his holiness the pope, vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, the cardinals, the inquisitors, with priests, and monks of all kinds in great numbers. When the martyr to Christian truth appeared, dragging himself along with difficulty under the weight of his chains, his enemies, who watched all his motions and the play of his features, ready to exult in the least symptom of weakness, could not detect in his countenance any change or fear. There was the same mild and resigned expression which had never left him during the whole time of his long imprisonment. Having arrived at the scaffold, and taking advantage of a short interval of silence, he declared to the people that if he were put to death, it would not be for any crime, but for having confessed with purity and boldness the doctrine of his Divine Master and Saviour Jesus Christ. "As to those," he went on to say, "who hold the pope to be God upon earth and vicar of Jesus Christ, they are strangely mistaken, seeing that in everything, and everywhere, he shows himself to be a mortal enemy of His doctrine and true service, and of pure religion, and by his actions that he is manifestly the real antichrist." He could say no more. The inquisitors gave the signal to the executioner, who, raising him from the ground, put an end to his life by strangulation. His body was thrown on the funeral pile and soon reduced to ashes. "The pope," says a historian, "must have wished himself elsewhere, or that Pascal had been dumb, or the people deaf; for he said many things against the pope, according to the word of God, which displeased him exceedingly. Thus this man died, calling on God with so ardent a zeal that he deeply moved the assistants at his execution, and made the pope and his cardinals gnash their teeth."*

The Vaudois churches of Apulia and some other

* Crespin, Hist. des Martyrs, fol. 520.—Perrin, Hist. des Vaudois, et des Albigeois, p. 207.

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provinces of Naples, not having displayed any extraordinary zeal, escaped the suspicious notice of Rome. Those of their members who had real piety, were not slow in disposing of their property and taking refuge in a safe place. All the rest bent their heads before the storm and abandoned the profession of the gospel. At the present day, we should seek in vain, in these countries, for vestiges of the once flourishing Vaudois colonies.*

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BENEFITS OF THE PEACE ATTENDED WITH GREAT EVILS.

THE peace signed at Cavor on the 5th of June, 1561, by Philip of Savoy, and the deputies of the valleys, had dissipated many fears, and restored tranquillity to a desolated country. The hearts of mothers no longer failed them at the very name of soldiers, and the prospect of hateful and agonizing scenes no longer drew their restless and stealthy glances to their offspring. The aged people were once more led, with slow and feeble steps, from their hiding-places in the mountains. The joy of returning to the places where they had passed their infancy under the vines on the hill-side, or the shade of the chesnut-trees, brought smiles on their faces again. Sons and fathers hung up their weapons, and their warlike hands once more took the spade and sickle for their peaceful occupations. But the signing of the treaty, though it had allayed many fears, had not healed all their wounds; some were too deep. The distress most generally felt, was increasing want. Seven months of unsparing warfare on the part of the papists had impoverished every family. Whole villages and countless hamlets had been consumed by the flames, and were only a heap of ruins. They had to be rebuilt,

* For the whole of this chapter consult Botta, Storia d'Italia, t. ii., p. 430, and following:—Gilles, Hist. Ecclés., ch. xxix.—Léger, Histoire Générale, pt. ii., p. 333.—Perrin, Histoire des Vaudois, p. 199.—Revue Suisse, t. ii.—Crespin, fol. 515, etc.

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but everything was wanting. The provisions of the preceding year had come to an end. The time for sowing corn was past. The harvest approached, but there was hardly anything to reap, for only the heights had been cultivated and the best lands had been left fallow. To this destitution was added the difficulty of providing for the maintenance and establishment of the Calabrian fugitives, who came to the valleys stript of everything.

In this state of things, and by the advice of the church of Geneva, the churches of the valleys had recourse to the charity of their brethren in Switzerland and Germany. John Calvin exerted himself for them with great zeal. Their deputies were everywhere received with interest, and had the consolation of collecting sums adequate to relieve their most pressing necessities. The elector palatine made the largest donation. Next to him may be mentioned the duke of Wurtemburg, the marquis of Baden, the evangelical cantons, with Berne at their head, the church of Strasburg, and a great number of others, among which the churches of Provence may be specially noticed. France would have sent much more, if the collections made in different places had not been checked by internal troubles.

In addition to the daily trials caused by their actual indigence, they had to endure various annoyances from the priests and monks. They provoked the pastors to disputes on religion. An exchange of letters took place, and became a pretext for violent measures. The Vaudois were accused of fomenting discord, and the civil authorities, deceived by false reports published on the 6th of May, 1563, a mandate prohibiting the Catholics from holding any relation or intercourse with the heretics. But as this vexatious measure occasioned inconvenience to the papists—as much to the monks themselves as to the poor Vaudois—the gentry of the country and neighbourhood appealed to the duke and procured a modification of the decree.* On the market-day, July 9th, it was announced at Lucerna that his highness did not mean that commercial dealings should cease between the professors of the two religions, but only that they should abstain from controversy.

* In fact, by this measure, the markets of many small towns on the frontiers, and even in Pinerolo, found themselves deprived of a proper supply of provisions, etc.

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The enemies of the Vaudois were not willing to consider themselves defeated. Pretending that the treaty of peace had not been exactly observed in all points by the people of the valleys, they endeavoured to foment intrigues against them at court, and to impose upon the duke by false reports. On the faith of their calumnious representations, the government thought of restricting the liberties of the Vaudois by severe measures, and, for the execution of its designs, chose Sebastian Gratiol, of Castrocaro, a Tuscan by birth, a man worthy of such a charge. He had served against the Vaudois as colonel of the militia in the last persecution, under the count de la Trinité. Having been taken prisoner in one encounter, he had been honourably treated and released out of respect to the duchess, to whose retinue he pretended to belong. Being deeply mortified at finding himself in the hands of these rustic mountaineers, and at owing his liberty to their generosity, he thought himself fitted to act the part of an oppressor, and succeeded in getting himself appointed, first of all, commissioner of the duke in the valleys, and soon after governor of the same. Two contrary influences contributed to his elevation: the support of the archbishop of Turin, to whom he had promised to do everything for the conversion of the Vaudois to popery, and the recommendation of the pious princess, the protectress of the valleys, to whom he managed to recommend himself, and whose vigilance he deceived by false representations.

The first words of Castrocaro on his arrival in the valley of Lucerna, in the spring of 1565, were threatening. The duke, he said, retracted the concessions which he had made in the treaty of peace. But the churches having appealed to his highness, the commissioner modified his language, and only insisted on the immediate signature of an engagement, drawn up by himself, which tended considerably to restrict the liberties of the churches and of private persons. In case of refusal, the cavalry were immediately to enter the valleys and renew the war.

In so critical a position, the churches conducted themselves with wisdom, combining prudence with firmness in their answers, and a respectful tone with sound arguments. The latter, however, would, according to all appearance, have had little weight, if the excellent princess, whom God had

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placed near the duke as their safeguard, had not again interceded in their favour. Yet the answer in which she acquaints the churches with the success of her intervention, and the abandonment of the demands which had so greatly disquieted them, indicates too great confidence in the crafty individual who was imposed on the valleys as governor.

Castrocaro being established with a strong garrison in the castle of La Torre, in the valley of Lucerna, only kept too well the promises he had made to the archbishop. He ordered the pastor of San Giovanni to refuse the holy supper to many who came from lower Piedmont and applied for it. He required the church at Bobbio to dismiss their pastor, on the pretext that he was a foreigner. Then, on the refusal of its noble-hearted members, he pronounced their sequestration, and forbade every person under his jurisdiction from having the least connexion or intercourse with them. He imprisoned, fined, or ill-treated in some other way, all who did not comply with the slightest intimation of his wishes. He vexed the pastors: one of the most respectable, Gilles, on his return from Geneva through Dauphiné, was arrested as a conspirator by the soldiers of the governor, thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and then conducted to Turin by the archers and a detachment of cavalry.

Intolerance and religious oppression were felt not only in the valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, and San Martino (the greater part of the valley of Perosa on the left side was then subject to France,) but in all the towns of Piedmont where the reformed were to be found. An edict, published the 10th of June, 1565, enjoined them to attend mass, or to leave the dominions of his highness within two months. "The duke no longer wishes to allow two religions in his country," was the chancellor's answer to some reformed members of the noble family of Solari. In fact, a great number of them had to choose between exile and a prison.

The hearing and sight of so many grievances, and especially the dread of still greater, dictated an extreme measure to some of the Vaudois and their friends; they implored the intercession of the Protestant princes of Germany, and especially of the electors of the Palatinate and Saxony, with the duke. These generous defenders of the faith sent as an ambassador for this purpose, to his highness of Savoy,

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John Junius, councillor of state of the elector Palatine, and a man of piety, and experienced in business. He arrived at Turin in February, 1566. A strange proceeding, and contrary to the law of nations, soon taught him the zeal, or rather madness, which operated against those who were not papists. Barberi, the fiscal general, no sooner heard that the secretary of the embassy, David Chaillet, was a minister of the gospel, than he proceeded to put him under arrest in his hotel. It is right to say that the councillor Junius, having immediately complained of this gross infraction of the law of nations, and demanding reparation for the insult committed against his prince in the person of one of the members of his embassy, obtained his immediate liberation, and the arrest of Barberi. But this unheard-of act served as the basis and argument of the remonstrances which the delegate of the Protestant courts of Germany made on the part of his masters to the court of Savoy, on the subject of the persecutions against the Vaudois and the reformed in general. The government of Turin was not pleased with these officious interventions. Nevertheless, the duke promised some relaxation in the measures taken against the reformed in Piedmont, and throughout his dominions in general. He also assured the ambassador, that the conditions of the treaty of peace, made with the inhabitants of the valleys, should be strictly observed. The immediate result was the liberation of some prisoners—of the respectable minister Gilles in particular—to the great joy of the members of his church, his colleagues, and all the people.

How little dependence could be placed on the promises of the court of Turin to the Protestant ambassador appeared soon after his departure. He had scarcely cleared the frontier, when Castrocaro issued two ordinances in the valley of Lucerna, one of which enjoined on every inhabitant, or native of any place not under his government, to leave the country on the morrow, under pain of death and the confiscation of his property. The other ordinance prohibited the reformed of Lucerna, Bibbiana, Campiglione and Fenile, from coming to the preaching at San Giovanni, under the same penalties. The castle of La Torre was soon crowded with prisoners, who could never deem it their duty to obey such orders. A deputation to the court and the intercession of the good duchess once more diverted the storm.

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The dungeons were opened, the accused returned in peace to their habitations, and the ordinances fell into oblivion.*

Castrocaro would not suffer himself to be stopped by the obstacles opposed to his zeal in high quarters. He did not the less pursue the course of his oppressive attempts, conformably to his secret engagements. He had already endeavoured, but, thanks to the intervention of the duchess, without success, to restrain a custom established from time immemorial, that of synodical meetings of the pastors and deputies of the parishes of all the Vaudois churches, both those of the Piedmontese valleys, and those of Dauphiné and other places.† Not being able to prevent the synods, he attempted to alter their character, and to cramp the liberty of the members, as well as the discussions and votes, by being there in person. His presence in the synod of Bobbio was protested against, but in vain; Castrocaro remained in the assembly.

The persecution was also renewed against the reformed in lower Piedmont, Barcelonetta, and other places. It became, indeed, so violent, that a great number of these poor people took refuge for a time at Vars, Guillestre, Fraissinière, and the other valleys of the Upper Dauphiné.

The news of these proceedings, so little in conformity with the promises made to councillor Junius, was brought to the princes who had sent him as ambassador to Turin, and excited their strong displeasure. The elector Palatine complained to the duke of Savoy. The historian Gilles has preserved the remarkable letter which that prince wrote on this occasion; it is as remarkable for the elevation of its views, as for the nobleness and purity of its sentiments. It is a glowing defence of liberty of conscience; an eloquent pleading in favour of toleration; and, at the same time, an act of homage to the Christian faith, an appeal to the conscience and justice of the duke, and a serious warning of the judgment to come. "Let your highness," it is there said,

* Under Castrocaro's administration the fortress of Mirebouc was erected, at the bottom of the valley of Lucerna, in the commune of Bobbio, on the frontiers of France, at the foot of the Col de la Croix.

† The marquisate of Saluzzo, for example.—A general Vaudois synod, like those to which we have alluded, was held at the end of May, 1567, at Villaret, in the vale of Clusone or Pragela, in Dauphiné, to adopt resolutions and measures of safety, occasioned by the fear of the passage, in the vicinity of the valleys, of the army of the duke of Alva, in its march to Flanders.—See Gilles, ch. xxxv., p. 238.

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"know that there is a God in heaven, who not only contemplates the actions, but also tries the hearts and reins of men, and from whom nothing is hid. Let your highness take care not voluntarily to make war upon God, and not to persecute Christ in his members; for if he permit this for a time, in order to exercise the patience of his people, he will, nevertheless, at last chastise the persecutors by horrible punishments. Let not your highness allow yourself to be misled by the seducing discourses of the papists, who, perhaps, will promise you the kingdom of heaven and eternal life, provided that, by some means or pretext, you banish, imprison, and at last exterminate these Huguenots, as they now call good Christians; for assuredly no one can enter the kingdom of heaven by cruelty, inhumanity, and calumny. Another way must be followed in order to enter in. . . . Persecution, moreover, will never advance the cause it pretends to defend. So far have those who have afflicted Christians, who have tormented and exiled them, or taken away their lives, been from annihilating them, that, on the contrary, they have increased their numbers; so that the adage has been constantly verified—The ashes of the martyrs are the seed of the Christian church. For the church resembles the palm-tree, which rises higher the more it is confined. Let your highness consider that the Christian religion was established by persuasion and not by violence; and as it is certain that religion is nothing else than a firm and enlightened persuasion of God, and of his will, as revealed in his word and engraven in the hearts of believers by the Holy Spirit, it cannot, when once rooted, be torn away by tortures; for believers will rather endure any punishment and suffering whatever, than do anything which in their esteem is contrary to piety."

We do not know what was the moral effect of this letter on the duke's mind. Possibly it contributed, in some degree, to a more moderate system which prevailed in the government of the valleys, during a series of years, even when the king of France had given the signal and example of persecution to the utmost, in causing the blood of his Protestant subjects to flow like a river on the evening of St. Bartholomew.

The Vaudois churches in the marquisate of Saluzzo, to

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the south of the valley of Lucerna, on the banks and near the sources of the Po, had shared the fate of the territory, and had been for many years under the dominion of France. Owing to the arrangements of every kind, which the interests of the French policy prescribed, in the administration of a country of foreign manners and language, on the other side the Alps, the reformation, or, which is the same thing, the Vaudois church, made rapid progress there. Congregations, or churches, more or less numerous, had been formed in most of the cities of the marquisate, and in a great number of villages. Active and devoted pastors visited frequently and in rotation those places where they did not reside. They amounted, in 1567, to nine. For the safety of their persons they were generally obliged to have recourse to precautionary measures in their journey for evangelizing, and in their meetings. The churches retired in the mountains, as that of Aceil, enjoyed more liberty. At Pravilhelm particularly, an ancient and venerable stock of the Vaudois church in those parts,* the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments were openly performed, and with full security. Accordingly, people resorted thither from all quarters for this purpose. But ordinarily, in all other places, the religious services were performed in private houses and small assemblies.

The Romish clergy were irritated at the progress of the reformation; but being restrained, in the overflowings of their jealousy, by the royal intention of not disturbing the peaceable and prudent members of the reformed church in the exercise of their worship, they had recourse to a dexterous method of weakening them. Knowing that the greater number of the pastors were not natives of the king's dominions, they sought and obtained from the duke de Nevers, the governor, an edict, dated the 19th of October, 1567, ordering all those of the reformed religion, living in the country but not subjects of the king, to leave it, both themselves and their families, in three days, under pain of death and the confiscation of their property. The measure did not attain the end proposed; the pastors, faithful to their duty, continued their evangelical labours in secret. Two of them, it is true, having been discovered, were cast into prison, where they remained more than four

* See, on this subject, the end of the sixteenth chapter.

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years; after which, on the urgent remonstrances made at court by the minister Galatée, and in the name of the churches of the marquisate, they were set at liberty.

The year 1572 was now arrived. If we except some arbitrary and rigorous acts, occurring from time to time, as well as an habitual restraint and inspection, the Vaudois and reformed churches, as well in the marquisate as of the valleys, and of Piedmont properly so called, enjoyed some degree of tranquillity. The news of the approaching marriage of the sister of the king of France with the young king of Navarre, who was at the head of the Protestant party in France, seemed to indicate a reconciliation in the minds of the two great parties, and to be the omen of a better future; when, all at once, at the beginning of September, the report of the horrible massacres committed over the whole extent of that kingdom passed over the mountains with the rapidity of the wind, and filled the hearts of all the reformed with anguish and terror. All the persons of greatest note and influence in the ranks of their brethren had been perfidiously murdered, most of them in their beds, on that detestable night of St. Bartholomew. The butchery was continued on the following days.*

The lieutenant-governor of the king's domains in Piedmont, Louis de Birague, had also received orders to put to death the principal members of the reformed church in his government; but it was decided to put off their execution, owing, we are happy to believe, to the judicious and charitable suggestions of the archdeacon of Saluzzo. This ecclesiastic had pointed out the complete disagreement between these last cruel orders and the preceding ones, which enjoined the release of the two ministers, and a tolerant and mild mode of dealing with the reformed. He had, therefore, proposed to proceed no further than arresting the principal persons, saying, that they could be executed at any time afterwards, if his majesty required it. This prudent and humane advice was adopted; but on the first arrests, the greater part of the suspected persons withdrew and retired to some place of safety. A royal message, enjoining the authorities to put a stop to every execution, if it were not too late, and to adhere to the preceding

* It is believed that more than a hundred thousand Huguenots (the name given in France to the reformed) were massacred on that occasion.

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ordinances relating to the reformed, arrived a few days after, and put things on the same footing as before.

The news of the enormities of Saint Bartholomew were no sooner known in Piedmont (subject to the duke of Savoy) than the zealous papists made great demonstrations of joy, and taunted the reformed, telling them that their God was no more and their ruin was at hand. The language of Castrocaro, the governor of the valleys, caused the people great anxiety. They accordingly lost no time in removing their families and most valuable effects to their accustomed hiding-places in the mountains. The men alone remained on the watch in their homes, their hearts oppressed, and finding repose only in prayer; but the duke, who appeared not to approve of the system of assassination by which France was sullied, no sooner became aware of the distrust of the Vaudois, than he assured them of his pacific disposition, and invited them to return to their dwellings and resume their occupations, which they did.

At this juncture, the governor of the French territory on the other side the Alps, Louis de Birague, attempted to deprive the inhabitants of the Vaudois valley of Perosa (which came under the dominion of France in 1562) of the public exercise of their religion. The churches remonstrated, supporting themselves on the fact that the king, on their annexation to France, had recognised their privileges and liberties both ecclesiastical and political, and guaranteed their exercise. Not being able to persuade them to yield, Birague had recourse to force; yet fearing lest the Vaudois valleys, which still remained under the house of Savoy, should succour their brethren in distress, he obtained an injunction from the duke against their interference. But while the brave Vaudois, faithful to their traditions, and the examples they had so often given, expressed in their reply their settled intention to respect their sovereign's will in all that regarded his interest and his glory, they showed themselves not less decided to serve God invariably, and to maintain by every means in their power the religion that was menaced in the rights and persons of their brethren of the valley of Perosa. The new governor for the king of France, Charles de Birague, immediately renouncing the measures of persuasion which his deceased brother had attempted, assembled his troops, and

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in July, 1573, made an attack on the village of Saint-Germain. Five poor villagers were immediately taken prisoners, and conducted to Pinerolo. Some days after, they were condemned to be led back to their own neighbourhood, and there to be hung. The very day on which these five men were seized, the people of Angrogna, led on by the valiant Pietro Fraschi, rushed from their heights into the plain to succour their brethren, and, having joined them, repulsed the enemy. In the course of the following day, the Vaudois forces were so increased by the quotas of all the communes of the valleys, that they were able to make head against the two French divisions from Perosa and Pinerolo, which assailed them at the same time. After upwards of a month had been spent in ineffectual attacks and a valiant defence, peace was longed for as much in one camp as the other, and accordingly the terms were easily settled. To satisfy the claims of propriety, or rather to save appearances, it was agreed that the Vaudois of the valley of Perosa should present a petition to obtain peace and the exercise of the religion which their fathers, as they expressed it, had followed from time immemorial. They engaged also to suspend their public worship for a month, and, what was more serious, though not irremediable, to dismiss their pastor, Guérin.* On these conditions, the Vaudois of the valley of Perosa obtained the preservation and guarantee of their customs, and particularly of the treaty made between the duke of Savoy, their ancient lord, and the Vaudois valleys, of which they formed a part. In this manner terminated, to the satisfaction of all parties, the conflict called the war of La Radde, from the name of the officer who commanded the French troops.

During these troubles, and in the vicinity of the disturbed districts, the Vaudois church, by the zeal of this same pastor Guérin, whom his people sacrificed for the sake of peace, had obtained a remarkable moral success, which was, without doubt, the cause of his removal.

Pramol, the different hamlets of which occupy the centre of a solitary valley to the north-west of Saint-Germain, between the Séa, or ridge, of Angrogna, towards the south, and the last ramifications of the mountains of the valley of

* Guérin, nevertheless, was not lost to the valleys; he only took charge of another parish.

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San Martino to the north—Pramol had hitherto contained within its precincts some papists and a parish priest; but Guérin having gone thither one Sunday to celebrate divine service, addressed the priest who had just finished the mass, and asked him if he had the courage to maintain that the mass he had chanted was good? The poor man appearing greatly embarrassed at this appeal, Guérin, who did not wish it to be thought that he would take advantage of an adversary unprepared and surprised, left him, saying that on the following Sunday he would demonstrate by the word of God, and even by the missal he made use of in chanting the mass, that it was full of errors. On the following Sunday, when the minister came to Pramol, he found neither priest nor mass. The pope's servant had fled from the combat. Guérin, in a conversation with the forsaken flock, urged them to admit light into their consciences, and offered to be their guide in the study of the word of salvation. These men, already half-persuaded, resorted assiduously to his house at La Balma, between Pramol and Saint-Germain, and in a little time all declared themselves for the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. The evangelical population being considerably increased by this conversion of the papists of the valley, Pramol was from that time formed into a parish, and provided with a special pastor.

On the occasion of the troubles of Perosa, and the succour which the Vaudois of the valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, and San Martino had brought to their brethren in distress, Castrocaro renewed his measures of severity; but the favour of the duchess caused them to be revoked, or at least weakened their effect. This was the last time that Margaret of France, duchess of Savoy, gave to the despised and oppressed Vaudois a signal proof of her benevolent regard. This enlightened and compassionate princess dared to undertake and maintain the arduous office of a mediator till her death, which took place the 19th of October, 1574. It was no doubt to her, under God, that the Vaudois owed the comparatively mild conditions which were granted them during the stormy period, marked by the persecution and death of so many of their reformed brethren in France, Spain, Italy, and elsewhere. After the death of the duchess, Castrocaro's credit dimi-

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nished rapidly at court; for every one knew that, though she had sought to temper his zeal against the Vaudois, yet it was to her that he was indebted for his nomination, and for retaining the government. Expressions of discontent were heard in every quarter. The lords of the valleys, who had seen with so much regret their authority weakened, and their position lowered by his elevation, plotted against him. An occasion of preferring an accusation soon offered itself. An officer of Castrocaro, at the head of a troop of soldiers, assassinated, it was said, by his orders, a captain Malherbe, who had always shown a coolness towards the governor, and, on the contrary, a strong attachment to the gentry in the valley. Although a Vaudois, captain Malherbe was always esteemed by the duke for his valour. The relations of the deceased having made a complaint, and the lords seconding it to the utmost of their power, the cause of Castrocaro took an unhappy turn for him. He strove for some time, it is true, against his adversaries, among whom he counted the archbishop of Turin, who was irritated because, in spite of his secret promises, he had not reduced even a single Vaudois commune to embrace popery, nor deprived the Vaudois of any of their rights. It was in vain that, in order to regain the prelate's good graces, he attempted to re-establish tithes in favour of certain priests, and dexterously to support the Jesuit Vanini, who was too feeble, notwithstanding his presumption, to contend in public with the pastors; it was in vain that, to render himself of importance, he sanctioned unfavourable rumours, and sowed disquiet among the Vaudois, that he might blacken them in his reports: the fall of this clever adventurer was resolved upon.

A new prince had taken the direction of affairs; Charles Emmanuel, at the age of nineteen, succeeded his father, Emmanuel Philibert, who died the 30th of August, 1580. Having no reason for upholding a man who was justly accused of malversation, the abuse of power, rapine, and even of murder, as much by those he governed as by his equals, the young duke consented to his arrest, and entrusted it to the count of Lucerna, whom he nominated governor in his stead. Castrocaro ended his days in prison.

About this time, and for a series of years, the Vaudois

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churches of Dauphiné, situated to the west and north of the Piedmontese valleys, in those, namely, of Queiras, Château-Dauphin, Cesane, Oulx, and others besides, were often assailed, and so ill-treated by the papists, that, in some places, they could only assemble by night to attend to religious worship; and when these churches, aspiring to the measure of liberty then general in France, endeavoured to shake off the tyranny of their Roman Catholic neighbours, violent means were employed for their destruction, and with so much the greater alacrity, as the position of their elevated and retired valleys rendered it impossible to obtain the help of their distant brethren. The aid of their allies and co-religionists of the Piedmontese valleys was not however wanting, and often extricated them from the greatest difficulties. But perhaps the zeal with which they hastened to succour their brethren in distress degenerated sometimes into a passion for war; but we shall not follow the valiant captain Fraschi and his companions in the contests they maintained together with and for their brethren of Dauphiné; for, after much blood had been spilt on both sides in various encounters, things assumed the position which they had before.

In 1592, the Vaudois valleys, which had enjoyed a considerable share of tranquillity for some years, were suddenly occupied, as well as a part of the plain, by a French army, under the orders of the sire de Lesdiguières, an able and courageous general, who had lately taken Upper Dauphiné from the leaguers, or Catholic party. During their occupation, this general fortified Bricherasco, at the entry of the valley of Lucerna, re-established the castle in the latter place, and pulled down those of La Torre and Perosa. The gentry and inhabitants of the valleys were forced to take an oath of fidelity to the king of France. They did it with reluctance, after many remonstrances, and a refusal at first. The country was occupied only two years. At the end of 1594, Lesdiguières was obliged to retreat, having lost the important post of Bricherasco, and the duke again took possession of this part of his domains. But, as if it had not been enough for the poor Vaudois to have been burdened with quartering soldiers and military contributions, with having endured all kinds of evil, even pillage and incendiarism,* it was for

* La Torre, during the siege of Bricherasco, by the duke, was suddenly assaulted,

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a while in contemplation to punish them for the oath they had taken to the crown of France, at the same time as their lords and other papists did, to whom, nevertheless, it was never imputed as a crime. Happily, there were conscientious men in the duke's council, who, knowing that the Vaudois had in the first place taken advice at Turin, and that they had acted as they had done with the tacit authority of the duchess (the duke was then fighting in Provence), and her council, succeeded in their explanations and apologies, though not without difficulty.

The noise of arms, the tumult of the soldiery, the complaints which arose on their passing through the country, were succeeded by the sound of animated voices—a tumult of ecclesiastics, monks, and priests, declaiming, complaining, urging, deafening, disputing, recriminating, sometimes insulting, and, what is worse, fomenting hatred, distrust, and divisions, having recourse to deception and intimidation, and even to persecution, which they accomplished in the silent obscurity of dungeons. The young duke had, it is true, in passing through the valley of Lucerna,* encouraged his faithful Vaudois subjects by saying,—"Be faithful to me and I will be a good prince and even a good father to you; as to liberty of conscience and the exercise of your religion, I wish to make no innovation; I will make no alteration in the mode of living to which you have hitherto been accustomed; and if any persons attempt to trouble you, come to me, and I will see to it." But the duke was not able to refuse his clergy authority to send a mission, and even regular missions to the valleys; and nothing more was necessary to create troubles and sufferings in abundance among the inhabitants.

The archbishop of Turin visited the valleys with a numerous retinue. Great effects were looked for from his presence. The Vaudois, it was thought, dazzled by the splendour that surrounded a prince of the church, would throw themselves at his feet; or at least, if they still delayed their passage to popery for a while, they would lend a favourable ear to missionaries under his high

pillaged, and partly burned, by a division of Spaniards, who, on their return, also set on fire various parts of San Giovanni.

* When Charles Emmanuel was on a journey to the fortress of Mirebouc, a deputation of the Vaudois waited upon him at Villar, to pay him homage; and on that occasion he uttered these excellent sentiments.

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patronage, and appointed by him. Some of these missionaries were Jesuits in the valley of Lucerna; others, reverend Capuchins, in the valleys of Perosa and San Martino.

These servants of the pope did not spare themselves. They were everywhere, in public assemblies, in private houses, in shops, in fields, on the roads. They entered into discussions with every one, passing as rapidly from one hearer to the next as from one subject to another. There was nothing but perpetual wrangling. The ministers had yielded to the temptation to reply; they even thought that their honour and their office engaged them to take part in these contests. But they soon perceived that they were spent in words, without any real edification, owing to the versatility of their adversaries in changing the ground of debate, when they felt that which they were upon failing them. The shafts of truth were scattered without hitting the mark. The ministers then resolved only to hold discussions at regular and public sittings, on a subject announced with precision, and they kept to this resolution. The first of these disputations was held at San Giovanni, in 1596, at which the count of Lucerna presided. The turn it took was so decidedly against the Jesuits, that the count being urged to speak his sentiments and to give his reasons to the minister, had recourse to an evasion, and precipitately closed the debate.*

In the valleys of Perosa and San Martino, the Capuchin fathers were equally busy, especially as they felt themselves supported by having the duke's troops in the neighbourhood, who were fighting in the vale of Clusone with those of the king of France. Among other things, they succeeded so far that the governor of Pinerolo undertook to deprive a large number of evangelicals at Pinache, of the use of their temple, ravaged the village, and sent the father and brother of the pastor Ughet, who had escaped them, to prison at Turin. Others also were sent, and many died there. They obtained their release with difficulty, and rarely without abjuring. The pastor of Pravilhelm, Antoine Bonjour, who was shut up in the fortress of Revel, was more fortunate, for, having let himself down the wall, he gained the

* "If you were disputing," he said, "about the qualities of a good horse or a good sword, I would give you my opinion, for I understand something about such things; but I do not understand your controversies, and therefore do not wish to intermeddle with them. Besides, I must tell you that I have his highness's orders to go immediately to Turin," etc.

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woods, and then the mountains, and returned in peace to Bobbio, his native place, where he was settled as pastor till his death.

The Capuchins, who were sent to the valleys of Perosa and San Martino, being filled with presumption, wished also to have the honour of a public disputation at Saint-Germain, in 1598, but they had not much reason to congratulate themselves on the result. They then had recourse to a more skilful method for making proselytes, and less likely to compromise themselves. They informed the evangelicals with an air of mystery, that there were serious and alarming designs on foot against them, which would suddenly be carried into effect. This confidential communication, which they begged them to keep secret, lest any harm should come to its authors for their charitable imprudence, had no other object, they said, but to induce those who were interested to turn to the right side before it was too late. These rumours, it can scarcely be doubted, occasioned many fears, but they had not the effect which their authors expected.

The monkish missionaries, being dissatisfied with their fruitless efforts, thought of another method, the force of which they perceived, and which from that time has been too much practised to the detriment of the honour of those who use it, and of the religion which could sanction it. They attached themselves to persons in debt, or in bad circumstances, burdened with a family, and of little integrity, promising them a sum of money, and further assistance, if they abjured the gospel. They also promised a full pardon to persons who, by their crimes, were exposed to the vengeance of the laws, if they would go to mass. This immoral expedient was the most successful. The Vaudois would have consoled themselves for the loss of unworthy men who were only a disgrace to their church, if their children had not also been drawn with them into the abyss of error by their apostasy. Two persons of a higher class, one of Pramol, the other of the valley of San Martino, also abjured : the first, in order to avoid the punishment which threatened him for abuse of authority and acts of extortion ; the second from vanity, being flattered by the attentions of the gentry and magistrates of the country. These defections served at least to show the Vaudois into what new dangers pride,

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the love of money, and every immoral act, might precipitate them.

Towards the end of the year 1599, the duke, having taken a journey to France, the adversaries of the Vaudois thought it was a favourable opportunity for molesting them. They wished to oblige them to keep the popish festivals in some places where it had never been the practice to do so, and they shut up the schools in other parts. On the least resistance, the people were dragged to prison, from which they could be released only by paying a fine, or by promising to go to mass. An enterprising man, moreover, named Ubertin Braide, was appointed parish priest at La Torre, who claimed from the evangelicals the tithes from which they had been freed since 1561, and on their refusal caused their goods to be seized by the officers of justice. The irritation produced in many quarters was excessive. An outbreak was expected. But a deputation sent to the duke, who was then in Savoy, produced a redress of these grievances. The priest, having been defeated in his claims, a calm seemed to be restored. But some ill-advised young men, by their reprehensible conduct, rekindled the fire that was scarcely concealed among the ashes. One evening they terrified the priest, by their cries, after he had retired to his parsonage; and fearing some act of vengeance, he took refuge with a gentleman in the neighbourhood.

The affair was regarded as criminal. An investigation took place. The young men, who were well known, were to be conducted to Turin. On the arrival of a detachment of archers, they took to flight. Not making their appearance in court, they were condemned for contumacy, and banished from the duke's territories. This event was a source of great sorrow to the pastors, the watchful guardians of the public morals, and a prolonged source of trouble, and even of offences and crimes; for these youths, being constrained to flee from their homes, and having no regular means of subsistence, often claimed by force what they could not obtain by good-will. Some abandoned people, many of whom were papists, took advantage of the general confusion to commit crimes in secret, which they hoped would be attributed to these outlaws.

A melancholy event at the beginning of this century showed the extent of that popish arrogance which would

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not allow an evangelical Christian even the right of answering, in his own defence, those who disputed the excellence of his religion. A worthy merchant of La Torre, named Coupin, being at Asti, in 1601, for the fair, was led on, one evening at supper, by the questions of the other guests, to avow himself a Vaudois, and to deny the real presence of the Saviour in the eucharist. Being denounced as a criminal, although he kept within the limits of defence allowed by the treaty of 1561, he was thrown into prison, from which no representations made by his relations and friends, and by the churches, even to the duke himself, could gain his release. The inquisition would not let go its prey till deprived of life, nor even then; for when the martyr was found dead in his cell, his remains were publicly burned. During the two years of his captivity, this humble and sincere Christian was not shaken in his faith for a moment, but edified to the last those who were admitted to see him. He was astonished himself at the unexpected power which was communicated to him, and at the clear, precise, and evangelical answers with which God inspired him in the presence of his judges.

The same year on which Coupin was arrested, that is, in 1601, an order was given to all the evangelicals of the marquisate of Saluzzo* to quit the domains of his highness within two months from the publication of the edict. They were allowed to dispose of their property within the same period. Alas! several gave up their faith and became papists; nevertheless, a great number of families preferred obeying God, and passed over to France or Switzerland. Some succeeded in settling themselves in the valleys. The ancient Vaudois churches of the marquisate, at Pravilhelm and others in the mountains, were at last left in repose, after having shared for some time the general tribulation.

The efforts of the papists did not stop here. They endeavoured, both by flatteries and threats, to induce the members of the Vaudois church to abjure who were settled in the town of Lucerna, as well as in those of Bibbiana, Campiglione, and Fenile, on the confines of Piedmont, where they did not enjoy the right of holding their worship in public. Ponte, the governor of the province, in order to

* This marquisate was ceded to Piedmont by France in that year, by the treaty of Lyons.

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intimidate them, gave notice to the recusants by edicts issued with the greatest publicity, of the expiration of their term for remaining in the country. The archbishop of Turin, who was on the spot, called the parties interested before him, flattered them with smooth speeches, or sought to shake their faith by arguments, which, no doubt, he thought plausible. For this latter purpose, and to please them, without maturely considering the danger his cause would incur, he even challenged a public disputation, which took place at San Giovanni between his delegate, Marchesi, professor and rector of the Jesuits at Turin, and the pastor, Auguste Gros, an ancient popish professor, converted long before, and a man of talent, information, and great piety. This dispute, which confirmed the Vaudois who were present in their faith, was not renewed, though the minister was perfectly willing, as it had not produced the results which the archbishop hoped for.

The town of Lucerna not having been included in the treaty of 1561, the Vaudois who had settled there and did not abjure their religion, had to fix themselves elsewhere. Those who were settled at Bibbiana, Campiglione, and Fenile, conformably to the treaty, would not be persuaded to leave them. To overcome this repugnance, recourse was had to a method which only priests, more concerned about their own interests than their sovereign's honour, could devise. They persuaded the duke to interfere personally with the most respectable persons, and to add to his preceding acts the weight of his direct influence; the urgency of kind expressions; and the irresistible authority of a request from his lips. Unthinking men! not to see that on the most favourable supposition, that of success, the prince would lose more than he gained; that by inducing his subjects to deny their faith, he would shake his own throne, since fidelity to a sovereign, just and legitimate as it is, cannot be more so than that which is due to God, and, moreover, is only strong and durable so far as it rests on religious belief. And in case of a result unfavourable to their schemes, that of resistance on the part of a Vaudois to the moral pressure exercised upon him by his prince, would not the majesty of the throne be compromised by a fruitless attempt on the conscience of a

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subject, and the person of the prince be exposed to a severe judgment from him who would have wished to be always able to respect it?

On an appointed day, four persons of the greatest consideration among the Vaudois of Bibbiana, who, by their influence, according to what their adversaries said, had hitherto rendered the united efforts of the irritated governor and the insinuating archbishop useless, were sent for to Turin, in the name of the prince, and introduced, one after another, into his presence. The first, named Valentin Boule, or Bolla, after listening to the affectionate language of his highness, expressive of an earnest desire that he should embrace his religion, respectfully supplicated his sovereign to permit him to remain faithful to God, according to his word. Is it necessary to add, that the duke ceased to urge him, and allowed him to withdraw, saying, "You would certainly have given me great pleasure in complying with my remonstrance, but I do not wish to do violence to your conscience." Valentin Bolla having departed without being able to exchange a word with the three others, it was falsely represented to them that their brother and friend had yielded to the duke's desire, and pledged himself to abjure. Deceived by this account, and disconcerted by the apparent defection of him whom they considered as the most faithful, they promised, one after another, to do what was desired so ardently. A part of their friends at Bibbiana followed their example; yet several afterwards returned to the church.

Some time after, the same expedient was tried with some influential persons among the Vaudois of Pinache, in the valley of Perosa, after the governor Ponte and the archbishop had used their utmost efforts with the people in general. The three Vaudois who appeared before the duke, namely, Michael Gilles, Jean Micol, and Jean Bouchard, remained firm in the faith, as did also the greater part of their brethren of Perosa and of the Val Clusone, in spite of the various means which were set at work to inveigle them into popery. In order to seduce the poor during the great dearth in the year 1602, the archbishop promised food in plenty for those who would go to mass. He spared, in fact, neither corn, nor money; yet he made little pro-

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gress by this immoral enticement. He also prevented those Vaudois from being employed as reapers, in the plain, who were not provided with a certificate signed by himself.

One more example of the indirect means of conversion employed by the papists may be given. Under the pretence that the numerous Vaudois whose houses were situated on the great road along the Perosa gave offence to the passengers, they caused an edict to be issued which forbade them from dwelling there any longer, and ordered them to retire to the other side of the river, towards Pramol. It must be added, however, that on the urgent remonstrance and prayers, proceeding both from the victims of the measure and from their neighbours who belonged to the Roman church, the execution of it was at first suspended, and finally abandoned.

It will be understood, moreover, that the government and the duke himself, frequently impelled by the contrivances of the priests to measures and acts that were of little avail for the conversion of the Vaudois to popery, and not appreciating the motives of conscience which prompted the latter to resistance, were ill-satisfied with the small heed given to their desires and wishes. The troubles occasioned by the young men who were outlawed for their imprudent conduct to the priest of La Torre, and were now wandering fugitives, living at hazard from day to day on charity or plunder—troubles and disorders, which the pastors could not prevent—were represented to the prince as symptoms of revolt against his authority, and were made use of to excite him to the most rigorous measures. Even the destruction of the churches was talked of.

The Vaudois, having received from various quarters advice to keep themselves on their guard, comprehended all the greatness of the danger; but instead of having recourse to means of human defence, they had only one thought, that of imploring the assistance (so often experienced) of their heavenly Protector, being fully persuaded of the truth, that "except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain," (Psa. cxxvii. 1.) They exhorted the people to repentance, and to amend their ways in several respects. The ablest pastors for the occasion visited the churches, paying special attention to those that were in the most unsound state. They also addressed

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the least culpable of the banished, and appealed to their better sentiments. More than all, they humbled themselves by a solemn fast, on the 11th and 12th of August, 1602. Shortly after, the governor of Turin, with the provost-general, and a great company of officers of justice, arrived in the valley of Lucerna. They came to judge the banished individuals, whom the communes were ordered to give up. In place of these men, they wished to send a petition for his highness to the governor, which he refused. He published some severe orders, and departed.*

The Vaudois then had recourse to the mediation of count Charles, of Lucerna, principal lord of one of the valleys, and who was in favour at court. They also sent a deputation, charged with presenting a petition, in writing, to his highness, from the valleys, in which they set the facts in their true light, complained of the calumnies by which their enemies aimed to render them odious in the eyes of their prince, and appealed with confidence to his benevolence, as well as to his high sense of justice. But, who can believe it? to be presented to the prince, the petition required to be modified in its form, and even in its substance. They were forced to express themselves, as if guilty of culpable actions; but, in spite of these alterations, nay, perhaps in consequence of them, its success was very partial.

While the churches were preparing to draw up a new address to the duke, some facts occurred which were not adapted to re-establish tranquillity. The Vaudois of Pinache, in the valley of Perosa, not having been able for a long time to obtain justice in reference to a temple of which the use was disputed, seized on that of Dublon, to which they had an equal right, giving up to the papists, in return, their claim to the former. Threats and some vexation followed, but without any disastrous issue. At Lucerna, on a market-day in March, 1603, six of the outlaws were recognised. Being surrounded and attacked in a narrow street, they made their way through by force of arms, killing, amongst others, a captain Crespin. One of them having fractured his thigh in leaping from a wall, was taken, tried, and condemned to be quartered. A company

* On his arrival at Turin he was arrested and disgraced, but for reasons foreign to our history.

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of infantry were brought to attend the execution, and afterwards remained for several months, to protect Lucerna against the dreaded attacks of the outlaws.

In the month of April, the valleys received the happy news, that, through the intercession of count Charles of Lucerna, the duke Charles Emmanuel had granted the greater part of their requests, especially the pardon of the outlaws, with the exception of some, who were specified. This result gave them great joy, but only for a short time; for it was soon perceived that all difficulties were not removed. How was it possible that this should be the case, when it seemed to be an admitted principle, in transactions with the Vaudois, to consider the concessions and promises made to them as matters that seemed at the time unavoidable, and only granted until an opportunity should arise for revoking them, or hindering their performance?

The body of infantry stationed at Lucerna brought trouble into the valley by an expedition against Bobbio, in which it might have been cut in pieces by the mass of people it drew together, and whom the prudent efforts of some of the Vaudois could scarcely restrain. These military disturbers of the public peace might think themselves fortunate, after the flight of their captain, and the deplorable death of some of their comrades, that they were allowed to give up their arms and surrender themselves prisoners. In the end, at the request of count Emmanuel, of Lucerna, and out of respect for the sovereign, they were set at liberty, and received back their arms a few days after.

At length, after a new mission of the count Charles to the valleys, in company with the provost-general of justice, a removal of all difficulties was effected. A temple was granted to the people of Pinache. The outlaws were pardoned, with the exception of five, and the valleys engaged to pay a fixed sum, by way of amends for insults to the popish temples, which were attributed to the Vaudois.

Days of peace succeeded to the melancholy times that had just passed. They were not marked by any extraordinary events. The church of La Torre enlarged its temple, notwithstanding the opposition of the papists, thanks to the friendly interposition of the duke. In the

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year 1605, many people were carried off in the valleys by dysentery, among others Dominique Vignaux, the pastor of Villaro, a native of Pénasac, in Gascony, a noble by birth and behaviour, of pure morals, a man of letters, a good theologian, and generally employed in the more important affairs of the churches. To him was confided the task of collecting the original writings of the Vaudois, in the Romance or Vaudois language, and in Latin,* which were transmitted to Pierre Perrin, pastor in Dauphiné, agreeably to the resolution of the synod of France, to assist him in his researches on the history of the Vaudois.

In 1611, the valleys were alarmed by the appearance of a large body of French troops, in the service of Savoy, who remained a month in the valley of Lucerna, and committed some excesses there.

In 1613, and the following year, the Vaudois were themselves called to take up arms for the service of their prince. They furnished several companies of militia, who acquitted themselves with credit at the siege of Saint Damian, in Vercelli, and elsewhere. They were allowed to meet together, morning and evening, to offer their accustomed devotions. In many places, especially in the cities, they were received with friendship. Their hosts questioned them on the points of their religion, and expressed a desire to know the truth; and some even showed that they were not unacquainted with it. But, in more retired places, the inhabitants fled at their approach, and feared to furnish them with lodgings; for, as in former ages, popish superstition represented them as one-eyed monsters, and decorated their mouths with four rows of long, black teeth, intended to chew the flesh and bones of little children, whom, it was said, they were fond of broiling on the coals.

The population of San Giovanni increased greatly, and being straitened in the locality where they usually performed Divine service, built a much larger temple. But a powerful influence at the court caused it to be closed.†

* See ch. x., above.

† Divine service was, no doubt, anciently celebrated at San Giovanni, since a pastor resided and ministered there specially; the count de Raconis himself was present at the preaching at San Giovanni, in 1560, before the persecution, (see Gilles, p. 96;) and it was most frequently to San Giovanni that the evangelicals of Lower Piedmont, Campiglione, Bibbiana, etc., came to partake of the Lord's supper, of which Gilles has given the special proofs. (p. 195.)

It is true that the treaty of 1561 does not mention San Giovanni among the

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The same spirit deprived the Vaudois at Campiglione of the use of their ancient cemetery adjoining that of the papists. The valleys had even to pay six thousand half-ducats to prevent the employment of more severe measures, occasioned by an attempt at interment by force of arms in the disputed cemetery.

The payment of this considerable sum very nearly produced disunion in the three valleys; those of Perosa and San Martino having refused to pay their quota to that of Lucerna. They were not, however, slow to perceive that, if they followed out this selfish system, they would become isolated from one another, and offer an easy prey to their common enemy, who was always on the watch. In fact, the valley of Lucerna having to pay to the authorities a fresh sum, which was claimed without any reasons founded on justice, it transferred to the ducal chamber (rather by coercion, it pretended) its claims on the contributions which were due to it from the other valleys. The Vaudois communes thus found themselves constrained to pay, by fear of the supreme authority, what they should have consented to give from good-will, out of love to their brethren and the common welfare.

The officers of the chamber incessantly claimed the payment of the debt. In a general assembly of the overseers of the communes of the valley of Perosa, called to clear themselves from a grave charge, the abstraction of accounts sealed and left in trust with some of them, the papists (who were alone involved, since to them alone the abstracted documents had been entrusted) advised the Vaudois to unite with them in preparing a joint petition, in which they should state the demands of both parties, and should offer in compensation a round sum of three thousand half-ducats, to be paid by all jointly. The Vaudois overseers flattered themselves with obtaining, by their union with the papists and the protection of the distinguished patrons whom their friends had at court, a remission of their debt and a confirmation of their liberties. They hoped, also, by this step, which appeared to them

parishes that had a right to a temple, but the liberty of assembling there for public worship had been granted to the members of that church. It would seem that the locality appropriated to meetings for worship, was in the district of Appia, since the public disputations in 1596 and 1602 were held there, as mentioned by Gilles. (pp. 306, 349.)

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well planned, to wipe out the remembrance of some little acts of resistance to authority which had occurred in maintaining their privileges. These acts were, the deliverance of the minister Chanforan, who was being removed from his post and taken to Pinerolo, for having displeased the reverend Capuchins of Perrier, in a debate with them; and the opposition which the Vaudois of Pinache had made to the officers of justice in a distant locality, who, not being aware that custom had authorized the Vaudois to work within their limits on the popish holidays, were about to apprehend some workmen, who were occupied in building a belfry. Being carried away by the fair speeches of their popish colleagues, the Vaudois overseers gave their signatures, but without the knowledge of the pastors and people of the churches, to a petition, in which the cause they professed to serve occupied a very insignificant place. Full of blind confidence, they left to the governor of the castle, a wily papist, the conduct of the negotiations and the verbal communications.

Is it wonderful that the result deceived their hopes and threw them into new perplexities? The answer, which favoured the papists, put the three thousand half-ducats entirely to the account of the evangelicals; moreover, it condemned them to demolish six of their temples, under the pretence that they were without the limits, which was not the case. Such were the bitter fruits of the divided state of the valleys, and the union of the Vaudois with the enemies of their religion. But the people of the valley of Perosa had not reached the end of their sufferings. An explanatory memorial, in which they requested milder conditions, by some fatal negligence was not presented in time. The order to demolish at least the belfry of Pinache having been repeated in the interval by the governor of Pinerolo, without its being attended to, the Vaudois relying on their petition, and taking no further trouble about it, while their enemies laboured in an underhand manner against them, the prince, to whom they had been misrepresented, prepared to punish them severely. This took place in 1623.

At the beginning of 1624, a peremptory order to demolish the six temples reached the communes, accompanied by threats, that, if not immediately complied with, recourse would be had to arms. Towards the end of January, a

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regiment of French troops, occupied one of the great Vaudois villages in the valley of Perosa, namely, Saint-Germain, to the north-west of Pinerolo, at the opening of the vale of Pramol, on the right bank of the Clusone. Very soon after, the whole valley was occupied by a total force of six or seven thousand soldiers. In the perplexity into which the valley of Perosa was thrown by this sudden invasion, the other valleys, and even that of Clusone, (Pragela,) then belonging to France, did not abandon it. Whatever obstacles were attempted to be put in the way on the part of the duke and the lords, numerous detachments of resolute men, traversing the mountains covered with snow, were still continually hastening to the spot from all points of the valleys. But what reasonable hope could be entertained of driving out of the country an army so large and so well disciplined as the duke's? Accordingly, they were soon obliged to decide on the cruel extremity of demolishing the six temples. They consoled themselves a little with the hope of soon rebuilding them after the departure of the troops, which had been settled with Syllan, the ducal commissioner. But the count Taffin, who commanded the army, appeared to consider his mission as by no means terminated; he required the Vaudois to lay down their arms, and particularly to take down the barricades and other means of defence, behind which they were entrenched on the heights of Saint-Germain, at the entrance of the vale of Pramol. Such a demand betrayed his ulterior designs, and they refused to accede to it. A sharp skirmish followed, but, with all their efforts, the papists could not force a passage. Their situation was anything but advantageous to themselves; they were in the depth of winter, badly lodged, and part of them not at all; often without fire or shelter, in the midst of the snow, which this year was deeper than usual, having before them vigorous adversaries, whose numbers had increased continually since the assault on the barricades. Under such circumstances, a convention was easily concluded between count Taffin and the chiefs of the valleys, in the presence and by the good offices of count Philip, of Lucerna. The army retired, and the deputies of all the communes of the valley of Perosa appeared before his highness, to make the best apology

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they could, and obtain their pardon, as well as permission to rebuild their temples.

From time to time, the inquisition found means of making a victim of some one or other. Its aim was chiefly against the converts from popery who had taken refuge in the valleys. It apprehended them, whenever, deceived by apparent peace, they ventured into Piedmont. Thus Sébastien Basan died in Turin at the stake, in 1623, besides Louis Malherbe who ended his days in prison, in 1626. And many others groaned for years in dungeons, or, after struggling for release, perished most frequently the victims of secret outrage, unpitied and unknown!

A monk, father Bonaventure, attempted a new kind of warfare. His manners were familiar and caressing, and he thus made himself agreeable to children, and succeeded in carrying off several boys of ten or twelve years old, in the villages below the valley of Lucerna, bordering on Piedmont, (Bibbiana, Fenile, Campiglione and others,) where from ancient times Vaudois and papists had lived intermixed. The children were never restored to their relations. And, whatever steps were taken, no better answer could be obtained from the civil authorities than that these acts were imputable to none but the monks, and that they knew not what to do in the business.

Many Vaudois, from the same villages in the plain of Lucerna, were also cast into prison, under the pretence that they lived beyond the proper limits, though this was not the case. In the measures taken with the senator Barberi and his assistants, to deliver the prisoners, we may be assured that these pretended officers of justice went beyond their commission, and aimed as much, at least, at extorting some ransom, and levying contributions, as at indulging their religious hatred and that of their friends.

A threatened invasion of Piedmont by a French army, under the orders of the marquis d'Uxel, in 1628, gave an opportunity to the Vaudois to prove their fidelity to their sovereign, and to receive, in their turn, a proof of the full confidence they inspired. The guard of many passes of their mountains, which were particularly threatened, was entrusted to them; and it was granted to their urgent request to serve alone, without being mixed with other

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troops of his highness. Their companies were all commanded by officers taken from their own ranks and chosen by them; the superior officers alone belonged to the regular army. Only a small number of engagements took place, in which the army of Uxel were worsted, and which ended in his retreat.

At this period the earl of Carlisle, ambassador from the king of Great Britain to the duke of Savoy, heard from the lips of his highness the testimony of his satisfaction with his faithful subjects of the valleys, while he also avowed his fixed intention of giving them proofs of it.

But though Charles Emmanuel cherished the best sentiments towards the Vaudois, the warm partisans of Rome, invested with high dignities, abused their authority and the name of their prince, by secretly introducing into the valleys the irreconcileable enemies of the evangelical church, the pope's light cavalry, the monks.

Already a similar attempt had been partially made at the end of the last century, and had led to the settled establishment of the Capuchins at Perrier, a popish town in the valley of San Martino. But, this time, nothing less was thought of, than to endow every Vaudois commune with a convent. To gain the consent of the inhabitants, all sorts of methods were adopted without scruple. At Bobbio, intrigue predominated; at Angrogna, ostentation, splendour, and threats; at Rora, violence. The prior of Lucerna, Marco Aurelio Rorenco, or Rorengo, at the head of the priests, the count of Lucerna, the most powerful of the lords of the valley, and the count Righino Roero, in the name of the government, spared no pains to accomplish their object. They even procured the interference of the heir apparent, the prince of Piedmont, Victor Amadeus. A letter was sent in his name to every commune, in which he promised liberal distributions of corn and rice, (the winter of 1628, 1629, was severe, and attended with a general dearth;) for these provisions and their distributors, who were to be monks, he required a house to be provided by the commune. But whatever effort was made at Angrogna, no hospitality could be obtained for them, not even for a single night. After staying some time at Bobbio, Villaro, and Rora, they were obliged to yield to the general will, and depart. As they resisted expulsion rather obsti-

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nately in the last-named place, some women carried them a part of the road in their arms. Similar attempts proved abortive in the valley of Perosa, at Saint-Germain, and Pramol. Thus the mass could not be celebrated in any part of the Vaudois communes, unless, perhaps, we except San Giovanni and the town of La Torre, in which evangelical worship was not tolerated. In this last place the monk Bonaventure, (whom Gilles calls the standard-bearer of the whole legion,) collected and settled all his fraternity. It is not unimportant to remark here, that at this period the Romish, or popish worship, had no officiating minister, nor temple, nor altar, in almost the whole region of the Vaudois churches of the three valleys.

The valleys had scarcely recovered from the disquiet which the efforts of the monks and their powerful protectors had excited, when the arrival of a French army before Pinerolo, in the spring of 1630, threw them into the greatest perplexity. Marshal Schomberg, who commanded it, required prompt submission to his sovereign. The troops under his orders pillaged and laid waste the accessible parts of the three valleys. He had just reduced Pinerolo and its citadel, which had been garrisoned by the Vaudois militia. He already occupied Bricherasco, within a league of San Giovanni, with a thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot. The last of the four days of deliberation, granted very reluctantly to the Vaudois, drew to a close, and still they were deliberating. The succour promised by his highness, whom they had informed of the danger, was not arrived; on the contrary, a report was abroad that the duke had drawn off his troops behind the Po. By this movement the valleys were given up to the enemy. They decided, therefore, to submit, conjointly with their papist lords, though on the condition that their militia should not be obliged to bear arms against his highness out of their territory. Among the fifteen articles of capitulation, signed and sworn to a little after, there was one which the prior of Lucerna, deputed by the clergy of that valley, had attempted first to exclude, and then to modify, but without success. It specified, that persons of the reformed religion should enjoy to the utmost the rights which were guaranteed by the edicts in France, as to the exercise of their religion, and that no one should trouble

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them in any manner on account of it. With these conditions the three valleys would have scarcely known any other evils, during the occupation of their country by the French, which lasted for a year, excepting those occasioned by the continual passing of troops from France to Piedmont and the transport of large military stores, if God had not visited them with one of the severest trials he had ever sent them,—a contagious and epidemic malady, brought, as it appears, from France by the army, and designated a plague by contemporary historians.

The first cases were noticed at the beginning of May, 1630, in the valley of Perosa; then in that of San Martino; a little after in that of Clusone or Pragela; and still later in the valley of Lucerna. The pastors and deputies of the churches met at Pramol, to concert measures against so terrible an evil, and neglected nothing that could tend to check its progress. They provided, amongst other things, for the purchase of medicine, as well as for regular and sufficient assistance for the poor. It was also their wish to celebrate a general and public fast; but not seeing how it would be possible to do it with solemnity, in the midst of such a bustle of troops, victuallers, men of business, and others, coming and going, they confined themselves to what each pastor might effect in his own church by exhortations to repentance, both in public and private. The malady extended its ravages, and raged furiously. In certain localities, all the houses contained some either dead or dying. The want of provisions, which was very sensibly felt at the beginning of the year, increased every day, and they knew not where to procure a supply. The state of the atmosphere contributed also to extend the evil. In July and August, the heat was excessive. The latter month was the most disastrous: in that short space of time, seven pastors were carried off by the plague. Four others died in the preceding month; the twelfth died in the following month, as he was preparing to set out for Geneva, whither he was deputed, in order to obtain new pastors. There remained only three, besides one invalid, eighty years old.* Happily, by a providential dispensation, they belonged to different valleys; so that each valley, having its own pastor, neither was entirely destitute of religious

* Antoine Bonjour, the ancient pastor of Pravilhelm.

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aid; and the more so because, without fearing that death which continually threatened them, they multiplied themselves, so to speak, by redoubled zeal in the discharge of their duties. They travelled from village to village, preached in the open air to the healthy, and visited hundreds of dying persons in their homes. They were frequently called themselves to watch, in their dwellings, at the bedside of beloved relations. The only pastor remaining in the valley of Lucerna, Pierre Gilles, pastor of La Torre, (author of a highly-valued history of the Vaudois churches,* which we have constantly had before us in preparing the present work,) lost no less than four sons, full of promise.

Though the plague was somewhat diminished during the winter, it broke out again in the spring, and extended to the more elevated villages, which it had before spared. At last it ceased all at once in July, 1631, having lasted upwards of a year. Half of the population had disappeared. The greater part of the husbands living had lost their wives, almost all the married women were widows, and the unmarried orphans. Grandfathers and grandmothers, laden with years, who had before counted with joy their numerous children and grandchildren, the support and hope of their old age, remained alone. The heart was wrung at hearing the cries of little beings, now orphans, repeating, in a sad and exhausted tone, the beloved names of their parents, whose prolonged absence they could not account for.

The proportion of deaths was nearly the same throughout; it amounted to one-half of the population, both Vaudois and papists. The valley of San Martino estimated its loss at fifteen hundred Vaudois, and one hundred papists; that of Perosa at more than two thousand Vaudois; the church of Rocheplatte at five hundred and fifty, which must be added to the preceding. The dead in the valley of Lucerna, including those of Angrogna, amounted to about six thousand Vaudois, of whom eight hundred were in the commune of La Torre. This will make a total of more than ten thousand Vaudois carried off in one year by the mortality. A considerable number of families became

* Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Réformées, recueillies en quelques vallées du Piémont, autrefois appelées Eglises Vaudoises, etc., par Pierre Gilles, pasteur de la Tour. Genéve: chez Jean de Tournes, 1644.

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entirely extinct. We have not reckoned the foreigners in the valleys, who had come in quest of the pure mountain air to prolong their lives, and obtained nothing from the soil but a grave. Hundreds more lost their lives. Soldiers, sutlers, poor persons, whom the plague had struck with death in by-paths, lay there, infecting the air with their corpses. In various places, they set fire to the houses, containing several dead persons, rather than inter them. Towards the end of the autumn, in many parts of the country, might be seen corn in the fields, grapes on the vines, and all kinds of fruit in the gardens, going to decay, because there was no one to gather or get them in. Excellent lands remained fallow. The wages of labourers rose prodigiously, on account of the scarcity of hands.

In the midst of so many evils, one thing alone, but that the best, prospered,—"godliness;" that precious fruit which hath the "promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." "The zeal of the people," says Gilles, in his simple language, "to be present at the preaching in the open country, here or there, was very great; and every one marvelled and praised God for the help he gave us amidst such sharp and terrible afflictions."

During the plague, the death of the duke Charles Emmanuel occurred. He had reigned fifty years, and had generally shown himself favourable to his faithful Vaudois subjects; as much at least as the incessant intrigues of their enemies would allow.

The news of the peace concluded between the king of France and the duke of Savoy came also to revive their spirits, which had been cast down by so many successive shocks. The valleys, towards the close of the year, came again under the dominion of the house of Savoy, with the exception of that portion of the valley of Perosa which is situated on the left bank of the Clusone, which was left to the French, as well as Pinerolo.

It seemed that war and pestilence, those scourges of God, being once removed from these plains and desolated valleys, it would be possible for the survivors to recover gradually from their sufferings, allay their fears, and again enjoy some days of calm and peace. And so it was. All ties were re-established, and new ones were formed by numerous marriages. So many persons left alone in the

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world drew near to each other, and sought for mutual consolation. Labour resumed its activity, words of hope were heard on the high Alps, among the groups reclining under the shade of the lofty chesnut-trees, in their leisure hours, or as they sat round the blazing fire in their cottages at nightfall.

But their troubles were not yet over. The youthful generation, which had escaped from the plague, had again to bear all that the most cruel barbarity could invent. Meanwhile, it was being trained to patience, in the midst of previous vexations and intrigues either concealed or avowed, which we shall proceed to narrate in the following chapter.*

CHAPTER XXII.

THE VAUDOIS, CALUMNIATED AT COURT, ARE MISUNDERSTOOD AND ILL-TREATED.

THE first care of the Vaudois churches in 1631, on their being placed again under the rule of the house of Savoy, was to send a deputation to his highness Victor Amadeus I., commissioned to request, after offering their homage and congratulations, the general confirmation of their privileges, and in particular of the favours and concessions granted by his august father, in the year 1603, and confirmed in 1620. This step was not only dictated by propriety; it was become indispensable on account of the virulence with which the priests and other papists sought to injure them, and accused them to his highness. Success was delayed. The deputies, were, it is true, received with kindness by their sovereign, but the confirmation of their privileges was deferred till after the examination of some points which they were accused of having transgressed or neglected. But although it was easy to explain the facts in question, months and years passed away without their being able to obtain the desired confirmation. The commissioners delegated by the court had evidently concerted to stifle or conceal the truth, with the intriguing papists who stirred the fire, at the head of whom

* For the narrative in this chapter, see Gilles, ch. xxx—lx.

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was Rorenco, or Rorengo, the zealous prior of Lucerna. These men, blinded by passion, were always raising fresh difficulties.

They maintained that the residence of the Vaudois in Lucerna was of recent date, although the oldest papists of the place were ready to bear witness that from their earliest infancy, they had seen the same families established there, whose domicile was now disputed. It is true, and we have remarked it in the preceding chapter, that for some years they had forced the Vaudois to leave this town, whither they afterwards returned to settle. The right of residence was equally contested in reference to the Vaudois of Campiglione, Fenile, and Bibbiana. Nevertheless the demonstration of their rights was easy. They had on their side the fact of uninterrupted residence, and the letter of the treaty of 1561, which, without naming, sufficiently pointed them out, as moreover was proved by the lists then forwarded to the count de Raconis.

The same adversaries charged it as a crime on the Vaudois that they had purchased the property of Roman Catholics; while they could prove their right by a great number of ancient as well as modern deeds, documents perfectly regular, drawn up by notaries and sanctioned by judges, both of the Roman religion. Lastly they seemed to dislike the employment of evangelical schoolmasters, as if this had been a novelty in the valleys, though it could be proved that the Vaudois churches had had them from the remotest antiquity. The particular object these intriguing papists had in view, on this last point, was to substitute their monks for the evangelical schoolmasters. But in one of the great conferences with the deputies of the valleys, at which the duke's commissioner presided, for the settlement of this affair, an old man of Bobbio, Pierre Pavarin, on hearing the offer proposed to them by his highness, of sending at his expense some reverend fathers, well-informed and modest, and far superior to their present teachers, to keep the schools, could not restrain his feelings, but exclaimed, "Do they wish us to send our children to the schools of the monks? For myself, I would rather see my children burned to ashes than taught by such people!" There was nothing, down to the modest and single church-bell of San Giovanni, which these intermeddling papists did

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not make a point of dispute. They wanted nothing less than to reduce this bell to silence, or to confiscate it for their own use, that they might ring it on their holidays to the great annoyance of the Vaudois. But the people of San Giovanni, who from ancient times had made use of it for their meetings and for other purposes, defended their right to it so well that it could not be withheld. They had hoped to obtain as full success on other points, but Fauzon, the duke's commissioner, listened more readily to the insidious discourses of the papists than to the voice of justice. They even made a difficulty of allowing M. Etienne Mondon, the only Vaudois of his profession who had escaped the plague, to practise as a notary, and refused to admit any other to this office, which, nevertheless, they had filled from time immemorial. The brothers Goz (Gos), one a doctor of law, the other of medicine, both refugees from the marquisate of Saluzzo, had just been directed by the duke to remove out of La Torre and the valley of Lucerna. What well-founded hope of obtaining the ducal sanction for the ancient concessions could be maintained when intolerance was seen to threaten everything, and to give already palpable proofs of its return? It was useless to expect the letters patent which had been solicited. They were not forwarded.

So far from it, the persecution which openly raged against the Vaudois of Saluzzo,* who were then under the same prince, served to enlighten those of the three valleys respecting the nature of the designs that were forming against them. In the mountains of Saluzzo, towards the sources of the Po, at the foot of Mount Viso, there were left some remains of the ancient Vaudois churches. Their isolation in these elevated glens, their possession of the soil from time immemorial, their peaceable manners, and their calm but determined resistance to popish seductions, as well as attempts at oppression, had preserved them from the ruin which had overtaken all the other churches in the marquisate. Pravilhelm, Biolets, Bietone, and some other places in the neighbourhood of Païsana, still rejoiced in the pure light of the gospel of Jesus Christ. But the plague had reduced their numbers one half. Their resistance could no

* All these difficulties and pretensions disclose a settled design to oppress and intimidate the Vaudois more and more, and finally to destroy them. Every act of persecution was a step in advance towards this crisis.

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longer be apprehended. An edict, dated September 23, 1633, left them only the choice between popery and exile. Two months were allowed them to dispose of their property and leave the country, if they would not abjure.

They and their friends of the valley of Lucerna solicited, but in vain, the withdrawal or modification of the edict. The bishop of Saluzzo, a great orator, came to Païsana, and attempted to move the principal persons whom he had sent for by fair speeches; but fidelity to God rose superior, in these sincere hearts, to the calculations of interest and the love of their native country. Although the fatal term approached without their having effected the sale of their houses and lands, and winter was just at hand, almost all made up their minds to depart. Their brethren of the valley of Lucerna held out their arms to them. They began their march, taking with them their cattle and whatever else could be carried away. They were distributed among the villages and hamlets of their friends and brethren, and there heard of the demolition of their ancient dwellings by the monks of Païsana. All hope of return was thus taken from them. This odious act was superfluous. The Vaudois of Saluzzo felt themselves stronger, and consequently happier for their union with those of Lucerna. As they heard the approaching thunders of persecution, and beheld the Romish lightnings flash around them, they and their brethren had a presentiment of the Divine goodness for their common safety, in their being thus brought together.

Two of their number, having returned, a little while after, to attend to their affairs in the marquisate, were recognised and imprisoned. One, named Julian, redeemed himself by a considerable ransom; the other, named Peillon, died in the galleys, stedfast in the faith. Of all the enemies of the Vaudois, none were more active, and none more formidable than the priests and monks, as we have already seen. They were especially so at the period now under our review. From them proceeded the opposition to the renewal and observance of the concessions and privileges already granted to the Vaudois. Among all these ecclesiastics, none made themselves so conspicuous as the prior of Lucerna, Marcus Aurelius Rorenco, and the prefect of the monks, Theodore Belvedere. To attain their end more surely, by influencing the public opinion, they had recourse to the

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press. The former, Rorenco, published, in 1632, under the title of *Breve Narrazione, etc.*, ("A brief Narrative of the introduction of Heresy into the Valleys,") a book which calumniated the religion and lives of the reformed Christians, and especially the Vaudois. He had collected in it the edicts against the Vaudois, extorted, in fact, from their sovereign by the manœuvres of their enemies, and, for the most part, revoked shortly after, by the justice and enlightened benevolence of the princes of Savoy; and although the author spoke of certain concessions made to the Vaudois, he did so only in an unconnected, incomplete, and partial manner. The pastor Valère Gros prepared an answer, which was never printed, owing to the perfidious advice of some false popish friends, and particularly the commissioners delegated to the valleys, who asserted that it was not necessary, since their adversary's book had made a very slight impression in high quarters; which was false.

Rorenco, encouraged by this success, published, in 1634, in concert with Belvedere, the prefect of the monks, *Des Lettres Apologétiques*, ("Apologetic Letters,") exhibiting but little knowledge or little conscience, which abounded with raillery against the Vaudois because they could not answer what was in the first book. On this occasion, the historian Pierre Gilles, pastor of La Torre, entered the lists. He refuted the two preceding books in his *Considerations sur les Lettres Apologétiques*, ("Considerations on the Apologetic Letters.") The two popish authors replied, in 1636, by a Latin work, with a very pompous title. Who could resist this "Tower against Damascus" this "Fortress of the Roman church against the incursions of the Calvinists?" Such boldness was reserved for the same soldier of Christ, against whom particularly the Romish shafts had been discharged. Gilles published, in opposition to "The Tower against Damascus," his work, entitled "The Evangelical Tower," solid and well built on the true foundation, on the corner-stone, which is Christ. The prefect of the monks published, lastly, a work in Italian, dedicated to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, at Rome, on the state of the Vaudois church, on their discipline, doctrine, and ceremonies; a book stuffed with lies and calumnies, in which he obliquely insinuated the necessity of their extermination. Gilles refuted this also, with care, chapter by chapter, in a

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work of deep and minute investigation. But the accusations were better received by Italian readers than their refutation, and, lamentable to say, secretly excited them to hatred and persecution. Who can say how far these monkish productions paved the way for the great and dreadful persecution which broke forth some years later?

An edict similar to that which had expelled the Vaudois of Pravilhelm, Biolets, and Bietone, from their villages, now spread terror through the valley of Lucerna. The few Vaudois families residing at Campiglione, a town in the plain, still included in the valley of Lucerna, received an order to leave their homes finally, within four-and-twenty hours, and to retire elsewhere, under pain of death and the confiscation of their goods. All obeyed, and Campiglione no longer numbered a Vaudois among its inhabitants. Many families also quitted Bibbiana at the same time.*

In the parts where they had succeeded in establishing themselves, as at Périer and La Torre, the monks could not remain at rest. They often acted like hired disturbers of the peace. For example,—in the month of May, 1636, the monk Simond assailed some peaceable Vaudois, whom he found in the market-place of La Torre, with gross abuse; and then, holding a gilt crucifix in his hands, he fell on his knees, uttering curses against the reformed kings and princes. Evidently he hoped to irritate the bystanders, both by his crucifix, before which he knelt, and by his unseemly language. But knowing too well the craft of men of his stamp, they restrained themselves, and for their justification went to complain of his proceedings to a magistrate. This was the same monk Simond who raised a riot at Lucerna, against Antoine Léger, the pastor of San Giovanni, because he had ventured into this popish town, in order to visit a parishioner who was dangerously ill, which was permitted by the convention of 1561. The alarm being given, the Vaudois ran together from every quarter to succour their pastor, who, by their care and exertions, escaped from danger.

Animated disputes, either by word of mouth or in writing, were carried on from time to time. Public discussions also

* Léger, pt. ii., p. 63.

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took place by the instigation of the fiery Rorenco and a monk sent from Rome. These were regarded by the pastors and the faithful Vaudois, as omens that their inveterate enemies were preparing for ruder attacks, as sudden showers show the approach of tempestuous weather.

The sky was soon completely overcast. Besides the difficulties which the busy hatred of the popish clergy was continually raising, the debates on religion, the obstacles to individual prosperity, and to the free enjoyment of their homes consecrated by long use and the concessions of their sovereigns, the hindrances, above all, to the instruction of the young and to the exercise of religious liberty in certain communes,—besides all these impediments, which were objects of great solicitude to the conductors of the churches, there were added political and civil difficulties of immense weight. The duke, Victor Amadeus I., died in October, 1637. The regency of his son, a boy five years old, which had been committed to his widow Christina of France, was claimed by the cardinal Maurice of Savoy, aided by his brother Thomas, both brothers of the deceased, and consequently uncles of the young prince. These princes, being supported by Spain, seized on Piedmont. Even Turin opened its gates to them. The duchess and her children crossed the Alps and took refuge in Savoy. The cause of the regent mother seemed lost in Piedmont. It was at this critical moment, when all had abandoned it on this side the Alps, that the valleys, maintaining, even in the misfortunes of their sovereign, their traditionary fidelity, declared their firm resolution to uphold the rights of their duke and his mother. For this they were cruelly treated, especially the inhabitants of Lucerna, by their lord the marquis of Lucerna and Angrogna, who had taken sides with the princes Maurice and Thomas. Expecting to be attacked by the joint armies of the princes and of Spain, they thought it their duty to take precautionary measures, to preserve themselves for their sovereign; in particular, they created military officers. Owing to this energetic attitude, they were not attacked, and even rendered eminent service to their prince; for they kept open the passes of the Alps, by which the French army, under the order of count Harcourt and marshal Turenne, penetrated into Piedmont, and having driven out the Spanish army, pro-

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cured peace, and put the young duke, under the regency of his mother, in full possession of his dominions.*

It does not appear that the regent felt much indebted to the Vaudois valleys for their fidelity, or that she so much as noticed it. For scarcely was she again in possession of power than her government began to treat them with rigour. Perhaps it was found easier to revive the traditionary method of persecution than to enter on the untrodden path of justice and truth. There are, moreover, persons to whom gratitude is not considered as due, and who are treated harshly just because their oppressors are unwilling to acknowledge their obligations to them.

The temple of San Giovanni, which had been re-opened, was again closed. A commissioner was sent to drive away to the left bank of the Pélice all the Vaudois who were settled on the right bank, at the opening of the valley, at Lucerna, Bibbiana, and Fenile, and to make those who were established at Bricherasco† return within the limits. One of the pastors, Antoine Léger, uncle of the historian, who had taken the most active part in the measures of defence in favour of the regency of the duchess against the princes of Savoy, was cited to appear before the tribunal at Turin. Being warned in time that his life was aimed at, he did not go there; and notwithstanding the efforts made on his behalf by the churches and many persons of distinction who esteemed him, he was sentenced to death for contumacy, and his property confiscated. A victim of his fidelity, he left his country for ever and betook himself to Geneva, the city of Protestant refugees, where he was appointed pastor and professor of theology and the oriental languages.‡ It may be noticed, in passing, that the adversaries of the Vaudois made it a part of their system to get rid of every man of eminence who appeared in the valleys. By this sentence of death pronounced against the most distinguished person that the Vaudois churches possessed, they were deprived of an able, prudent, and pious counsellor at the very juncture when he was most needed. The times, in fact, were more

* Léger, pt. ii., pp. 69, 70.—Gilles, whom we have preferred to follow hitherto, closes his history in the year 1643. For the future we follow Léger.

† At this time there were forty-seven Vaudois families at Lucerna and its neighbourhood; thirty-five at Bibbiana; thirty-three at Fenile; and nine at Bricherasco. (See Mémoire de Rorenco, Storia di Pinerolo, t. iii., p. 201.)

‡ Léger had been tutor in the family of the ambassador of Holland, at Constantinople, for many years.

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serious than ever, for a board specially charged with taking cognisance of heresy had just been formed at Turin by the regent. Cardinal Maurice of Savoy* was the president, and the archbishop of Turin vice-president. It was, no doubt, by desire of this board, ordinarily called by the simple designation of *Il Congresso,* (The Congress,) that the duchess published, in 1644, the regulations respecting the honours due to the crucifix, the keeping of holidays, the burials of the Vaudois, etc.; and she delegated, in 1646, the prior Rorenco, to re-establish in the valley of Lucerna, the ruined churches, (popish churches which had never existed but in the imagination of the friends of Rome.) The board underwent a transformation some time after the jubilee of 1650, when the Council for the Propagation of the Faith and the Extirpation of Heretics, sitting at Rome, decided on the formation of auxiliary councils of the same name in the metropolitan cities, in some of which the parliaments also held their sittings.

These secondary councils, under the immediate direction of that at Rome, directed in their turn the inferior boards, and all the numerous agents distributed through the different places of their district. This organization left nothing to be desired in reference to its completeness, the unity of spirit which presided in it, the promptitude and secresy of its acts, as well as the activity and fanatical zeal of its members. The pope was well served, and the machine of destruction was as well constructed as it was sharp and well furnished. To combine the most numerous and efficacious modes of action, the provincial councils were advised to organize committees of females, whose special business would be to collect the large funds that would be required to purchase the conversion of certain heretics, and to cover the expenses of the agents. They were also, by means of their spies, who were most frequently female-servants, sick-nurses, and persons in attendance, to penetrate into the households of heretics, in order to make use of the slightest tendency to disunion, to induce the discontented to abjure.

The Council for the Propagation of the Faith and the Extirpation of Heretics, had its seat at Turin, under the

* We may infer that the cardinal had withdrawn from the regency, by imposing conditions on Christina.

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presidency of the archbishop, and in his palace. But the most active and influential member of this assembly was a layman,—a lord of the court, the marquis Pianezza, one of the most crafty and cruel of men. His wife presided at the female committee, and impressed upon it an activity equal to that of her husband.

No sooner was it constituted, than the new council set itself vigorously to work. Severe orders, or to speak more truly, unjust and cruel orders were drawn up and submitted to Charles Emmanuel II., for signature. This inexperienced prince,—only sixteen years old, but declared of age two years before, in 1648,—was under the direct influence of his mother, who approved of these oppressive measures. A compliant magistrate, the auditor Andrea Gastaldo, was chosen, and sent to the valleys to put them into execution. According to his instructions, which have been preserved, he was to drive back to the mountains the whole Vaudois population, not only on the right bank of the Pélice, where they formed the minority, but also in the large commune of San Giovanni, where they constituted almost the whole, and in the town of La Torre, where they were the majority. He was to confiscate all the lands and houses in these places which their Vaudois possessors had not disposed of to the papists within fifteen days, unless they became papists themselves; in that case their goods would be restored to them. Every Vaudois who bore fire-arms was to be treated as a criminal. The communes of Angrogna, Villaro, Bobbio, Rora, etc., were to furnish, within the term of three days, a house where the missionary fathers might lodge and celebrate mass. Finally, the communes were to be prohibited from granting a dwelling to any foreign heretic, under pain of a fine on the commune of two thousand gold crowns, and of death and confiscation of his property, to the foreigner. By this last measure they hoped to deprive the valleys of pastors, for the future at least. These orders bore the date of May 15, 1650, and the signature of the duke Charles Emmanuel.*

The auditor Gastaldo began to fulfil his commission with brutality, granting in his manifesto only three days to the Vaudois in the denounced localities, to choose between

* Storia di Pinerolo, etc., t. iii., pp. 212—216.

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death and dispossession, or abjuration.* This part of the decree was, nevertheless, not carried into effect at that time; for which delay we can suppose no other reason than the difficulty of accomplishing this barbarous work; the means of coercion not being yet sufficiently prepared, and also the preference that was given to the establishment of the monks and of the popish worship in all the communes. The other part of the orders of the board was fully and promptly executed, to the great sorrow of all the faithful. Rora, Angrogna, Villaro, and Bobbio saw the zealous satellites of the pope established in the heart of their population, and the office of the mass, so hateful to the Vaudois, acquire a firm footing there. Henceforward, on this soil, sanctified from time immemorial by the word of truth, by the pure preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, error would have its ritual and idolatry its altars: the true worshippers of God would see walking in their midst the priests of images and saints, the suppliants of Mary: they must be doomed to hear that incense is agreeable to God, and that Latin litanies and chants are the prayers and songs that he delights in. Those whom the splendour of a pompous and outward ritual could not seduce, were to be allured by the promise of the pardon of their sins after confession, or won over by money, flatteries, and worldly honours; and those who were not carried away by the example of their brethren, threats, fines, prisons, torture, and the sword would reduce to silence. In a few months, at least in a few years, the victory of the pope would be complete.†

Such were the hopes of the Council for the Propagation of the Faith and the Extirpation of Heretics. But it was soon seen that all the means of persuasion, seduction, and intimidation, had no effect on men so enlightened and conscientious as were the leaders of the churches, or on the main body of the Vaudois, whom their traditions of fidelity to the gospel, and sound religious instruction had fortified generally against apostasy. The Council not succeeding in the Propagation of the Faith, the first purpose and object of its labours, decided on attempting the second, the Extirpation of Heretics. Nothing was wanting but to seize a favourable

* Léger, pt. ii., p. 73.
† Rome always cherishes such hopes.

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opportunity, or to make one, if it did not offer itself. In the space of some years, the council created several, of which we shall give an account, but which did not produce all the results desired, until the day when these men panting for blood, found at last the means of quenching their burning thirst in the streams which they caused to flow.

The first favourable occasion which the council thought they had found for the extirpation of the Vaudois had been contrived at Villaro, by a creature of the marquis of Pianezza, named Michel Bertram Villeneuve. This man had been saved by this lord from prison, from which his father, who had been accused, like himself, of coining base money, had escaped only by poisoning himself. Being settled at Villaro, and pretending a lively indignation at the introduction of the monks and their officers into that town, he excited the people to violence in an underhand manner, constantly repeating that such a nest of vipers as these fathers should not be allowed in a place where no one could recollect having seen a papist reside, much less their missionaries. He played his part so well that the pastor's wife and two persons of respectability in the place, named Joseph and Daniel Pelenc, ardent young men, adopted these views, and at last induced the pastor, named Manget, to coincide with them ; who, nevertheless, was not disposed to act excepting so far as the churches of the valley might give their consent. With this view, he requested the moderator, or ecclesiastical president of the managing committee of the Vaudois churches, to assemble the deputies of the communes and the pastors, for an important object. The assembly was held at Bouisses, in the commune of La Torre, March 28, 1653. They heard with surprise Manget's proposition, to drive away the monks from Villaro, those insolent strangers, whose convent, a focus of intrigues, and unjustly established, might, if it met with no opposition, become a fire as dangerous to the Vaudois church as it was hostile to it. But, though experiencing much annoyance from the presence and attempts of the monks, the assembly did not relish his proposal, nor the expedient by which he wished to render this attempt less culpable, which consisted in committing it to the women. Jean Léger, pastor of San Giovanni, who became known at a later period, by his history of the Vaudois churches, showed himself worthy of the confidence which the people placed

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in him by calling him, though still young, (he was only thirty-eight,) to the difficult and important post of moderator. Léger, as a faithful subject, demonstrated the injustice of the proposed measure, by citing the 19th article of the treaty of 1561, which reserved to the prince the liberty of having mass celebrated in places where there was preaching, without at all obliging the Vaudois to be present at it.

Nevertheless, the imprudent Manget, carried away by a bitter zeal, and blind to the consequences of a criminal enterprise, agreed to the expulsion of the monks, whom his friends, misguided like himself, terrified that same evening; and his wife so far forgot herself as to carry to the infuriated men the matches for setting fire to the bundles of hemp that were heaped together on purpose, which soon spread the fire and consumed the convent.

The unfortunate pastor of Villaro had allowed his imprudence and bad faith to go so far as to make his headstrong friends believe that the assembly of Bouisses had approved and ordered the expulsion of the monks and the burning of their residence. This report spread from place to place, with the news of the event of which it was the commentary. In this way it reached the ears of the formidable marquis Pianezza, and his associates of the council for the propagation of the faith and the extirpation of heretics. They appeared as much irritated as they must secretly have been gratified. They had at last an opportunity; here was not only a pretext, but a reason, a motive as plausible as just, for inflicting punishment. The punishment ought to be proportioned to the offence. Utter ruin would not be too great a chastisement for incorrigible men who, after having resisted the appeals of the Romish church, had outraged her ministers, profaned her mysteries, and burned her holy places; and, in fact, the duchess gave instant orders to assemble all the troops of the State, and forthwith despatched colonel Tedesco, an enterprising and courageous officer, at the head of five or six thousand troops, (both horse and foot,) to surprise the populous town of Villaro and reduce it to ashes.

On his part, the young and prudent moderator had no sooner heard the reports which attributed to the conference at Bouisses the order to burn the convent and expel the monks, than he went, accompanied by the principal

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persons of his church, and of those in the neighbourhood, to the magistrate of the valley who resided at Lucerna, and there protested his innocence, and that of his colleagues and the entire conference, and even of the majority of the inhabitants of Villaro; the deplorable acts of expulsion and incendiarism having been committed both by the will and act of only a small number of offenders. Léger and the deputies, his colleagues, offered, in the name of their churches, to render every assistance in bringing the criminal parties to punishment. They begged, in return, that favour might be shown to the innocent. These declarations, drawn up as an authentic act, were taken at the same time to Turin by one of the lords of Lucerna.

Nevertheless, on the 26th of April, while the men of the valley were, according to custom, at the market of Lucerna, the count Tedesco hastened to attack Villaro, at the head of two hundred horsemen, well mounted, followed very closely by the rest of his troops. Such was his expedition, that he passed through Fenile, Bibbiana, San Giovanni, and La Torre, and found himself at the gates of Villaro without having met the slightest resistance.

The devoted town would have been lost beyond recovery, if God, in his mercy, had not caused torrents of rain to fall; which so completely soaked the equipments of the cavalry that hardly a single musket was in a state to answer the well-sustained fire of a little troop of about twenty-five men, who, forming just in time at the entrance of the town, dared to make resistance.* The rain continuing to fall, the day drawing to a close, and the alarm being given through all the valley, the count found himself obliged to sound a retreat, and returned the same evening to Lucerna, without having been assailed or interrupted on his march.

The next day all the Vaudois of the valley were under arms. The most ominous reports came from Piedmont. It was said that different bodies of soldiers were on their march, who meant to make a terrible example of the inhabitants. The leading men of the communes and the pastors assembled in haste. The deputies of the lower places, particularly those of San Giovanni, were for submission,

* But it must be observed, that the position was very favourable for making a defence; the approach was practicable only by a narrow road, bounded by steep declivities, and presenting an exposed bend.

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because their property and families were already in the power of the army; but prayer having restored calmness to the assembly, and the news received from various places and friends, as well as the exhortations of Léger and others having shown the certainty of a massacre, they united in the same determination to defend themselves even to death.

This resolution astonished the count Tedesco. He clearly saw that his progress in the valley would be marked by streams of blood. The road which he must take was in every part commanded by the mountain heights. To manœuvre slowly formed no part of his plan. He had not made the necessary preparations for a slow or complicated expedition: he consented therefore to a cessation of hostilities. It was agreed that the communes should sign a declaration similar to that which some of their leaders had laid before his highness; that they should protest their innocence in reference to the expulsion of the monks and the burning of the convent; that they should supplicate their sovereign to confine himself to punishing the authors of the outrage; that, finally, they should ask pardon for having taken arms to defend themselves, since they could not believe that it was the will of their sovereign that they should be exterminated.

Count Christophe, of Lucerna, who had consented to carry the act of submission of the Vaudois communes to Turin, brought back the promise of a general amnesty and the confirmation of their grants, on condition of the actual surrender of the minister Manget and his wife, as well as the re-establishment of the missionary fathers in a house to be provided by the commune of Villaro. A deputation also was required to appear at court, to request pardon for having taken arms.

These conditions having been fulfilled,* the count Tedesco retired with his army; and on their departure the dread of the most heart-rending scenes was also withdrawn for a few months.

But the valley of Lucerna did not long enjoy an undis-

* One of these conditions, that which obliged the commune of Villaro to provide a house for the monks, being contrary to the letter of former treaties, which stipulate that the communes should be at no expense on account of the Romish worship, the difficulty was got over in the following manner: The count Tedesco took by force, in the name of her highness, a house belonging to Jacques Ghiot, and placed the reverend fathers in it. The individual, no doubt, received compensation from the commune. Léger, pt. ii., p. 78.

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turbed tranquillity. At the beginning of 1654, it was suddenly menaced with all the horrors of war by the artful contrivances, it cannot be doubted, of the princess who held the reins of government, though her son had already been declared of age. The duchess had consented, for a considerable sum of money, to receive into winter quarters in her domains the army of France in Italy, commanded by marshal De Grancé. She assigned the Vaudois valleys and a few of the neighbouring communes for it. Two regiments were at first distributed in the valley of Lucerna, already burdened by the constant presence of the Savoy squadron who were billeted upon individuals, and in part maintained by them, both men and horses. This pressure on their means, although great, would have been borne with patience, out of submission to the will of the prince, but on all sides it was whispered that it was against the intentions of the duchess that the French troops of Grancé were establishing themselves in the country; that the duchess esteemed the valleys too highly to believe that they would admit foreign troops among them without her precise orders and sign-manual; that to receive them would be to expose themselves to be treated as rebels and traitors after their departure. These disquieting rumours were spread by the monks and popish lords, who professed to be well informed as to the state of things. Their object was gained; the people of the valley took up arms to drive back the French. To appease them the prefect, Ressan, wrote to the overseers that the marshal had the approbation of her highness; but his secretary immediately came and informed them that this letter had been forced from him, and did not express the truth. The communes of La Torre, Bobbio, and Villaro, not being yet occupied, persisted in their refusal. The prefect pretended to be irritated by the contempt shown to his letter, and encouraged the marshal, a hot-headed man, to collect his army, in order to bring the dogs (*les barbets*)* to their senses. No sooner said than done. On the 2nd of February, Grancé appeared before La Torre with all his

* An epithet of contempt, synonymous with *chien*, (dog,) which the Piedmontese papists give to the Vaudois. Perhaps originally it was derived from the title barbe, given by the Vaudois to their pastors before the Reformation, and afterwards to old men in general. In the latter case, it is synonymous with *oncle*, (uncle.) The papists generalized the title, and applied it to all the Vaudois, after having slightly altered it, to make it ridiculous. However, the word *barbe*, (signifying sir, or uncle,) is also in use among the Catholics of Piedmont.

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troops. The men of the valley hastened to stop his passage,—a dangerous attempt in the plain, since they were destitute of artillery and cavalry, with which the enemy was provided. The firing was just about to open, when a French reformed captain, named de Corcelles, catching sight of the moderator, Jean Léger, rode up to him. Léger, laying hold of his horse's tail, crossed over with him to the army standing in battle array, and threw himself at the feet of the marshal, just as he had finished giving his last orders, and explained to him, in a rapid manner, the scruples of his fellow-citizens. "Obtain," he said, "only a single line from her royal highness to testify that she consents to the quartering of these troops, and then the valleys are at your discretion. They will be patient even if you march over their bodies, provided they do not incur the anger of their prince." These words perfectly describe the complete submission of the Vaudois to their sovereign in all matters not affecting their religious faith. The marshal, says Léger, cursed the pestilent fellows that fomented such troubles, and consented to suspend his operations till the return of a courier, who was despatched immediately to Turin, and brought back in the morning a letter from the duchess to the valleys, authorizing the cantonment of the French troops. The valley of Lucerna had not less than four regiments quartered upon it, of which one alone counted about three thousand men.

The intention of destroying the Vaudois was thus defeated a second time ;* but it could not always be so, as we shall be convinced to our astonishment and poignant sorrow.

Let us first call to mind a conspicuous fact in the whole history of the Vaudois ; I mean, their fidelity to their sovereign, and their entire and prompt obedience to his orders, as well as to his laws, in everything that did not affect their duties to God, according to the holy gospel of Jesus Christ. Of this they gave proof on many occasions; and again in the instance of defending the regency against

* In the following year, after the massacres, Léger, conversing with marshal Grancé at Paris, heard him express himself thus :—"Reverend sir, I now know very well, and I discovered it before, that they wished to make use of me to cut all your throats, and then to cut off my own head, when the duchess told me to lodge my troops in the valleys; and yet they were threatened with the total loss of her favour if they received them, as you yourself informed me, in good time, before the town of La Torre." See Léger, pt. ii., p. 81.

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the princes in coalition with the Spaniards; and lastly, in risking their being massacred by the army of Grancé, rather than submit themselves to a stranger, contrary to the pleasure of their sovereign.

Let us also notice that the young duke confirmed their former privileges, in 1653, by three decrees, and by a fourth in the month of May, in 1654, to the same effect. It is true that the subordinate agents raised one obstacle after another to the confirmation of these decrees, opposing new difficulties of a formal kind as soon as the preceding were removed, so as to prevent the registration of the documents.

Nevertheless history has established the fact, that down to the period at which we are arrived, excepting the misdemeanour committed at Villaro by some imprudent individuals, and which could not, without injustice, be attributed to the general body, the conduct of the Vaudois towards the authority of their prince was free from all reproach, and even exemplary. It was not, then, for political reasons, as the ministers of the sovereign at a later period pretended, that the edge of the sword at last fell on so many victims. The fact, moreover, of the existence at Turin, from the year 1650, of a Council for the Propagation of the Faith and the Extirpation of Heretics, is attested by the very wording of a proclamation of Gastaldo, dated Lucerna, the 31st of May, 1650, and purporting that only those persons would be exempt from punishment who could prove that they had become Catholics before the above-named council, established at Turin by his royal highness. This fact of itself suffices to explain everything; and when it is attempted to heap accusations, more or less plausible, on the Vaudois, shows with so much greater force, in the absence of political pretexts, that the terrible persecutions that ensued were the result of the machinations of Rome. And who can be surprised? Those who know its history, or who have seen the operations of this corrupt church, know that one of the proofs of the curse it has received from the Lord is, that it is constrained by its own principles, and forced by the spirit that animates its most faithful agents, to persecute to the utmost, as irreconcileable enemies, worthy of the severest punishments, the most faithful confessors of the name of Jesus Christ, the

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most zealous friends of his word, the holiest men, and the purest churches.

But we check ourselves. Let us leave the judgment of this church to the Lord, for to him alone belongeth vengeance!

CHAPTER XXIII.

CRUELTIES COMMITTED BY THE PAPISTS IN THE VALLEYS.

THE storm was followed by a calm. Events, it appeared, had not favoured the design of extirpating the heretics; and the Vaudois, reposing in their valleys, already indulged the hope of better days, and hastened to request the registration by the senate of the four decrees by which, in 1653 and 1654, the duke had confirmed their privileges. But how far were they from perceiving the real state of things, and suspecting the dreadful catastrophe that awaited them! For while, under various pretences, their requests were set aside, or the consideration of them deferred, the agents of Rome at the court of Turin, in conjunction with the chief members of the government, were secretly plotting fresh schemes, worthy of the powers of darkness that inspired them. No time was lost in forming their plan; they adopted an old project already sketched, in 1650, in a manifesto of the auditor Gastaldo, intended to restrain the Vaudois within narrower limits, and to oppress them more severely than ever.

In consequence of these deliberations, and furnished with new powers, the lawyer Gastaldo, auditor of the exchequer, conservator-general of the holy faith, commissioned to enforce the observance of the orders published against the pretended reformed religion of the valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, and delegated for this special object by his royal highness, proceeded to Lucerna, and there published, on the 25th of January, 1655, the following cruel order:—"It is enjoined and commanded on all persons, heads of families, of the pretended reformed religion, of every state and condition without exception, inhabitants and landowners of Lucerna, Lucernetta, San Giovanni, La

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Torre, Bibbiana, Fenile, Campiglione, Bricherasco, and San Secondo,* to withdraw from the aforesaid places and territories, and to leave them with all their families, within the space of three days from the publication of the present edict, in order to settle within the localities and limits tolerated by his royal highness, according to his good pleasure, and which are, Bobbio, Villaro, Angrogna, Rora, and the district of Bonnets. Such persons as refuse to obey these orders, and are found beyond the aforesaid limits, will incur the penalty of death and the confiscation of all their property, unless within the next twenty days they declare before us (Gastaldo) that they are Catholics, or that they have disposed of their property to Catholics." The manifesto contains the strange and incredible assertion, that neither his highness nor his predecessors ever designed to grant the inhabitants of the valleys more extensive limits than those laid down in the present edict; that the claim of the Vaudois to more extensive limits was an encroachment; that this encroachment constituted a crime, and that those who had committed it were liable to punishment.†

An order which forcibly expelled whole families by hundreds, in three days, and in the middle of winter, even had it been legal, and been brought about by the bad conduct of the condemned parties, would still have been a cruel order.

Imagine the distress of fathers and mothers, compelled at once, without any previous warning, to leave the abode which they had built, or received by inheritance from their parents, where they had brought up their children, stored their crops, and were living happily in the fear of the Lord and enjoying the light of his countenance. See them now, asking, Whither are we to go? what is to become of us? must we then quit everything? abandon our goods, our hearths? renounce so many earthly blessings?—One way alone was left them of avoiding such complete ruin. By a cruel refinement of compassion, Gastaldo had pointed it out to them; it was apostasy. Become a papist, invoke the virgin and the saints, prostrate thyself before graven images,

* It will be perceived that excepting San Secondo, the valley of Lucerna alone is mentioned. All the efforts of the Council for Propagation of the Faith were directed against it, as being the most considerable.

† If the reader recollect the contents of Chap. VIII. of this history, he can decide for himself how far this charge of encroachment is well-founded.

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attend the mass, adore the host, confess to the priest, offer him gifts, and thou shalt preserve thy house, thine orchard, thy vines, and fields,—at the cost of thy immortal soul! If all received strength from above, we might hope, no doubt, that faith in the Saviour, and the expectation of future blessedness would gain in their hearts the victory over the love of earthly things. But who would venture to expect such faith and self-renunciation from all, or even from the greater number? And then, the infirm and aged, and the sick, and the multitude of little children—what will become of them? how can they be removed? what course are they to take? in what villages of their sympathising brethren must a refuge be sought for them, and with them? Only let the reader imagine himself a witness of the anguish, the embarrassment, the fears and lamentations of the victims devoted to the direst evils by popish cruelty. It is now the most inclement season of the year; it snows on the mountains, while in the valleys the flakes are turned into rain which penetrates through everything. The hour of departure is arrived: the cruel Gastaldo has marked it. Those who delay will have their goods confiscated, and receive themselves the sentence of death. What will be your decision, ye men of peace, who sigh for rest? Oh victory of faith!—the love of God has triumphed in their hearts! . . They depart, carrying as they are able, whatever is most precious to them. Often, instead of articles of absolute necessity, with which they would have loaded a mule, here and there belonging to more wealthy families, they place upon its back the weak old man of eighty, the sick, taken from his bed, or children too young to walk. Ye holy families, beaten by the storm, frozen by the cold, advancing with confidence, though uncertain what awaits you in the future, we behold you with reverence, we follow you with love! May the recital of your sufferings transmit to your descendants, in the present day, the glorious example of your faith and your sacrifices!

The pastor of the majority of these victims, the historian, Jean Léger, is at a loss, in his narrative, sufficiently to express his admiration of the goodness of God, who, in so great a multitude of persons, allowed not one to do violence to his conscience.* All preferred the prospect of

* Fifteen hundred at least; probably, two thousand.

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misery and sufferings of every kind to the peaceable possession of their houses and goods at the cost of abjuration. They took for their motto, he exclaims, the words of Holy Writ in reference to the sacrifice of Isaac; "In the mount of the Lord, it shall be seen."

The exiles were received with compassion by their brethren in the tolerated villages; they gave them a place by their firesides; and crowded themselves to lodge them; the table was spread for all; they shared with them the dish of parched corn or *polenta*, boiled chesnuts, butter, and milk. To welcome them, the cup of red wine went round from hand to hand, while they listened to their melancholy story.

But this was not all. An attempt was made to soften Gastaldo. A humble petition was presented to the duke. Alas! all was useless. The petition was rejected; the deputies returned in consternation. "The mass, or exile"—was all the answer they received. No other alternative was left them.

But not allowing themselves to be baffled, the three valleys persevered in presenting memorials in behalf of their persecuted brethren. They knocked at every door. Their principal letters to the dowager duchess, to the duke, and to the man on whom their fate seemed chiefly to depend, on account of the influence he possessed and the powers he was invested with, we mean, the marquis de Pianezza, have been preserved. They represent, with all possible respect, that, from time immemorial,* they had dwelt in those plains from which they had just been expelled; that the treaty of 1561, which had refused to the Vaudois the liberty of preaching in most of the communes in question, had nevertheless recognised their residence in them; that this latter privilege had been established by very ancient authentic acts, and had been constantly guaranteed in later concessions, that their expulsion from the places of their birth and the communes of their ancestors could not consequently be effected without violating the most explicit and venerable documents, and infringing a right hitherto undisputed. But these representations were not listened to. Even access to the throne of their sovereign was shut against the Vaudois. Gastaldo declared that it was so; and they were

* Léger remarks that the Vaudois inhabited these parts before Piedmont belonged to the house of Savoy.

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soon convinced that this was the case. Neither their petitions nor their deputations were admitted. It was required of them that they should petition for favour, and leave the conditions of it entirely to the good pleasure of his highness. This was, in fact, the only means of bringing them to abjure. Yet, whatever was done, this point could not be gained. In all their petitions, and all their promises of submission, they constantly renewed the maintenance of their ancient privileges, and especially that of liberty of conscience. And on these wishes and reservations being rejected, they supplicated their prince to allow them to leave his dominions in peace.

These urgent entreaties and conditions irritated the council. Their situation, already very critical, had been aggravated by imprudences, which calumny was quick in taking advantage of. Some of the exiles from Bibbiana and other villages in the plain of Lucerna, having heard that certain Piedmontese robbers were laying waste their property and plundering their houses, returned thither to assure themselves of the truth of the report, and to protect their property. Their ancient lords, and especially count Christophe, of Lucerna, pretending sentiments of benevolence, encouraged them to look after their dwellings, and not entirely to abandon the cultivation of their lands, provided, however, their families kept away. The auditor Gastaldo, it was added, saw no harm in their doing so. This language was like a bait which the angler puts on his hook to entice and catch the voracious fish. The Vaudois of San Giovanni, La Torre, Lucerna, Bibbiana, and other places, too anxious to preserve their unprotected property, did not see that they gave their enemies a handle for accusing them of transgressing their sovereign's edict, which they did not fail to do. Word was sent to the count that they resisted, and persisted in their obstinacy. Their imprudence was even described as outrageous rebellion.

A murder committed on the person of the priest of Fenile, one of the communes from which the Vaudois had been expelled, was at once attributed to the revenge of the barbets. The real authors of the assassination were soon pursued by the relations of the deceased and cast into prison. They were the lord of Fenile, Ressan, prefect of justice of the province, one of the most ardent enemies of the Vaudois,

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his secretary Dagot, and a celebrated bandit named Berru. Nevertheless the hasty rumour had already filled all Piedmont with the imputation of this crime to the detested barbets, though the real criminals were suspected. The mischief was done; calumny had gained its end.* The Vaudois were in the judgment of the Piedmontese, not only heretics, enemies of the virgin and the saints, but also rebels against their prince and assassins. The punishments they deserved from the avenging justice of their sovereign, it was thought, could never be severe enough.

At length, the persecutors of the Vaudois had attained their object; the Council for the Propagation of the Faith and the Extirpation of Heretics had won the consent of the duke and his family, as well as the general approbation. The hour was come to strike a great blow, to extirpate heresy in a day. The marquis of Pianezza, the soul of the council, assembled his troops while he deceived and quieted the deputies from the valleys at Turin.

All the disposable troops were secretly prepared for the expedition, and to these were added some companies of Bavarians. At the request of Charles Emmanuel, six regiments of the French army crossed the Alps, then covered with snow, besides an Irish regiment of papists who had fled before Cromwell. It is even said that banditti. apprehended criminals, and other abandoned wretches were allowed to follow the army with a promise of pardon and plunder if they acquitted themselves well.

The marquis of Pianezza continued to the last to amuse the Vaudois deputation, to whom he had long promised an audience, which he put off from one day to another, and at length fixed for April the 17th, 1655. But while they were knocking at his door, at the hour appointed, and David Branchi of San Giovanni and François Manchon of the valley of San Martino, were told that they could not yet speak to his excellency,† the deceiver Pianezza, who had set off at

* Berru even dared to assert that he had been hired by the pastors Léger and Michelin, to commit this murder. But in the conferences held during the month of August, at Pinerolo, in the presence of the French ambassador and the Swiss deputies, Léger confounded his calumniators by demonstrating his perfect innocence as well as that of his colleague, and by offering to clear up the affair at Pinerolo, on the French territory where they should bring Berru himself, whom they had just apprehended in the valleys. But the Piedmontese papists declined the offer saying it was needless; that Léger was free from all suspicion, etc., and that Berru ought to be delivered to the ordinary judges.

† They would, no doubt, have been arrested themselves, shortly after, if a lord,

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night, was entering the valley of Lucerna at the head of an army which, the next day, counted not less than fifteen thousand men, according to the statement even of the enemy.

San Giovanni and La Torre, which had been abandoned by the Vaudois ever since the manifesto of Gastaldo, were taken possession of without any trouble, as were also all their ancient dwellings in the villages of the plain. It is hardly necessary to add that every place was pillaged. The poor exiles and their brethren from Bobbio, Villaro, and Angrogna, sorrowfully kept themselves in safe places on the heights, whence they could see the troops scattered over the plain and ravaging it. Their sentinels kept watch night and day. The aggressive intentions of the papists were too evident for the Vaudois to hesitate about defending themselves. The mountaineers resolved to sell their lives dearly. As early as the 19th of April, they were fiercely assailed in many places, at San Giovanni, La Torre, Angrogna, and the hills of Bricherasco, all at the same time. Although very inferior in numbers, they repulsed the regular troops at every point. On the 20th, the attacks were renewed, but with no better success.

The marquis of Pianezza thereupon called in stratagem and deceit to his aid. He convened the deputies of the communes of the valley of Lucerna, to meet him at the convent of La Torre on Wednesday the 21st, early in the morning, and pacified and encouraged them. He represented that he was merely in pursuit of those obstinate individuals who had resisted the orders of Gastaldo; that, as for all the rest, they had nothing to fear, provided, that, as a mark of obedience and fidelity to the prince, they would consent to receive and lodge a regiment of infantry and two companies of horse soldiers, in each of their communities, for two or three days. Some soothing words lessened in the minds of the deputies the painful impression which these proposals at first made. A sumptuous entertainment provided for them with apparent kindness by the artful vice-president of the council for the extirpation of heresy, succeeded in convincing them of the sincerity and benevolence of his intentions. On returning to their communes,

a friend of the Vaudois had not whispered to them, "The marquis is gone to the valleys, be off!"

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they inspired their brethren with similar confidence, in spite of the efforts of several clear-sighted men, the pastor Léger in particular.

The whole army, accordingly, put itself in motion, on the 22nd of April, to occupy the Vaudois communes. The regiments first took possession of the large towns of Villaro and Bobbio, in the plain, as well as of the lower hamlets of Angrogna. At the same time, they seized upon the principal passes, and meeting with no obstacle, penetrated while daylight allowed, as far as the hamlets in the higher valleys. Thus instead of a few regiments and squadrons, the whole army lodged and established itself in the habitations of the credulous Vaudois. Their reliance on the word of other people, and respect for their sovereign, were their ruin. It is sad to think that sentiments so honourable should often become a cause of destruction.

The eagerness of some of the soldiers to execute the orders that had been secretly given them, apprised the already suspicious Vaudois of what they had to fear. One troop hastened to climb the heights above La Torre, in order to penetrate into the quarter of the Pra-di-torre, that natural citadel of Angrogna, so often mentioned in the preceding persecutions; on their way up, these madmen set fire to all the houses, and moreover, massacred all the unfortunate beings they could lay hands upon. The spectacle of these flames, the sound of the cries and screams of the victims whom they stabbed or pursued, left no doubt of their intentions. The alarm, "Save himself who can! the treason is out!" resounded from one extremity of the valley to the other. In the valley of Angrogna, most of the men had time to escape to the mountains and to save a good part of their families, by favour of the darkness. They passed over to the side of the mountain opposite to that on which their hamlets were situated, as far as that part of the valley of Perosa, which belonged to France, and where they felt themselves safe. The sick and aged were obliged to remain; many women also and their children stayed with them.

The soldiers, on the day of their arrival, and the following, were very pacific. They seemed only intent on providing themselves with refreshments. They lavishly used the provisions stored up by the refugees of San Giovanni, Bibbiana, and other towns in the plain. They exhorted

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those who were in their power to recall the fugitives, assuring them that they would receive no injury, so that there were some credulous enough to entangle themselves again in the snares from which they had already escaped.

The troops conducted themselves in the same manner in the communes of Villaro and Bobbio, and in all the western hamlets they occupied. But, neither the poor inhabitants of these places, nor the persons who had taken refuge among them, had equal facilities with those of Angrogna for escaping. They had but two outlets to make their way to France, the defile of La Croix, and the defile of Giuliano (Julian), which opens upon Prâli, whence they might reach Abries, all covered with deep snow; the first, moreover, guarded by the fort of Mirebouc, or Mirabouc, situated half way through the pass, and the other two prodigiously long and difficult, especially in the middle of winter in these Alpine countries.

The circumstances not appearing to promise a more favourable opportunity for the duke's troops, and as delay might frustrate their evil project, Saturday, the 24th of April, 1655, was chosen for the execution of the orders of the Council for the Propagation of the Faith and the Extirpation of Heretics.

How shall we rehearse such a tragedy? It is Cain a second time shedding the blood of his brother Abel.

"The signal having been given on the eminence near La Torre, called Castelus" (this is the account of Léger, an eye-witness of these horrors,) "almost all the innocent creatures who were in the power of these cannibals had their throats cut like sheep in a slaughter-house; what do I say? they were not put to the sword like conquered enemies to whom no quarter is given; nor executed by the hands of public executioners, like the most infamous criminals, for massacres of this kind would not have sufficiently signalized the zeal of their general, nor gained credit enough for those who executed his orders.

"Children, cruelly torn from their mother's breast, were seized by the feet, and dashed and crushed against the rocks or walls, which were often covered with their brains, while their bodies were cast away on the common heaps: or, one soldier seizing one limb of these innocent creatures, and another taking hold of the other, would tear them

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asunder, then throw them at each other, or beat their mothers with them, and at last hurl them into the fields.

"The sick and aged, both men and women, were either burned in their houses, or literally cut in pieces, or tied up, stripped of their clothes, like a ball, with their head between their legs, and thrown over the rocks, or rolled down the sides of the mountains. After violating females, young and old, they forced flints into their bodies, or gunpowder, to which they set fire; others they impaled, and in this horrible position, placed naked as crosses by the way side. Others were mutilated in various ways, and even portions of their bodies were fried and eaten by these cannibals.

"As for the men, some were cut up while still living, one member after another, like meat at the shambles. Others were hung up so as to outrage all decency, or scorched alive, etc.*

"The valleys resounded with such mournful echoes of the lamentable cries of the wretched victims, and the shrieks wrung from them by their agonies, that you might have imagined the rocks were moved with compassion, while the barbarous perpetrators of these atrocious cruelties remained absolutely insensible.

"It is true that many of these bloody ruffians of Piedmont, who were without children, on seeing these sweet creatures, beautiful as little angels, instead of killing them, carried them to their homes. It is also true that, whether from hopes of obtaining a ransom or other motives, they spared some of the higher classes, both men and women; many of whom perished miserably in prisons.†

"After the general massacre, the soldiers went in pursuit of the fugitives who had not been able to pass the frontier, and were wandering in the woods and mountains, or were languishing destitute of fire and food in remote sheds, or in caves of the rocks; death in its most dreadful forms pursued them. Alas, for those who were discovered and

* The details of these atrocities are given in Léger's History, pt. ii., pp. 116—139, after having been collected and committed to writing by a notary on the testimony of eye-witnesses questioned in all the valleys by Léger, on the return of peace.

† The merciless marquis of Lucerna and Angrogna had the barbarity to leave the corpses of those who had died in the dungeons in the midst of the prisoners. We may imagine what they must have suffered in their health and feelings, expecting every day to die, and forced to breathe, eat, and sleep, during the heat of summer by the side of dead bodies in a state of putrefaction.—Léger, pt. ii., p. 139.

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taken! When the houses of their victims had been pillaged, the soldiers made it an amusement, or shall we say, considered it a duty, to reduce them to ashes: villages, hamlets, temples, lone houses, barns, stables,* buildings great and small, were all consumed. The beautiful valley of Lucerna, with the exception of Villaro and some buildings reserved for the Irish cut-throats, whom they thought of settling there, all these districts, hitherto resembling the rich soil of Goshen, were now more like the burning brick-kilns of Egypt.

"It was then," exclaims Léger, "that the fugitives, who had been snatched like brands out of the fire, could address God in the words of the 79th Psalm.

> 'O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance;
> Thy holy temple have they defiled;
> They have laid Jerusalem on heaps.
> The dead bodies of thy servants have they given
> To be meat unto the fowls of the heaven,
> The flesh of thy saints
> Unto the beasts of the earth.
> Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem;
> And there was none to bury them,' etc.

"Our tears are no longer of water," wrote the Vaudois fugitives of Pinache to the Swiss evangelical cantons on the twenty-seventh of April; "they are of blood; they do not only obscure our sight, they choke our poor hearts; our hands tremble, and our heads are stunned by the blows we have just received; strangely troubled, moreover, by fresh alarms, and by the attacks made upon us, we are prevented from writing to you as we wish; but we pray you to excuse us, and to collect, amidst our groans, the meaning of what we would fain utter."†

The court of Turin, in a manifesto published in French, Latin, and Italian, denied the greater part of the facts above narrated. The Roman Catholic historians have accused Léger of exaggeration in his recitals. We can imagine how a crime, after its commission, excites even in its authors and approvers an involuntary horror. Conscience protests; pride feels the ineffaceable blot on the honour of the guilty parties, and strives to veil it, by denying its reality. But the crime was not of that kind which could be concealed. Hundreds of victims had been

* Every property of any considerable size, and remote, had its barn and stable.
† See Dieterici die Valdenses. Berlin, 1831, p. 66.

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seen lying mutilated, dishonoured, unburied, in the fields and on the roads; their names, and the manner of their death, were carefully noted. Why should thousands of families put themselves in mourning if this account were an exaggeration? Why did the commanding officer of a French regiment, the sieur du Petitbourg, whom the marquis of Pianezza, in his manifesto, calls a man of honour, worthy of credit, resign his commission after the events in the valley of Lucerna, if it were not, as he has declared in an authentic document, that he would not be again present at such disgraceful scenes? "I have been a witness," he says, "of numerous acts of extreme violence and cruelty exercised by the outlaws of Piedmont and the soldiers on persons of every age, sex, and condition, whom I have seen massacred, dismembered, hung, burned, violated, besides numerous dreadful conflagrations. When they brought persons to the marquis of Pianezza, I saw him give orders to kill them all, because his highness would not have people of that religion in any part of his dominions.*

The eyes of Protestant Europe were, moreover, assured of the reality of these atrocities. The ambassadors of the evangelical cantons of Switzerland, of the United Provinces of Holland, and of England, established and declared it. Their despatches, the letters of their governments, and their proceedings with the duke of Savoy attest it, as also the history published by sir Samuel Morland, the envoy extraordinary of the Protector, a personage distinguished for his noble qualities of heart and mind, and who visited the spot soon after the massacres.

The only community in all the valley of Lucerna that escaped the vengeance of the army was the smallest, called Rora, consisting of only twenty-five families, situated to the south of Villaro and La Torre, on the right side of the Pélice, among the mountains, where it forms a retired glen between two low ridges, which descend to the east of the majestic pile of Friolant. We may penetrate into this hollow by two roads, one which goes up from Lucerna, and the ordinary way, and which winds in places precipitously above the mountain torrent, called the Lucerna; the other, which proceeds from the borders of the Pélice, and by the

* See the authentic declaration of these horrors given by M. du Petitbourg, commanding officer of the regiment of Grancé, in Léger, pt. ii., p. 115.

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paths going from Bobbio and Villaro, leads with difficulty along rapid slopes turned to the north, passes by the foot of steep rocks, and when it reaches the top of the ridge goes down again into the lonely valley of Rora. Although spared at first by the army, this little commune was not forgotten; for in spite of the reiterated promises of its lord, the count Christophe of Lucerna, in the name of the marquis of Pianezza, on Saturday the 24th of April, the day of the great massacre of the Vaudois, four or five hundred soldiers received orders secretly to climb the path described above, which would bring them by the mountain of Rummer to Rora. They would have taken the district by surprise if, through the Divine mercy, they had not been discovered at a distance by a noble-hearted man, Joshua Janavel, who had left his residence at les Vignes, near Lucerna, and had retired to Rora with his family. He was keeping watch on the rocks with six men. At the sight of the danger, instead of taking to flight, he advanced and lay in ambush in an advantageous spot. A sudden discharge of all the pieces of this little troop levelled six of their enemies to the ground, and terrified the head of the division so much the more, as they could not see the persons who had fired upon it, and consequently could not tell their number. The soldiers, already prevented from keeping together by the inequalities of the road, were thrown by this occurrence into the utmost disorder. They fell back, rolled one over another, struck by the balls of Janavel and his six companions. They fled, without having the courage to face their pursuers for an instant, leaving, besides the first six, fifty-three or fifty-four others dead, lying on the path or in the precipices.

The poor people of Rora, having escaped the danger, betook themselves to their count and the marquis of Pianezza to exculpate themselves, and to complain. To lull them into a false security, they were told that no division of the army had marched against them; that those who had attacked them could only be Piedmontese robbers, whom they did well to chastise, and that strict orders would be given that no one should trouble them in future. But as it is a principle of popish morality, not to keep faith with heretics, on the very next day six hundred soldiers, chosen as the best fitted for mountain warfare, took a route

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somewhat different, by the Cassulet. They did not escape the lynx-eyed Janavel. This valiant and prudent warrior watched the movements of his perfidious enemy, at the head of twelve herdsmen armed with fusils, pistols, and cutlasses, and six others equipped only with slings and flints, which they knew how to use very effectively. Placed betimes, in ambush in flank and front, at a very advantageous spot, they poured on the head of the column a shower of balls and stones, of which each one struck down its man. The enemies, terrified by so rude an assault, and not knowing how to get out of the defile, nor how to pursue, amidst thickets and rocks, combatants who were generally invisible, sought safety in flight, leaving, as on the preceding day, from fifty to sixty corpses.

It would seem almost incredible that the count of Lucerna should attempt to represent a second time to his vassals that the attack originated in a mistake, and that the like thing should not happen again. What meanness, joined to such cruelty! On the following day, from eight to nine hundred men surrounded Rora anew, and set fire to all the houses they could reach. It was to be feared that no one would escape; but Janavel and his men, seeing the soldiers disband themselves, too eager for plunder and too sure of their victory, attacked them so courageously, and, with God's aid, so successfully, in a place called Damasser, that the whole division fell back by Pianpra upon La Torre and Villaro, abandoning their booty and the cattle they had taken, which had hampered them, and was a principal cause of their defeat.

Irritated by these checks, Pianezza ordered a fourth attack, for which he assembled all his disposable troops, as well as all the armed men that could be obtained from Bagnolo, Bargé, Famolasc, Cavor, and other places; but on the day appointed, the troops from Bagnolo, commanded by the impetuous and cruel Mario, being at the rendezvous before the rest, who still delayed their coming, Mario, urged on by his hatred of the barbets, and by the ambition of reaping the glory of the expedition, set out at the head of his band, a troop of Irishmen and some other detachments, and reached without opposition the hamlet of Rummer, where the families belonging to Rora had taken refuge. There Janavel's seventeen comrades again managed

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to choose their point of defence so well, that they could not be forced, and after a long and obstinate resistance, they saw signs of confusion and discouragement arising in the enemy's ranks. At this decisive moment, it pleased God to sow terror in the hearts of these troops that a few hours before were so proud and confident. They fled, leaving sixty-five dead on the spot. Their dismay was increased by the very effect of their hasty flight; and then, on arriving at a place called Petrocapello, where they hoped to be able to take breath, the unexpected attack of Janavel and his heroes, who had pursued them, completed their rout. Unable to escape with sufficient speed by the narrow road which goes by the Lucerna, the wretched men pressed on one another, and fell from rock to rock into its waves. This was the fate of the great Mario himself, who was pulled out of the water only to die at Lucerna in inexpressible anguish, tormented in his last hours by the recollection of the crimes he had committed in this valley.

After so long a combat, and a deliverance so miraculous, Janavel and his troop, harassed with fatigue, were seated on a height, and were refreshing themselves by a slight repast, when they observed a small body of soldiers from Villaro climbing the mountain, and hoping, no doubt, to take them in the rear, placed, as they imagined, between two fires. They hastened to put themselves in an advantageous position. Their enemies, as they advanced, perceived them, and sent a detachment to reconnoitre. The Vaudois allowed them to advance, and when challenged, instead of giving the countersign, of which they were ignorant, beckoned to them to come on. The soldiers, taking it for granted that they were papist peasants belonging to the expedition, pressed forward, and many met their death by point blank shot. Those whom the balls had missed fled with all their might, and threw the main body into disorder, which was exposed in a disadvantageous position on account of its declivity, and all joined in the flight, without any of them having time to notice the number of their conquerors, who killed many more. After this fresh success, Janavel having assembled his troops on a rising ground, invited them, as he always did, to fall down with him on their knees, and return hearty and due thanks to God, the Author of their deliverance.

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Three days after, the marquis of Pianezza summoned the people of Rora, with terrible threats, to attend mass within four-and-twenty hours. "We prefer death to the mass, a hundred thousand times," was their reply. At length, the marquis, for the purpose of reducing five-and-twenty families, did not think it too much to assemble eight thousand soldiers and two thousand popish peasants. He divided this army into three bodies, of which two were to penetrate into the district by the two roads already mentioned, namely by the road of the Villar and that of Lucerna. The third crossed the mountains which separate Rora from Bagnolo. Alas! while Janavel and his devoted troop made all possible resistance to the first division which presented itself, the two others reached the place where the poor families had taken refuge, and inflicted on them all the horrible cruelties we have already enumerated, and which our pen refuses to describe a second time. Old age, infancy, or sex, far from being a safeguard, seemed only to excite the fury and base passions of these men whom no discipline kept in check. A hundred and twenty-six persons met with an agonizing death. The wife and three daughters of the captain Janavel were reserved for prison, as well as some refugees of the hamlet of Les Vignes in Lucerna. Such houses as were still standing, were set on fire after everything valuable had been removed. The conquerors divided the booty among themselves.

Janavel and his friends had escaped the disaster. Pianezza probably fearing the resentment of men who had nothing more to lose, wrote to the hero of Rora, offering him his own life and that of his wife and daughters if he renounced his heresy, but threatening him on the contrary, if he persisted in it, with the loss of his head, and that his family should be burned to death. Far from being subdued by these menaces, this man, worthy of the name of Vaudois, replied, "That there were no torments so cruel, nor death so barbarous, which he could not prefer to abjuration; that if the marquis made his wife and daughters pass through the fire, the flames could only consume their poor bodies; that, as for their souls, he commended them to God, trusting them in his hands equally with his own, in case it were His pleasure that he should fall into the hands of the executioners." One of his little boys, eight years old, had escaped

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the massacre. Janavel, almost destitute of provisions, powder and ball, made his way with his troop through the snows of the lofty mountains in the neighbourhood, carrying his child on his back, and having deposited him at Queyras, on the French territory, and rested a few days, he and his men repassed the lofty Alps, bringing with him a smaller number of refugees well armed. They returned to increase the little Vaudois army, which, since the massacres, had been forming on the mountains of Bobbio, Villaro, and Angrogna.

During these conflicts at Rora, the other valleys had also been threatened. The lords of San Martino had done their utmost to induce its inhabitants to make their submission and abjure the faith of their fathers, warning them seriously that a division of the army would invade and punish them if they refused to yield. Far from complying, they took up arms and succeeded by their courage in warding off the evils which had crushed the valley of Lucerna. The valley of Perosa also suffered; but its calamities were far less aggravated than those we have described in the preceding narrative.

Meanwhile, those who had escaped from Rora, Bobbio, Angrogna, La Torre, and San Giovanni, with whom were joined a few of their brethren from the other valleys, had armed themselves, and formed when they were all assembled together, (not a very frequent occurrence) a body of about five hundred combatants. In most of the encounters, they mustered not above half this number, and often hardly one third. This little army, masters of the mountains which were abandoned by the enemy after all the villages and hamlets upon them had been burned, was continually scattered abroad, either to obtain subsistence or to avoid danger, and then reassembled to fall unexpectedly on detached bodies of the Piedmontese army, which was stationed in the towns, villages, and hamlets, at the entrance of the valley of Lucerna. The Vaudois fought several battles in the latter days of May, and in the months of June and July. They obtained even considerable success under the conduct of the valiant captains Janavel and Jayer. This latter officer was from Pramol. In one of their expeditions, they surprised the town of San Secondo, which was filled with their enemies. By the aid of casks, which they had found in the first houses that were

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stormed, and rolled before them as a protection, they approached so near the fortress into which the governor had retired, that they burned the gate by means of bundles of vine-branches which they set on fire. They did the same at the door of a large hall, in which the soldiers, pressing one upon another, had taken their last refuge. These unfortunate creatures, mostly Irishmen, whose cruelty had been unparalleled in the massacres, could excite no pity in those whose sisters, daughters, and wives they had dishonoured, and whom they had deprived of fathers, mothers, and children. They considered that they treated them with sufficient lenity by putting them at once to the sword, without any preparatory torture except the thought of death. Very differently from their enemies, they spared the lives of the aged, of children, and the sick, and respected the females here as in all other places. In this manner they acted during the whole course of the war. Only, either by way of reprisal, or to deprive their enemies of this post, they set fire to the town, after having taken out whatever could be carried away, a booty in which they found part of that which had been taken from themselves. The Irish regiment lost several hundred men by this defeat: the Piedmontese troops sustained about an equal loss.

Encouraged by this success, the little Vaudois army dared to approach Bricherasco, and to ravage the cottages or surrounding dwellings.* The alarm having been given by a signal agreed upon, they saw themselves assailed by all the Piedmontese forces in the neighbourhood, both horse and foot. As they retreated in good order, they often charged the enemy with advantage, and retired with only one killed and a few wounded. Shortly after this gallant troop appeared before the town of La Torre, which was fortified, and kept the garrison there in check. From the mountains of Angrogna, its head-quarters, it sent out a strong division to attack the town of Crussol, in the upper valley of the Po; at their approach, the inhabitants, who had done much mischief in the massacres, fled, abandoning their flocks, which the Vaudois drove to the Alps of Villaro.† They found among the booty many of their own cattle.

* It must not be forgotten that those troops had no other supply of provisions for their daily wants than what they procured by such excursions.

† One object of this expedition was to procure a fresh supply of cattle in lieu of those they had lost during the massacres.

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Notwithstanding the absence of the brave Jayer, who was engaged elsewhere, Janavel made a sudden attack on Lucerna; but after two unsuccessful assaults he retreated, the garrison having been reinforced by a regiment, of which he was not aware on his arrival.

Being attacked himself by three thousand of the enemy, on one of the heights of Angrogna, and having on his side only three hundred defenders, he still made head against them, and repulsed all their attempts. And when the assailants retired, about two o'clock in the afternoon, having lost, by their own confession, more than five hundred men, Captain Jayer suddenly appeared with his troop. The joy of his return raised the courage of the Vaudois beyond all bounds. Without thinking of their fatigue, they rushed into the plain, threw themselves with fury on their enemies, who were retreating some to La Torre, others to Lucerna, and slew fifty of their men, besides three officers of distinction. But, sad to relate, at the end of this fierce combat, the brave, the valiant, the pious Janavel fell. A ball passed through his breast. They expected every moment that he would breathe his last. He desired to speak to Jayer, who succeeded him in the command. He gave him some advice before he was carried to a distance from the field of battle, to Pinache, in the valley of Perosa, within the French territory, where by degrees he recovered.

This day was destined to be a day of mourning for the valleys. Forgetting the counsel given by the (apparently) dying Janavel not to undertake anything more that evening, and as if it had not been enough to beat the enemy on their retreat, Jayer, too impetuous, and deceived by a traitor, who led him to expect immense booty in the direction of Ousasq, advanced, at the head of a hundred and fifty picked men, to throw himself into the hands of his enemies. Having already pillaged and burned some cottages on the heights, he suffered himself to be led on by the traitor, with fifty of his men, towards some houses, where he was, all at once, surrounded by the Savoy cavalry, who having received an intimation of his coming, were waiting in ambush for him. Overpowered by numbers, Jayer died as a hero, together with his son, who never quitted his side, and all his companions, only one excepted. He killed three officers, and fell, after a long defence, covered with wounds.

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Léger has described him in the following words: "A great captain, worthy of being held in remembrance; zealous for the service of God, alike capable of resisting allurements and threats; courageous as a lion, and meek as a lamb, rendering God alone the praise of all his victories: his character would have been complete had he known how to curb his adventurous boldness."

The valleys, disheartened for a brief interval, were reanimated by the voices of captain Laurent, of the valley of San Martino, and of a brother of Jayer, and of several others. In a conflict maintained by their little troops against six thousand of the enemy, they slew two hundred men, among which was the lieutenant-colonel of the Bavarian regiment; but on their side they lost the excellent captain Bertin, of Angrogna.

At the beginning of July, the Vaudois had the satisfaction of seeing the arrival of many of their brethren in arms from Languedoc and Dauphiné; one of them, named Descombies, an experienced and renowned officer, was soon after made commander-in-chief. Colonel Andrion, of Geneva, who had distinguished himself in France and Sweden, as well as in the valleys, arrived at the same time.* The moderator, Léger, just returned from a long and rapid journey, which he had been making in France and Switzerland, on behalf of the valleys, proceeded immediately, with colonel Andrion, to the mountain of Angrogna, called La Vachère, where the little Vaudois army had thrown up some entrenchments. The enemy, as if they had had notice of their arrival, and to prevent the impulse which it might give to the energy of these persecuted herdsmen, went up to take them by surprise, very early on the following morning, with all their forces, among whom were some fresh troops. The Vaudois, being timely warned by their scouts, were able to concentrate themselves in the fortified position of Casses.† The duke's army divided into four bodies, of which one remained in observation as a reserve, made the assault on three points at once, almost incessantly for nearly ten hours, and at last, breaking through the barri-

* M. de Barcelona also came thither from the Pays de Vaud. (Revue Suisse. Lausanne, 1840, iii. 270.)

† A remarkable succession of fragments of rocks scattered over a long surface, forming, with the declivity of the mountain from which they had been detached, a barrier very difficult to pass.

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cades, forced the Vaudois to retreat, pursuing them with the cry of "Victory! victory!" to the foot of the last fortified height, on which they took refuge as their last earthly asylum. But their heavenly Protector so strengthened them, that although the enemy often attacked them at the distance of a pike's length, they defended themselves without abandoning the post. Their supply of powder and ball began to fail, which would have been fatal, had they not at the instant had recourse to their slings, and also rolled down fragments of rock, which, often splitting in pieces in their rapid course downward, struck even the furthest detachments. Noticing at last some hesitation and disorder in the enemy's ranks, they sallied forth at once from their entrenchment, a pistol in one hand, and a cutlass (a cubit in length, and two or three fingers broad,) in the other, and struck such terror in the exhausted popish troops, that they sounded a retreat. More than two hundred soldiers were slain, and as many severely wounded. The Bavarian regiment lost some of its best officers.

It was on the return of these disappointed troops, and at the sight of the wounded and the dead, that the syndic Bianchi of Lucerna, although a papist, playing on the nickname of barbets, (synonymous with *dogs*,) given to the Vaudois, exclaimed, "Formerly the wolves devoured the dogs, but now the time is come for the dogs to devour the wolves;" a speech that cost him his life.

On the 18th of July, at night, the Vaudois army, at least eighteen hundred strong, owing to the reinforcements from France, of whom between sixty and eighty were horsemen lately mounted, invested the town of La Torre, and would probably have taken it by assault, and the fort too,* if the new general Descombies, who commanded for the first time, had better understood the ardour and intrepidity of the mountaineers under his orders. He lost time in reconnoitring the fort. The alarm was given, the Piedmontese regiments, in garrison at Lucerna and elsewhere, arrived, and the enterprise failed. Nevertheless, captain Belin and lieutenant Peironnel, (also called Gonnet,) forced the wall of the convent of the Capuchins, took possession of it and

* The fort here spoken of was not that situated to the north of the town, the ruins of which are still to be seen; it was a fortified place, situated within the town itself, and which had been raised during the war. Léger, pt. ii., p. 264.

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set it on fire, as they did the rest of the town, made prisoners of some reverend fathers, and did not retire till the enemy's reinforcements, joining the beaten troops of La Torre and those of the fort, pressed them on every side.

General Descombies, full of confidence in his little army, was about to make another attack on the fort of La Torre, intending to march afterwards on Lucerna, when a truce was concluded, and after a while a treaty, which put an end to all the military operations of the Vaudois. But, before speaking of this negotiation, we must go back a little, to show the effect produced by the massacres and persecutions of the Vaudois on the Protestant populations of Europe and their governments.

A cry of reprobation had resounded throughout all the reformed countries, on hearing the bloody recital of the cruelties inflicted on their brethren in the valleys of Piedmont. A thrill of horror pervaded the whole Protestant body. Bitter tears were shed at the remembrance of the dead; and at the recital of the woes endured by the survivors, the necessity of coming to their aid seized all hearts, both of rulers and their subjects alike. It is a fact deserving of perpetual record, that the reformed nations were moved as the heart of one man, and presented to their brethren in the faith a beautiful example of Christian charity. Almost all the churches humbled themselves before God by a solemn day of fasting and prayer in reference to the valleys; liberal collections were made at the same time in every district, to furnish those who had escaped with the means of subsistence, in that total destitution to which the fury of their enemies had reduced them, to rebuild their houses that had been burned down, to procure agricultural implements, and the necessary supply of cattle of which they had been deprived.

But what would this succour have availed, to whatever extent it had been given, if the poor persecuted Vaudois had been left without protection, under the heavy and painful yoke of iron which galled their neck? Something more was needed than pecuniary aid, or than letters of sympathy and consolation; it was requisite that Christian charity should be shown, by direct application to the Piedmontese government, to obtain from it assurances and guarantees of peace in reference to the oppressed.

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This interference of Christian charity was spontaneous, as it ought always to be, like all the fruits of the gospel. The court of Turin persisted in attributing it to the requests, complaints, and entreaties made by the valleys to the reformed governments. This is to misconstrue, or not to know, the force of the brotherly love that unites the disciples of the truth, it is even to doubt the heart of man; for where Christian sentiments might not have been powerful enough to inspire generous efforts in behalf of brethren in misfortune, humanity alone would have dictated them. It is true that the valleys made their tried friends in Switzerland acquainted with their alarming situation. Could they help doing so? Are our tears to be concealed from our most intimate friends? It is possible the Vaudois had anticipated, that they had even hoped, that their brethren would raise their voices in their behalf. But who could blame them for so doing? Is it required that the unfortunate should renounce all hope of exciting the sympathy of others? Does the recital of his misfortunes constitute a crime? None but a tyrant will pretend that it does. For if so, every letter of a victim would be an accusation; every lamentation of an oppressed people, a cry of rebellion.

The honour of the first movement in favour of the persecuted Vaudois, belongs to the evangelical cantons of Switzerland. Their religious zeal and their charity shone with the purest lustre; their anxiety had been manifested before the massacres. In fact, scarcely had they been informed of the cruel order published by Gastaldo, when they wrote to the duke, on the 6th of March, a most respectful letter, in which they entreat him to allow his Vaudois subjects to remain in their ancient habitations, and to insure them liberty of conscience by the maintenance of their hereditary privileges.* And when the news of the massacres reached them, rapid and overpowering as a thunderbolt, they forthwith, on the 29th of April, appointed a fast and collections through all their territories,

* In the answer of the duke to the evangelical cantons, he accuses the Vaudois of a fact which was slanderously imputed to them, of a farce acted at La Torre, by children, on Christmas day, 1654, in a masquerade, where an ass cut the principal figure. It was afterwards proved that these children were papists, and thus the Vaudois were cleared from the charge of insulting their neighbours in their religion. Léger, pt. ii., p. 203, 204.

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and on the next day they informed the Protestant powers, in pathetic epistles, of what had occurred in the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont, calling upon them to interest themselves in their future fortunes. As for themselves, without waiting for the effect of their suggestions, they deputed colonel de Weiss (or de Wyss), of Berne, to the court of Turin, with directions to place in the hands of the dowager duchess, and of Charles Emmanuel, a letter of intercession in favour of their afflicted brethren.

The Swiss deputy accomplished little by his mission; he was received, it is true, by their highnesses, but was referred, for negotiations, to the deceitful and fanatical Pianezza, with whom he could make no arrangements. This man attempted to employ him to disarm the persecuted Vaudois; but de Weiss, not being able to guarantee them an honourable treaty, things remained in the same state in which he found them. At all events, he ascertained the real state of affairs by personal observation. He returned soon after to render an account of his mission to his superiors.

The evangelical cantons, far from being discouraged by having obtained nothing, resolved to send an embassy to offer their mediation between the two parties actually in arms, and which should strive to obtain for the Vaudois, from the duke, liberty to dwell in any part of the valleys, the restoration of their possessions, and the free exercise of their religion. The cantons, by fresh communications, informed the Protestant states of the situation of the Vaudois, as well as the steps which their deputies were going to take, and invited them to support their intervention by letters, or still better, by ambassadors.

All the Protestant powers answered to this appeal. Besides the collections which they ordered in all their towns and country places, they all wrote to the duke of Savoy to entreat him to act differently with his subjects of the Protestant religion. The king of Sweden, the elector Palatine, the elector of Brandenburgh, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, gave special proofs of their great zeal in the management of this affair; but the greatest efforts proceeded from the cantons already named, from Great Britain, then under the protectorate of Cromwell, and the United Provinces of Holland. England, still agitated by its own religious move-

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ments, entered warmly into the case of the Vaudois, fasted and made liberal collections. Oliver Cromwell displayed great zeal, wrote to the Protestant states, and interfered by an embassy, first to Louis XIV., allied to the house of Savoy, and whose regiments had taken part in the massacres, and afterwards to Charles Emmanuel. Sir Samuel Morland, a young diplomatist equally intelligent and pious, attempted to interest the French monarch in giving succour to the victims of his own soldiers, and received at least some promises. On his arrival at Turin, at the end of June, he obtained an audience, and having expressed a severe judgment on the atrocities committed, he claimed from the justice and generosity of the prince, in the name of his government, gentler measures, and the reestablishment of the Vaudois in the enjoyment of their property, their ancient privileges and their liberties.

While sir Samuel Morland was on his way to Geneva, towards the end of July, the lord protector of Great Britain sent a new plenipotentiary to Turin, sir — Dunning, who after having seen sir Samuel Morland, was directed to visit Piedmont, in company with him and Mr. Pell, the English resident in Switzerland, in order to conduct the settlement of the affairs of the Vaudois and bring them to a successful termination.

At the same period, the states-general at the United Provinces, deputed for the same object, M. Van Ommeren, with orders to act in concert with the English ambassador and the evangelical cantons. The latter had already despatched their ambassadors at the commencement of the month. They did not meet sir Samuel Morland, who had returned from Geneva by another road. Sir — Dunning and M. Van Ommeren arrived in Switzerland still later. The embassy of the evangelical cantons found itself therefore alone in the effort to accomplish this difficult mission. This was a great evil. The absence of the envoys of Great Britain and the United Provinces gave a decisive influence to the Roman Catholic party, represented by the ambassador of the king of France, and permitted the hasty conclusion of an arrangement which was far from advantageous to the poor Vaudois.

While on their way, the Swiss ambassadors were informed that the mediation of the king of France in the affairs of the Vaudois had been accepted by the duke, nevertheless they

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continued their journey, and met with an honourable reception. This embassy consisted of Solomon Hirzel, Stadtholder of Zurich, Charles de Bonstetten, baron de Vaumarcus, etc., counsellor of Berne, Bénédict Socin, counsellor of Bâle, and Jean Stockar of Schaffhausen, formerly a magistrate of Locarno. Under pretence that the acceptance of the mediation of the king of France would not allow an arrangement to be made with any other party, the court of Turin would not enter on the discussion of the subject with them, but allowed the ambassadors to follow the negotiation, and to interest themselves about the Vaudois. The deputies, in consequence, betook themselves to Pignerol, at that time a city belonging to France, some leagues from the valleys, which the ambassador of France, de Servient, had assigned to the parties for their abode.

The arrangement was a work of labour. The first fortnight in August was spent in recriminations and explanations, in animated debates, in suing for their liberties on the part of the Vaudois, in insidious proposals from some delegates of the court, and in friendly offices on the part of the evangelical commissioners.* At last, on the 18th, the agreement was concluded, and the peace signed. The conditions would have been doubtless more advantageous to the Vaudois, if the ambassadors of Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as those of the evangelical cantons, had been present. Sir Samuel Morland, it is true, wrote from Geneva to the Swiss deputation, requesting them to protract the negotiations, and if possible, to put off the conclusion of the treaty till their arrival, which would be at no distant time. But it is doubtful whether these diplomatists would have been allowed to exercise any direct interference, since the mediation of the king of France had been accepted by the duke, and the Protestant princes themselves had solicited the concurrence of that ambitious monarch who now claimed to act alone. Moreover, the deplorable state

* The narrative of the negotiation would have been very instructive and useful. It would have set in a clear light the intentions of those hard-hearted men who felt no regret but that of not having been able to get rid of the barbets; but we have abstained from speaking of it at length, because our narrative is already too full of harrowing scenes, and atrocious acts which provoke indignation, and if multiplied, would banish all charity from our hearts.

The king's representative, Servient, endeavoured to entangle the Vaudois deputies and to gain their consent to proposals of which he concealed the bearing, and which tended to destroy them. See, for instance, his conduct in reference to the fort of La Torre, in Léger, pt. ii., p. 264.

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of the valleys required a speedy settlement. Plundered, and a prey to all the miseries of war, they sighed after repose. Their families, without provisions and without homes during two months, could wait no longer. Their representatives, with the pastor Léger at their head, all persons in whom they could confide, thought they did well in accepting conditions which, without being entirely satisfactory, secured to them a dwelling-place in the greater part of their ancient limits, the sale of their goods in some localities which it would be necessary to leave, and the free exercise of their religion throughout the whole extent of the new limits, besides exemption from all imposts for a certain term of years. The release of all the prisoners, including the children who had been carried off, and a full amnesty, were also stipulated at the same time.

The districts which the Vaudois were interdicted from settling in, and in which they must dispose of all their goods, were the following communes, mostly popish, in the plane of Lucerna, and specified in Gastaldo's order, namely, Lucerna, Lucernette, Bibbiana, Fenile, Campiglione, Garsillana. Permission was granted them to reside in La Torre and San Giovanni—an amendment of Gastaldo's edict—but with the reservation that the temple of San Giovanni was not to be within the commune, and that there should be no preaching in that commune, any more than in the town of La Torre. San Secondo was closed against the Vaudois, but the possession of Prarustin, Saint Barthélemi, and Rocheplatte, was allowed them, as in times past, together with the exercise of their religion in those villages. Liberty to dwell in the city of Bricherasco might be obtained by special license. These alterations excepted, the limits remained the same as before. The other communes of the valleys of Lucerna and Angrogna, Perosa, and San Martino, retained their privileges.

The duke reserved to himself the right of celebrating mass, and placing priests or monks in whatever places he thought proper; but in return he guaranteed to all liberty of conscience, and the exercise of their worship, within the new limits. A separate article confirmed the ancient franchise, the prerogatives, and privileges granted and settled in times past. The act was attested by the duke's signature, and that of some of his ministers. The numerous

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deputation from the valleys also signed it. It was ratified by the senate and chamber.

Notwithstanding the urgent request of the deputies from the valleys, no mention was made in the act of the intercession of the Swiss embassy, as the French ambassador refused his consent that any other name than his master's should weaken, by sharing it, his title of mediator.

The Vaudois suffered two other mortifications—that of seeing themselves described in the preamble of the treaty as rebels, to whom their prince had graciously remitted the punishment which their offences deserved; and, secondly, of reading in the printed edition of this charter an article expressing the consent of the valleys to the erection of a new fort at La Torre, shamefully interpolated, in order to effect the ruin of the poor Vaudois. All their deputies protested against this infamous trickery. The Swiss ambassadors, who were present at the treaty, declared they had no recollection of such an article. Moreover, during the whole of the negotiation, they had insisted on the demolition of the existing fort, which was promised them. They even at one time manifested an intention of not leaving Turin till they had been apprised that the demolition had been begun.

We should have preferred passing over in silence such a misdeed; but the mention of it was requisite in order to understand subsequent events.

The plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United Provinces, who had been detained in Switzerland by business during the negotiation at Pinerolo, felt great dissatisfaction on learning that it was terminated; for they wished to obtain better conditions for the Vaudois. They exerted themselves to induce the evangelical cantons to make fresh proposals to the duke, with a view to revise and modify the treaty or charter of Pinerolo. But the war which broke out between the Catholic and evangelical cantons would not allow the latter to involve themselves in fresh perplexities. The commissioners of Great Britain and the United Provinces then turned towards Paris, and solicited from Louis XIV. the revision of the treaty, of which he was the mediator. The king did not absolutely refuse. M. de Bais was sent to the valleys and to the court of Turin to collect fresh information; but it is pro-

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bable that this mission was undertaken merely to save appearances. One thing is certain, that nothing came of it. Louis XIV. and Charles Emmanuel were quite of one mind.

It now remains for us to state the amount, as near as may be, of the sums collected, in the Protestant states, in aid of the desolated valleys, and the use that was made of it.

On the 25th of July, the sums received from France amounted to 200,000 francs. From the beginning of March, 1655, to the 1st of November, 1656, the Vaudois had received from France, England, Holland, and Switzerland, upwards of 504,885 francs, and from the city of Zurich alone 3,778 florins.*

It would appear, however, that the sum total was even more than this. We are led to believe so from the fact stated by Léger,—that of the collections made in England, the Protector deducted and pledged the state for £16,000 sterling,† equal to 400,000 French francs, the interest of which was to be employed to pension the pastors, schoolmasters, and students of the valleys, etc.‡ If a sum of 400,000 francs could be deducted for an object which was not strictly identical with that for which the collections were made, their amount must necessarily have been at least as much again, and even more than that.§ And if to the 400,000 or 500,000 francs which must have been sent from England, we add the 200,000 sent by the French Protestants in the month of July, 1655, and the sums which came from Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, we shall have a total sum of more than a million francs.

It was thought proper at the time, for prudential reasons, which may easily be imagined, not to publish to the world the large amount of donations sent by the charity of the Protestants. Nevertheless, accounts carefully prepared were rendered by the consistories of Geneva and Grenoble,

* Revue Suisse, t. iii., p. 273, for this last sum.

† M. George Lowther says "more than twelve thousand pounds sterling."

‡ This sum was lost, in great part, on the accession of Charles II., who would not acknowledge the engagements of the Protector as valid.

§ In fact, the sum total of the English contributions is reckoned at 917,784 of French francs, including the above sum of 400,000 francs. (See "Catholicism," etc., by George Lowther, vol. i., p. 294, published in 1827.)

[The Protector gave 2,000*l.* out of his own private purse. The sum total of the collections amounted to 38,241*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, of which the cities of London and Westminster contributed 9,384*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* Jones's History of the Waldenses, 2nd ed., 1816, vol. ii., pp. 345, 367. The sums collected in each county throughout England and Wales are given in Morland's History, p. 588.

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to whom all the sums had been sent, and who superintended their distribution by commissioners. These officers, in concert with the general assembly of the valleys, had determined what course to pursue in the distributions; they formed a scale of division according to the losses sustained and the circumstances of the communes, as well as of individuals, leaving to competent persons appointed by the communes the particular appraisement of damages and estimate of the relief needed. Lastly, a commission of four members, all strangers to the valleys, was employed for three whole months in revising all the accounts of distribution, visiting the places, and there, in the presence of the assembled commune, hearing the appeals and giving the final decision. The proceedings of this commission were afterwards approved, and all the accounts adopted, by the consistories of Grenoble and Geneva, afterwards by the synod of Dauphiné, and lastly by the national synod of Loudun.

Nevertheless, strange and calumnious reports were put in circulation to the discredit of those members of the valleys who took part in the management of this business. The principal promoter of these falsehoods was a man named de Longueil, once a Jesuit, a pretended convert to the gospel, to whom the school at Villaro had been intrusted. The second person was the same Bertram Villeneuve who had been bribed by Pianezza, and in 1653 had almost effected the ruin of the valleys by proposing the expulsion of the monks from Villaro, and the burning of their dwelling. These men contrived their plot in secret, conjointly with two other accomplices. They made the envious and discontented—a class of people that always abound when anything is to be given away—believe that a considerable sum was left, which the chief persons in the valleys had set apart for themselves, and which, if divided amongst all, would give each one a dividend of five hundred livres at least, perhaps fifteen hundred. The credulous people, whom these deceivers had filled with discontent, deputed some of their number to make a complaint to the French synods; but the examination which was made afresh of all the accounts confounded the accusers, and wiped away all suspicion from the accused. Yet so industriously had the enemies of the Vaudois propagated this

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calumny, that it was still credited by a number of distrustful persons. The European public, even the Protestant part of it, gave a partial credit to it, which sensibly injured the Vaudois when they were visited with new desolations in 1663 and 1664.

The wicked one did not mean that the vivid interest which all the reformed churches had latterly taken in the persecuted inhabitants of Piedmont should become strengthened.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

PERSECUTION AND EMIGRATION, 1656—1686.

If the foregoing period has presented us with a melancholy spectacle, and filled our ears with the machinations of the great, the furious outcries of Romish assassins, and the groans and sobs of victims, that on which we are entering will be hardly less distressing. Though less bloody, it will exhibit new proofs of the inveterate hatred which the Council for the Propagation of the Faith and the Extirpation of Heretics cherished against the poor peaceable mountaineers,—a hatred which could not be extinguished but by the removal and ruin of those who were the objects of it.

The ambassadors of the evangelical cantons of Switzerland had recrossed the Alps, carrying with them the consoling remembrance of the efforts they had made to obtain a tolerable peace for their brethren in the valleys. Some verbal promises of the agents of the court had given them a hope that the treaty in which they had concurred would be executed in a comprehensive and liberal manner. Moreover, it had been agreed that the fort of La Torre should be demolished at as early a period as would consist with the honour of the duke, who was not to appear submissive to his subjects. But the facts by no means corresponded with the words. Not only the clauses of the charter of Pinerolo that were most unfavourable to the Vaudois were maintained in all their rigour, but all haste was made to execute the article which had been deceitfully

* See Gilles, chs. lx.—lxii.; Léger, pt. ii., pp. 57—260; for all this chapter.

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foisted into the printed copies, and which, contrary to the promises that had been made to the Swiss embassy, declared that a fortress should be built on the ancient site of the castle of La Torre, demolished by the French in 1593. The deputies of the evangelical cantons had not yet quitted Turin when the works were already begun, and the foundations of a formidable fortress laid on the very spot where the soldiers of the count de la Trinité had committed so many acts of violence, and whence Castrocaro had issued his commands over the whole valley Hirzel and his colleagues, having received timely information, demanded an explanation. They were told that what had been done would not last long, and would never be finished; that these works were merely to save the duke's honour.

Faithful to the traditional Helvetic loyalty, the ambassadors, incapable themselves of deceiving, did not suspect falsehood in a government which pledged its word. They therefore encouraged the disturbed and anxious Vaudois, and advised them to be patient and submissive.* The Vaudois were certainly not quite so confiding; experience of the past, and the nearness of the danger, served to enlighten them; yet they submitted, habituated as they were to bow to the will of their sovereign on all points not within the province of religion. The works were pushed on with so much vigour, that, before winter, the place was in a state of defence, and in the following year the fortifications were finished.

If the erection of a citadel occasioned the Vaudois serious apprehensions for the future, the powerful garrison that was placed in it became an immediate and constant source of humiliation, injury, and vexation. The soldiers committed all sorts of excesses, and seemed sure of impunity in most cases. It constituted their amusement to lay waste the orchards and vineyards, to enter the houses, seize upon whatever they pleased, glut themselves with wine and provisions, to spoil or scatter on the ground what they could not carry away, to ill-treat those who attempted to protect their property, and to conduct themselves with indecency towards the females, old and young. To strike with the sabre, to discharge fire-arms, to take what was not

* Hirzel wrote in 1662 to Léger, "We have been too well taught by experience the deceitful practices of this court." Léger, pt. ii., p. 265.

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their own, to outrage the weaker sex, were daily occurrences: even rape and assassination were committed. When complaints were made, they led to no result. "Seize the offenders, bring them to me, and I engage to punish them," said the commandant de Coudré; but when, one day, some peasants brought before him two soldiers whom they had apprehended in the act of robbing a house, and ill-treating its owners, the commandant sent them to prison, only to release them as soon as the complainants had turned their backs. Informations laid before the president Truchi, or the magistrate, even when accompanied with the necessary documents stating the nature of the offence, and describing the culprits, remained without effect. In consequence, on several occasions, the Vaudois, irritated with the increasing audacity of their bad neighbours, might be seen defending their threatened property, or recovering it with their own hands, when they found themselves the strongest.

To this permanent source of disquietude another was very soon added. Accusations, without reason, were made against persons of note. The Council for the Propagation of the Faith and the Extirpation of Heretics, could invent no more certain method of getting rid of men whose influence they feared, or to intimidate such as might be disposed to tread in their steps. Accordingly, all at once thirty-eight persons in the valley of Lucerna received orders to proceed to Turin, to answer such questions as should be put to them. The valiant captain Janavel, the hero of Rora, was one of them. The first two summonses contained no explanation. The third and last alone mentioned the crime imputed to them, and denounced their condemnation for contumacy if they refused to present themselves. This mode of proceeding was contrary to the grants and privileges of the valleys, confirmed by the charter of Pinerolo. Regularly they were not bound either on a first or second suit for a criminal or civil cause to answer elsewhere than before their own tribunals. To this first reason for not appearing at Turin might be added a second, of much greater importance. The Inquisition had its seat at Turin. The right it always arrogated of seizing its victims wherever it found them, in spite of the safe conduct of princes, and of removing them from their jurisdiction, to treat them as it pleased in its own dungeons, was well known. Every

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one knew what was to be expected, whether from its justice or its mercy. Alas for the man who became acquainted with either the one or the other! We need not be surprised, then, that of the thirty-eight accused persons, only one, John Fina, of La Torre, surrendered himself into the hands of the senate at Turin;* the rest declined doing so. They were condemned for contumacy, some to the galleys, others to death. The property of all was confiscated, and a price was set upon their heads. It was forbidden to grant them an asylum: an order was given to hunt them down at the sound of a bell, whenever the presence of any one of them was made known. This sentence served as a pretext for the soldiers at the fortress of La Torre to enter any private dwelling by force, and to commit a thousand exactions.

From this time, the valleys were filled with trouble and distress.

Hitherto the Vaudois had enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, and satisfied with that, they were resigned to the evils we have mentioned, sufficiently happy to be able to worship God according to their consciences. But their hearts were harassed with apprehensions, when, in 1657, through the whole extent of the church and the commune of San Giovanni, all public exercise of religion was forbidden; not only the sermons which were interdicted by the charter of Pinerolo, but catechisms, prayers, and even schools. The valleys justly took the alarm at this prohibition. The charters and ducal concessions all set forth that the usual exercises were maintained in all the places where they were practised at the date of the promulgation of the said concessions or charters. But aged men, a hundred years old, besides the authentic acts and protocols of general councils, drawn up in the presence of the lords and judges of the place, attested that the church of San Giovanni had always enjoyed the privilege of public religious services, like the other parts of the valleys. Hitherto there had been no dispute, excepting about the erection of a temple, to which the authorities were opposed, without ever denying to the inhabitants of San Giovanni their ancient right of assembling for the exercise of their religion. If, then, the church

* He remained one year in prison, after which he was released, without having been confronted with his accuser. Léger, pt. ii., p. 268.

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of San Giovanni, and the other churches of the valleys, allowed all evangelical or Vaudois worship to be abolished in San Giovanni without making any resistance, what would soon become of the other churches? For who could doubt that the success obtained over one of the most enlightened and firmly-established churches, would encourage the Council for the Extirpation of Heretics to impose the same prohibition on all the rest?

The Vaudois church, whose very existence was put in jeopardy by this attempt on its liberties, held a synod to deliberate on the measures its present situation called for. The assembly held in March, 1658, at Pinache, decided on addressing a petition to his royal highness, and on writing to his ministers, humbly to request the revocation of the severe orders proscribing all religious services in San Giovanni. It seemed also desirable to engage the good offices of M. Servient, the French ambassador, as mediator of the charter of Pinerolo, and those of the evangelical cantons who had taken so much interest in it. It was, moreover, decided that the pastor of San Giovanni ought to continue the performance of the usual religious services there, since their cessation might be detrimental to their liberties. Lastly, knowing that the Lord of heaven and earth could alone bless their design, and insure success to their measures, the assembly ordained a solemn day of fasting and prayer, during which no one, the infirm excepted, should leave the temples from sunrise to sunset. In thus resolving to defend the liberty of worship that had been attacked in the church of San Giovanni, we can affirm that the churches of the valleys were not led away by a narrow or cavilling spirit, nor by blind ambition, nor by the vanity of their pastor Léger, as their adversaries affirmed. They judged that it would have been criminal in them to allow the liberty of serving God according to the rules of their ancient faith, to be taken from them by men.

We shall not enter into the details of the petitions addressed to their sovereign, nor of the memorials forwarded to his ministers. The cause of the church of San Giovanni was defended on the ground of right according to the principles laid down in the ducal grants and charters. All that could be advanced in favour of the menaced church was said; but in vain. The resolution, it appeared, had been taken

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beforehand, to seize again, by these means, an occasion for troubling the valleys. Nevertheless, there was probably some hesitation in high places, respecting the opportuneness of the occasion, and the ulterior manner of proceeding with the recusants. Perhaps, also, and we are very ready to believe it, the recollection of the recent intercession of the Protestant states fettered the impatient movements of the council for the propagation of the Roman faith. We are led to think so from the part which the embassy of the evangelical cantons, on returning to their native country, continued to take in the affairs of the Vaudois. They wrote, for this purpose, on the 30th of November, 1657, to Servient, the ambassador of France at Turin, the mediator of the charter at Pinerolo, and to the two principal agents of the duke in this affair, to commend the unfortunate Vaudois to their justice and equity.

To put down the resistance of these poor people, they sought at first to gain Léger. A count of Saluzzo repaired to the valleys, and requested a conference with him; which Léger would not grant, except in the presence of the deputies of his own church and of the other churches. This attempt being rendered abortive by the firmness of the pastor, was soon followed by threatening citations, requiring the said Léger to render an account of his conduct at Turin. The third citation specified his crime. He was accused of having assumed the functions of a pastor, of having taught certain doctrines, and kept a school at San Giovanni, in the house of the commune. Six of the principal persons among his parishioners were cited with him. Their crime consisted in having been present at religious services conducted by their pastor. This took place in May, 1658. Their knowledge of the manner in which the authorities were accustomed to proceed in similar cases, as well as the unlimited confidence placed in judges, who were almost all members of the council for the extirpation of heresy, deterred every one of the accused from going to Turin. None of their friends advised them to do so. The churches wrote in their favour to the count and to the judges. They addressed several letters to his highness himself. A milder sentence might have been expected. But, after about three years of waiting, applications, and deputations, a sentence of death was pronounced against Léger, and ten years' confinement

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in the galleys for the other accused parties. The property of all was to be confiscated. With this sentence hanging over him, Léger, by concealing himself, and continually changing his place of refuge, succeeded in remaining for some months longer in his native country, till towards the end of 1661, when the valleys deputed him to interest the evangelical cantons and the Protestant states in their cause. He was instructed to request them to employ their intercession with the duke, and their good offices with the king of France in his capacity of mediator of the charter of Pinerolo, to obtain the consent of Charles Emmanuel to examine for himself the complaints of his Vaudois subjects, and to judge respecting them, without leaving them at the discretion of the council for the extirpation of heretics.

Hardly was Léger's departure to the cantons and evangelical states known, than a sentence of death still more cruel was pronounced upon him.* He was hung in effigy; his houses were razed to the ground; and his property, which was considerable, was confiscated. The house of the valiant Janavel, who was at that time a fugitive, was in like manner demolished.

The ducal government resisted all attempts at an accommodation; and, however conciliatory were the letters of the Protestant princes,† which colonel Holzhalb, of Zurich, the envoy of the evangelical cantons, presented to his royal highness with those of his superiors, in July, 1662, they produced no effect. Charles Emmanuel replied that he had exactly fulfilled towards his Vaudois subjects all their charters; and representing them as being charged with crimes, declared them to be undeserving of intercession. It would seem that the duke of Savoy, surrounded by the members of the council for the extirpation of heresy, believed that he was acting in full accordance with his rights, and imagined that his subjects in the valleys were rebels, because they would not consent to the loss of some of their principal religious liberties.

* He was to be strangled; then his body was to be hung by one foot on a gibbet for four-and-twenty hours; and lastly, his head was to be cut off and publicly exposed at San Giovanni. His name was to be inserted in the list of noted outlaws: his houses were to be burned, etc.—Léger, pt. ii., p. 275.

† The principal letters were from the elector palatine, the elector of Brandenburgh, the landgrave of Hesse, and the states-general of Holland. Léger not having been able to visit England, the king of Great Britain had not interposed.—Léger, pt. ii. pp. 277—282.

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Moreover, at the moment when Charles Emmanuel made this answer to the envoy of the evangelical cantons, his minister Pianezza, whose influence over him was unbounded, had just obtained, by his intrigues, a success which authorized him to persist in his policy, and to relinquish nothing of his pretensions. By the intervention of the popish advocate, Bastie, of San Giovanni, in whom the Vaudois of that commune had some confidence, he had made them believe that by consenting to an act of submission they would obtain the religious liberty they wished for. These simple-minded men, easily imposed upon, had at last, although with reluctance, written and signed two documents, namely, a promise that they would not catechise or perform other religious exercises in the commune of San Giovanni; and, in the second place, a petition in which they requested that they might continue these practices as heretofore. At the same time, they sought for some commercial and other privileges. Bastie had solemnly engaged not to give up their promise till the decree sought for in their petition had been granted and placed in their hands. But the contrary of what was pledged to them actually took place. Pianezza returned the promise, and contemptuously rejected the request, when he had read the second article which spoke of religion. Upon this, the Vaudois were advised to present another petition, in which no mention should be made of their religion; and they were at the same time promised that then all they wished for would be granted, and that they would be left undisturbed. But, ashamed and mortified at having been deceived on this point, they refused to make any further concessions. They had already placed themselves in a wretchedly false position by the imprudent promise deposited in the hands of the prime minister. They were not disposed to put the finishing stroke to the catastrophe by fresh imprudences, which their crafty enemies knew well how to turn against them.

If the Vaudois affairs made little progress at court, if the efforts of their friends there were fruitless, their situation was not more improved in the valleys. On the contrary, it became continually more involved, in consequence of the violent measures of the governor of the fort of La Torre, and by the reprisals in which the exiles indulged.

The commandant De Coudré was succeeded by an officer

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named De Bagnols, who had signalized himself by his cruel zeal in the massacres of 1655. The friendship of the marquis of Pianezza, his godfather, and his near relationship to the count Ressan, well known for his hatred to the Vaudois, and by his success against them in the valley of Barcellonette, had procured his nomination to this post, for which he was so well suited. This officer fully justified the confidence placed in him by his distinguished patrons: he behaved so violently and unjustly that the count of Saluzzo, in his Military History,* allows that "this governor abused his power, and gave the Vaudois just grounds of complaint." He had scarcely arrived when he imprisoned a great number of unfortunate persons, and treated them with harshness. He also commissioned an officer of justice to force alleged confessions from them, and to oblige them by some means or other to sign them under the promise of bettering their position, but in reality to establish their criminality by reciprocal accusations. De Bagnols, moreover, relaxed the discipline of the soldiers, who indulged with impunity in outrages of every kind. He did more; he established at Lucerna a noted bandit, Paol (Paolo, or Paul,) de Berges, who had been condemned for murder, but pardoned on the occasion of the marriage of his highness. This man of blood having gathered round him about three hundred villains, plundered the valleys in concert with the troops in the fortress. Such was the terror inspired by Paol de Berges and De Bagnols that in that year, 1662, the inhabitants of San Giovanni, La Torre, Rora, and Les Vignes of Lucerna being panic-stricken, took to flight the instant they had finished the harvest. No one felt secure in any part of the lower valley. Whole families retired daily to the high mountains, into the woods, or to the French territory in Pragela, or to Queiras. On their departure, the garrison carried off the wine and oil, and the best of whatever was left by the fugitives; the neighbouring papists took the remainder. Then, as if by withdrawing, the unhappy victims of oppression had committed a crime, De Bagnols issued orders in the name of his highness, May 19, 1663, that all such persons should return, under severe penalties in case of disobedience, within three days, and surrender

* Histoire Militaire du Piémont, (Military History of Piedmont,) Turin, 1818, t. ii., p. 336.

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themselves at the fortress, without any exception of age, sex, or condition. The knowledge of the sufferings that so many victims would endure, crowded in the fort of La Torre, prevented the majority from thinking of going thither; but some individuals ventured to return to their homes, for the sake of being allowed again to cultivate their lands. But how bitterly they repented! They were immediately surrounded. Etienne Gay was beheaded; his brother was wounded and dragged into the fortress with some women and girls, who there suffered unspeakable torments. And rather later, when a similar order had been published on the 25th of June in the same year, and some credulous householders had returned to their own friends, they were perfidiously surrounded and menaced with death, not only by the troops of the governor, but also by an army assembled for their destruction.

The vigour previously displayed against a great number of the Vaudois condemned for contumacy, and latterly against the persons dwelling in the vicinity of the fortress, had forced the former to take arms for the protection of their lives which were in constant jeopardy, and the second to join themselves in great numbers to the exiles whose courage excited their own. Joshua Janavel, the hero of Rora, who had been condemned to be quartered, and then to have his head exposed on an eminence, saw gathered round him exiles and fugitives whom his great courage, intrepidity, prudence, and consummate experience had filled with confidence. Amounting now to two or three hundred, they presented, either in small detachments, or in one body, an armed resistance, which was formidable to the troops of De Bagnols and Paol de Berges; sometimes even, throwing themselves suddenly on their enemies, they met with signal success. They were also seen, it is true, attacking the peaceable inhabitants of Bricherasco, at Bibbiana, for example, and even pillaging the churches of their adversaries; so that frequently the reproach was cast upon the exiles of leading the lives of banditti. But we must not forget, in judging of their conduct, that they were quite homeless, and that the feeling of the injustice with which they were treated, as well as the prospect of the ruin to which their valleys were devoted, did not always allow of their practising the moderation that was desirable.

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While the commandant of the fortress of La Torre, ordered the fugitive families to return to their homes, Janavel exerted his influence to prevent their doing so: but before the 25th of June, which was the fatal term, arrived, and the number of those who had returned could be ascertained, an army commanded by the marquises of Fleury and Angrogna, appeared at the entrance of the valley of Lucerna, and surrounded San Giovanni. The Vaudois, till then undecided, could no longer doubt of the intention to destroy them, and took arms, having placed their families in security in those distant places to which they had retired in preceding persecutions.

Whatever accusations have been brought against the Vaudois, whatever appearance of imprudence may have marked their conduct in the judgment of certain persons, yet their history contains facts which demonstrate their probity and their sincere and affectionate desire of always pleasing their prince. We shall here give a striking example of this. The Vaudois population in arms closed against the duke's troops the passage which led to the bottom of the valley of Lucerna, which rendered it impossible to convey supplies to the fort of Mirebouc, situated in the mountains, towards the French frontier, and then destitute of provisions and military stores. The duke's generals called together the principal persons of the communes, and requested them to give their sovereign a proof of their submission and good intentions, by escorting a convoy which was on its way to the fortress, assuring them that if they consented, peace would soon be re-established. It is difficult to believe so extraordinary a fact, but the proposal was actually complied with. The devoted Vaudois feared less to risk their own safety, than to appear to distrust their prince, and to refuse to give him a pledge of their love. They conducted the convoy to its destination, and the fortress which closed against them the passage to France was victualled by their own good offices.*

Their devotedness was scarcely noticed by their enemies, who were accustomed to attach little value to the best words or the noblest actions of those whom they believed worthy of the greatest evils as heretics; for while the

* Some weeks later they consented to guard another convoy, though a war of extermination was then being waged against them.

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Vaudois, trusting in the promise that had been made to them, were preparing to come down again from the mountains and bring back their families to the plain, De Fleury marched into the heart of the valleys with the intention of attacking the heights of La Vachère, between Angrogna and Pramol, where their principal fortifications and their best entrenchments lay.* On the 6th of July, at day-break, the enemy ascended the mountains at four different points, San Secondo, and Bricherasco, La Costièro de San Giovanni, and Le Chabas (Ciabas.) The first two divisions under the orders of Fleury, forming an effective force of four thousand men, met on the hill of Plans (Pians), between the valleys of Lucerna and Perosa, and there fortified themselves by an entrenchment of turf, the height of a man, before they attempted to force the narrow pass called the Gate of Angrogna, which was occupied by a detachment of Vaudois.† The two other divisions, of the same strength, commanded by De Bagnols, climbing to the lower plains of Angrogna, on the side of San Giovanni and La Torre, drove before them the six or seven hundred mountaineers that had been collected, with some difficulty, at this point; but when they reached the rocks and ruins of Roccamanéot, celebrated already for more than one victory, the Vaudois posted themselves advantageously, stopped the enemy, wearied them out, decimated their ranks, strewed the ground with their corpses, and when their courage failed and they began to retreat, charged them in their turn, and pursued them to the plain, on which they dared not to venture in sight of the reserve of cavalry that was stationed there.

Having left a party to keep watch on these heights, they directed their course towards Plans, where De Fleury had entrenched his division. But the little detachment at the Gate of Angrogna no sooner saw their brethren at their side, than two of their number, Boirat of Pramol and another, crawling on all fours, and concealed by a rock, approached the camp, killed each a sentinel, cleared the rampart, slew four more of the enemy, and kept shouting, "Forwards! Victory!" The Vaudois, roused to enthusiasm, followed in their footsteps with unparalleled ardour.

* In the war of 1655, Pianezza was never able to capture them.

† By forcing this passage, the enemy could attack the defenders of Roccamanéot in the rear.

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The Piedmontese army, surprised and disconcerted, could not form their ranks, and sought for safety in a rapid flight. Their generals, the marquises of Fleury and Angrogna, Léger tells us, "fearing the bite of the dogs (the barbets), were not the last to run away." The number of men slain in the rout was considerable.

The vanquished army took their revenge some days after. They surprised and massacred a detachment of five-and-twenty men at Rora. They burned down between twenty and thirty houses that formed the hamlet of Sainte Marguerite, in the commune of La Torre. Nevertheless, these little successes could not make up for the losses sustained at Roccamanéot, Plans, and other places besides. The command of the army was taken from the marquis de Fleury, and given to the marquis de St. Damian. The army itself was reinforced. But while it was repairing its losses and recovering from its fatigues, negotiations were entered upon at Paris and Turin in favour of the Vaudois.

The duke of Savoy chagrined with the turn the Vaudois affairs had taken, so little to the credit of his policy or his military skill, fearing also the friendly intervention of the Protestant powers, appeared desirous that the king of France, whose feelings against the evangelicals agreed with his own, and who already in 1655 had been, by his ambassador, arbitrator of the treaty of Pinerolo, should again offer his mediation in the present posture of affairs. Servient, who had been charged with the former mediation, received, in consequence, orders to betake himself to Turin, and to effect an accommodation between the parties. This was about the end of the summer of 1663.

But, on the other hand, the friends of the Vaudois were not asleep. The evangelical cantons, in agreement with the Protestant powers, sent, on their part ambassadors to Turin, to take in hand the defence of their brethren in the faith. The Swiss deputies, Jean Gaspard Hirzel, a distinguished magistrate of Zurich, and colonel de Weiss, a senator of Berne, arrived in the course of November, 1663, at Turin, where, without losing time, they interceded in favour of the poor inhabitants of the valleys, and requested favourable conditions for them. The court consented to their amicable intervention as friends and advocates of the Vaudois, but would not accept them for arbitrators. The valleys, although rejoiced at the presence of such protectors,

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hesitated about sending deputies to Turin, where the Inquisition might lay hold of them in spite of their safe conduct. Yet they decided on not losing so good an opportunity of negotiating peace.

The delegates of the valleys, on their arrival, requested a suspension of hostilities during the whole period of the negotiation. Without refusing it, the court made as a condition of it, that the villages of Prarustin and St. Barthélemi should be given up to the troops ; a point to which the delegates had not power to assent. The conferences then began, leaving this important question undecided. This was imprudent ; for eight days had not elapsed, when the news reached Turin, of a battle fought on the 25th of December, along the whole extent of the Vaudois lines. The marquis of Saint Damian, strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops, had attacked simultaneously all the points of approach to the valley of Angrogna, from St. Germain in the vale of Perosa, to Tailleret in the valley of Lucerna. More than twelve thousand men had attacked twelve or fifteen hundred. The Piedmontese had been repulsed with loss in all their attempts to penetrate the mountains. In spite of their numerical superiority, they had always been driven back upon one another ; but they had been completely successful in their attack on the villages situated at the foot of the mountains. They had made themselves masters of St. Germain in the valley of Perosa, having attacked it from the French territory,—an infraction of which the Swiss deputies complained afterwards in a memorial to Louis XIV. ; and had occupied Prarustin, St. Barthélemi, and Rocheplatte. This affair deprived the Vaudois of all their positions in the open country ; but it demonstrated, like the previous attempt, the impossibility of driving them out of their fastnesses in the mountains.

On hearing of this combat, the delegates of the valleys at Turin requested that they might rejoin their families. The Swiss deputies, on their part, made strong representations to the ministers of his royal highness, who consented at last to sign a truce for twelve days ; a truce which was continued from week to week till the conclusion of the negotiations, two months later, in February, 1664.

The conferences began at Turin at the Hôtel-de-ville, on

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the 17th of December, 1663. There were eight of them in all. On the part of the duke, there were present the promoter of the war, the author of the massacres of 1655, the formidable and sagacious marquis of Pianezza, and the counsellors of state, Truchi, De Grésy, and Perrachino, who had already represented his highness at the conferences of Pinerolo, nine years before. The ambassadors of the evangelical cantons were present as witnesses and advocates of the valleys, who were represented by eight delegates, of whom two were pastors.* It was agreed that everything which was proposed and answered, on both sides, should be committed to writing, and signed by a secretary of his highness and by the secretary of the Swiss embassy.† The duke's ministers did their utmost to convict the Vaudois of rebellion. With this view, they imputed all the crimes committed by the exiles to the whole population, making no distinction whatever between them: at least they wished to make the latter responsible for all the acts of violence committed by the former, alleging that they ought to have delivered them up, had they disapproved of them. This mode of arguing was specious, but nothing more. For if the duke's troops could not master these determined men, how could people who were of unwarlike habits and badly armed?

The minister of his royal highness also made it a crime, that the Vaudois had quitted their houses and withdrawn to the mountains, that they had not returned home when they had received orders to that effect; and lastly, that they had defended themselves and resorted to arms. Here it was not difficult for the oppressed to prove that they had been forced to these extreme measures by the violence of power, and in particular by the vexations, injustice, and cruelties of the governor De Bagnols and his soldiery.

It appeared difficult to effect an accommodation between the parties, the duke's ministers being disposed to regard the Vaudois only as rebels; and the Vaudois, in their turn, feeling

* Pierre Baile, minister at St. Germain; David Léger, minister at Chiots in the valley of San Martino; Jacques Bastie, of San Giovanni; André Michelin, of La Torre; David Martinat, of Bobbio; Jacques Jahier, of Pramol; François Laurent, and his son David. Afterwards the minister Ripert took the place of Léger.

† Their proceedings were published at Turin the same year, under the title of Conférences faites à Turin, etc. (Conferences held at Turin), by John Sinibaldo, 1664.

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themselves in danger of becoming victims, and requiring the strongest guarantees to give them confidence.

At last, by the persevering efforts of the Swiss ambassadors, some points were settled which seemed as the basis of the edict of pacification or charter, which Charles Emmanuel granted his Vaudois subjects on February 14, 1664. In its form and terms, this act was an amnesty. The sovereign consented to pardon. Yet, for the sake of his reputation, and to maintain his authority, he required a satisfaction and a guarantee of obedience on the part of the Vaudois. But out of respect for the princes and republics that had interceded for them, and particularly on account of the mediation of the king of France, his royal highness consented to submit the decision of these two points to his most Christian majesty, Louis XIV.

By this new act, all the Vaudois, excepting a list of persons formerly condemned, thirty-six or thirty-seven, were pardoned, and admitted to the benefit of the charter of Pinerolo in 1655. For greater clearness, the third article of the aforesaid charter, relative to San Giovanni, which had been interpreted so differently by the two parties, was explained in this sense:—"Every religious service, sermon, catechism, prayers, school, excepting family worship, is forbidden throughout the whole extent of the commune: no pastor can be admitted to reside in it, though families may receive his visits twice a year, and the sick according to their need. In case of necessity, in one of these visits the pastor may sleep a night in the commune. The school, if the parents do not prefer sending their children to that which the duke intends to establish, must be removed to Chabas, in Angrogna." An article of the charter imposed the obligation of obtaining the prince's consent for every foreign pastor who might be called to the valleys, and who, besides, would be obliged to take an oath of fidelity. As for the rest, these restrictions excepted, liberty of worship was insured by the charter of Turin, as by the former one, to the ancient churches of the valleys.

It will be obvious, that though apparently the new edict placed the Vaudois in the same situation as that secured by the charter of Pinerolo, which was inferior to the preceding, they had, in fact, lost many of their privileges. The evangelical public worship had been entirely and expressly taken

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away from the church of San Giovanni, as well as its school. The admission of the necessary pastors had been limited. Still, if by these new and disadvantageous conditions, the affairs of the valleys had been definitively arranged, something would have been gained; but we must not forget that the charter of Turin placed it in the power of the king of France to determine what satisfaction and what guarantee of obedience the Vaudois ought to give their sovereign.

This important point was debated in the course of May, after the departure of the Swiss ambassadors, at Pinerolo, a city at that time belonging to the French, before M. Servient, ambassador of Louis XIV., by the duke's ministers and the delegates of the valleys. The satisfaction claimed by the duke of Savoy was a pecuniary one. His agents presented a schedule of claims amounting to more than two million francs, for the charges of the war and the extraordinary expenses of the state, besides damages done to the communes and private Catholics. What a sum for poor husbandmen and shepherds, at the end of a war which had laid waste their fields, dispersed their cattle, and burned many of their villages, which were scarcely rebuilt since their almost total destruction nine years before!—Two million francs for a population of only five thousand souls! a demand fraught with ruin!

As to the guarantees of obedience claimed for the future, they were six in number, of which we shall only mention three. The duke demanded, (i.) that his popish delegate should be present at all the synods, and other assemblies of the same kind; (ii.) that the ministers should cease from occupying themselves with civil affairs, and that the communes should not discuss together their civil and political interests, but only separately; (iii.) that three or four towers similar to the Tourras de Saint-Michel should be built at the expense of the valleys, to be garrisoned by a sufficient number of soldiers, at the expense of the aforesaid valleys, to put down revolt, should it be required, and to maintain free communication from one valley to another.

When the evangelical Swiss cantons had been informed of the demands of the court of Turin, and were apprised that all the documents relative to this affair were to be submitted to Louis XIV. himself, they wrote to this monarch in favour of their clients, and sent to the king of

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England and the states-general of Holland an account of what had transpired, which led to similar movements to their own on the part of these states. Such zeal and intervention from such high quarters exerted, no doubt, a happy influence on the arbitration of a monarch who was otherwise so little disposed to favour oppressed Protestants. In his perplexity respecting the duke, a long time elapsed before he arrived at a decision, which, after about three years, he gave on January 18, 1667. Moreover, although he proceeded on the admission of the culpability of the Vaudois, by condemning them to make a pecuniary satisfaction to their sovereign, and guarantees of obedience for the future, yet, in fixing the indemnity and the proofs of submission, he made such abatements from the demands of the duke's government, that in fact the rights of the Vaudois rather gained by it than received an injury. Instead of the two million francs or more, at which the satisfaction had been estimated, Louis XIV. fixed it at fifty thousand Piedmontese livres, payable in ten years. As for the guarantees of obedience, the Vaudois were required to give an act of submission duly attested and confirmed by an oath; they were also to consent to the presence of a ducal commissioner in their synods, and to some other particulars.

As for the rest, Charles Emmanuel did not abuse his victory. Far from that, this prince, more enlightened, it would seem, as to the real interests of his government, and more free, since the death of his mother Christina, to follow the generous movements of his own heart, rendered justice to his Vaudois subjects. He recollected the zeal they had displayed for his cause in 1638, 1639, and 1640, when a great part of his subjects had taken sides with his uncles against him. Finally, the war which he had to carry on, in 1672, against the Genoese, and in which the Vaudois, flocking to his standard at the first appeal, served him with extraordinary devotedness and the greatest courage, completely brought back his heart to his faithful subjects. Satisfied with their conduct, he assured them of his entire approbation, in a letter full of kindness,—a restorative balm for the deep wounds that fanaticism and the malice of his servants had inflicted. The Vaudois, happy to possess a place in the affections of their sovereign, hoped to live a

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long time in peace under his paternal sceptre; but he died on the third of June, 1678.*

The Vaudois continued to enjoy some years of peace, under the regency of the duchess, the widow of Charles Emmanuel, and under the government of their son, Victor Amadeus II. It was at this time that they gave a fresh proof of devotedness to their prince, in marching against the banditti of Mondovi, and assisting in bringing them to submission; but at the very time when they might reasonably have indulged the delightful expectation of a durable peace, they saw themselves all at once menaced with the greatest misfortunes, and dragged into ruin. Barbarous orders spread terror through the valleys. Very soon they had no choice between apostasy and death under a thousand forms, or exile.

Let us describe these melancholy scenes, and their origin:

A monarch to whom the world has given the name of Great, Louis XIV., who reigned over the country on the western side of the Piedmontese Alps, the powerful kingdom of France, attempted to atone for the vices of his dissolute life by the forced conversion of the Protestants in his kingdom to popery. Such an undertaking could not fail to assure him of plenary indulgence from the sworn foe of evangelical Christians, namely, the pope of Rome; and while he deprived his subjects belonging to the reformed religion of all their civil rights, and revoked the edict of Nantes by which they were guaranteed, while by these cruel measures he drove to apostasy, or forced into exile, the worthiest part of the French nation, he urged his neighbour, the young duke of Savoy, to abolish also the Vaudois church.

Victor Amadeus, though young, had sufficient penetration to shrink from coming to such extremities with subjects who were serving him faithfully.† He generously and in a Christian spirit resisted this pernicious temptation,

* He was only forty-one years old. On his death-bed, with a sentiment of affecting humility, he gave orders to admit all persons indiscriminately into his chamber, in order, said he, that people may know that princes die like other men.

† Arnaud, whose testimony certainly cannot be suspected, gives this character of him in the preface to his Histoire de la Glorieuse Rentrée des Vaudois dans leurs Vallées, (History of the glorious Return of the Vaudois to their Valleys,) printed in 1710, and reprinted at Neufchâtel by Attinger, 1845.

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until M. de Rébenac Feuquières, the French ambassador, having told him one day that the king his master would find the means of driving away these heretics with fourteen thousand men, but that he would keep the valleys they inhabited for himself, he was obliged, by this kind of menace, to take other measures; and judging that it concerned his own honour and interest to prevent a foreign power from giving laws to his own subjects, he preferred persecuting them himself. A treaty was concluded on this footing. Louis XIV. promised an armed force to reduce them.

The valleys had a presentiment of their fate, when, a few days after the news of the revocation of the edict of Nantes (October 22, 1685,) they heard on November 4th a proclamation prohibiting every stranger from staying there more than three days without the governor's permission, and every inhabitant from lodging them under pain of severe chastisement. But what was their alarm when all at once from one end of the valleys to the other the alarming words of the edict of January 31, 1686, resounded, ordaining the complete cessation of every religious service except the Romish, under pain of death and the confiscation of property; the demolition of the temples of the so-called reformed religion; the banishment of the ministers and schoolmasters, and in future the baptism of all the children by the popish priests, who were to educate them in the Romish religion. This edict annulled all the liberties acknowledged and confirmed by the house of Savoy from age to age, and from reign to reign, since the valleys had come under their sway from the beginning of the thirteenth century. All hearts were oppressed by unspeakable terror. No traditions or recollections could produce an edict equally iniquitous. The valleys had never been menaced with so great a danger; never, at least, with one so imminent. If they were unable to alter the duke's determination by their entreaties, nothing remained but to take arms and defend themselves even to death: for the Vaudois, descendants of the martyrs, would not think of apostatizing. But it was in vain that they supplicated their prince: their natural protector, ordained by God to defend the oppressed, to administer justice, remained deaf to their cries. Some delay in the execution was all they could obtain. Despairing of bending the duke, seeing the French and Piedmontese

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troops concentrating themselves on the confines of their valleys; and lastly, hearing the insulting menaces of the papists in the vicinity, they took some defensive precautions, and prepared for resisting in case of an attack.

Meanwhile the news of the almost incredible edict of the 31st of January, excited in all the Protestant countries indignation and pity. The German princes, Holland, and England, wrote to the duke. The evangelical cantons of Switzerland, whose friendship and protection had already proved so useful to the Vaudois, did not act inconsistently with their previous conduct. Having addressed a letter to the duke, which remained unanswered; they decided, in an assembly held at Baden in February 1686, on sending an ambassador to Turin, to take in hand the defence of their brethren in the faith. The counsellors of state, Gaspard de Muralt of Zurich, and Bernard de Muralt of Berne, chosen for this mission, arrived at their destination at the beginning of March. They assigned as a reason for their intervention, not only the agreement of their faith with that of the Vaudois, but the interest they took in what concerned the charters of 1655 and 1664, which were in part the fruit of their mediation, but which the edict of January 31st annulled. In the memorial they presented, they urged in favour of their oppressed brethren, the pressing motives of tolerance. Especially they founded a cogent argument on the historical view of the question. They represented that the churches of the valley of Piedmont had never separated from the religion of their prince, since they had lived in that which they had received from their fathers more than eight centuries ago, and which they professed before passing under the domination of Savoy; that the ancestors of his royal highness having found them in the possession of their religion, had maintained it by various concessions, principally by those of 1561, 1602 and 1603, confirmed in 1620, at the price of six thousand half-ducats; all these acts establishing, as a perpetual and irrevocable law, the right of the Vaudois to exercise their very ancient religion. They also called to mind, that in spite of the error of Gastaldo and the trouble excited by his ordinance, the father of his highness had acknowledged and confirmed the privileges of the Vaudois by two solemn, perpetual, and irrevocable charters of the years 1655 and 1664, confirmed

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in due form. The ambassadors finally appealed to the engagements which the predecessors of his highness had made in the face of Europe, when they had been solicited by kings, princes, and republics to confirm to the Vaudois their religious privileges. The memorial also showed that the Vaudois had never given any subject of complaint which could justify such a decree.*

The reply made by the marquis de St. Thomas, in the name of his sovereign, to the memorial, contained a humiliating confession. This minister of foreign affairs declared that his master was not at liberty to retract or modify his decree; that there were engagements which he could not break; that the neighbourhood of a powerful monarch who was jealous of the deference paid to him, imposed on the duke the line of conduct he followed. The letters of the Protestant princes were not able to turn Victor Amadeus from the projected persecution.†

The Swiss ambassadors had received orders from their lords, if they could not procure the withdrawment of the decree, or its being considerably modified, then to try to obtain leave for the Vaudois to emigrate to foreign countries. The court of Turin being sounded on the subject, seemed not to oppose it, and consented that the deputies should make the proposal to the valleys.

The assembly of the delegates of the communes‡ heard, with great pain, the report made to them by the ambassadors of the desperate condition of their affairs, and the wholly novel proposal of emigrating in a body. The Vaudois had believed that the reformed powers of Europe would obtain the guarantee of their liberties; and instead of this efficacious succour, there seemed no hope of deliverance but in abandoning their native soil. What resolution could they adopt? What part could they choose? They consulted their good friends the ambassadors. By them they were advised, though with pain, to emigrate, from a conviction that in the presence of the united forces of Savoy

* The historian Botta, who is not very favourable to the Vaudois, says that not only were they innocent this time, but they had even deserved well of the government. Storia d' Italia, v. vi., p. 340.

† See the History of the Negotiation.

‡ We are not informed where this assembly was held, but the correspondence of the Vaudois, always dated from Angrogna, sufficiently indicates that the different assemblies were held in that place.

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and France, the Vaudois had no chance of escaping dreadful and final ruin.

While the ambassadors returned to Turin, and conferred with the duke's ministers, the Vaudois communes assembled at Angrogna on March, 18, (28th,) 1686, and deliberated. If the consideration of an unequal and bloody war influenced them to emigrate; on the other hand, they could not think without despair of quitting the country of their fathers, the soil of their infancy, the land of martyrs. The love of their native country, joined with religious recollections, the glorious and venerable traditions of the Vaudois church, bound them to their rocks. Uncertain, and divided in opinion, they at last decided on communicating their perplexities in writing to the ambassadors, and committing themselves to the direction of their prudence.

After considering this letter, the ambassadors requested that the Vaudois might have permission to leave the domains of his royal highness, and to dispose of their property. But without any fresh reason, by a sudden change of policy, the duke refused to treat with the embassy, and required the Vaudois to come themselves with an act of submission, and request leave to emigrate. Evidently, the court being chagrined at the turn the affair had taken, wished not to be fettered, as would have been the case in treating with the Swiss, but to retain the power of imposing on their suppliant subjects conditions they would not have dared to offer to their advocates. Although the ambassadors might have considered themselves as insulted by the refusal of the court to treat with them respecting the emigration, their prudence did not abandon them; their benevolence sustained them. They obtained, at all events, from the ministers of his highness, permission to regulate the terms and clauses of the submission. But when they had proposed them to the valleys, the latter were divided in opinion, and sent deputies to Turin, who were not all of the same mind. Five of them were authorized to make an act of submission, as well as to ask permission to leave the country, and to dispose of their property. The sixth, deputed from Bobbio, San Giovanni, and Angrogna, was to confine himself, besides submission, to request the revocation of the edict of the 31st of January. The ambassadors, finding themselves greatly embarrassed by this division in the

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Vaudois communes, sought to gain time from the court during which the discordant deputies might apply for fresh instructions.* But this interval was soon gone. The enemies of the Vaudois were on the alert, and Victor Amadeus published on the 9th of April, a new edict, declared to be final.

By this act, which put an end to all ulterior negotiations, since it settled beforehand all the points under discussion, nothing was left to the Vaudois, but to choose between entire submission to the absolute and arbitrary will of their sovereign, and an exile encompassed with dangers, snares, and perplexities. According to the edict, it was lawful for the greater part to remain in the valleys, (the prince, however, reserving to himself the right of exiling such as he pleased,) but on the following conditions:—The Vaudois were to lay down their arms, and retire each one to his own house; they were to engage in no tumults; they were not to hold more assemblies than had been usual. The damages sustained by the missionary fathers, by the Catholics and the Catholic converts, were to be made good by means of the property of the said professors of the so-called reformed religion. The edict of the 31st of January was in other respects confirmed. As to those who wished to leave the duke's domains, they were allowed to carry away with them such of their effects as they chose, and to sell their goods to the Catholics, or to cause them to be sold by a small number of agents in the three months following their departure. They were to travel in companies, and under the inspection of the authorities. The places of departure, and days of assembling together were fixed.

Whatever was the intention that dictated this decree, whether it was hoped or not that the Vaudois would be divided by offering them two methods instead of one, of extrication from their embarrassments, the relinquishment of their religious assemblies, or of their native soil; this end, at all events, was not attained. Far from disuniting them, the decree combined them all in one sentiment, that of remaining and defending themselves. For they saw in different parts of the ordinance, the intention of getting rid of a certain number among them, and of forcing the rest to

* They returned with the same instructions; the three communes persisted in maintaining their views.

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embrace popery. For why was the decree of the 31st of January maintained, which obliged the valleys to demolish their temples, if the court seriously consented to their departure? Why should the duke reserve to himself the power of dismissing whom he pleased, unless on the supposition that the greater number would remain. Evidently it was not his wish that all the Vaudois should leave; and on the other hand, measures were taken for preventing the celebration of the evangelical worship; was not this equivalent to saying, that the untractable alone were to be dismissed from the territory, and that the rest would be forced to embrace popery? This was the general opinion.* Driven to such extremities, they had no choice but to persevere in an armed resistance. Preparations were accordingly made for the contest; but the ministers were first requested to preach to the people, and to administer the Lord's supper to them on the following Sunday, which was Easter day.

Unfortunately, the seeds of disunion were sown among the Vaudois. The valley of San Martino was disposed to submission and exile. The church of Villesèche, in particular, wrote to the ambassadors that they had decided, and requested them to obtain a safe-conduct for their members. The duke refused; the application, he said, had not been made in time.

The ambassadors, who seeing the inutility of their mediation, were preparing to depart, received again before their departure two letters, dated from Angrogna, addressed, one to the evangelical cantons in the name of the Vaudois, the other to the ambassadors in the name of the pastors: affecting letters, in which gratitude was shown in lamenting the little benefit that had resulted from the interference of the cantons and their deputies. Certainly, in reading them, their generous benefactors could not say that they had been labouring for the ungrateful.

Meanwhile, Victor Amadeus repaired to the camp formed in the plain, at the foot of the Vaudois Alps, where he had assembled his guard, all his cavalry and his infantry, as well as the militia of Mondovi, Bargès, and Bagnolo, besides a

* The following fact confirmed their suspicions:—About fifteen householders having requested, soon after the promulgation of the edict, to leave the duke's domains, could not obtain permission; and as the most of them refused to apostatize, they were sent to prison, where some died, and others were not released till nine months after, with the other prisoners.—Hist. de la Persécution, p. 14.

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great number of foragers. He also reviewed the French troops under the command of Catinat. These were composed of some regiments of cavalry, seven or eight battalions of infantry who had crossed the mountains, and a part of the garrisons of Pinerolo and Casal.

On the part of the Vaudois, there were two thousand five hundred men under arms. They had made in each of their valleys some entrenchments of turf and rough stones. If they had concentrated their forces, instead of scattering them; if they had abandoned their advanced posts to retire into the retreats of the mountains; above all, if they had been of one mind as to the course to be pursued; if they had had at their head experienced men of courage and influence, like a Léger or a Janavel; if, at least, they had not numbered among their ranks the irresolute, the cowardly, and probably the treacherous, the issue would have been different; but in the actual state of things it could not be otherwise than disastrous.

On the 22nd of April, the popish army began its march, divided into two bodies; the duke's troops entered the valley of Lucerna, led by their general, Gabriel of Savoy, the duke's uncle. The French troops, commanded by Catinat, took their route through the valleys of Perosa and San Martino. We shall begin with narrating the operations of these latter.

Setting out before day they ascended along the left bank of the Clusone: having arrived opposite the large village of St. Germain, Catinat detached a division of infantry, and cavalry, with orders to drive away the Vaudois from this locality, while he continued his march. About two hundred of the Vaudois very soon retired behind the entrenchments they had raised on the side of Pramol. There the French colonel, de Villevieille, met with an invincible resistance. His soldiers, in the proportion of six to one, fought without success for ten hours, and then fell back. Seeing this, the little Vaudois troop pursued, routed, and chased them as far as Clusone. Villevieille threw himself with seventy men into the temple of St. Germain. Being summoned to surrender, he constantly refused, even on honourable capitulation. His retreat would have been forced, if night had not come on, during which fresh troops arrived from Pinerolo to his aid. The loss of the French, in killed and wounded, amounted to five hundred.

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Catinat pursued his march, and invested the valley of San Martino. On the next day, the 23rd, he attacked Rioclaret; which was without defence, as was the whole valley, the inhabitants having reckoned on the benefit of the edict of April 9, as they had communicated through the ambassadors that they would submit and resign themselves to exile. They did not know that their submission had been rejected. The French, irritated by the defeat of their troops at St. Germain, of which the news had just reached them, were not content with pillaging, burning, and violating; they massacred without distinction of sex or age, with unheard-of fury, all who had not escaped by flight from their barbarity. Catinat, leaving a part of his troops in the valley of San Martino, where they put all to fire and sword, then crossed the mountains on his left, and fell upon the valley of Pramol, which his soldiers treated in the same manner. On hearing of these excesses, the two hundred Vaudois who were entrenched behind St. Germain, towards Pramol, seeing themselves cut off, made haste to quit a post now useless, and rejoined, in the district of Peumian, those of their brethren of Pramol, St. Germain, Prarustin, and Rocheplatte, who were assembled there.

While all this was going on, the army of Savoy attacked the valley of Lucerna. When it reached San Giovanni, on April 22, it swept away, by the fire of its artillery and the charges of the cavalry, all the advanced corps of the Vaudois, and then attacked the valley of Angrogna, defended by five hundred mountaineers. These brave men having taken refuge in the entrenchments they had cast up in a place called the Casses (Cassa), and on the heights of La Vachère, which had already witnessed so many terrible combats, resisted for a whole day all the duke's forces. But, on the 24th, having learned that the valley of San Martino had surrendered, and that the French, already masters of Pramol, were about to attack them in the rear, the Vaudois sent a flag of truce. The general Gabriel, of Savoy, promised to admit them to the benefit of the edict of April 9, if they submitted. And as they still hesitated, he wrote a note, signed with his own hand, in the duke's name, in the following terms: "Lay down your arms immediately, and trust yourself to the clemency of his royal highness. On these conditions, be assured he will show you favour, and that you shall not be injured either in your own persons, or

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in that of your wives and children." On this promise the Vaudois laid down their arms, and the Piedmontese army occupied their entrenchments.

Nevertheless, under the pretext of conducting them to the duke for the purpose of making their submission, they brought all the ablebodied men to Lucerna, where they kept them as prisoners. The abandoned soldiery, masters of the hamlets, indulged meanwhile in all the irregular acts of the most shameful licentiousness and the most terrible brutality. The same scenes passed at Pra-di-torre, the ancient bulwark of the valleys, whither the inhabitants of Angrogna, San Giovanni, and La Torre had withdrawn their most valuable effects. There also the Vaudois trusted to a faithless proposal, and saw themselves unworthily treated, they and their families being alike defenceless. It was the same with fifteen hundred persons who were collected at Peumian, near Pramol, some refugees at Ciamprama and Geymets, retired localities in La Torre ; and, in a word, to avoid repetitions, throughout all the valleys. All the detachments, even those which were entrenched in the strongest places, were alarmed at finding themselves isolated in the midst of a population who submitted themselves in succession. Uneasy in regard to the future, they lent an ear to the fair words and promises of their enemies, and surrendered themselves, one after another. The Vaudois of Bobbio were the last to surrender, and not without having made a brave defence. They laid down their arms on the rocks of Vandalin.

We shall not soil our pages by detailing the horrible deeds committed by the soldiers of Catinat on the weaker sex at Peumian, after the departure of their commander; nor by the recital of those with which the duke's troops, especially the bands of Mondovi, disgraced themselves at Angrogna, and in the valley of Lucerna. These atrocities, which too much resemble those of the persecution of 1655, have been detailed in the authentic work already cited, entitled, *Histoire de la Persécution des Vallées du Piémont en* 1686 (History of the Persecution of the Valleys of Piedmont in 1686), printed at Rotterdam in 1689. Suffice it to say, that the generals in the war against the Vaudois, always regarded the wives and daughters of their enemies merely as victims for their licentious soldiers, and the old

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men and children as playthings on which to try their swords.

From all quarters, armed bands conducted prisoners to Lucerna. They had been promised, that, after having performed an act of submission before his royal highness, they should be sent to their homes, where they would decide either for exile or popery. Instead of this, they saw themselves separated from one another, sons from their fathers, husbands from their wives, parents from their children, and conducted to fortified places. Twelve thousand persons,* men, women, and children, were, in the course of a few days, dragged from their native soil, distributed in thirteen or fourteen fortresses, where we shall soon see they endured a thousand evils. About two thousand children, abducted from their parents, were at the same time dispersed throughout Piedmont among the papists.

Many executions also took place. We shall only give that of the minister Leidet, of Prali. After passing many months in prison, fed on bread and water, having one foot fastened in heavy wooden stocks, which prevented his lying down, he was condemned to death, as if he had been taken bearing arms, which was not the case, for he was found under a rock, singing psalms. The monks, who allowed him no rest, for they came every day to worry him (so to speak) about his faith, and to provoke him to a disputation, were determined to have the pleasure of tormenting him in his last moments. Having been present when his sentence was read, which the martyr heard without agitation, the monks would not leave him, and gave him no rest all day, though he entreated them, saying that he wished to pray to God with freedom of spirit. Moreover, they returned on the morrow at daybreak to harass him again. Yet they could not disturb his peace. As he came out of his prison, he spoke of the twofold deliverance he was about to enjoy, namely, that from the captivity which he had so long endured within those narrow walls, and that which death would give his soul, free from that moment to ascend to heaven! He went to execution with holy exultation. At the foot of the scaffold he made a long and

* These are the numbers given in the Hist. de la Persécution. Arnaud raises them to fourteen thousand, a number which corresponds better with that stated to the Swiss ambassadors to the Valleys. (See Histoire de la Négociation, p. 63.)

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admirable prayer, which deeply affected the attendants. He borrowed his last words from his Redeemer; "Father," he cried, "into thy hands I commend my spirit."

Thus Victor Amadeus succeeded. From the gardens of the palace of Lucerna, whither he had come to enjoy the victory, he could behold the ravages made by his triumphant army. The fields that lay before his eyes were deserted, the hamlets on the sides of the mountains, the smiling villages, with their green bowers and rich orchards, no longer contained one of their ancient inhabitants; the valleys no longer resounded with the bleatings of the flocks and the voices of the shepherds; the fields, the meadows, the vineyards, the alpine pasture-lands, scenes once so beautiful,—all these districts, so happy in the previous spring, were reduced to one vast solitude, dreary as the wildest rocks. Holy hymns would no more be heard there to celebrate the Author of so many wonders. The cultivators of these beautiful regions were some of them dead, and their carcasses scattered over the soil; others were crowded in dungeons, ignorant of each other's lot; others, again, were children delivered to the mercy of strangers, who never ceased to persecute these poor creatures till they had forgotten their parents, their country, and their religion. Alas! what bloody outrage had this people committed against their prince to be thus treated? Were they a ferocious tribe, addicted to robbery, pillage, and assassination? Thou, O Lord, knowest! they reverenced thy name; they only asked permission to obey thy precepts; they loved their prince; his honour and glory were dear to them. Faithful, devoted, submissive to his laws, they only did not prefer him to Thyself, and never resisted his will but when he attempted to draw them away from that worship which they had rendered to thee for ages.

Upon the most remote Alps, in the midst of forests, and in holes of the rocks, a few persons had, nevertheless, succeeded in concealing themselves, living by stealth on the remnants of their provisions, and on what they could find around their retreats: and when the French had retired with the bands of Mondovi, and a part of the Piedmontese troops, these unfortunate people issued from their hiding-places. They soon collected together, and

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rendered assistance to each other. Being often obliged to descend to the inhabited places to seek for food, they rendered themselves formidable. The armed force which frequently chased them, could neither intimidate nor lay hold of them. Their boldness accordingly increased. Unable to defeat them, their enemies offered them passports, on condition of their emigrating. They only consented when hostages had been given them, which one band guarded while another travelled, and when some of their relations, prisoners in the fortresses, had been permitted to go with them. They reached Switzerland in three detachments, in the course of November.*

The evangelical cantons of Switzerland, although their interference had been unavailing, and they had not been able to save their brethren in the faith from the catastrophe that had befallen them, never ceased to feel a lively interest on their behalf. They supplicated God for them on an extraordinary fast-day, and ordered collections through all their territory.† They redoubled their importunity with the court of Turin; and as they had been informed that the count de Govon, the resident of Savoy in Switzerland, had received power to treat with them, they charged two deputies with this mission, after having deliberated on the basis of this negotiation, in their assembly at Arau, in September, 1686. The plenipotentiaries agreed, subject to ratification, that all the prisoners should be set at liberty, decently clothed, conducted to the borders of Switzerland at the expense of the duke, and that those who still wandered on the mountains should receive passports for the same destination. The Swiss, on their part, engaged to receive them, and keep them in the heart of their country, so that they might not return. The ratification of the convention was immediate on the part of the Swiss; it was less readily given by the duke, who nevertheless signed it.

The decision of the evangelical cantons of Switzerland is above all praise. They charged themselves entirely with an unfortunate people. They had some thousands of sickly, suffering, and dejected persons to feed, lodge, and

* Dieterici die Waldenser, p. 136.—Boyer, p. 260.—Hist. de la Persécution, p. 27.—Archives de Genève, register of the 26th November, 1686, p. 306. We there read that eighty Vaudois, men, women, and children, had just arrived. See the same for the other detachments.

† Extracted from the public register of Berne. Livre des Mandats, p. 726.

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maintain. What a burden for their slender means! It is true they might calculate on succour from the Protestants of Europe, but they knew not to what amount. One source was dried up, namely, in France, whence the persecuted Protestants had escaped by thousands in quest of an asylum, and sometimes even of bread. England, where a Roman Catholic king, James II., favoured the religion of the pope, and which was itself engaged in opposing his pretensions, had not sufficient liberty to make collections in favour of those whom it formerly protected. Holland and Germany alone, although worn out by long and expensive wars, could still in some degree assist the unfortunate people whom they had often supported in their distress. The cantons acquainted them with their intentions, and expected a favourable answer. The elector of Brandenburgh, Frederick William, was the first who replied to their appeal; the states of Holland followed; and after them several German princes, who will be named in their proper place. In passing, let us pay our first tribute of admiration to these Swiss cantons, who, from their proximity to the valleys, were called on, prior to all their other brethren, to give proof of their sincere charity to the suffering disciples of Christ.

The autumn was drawing to a close, the snow already whitened the summits of the alpine passes: it would soon cover all the heights, and threaten with its avalanches and whirlwinds imprudent or late travellers. Yet the Vaudois were still in prison. According to the best accounts, there were, in the spring, from twelve to fourteen thousand in confinement. They could not all be restored to liberty, for already five hundred of them had been placed beyond the jurisdiction of the duke. This prince, desirous of showing his gratitude for the succour afforded him by the king of France, had sent this number of his subjects as a present to his most Christian majesty, who had deposited them in his galleys at Marseilles.* A great number of those who were left in the fortresses died in them, of chagrin or disease. A change of situation so complete had brought to the grave men accustomed to inhale the mountain breezes, to live in the fields, or herdsmen's cottages, and above all, to liberty. Bad water, scanty fare, confinement in narrow rooms, lying

* See Dieterici, p. 128.

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on the hard bricks with which they were paved, or on straw reduced to powder or rotten, the suffocating heat of summer, the chilliness of the nights as soon as winter came, and the vermin that covered their emaciated bodies, had aggravated the morbid tendencies of many, and produced epidemic disorders. Seventy-five sick persons had been found at a time in one room. Moreover, they received little or no medical aid. It is said that many children with the small-pox died from exposure to the rain. If the Vaudois wanted aid for their suffering bodies, to make up for that, they were constantly beset by the monks. Certain it is, that of twelve thousand who entered the prisons, not more than three or four thousand emigrated to Switzerland. What became of the rest? The greater part had died; others turned Catholics.* Many children and young persons had been taken away; lastly, a considerable number of adults were condemned for their lives to the fortifications and the galleys.

As to the rest, there is one fact which furnishes decisive proof of the determined intention of the Piedmontese government to treat the miserable remains of the Vaudois with the utmost rigour; and that is, the hindrance put in the way of their departure, and the manner in which it was at last effected. It was winter, a season in which no one, unless as a matter of necessity, would attempt to cross the Alps. This observation, which is true in our days, notwithstanding the excellent roads now made across the mountains, would be particularly so two centuries ago, when the means of communication were so inferior to what they have since become. A journey which some robust persons would not have attempted without hesitation, on account of the perils of the season, the ice and snows, it was cruel and barbarous, to force thousands of men, enfeebled by disease and imprisonment, to undertake, in the depth of winter, across the Alps; and also old men, worn down by sufferings as well as by years, besides women and children of the tenderest age. It was to consent beforehand to the death of a multitude of them, and even to insure it. Spirit of Papal Rome, how many victims hast thou made!

* Those who apostatized were in hopes that their goods would be restored to them, which was not the case. These persons were mostly distributed through the province of Vercelli. (Hist. de la Persécution, p. 32.)

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It may perhaps be said, not without foundation, that in choosing this season, the ministers of Victor Amadeus reckoned on the discouragement that would seize the unfortunate exiles, in the prospect of the sufferings and perils that awaited them, which might induce them to apostatize, and thus retain them in the duke's domains. But if the end was praiseworthy, were the means so? No man of the slightest humanity, and much more, no Christian, could assent to this.

The intention of retaining within the duke's dominions these poor prisoners, who for eight months had been deprived of their liberty, appeared evident from the means that were employed to damp their courage. Proclamation was made, it is true, that all, even those who had promised to abjure, were at liberty to depart; but, as the accounts state, it was attempted to allure by promises, or to deter by a description of the dangers of all kinds, that they might expect on the road. Many, in fact, suffered themselves to be dissuaded. But nothing could stop the general movement. Yet a great number of children, who, although scattered through Piedmont, had heard of the proclamation, were prevented from rejoining their parents, when they made the attempt. Moreover, the proclamation was not published in the prisons of Lucerna; it was only posted up in the market-place; so that those who were detained in this town could not avail themselves of the liberty that was granted them. The prisoners, also, who groaned in the deep dungeons of Asti, were detained, as well as their parents, who waited for them in the citadel of Turin. Within the walls of the latter place nine pastors, with their families, were inclosed; of whom mention will be made in the sequel.

The Vaudois travelled in companies, escorted by the officers and soldiers of the duke. They were promised decent clothing, but only a small number of pairs of stockings and of jackets were distributed among them. The two following facts will suffice to depict the situation of these unfortunate beings. At Mondovi, it was five o'clock in the afternoon, at Christmas, when their liberation was announced to the prisoners, but with the addition that if they did not set out forthwith, it would be out of their power altogether, as the order would be revoked the next day. Fearful of

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losing the favourable opportunity, these unfortunate persons, wasted by disease, set out on their march by night and walked four or five leagues through the snow, and in the most intense frost. This first march cost the lives of a hundred and fifty of them, who died on the road without their brethren being able to give them any aid.

The other fact was this. A troop of prisoners from Fossan having passed a night at Novalèse, at the foot of Mount Cenis, some of them, on setting out again, remarked to the officer who conducted them that a storm was rising on the mountain. In the Alps, during the winter season, persons never expose themselves to these storms without bitterly repenting. The Vaudois, to whom from their habits of observation the danger was obvious, begged that their march might be suspended, out of pity for so many weak and exhausted persons who were to be found in their ranks. If their request caused delay, they would not ask for food. They saw less danger in going without food than in travelling at such a season. The officer refused. The company was forced to proceed on its march, and eighty-six sunk in the drifted snow, and were frozen to death ;* they were the aged and sick, women and little children. The bands that followed, and merchants that passed that way some days after, saw the bodies stretched upon the snow, the mothers still pressing their children in their arms. The Swiss commissioners, of whom mention will soon be made, requested, when they returned to Turin, that measures might be taken to bury the bodies as they became exposed to view.

Yet we do not say, (God forbid!) that all the officers were like this one. There were several who displayed great humanity in the accomplishment of their painful task.

The news of such sufferings endured in the prisons and on the journey, brought by the first detachment of the unfortunate Vaudois, no sooner came to the knowledge of the magistrates of the cantons than, moved with pity and following the inspirations of Christian charity, they sent commissioners to the spot, who were directed to relieve the exiles by all possible means. These agents with the permission of the Piedmontese authorities, stationed themselves, in the beginning of February, along the road to Turin ; one

* Besides the eighty-six Vaudois, six of the duke's guards, with the drummer, lost their lives. (Letter of M. Truchet, in the Archives of Berne, mark C.)

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at Chambéry or Annecy, another at St. Jean de Maurienne, a third at Lans le Bourg; a fourth at Suza. Their names were, Roy, lord of Romainmôtier, Forestier of Cully, Panchaud of Morges, and Cornilliat of Nyon. Their correspondence with the government of Berne shows that they were well qualified for the commission entrusted to their care. Each one, at his station, provided the unfortunate Vaudois, on their arrival, during their short stay, and on their departure, with every comfort which sickness, fatigue, age, feebleness, or the inclemency of the season could call for. To furnish the means of transport to all, medicines and warm clothing to others, money to a great number; to give to all consolation and encouragement, such was the task in the performance of which these benevolent individuals gained the praise of their superiors and the profound gratitude of the exiles. By their attentions, multitudes who were weak, exhausted, and dejected, acquired strength and courage, and were enabled to rejoin their brethren, whom otherwise they would never have been in a state to follow, and consequently would have seen no more. On many occasions, they accompanied one and another band to their destination, when the care of the sick and the numerous children required their presence. Their inquiries and protests led also to the liberation of the greater number of the children and girls that had been taken away from their parents, while they were travelling.

Towards the middle of February, when the principal bands of the Vaudois had passed,* two of the commissioners, Messieurs Roy and Forestier, conformably to the instructions of their superiors, repaired to Turin to solicit the liberation of the remaining prisoners, namely, the ministers and their families, as well as those who had taken up arms. They also claimed the children who had been taken away during the preceding disturbances.

The presence of the commissioners at Turin produced irritation. Such urgency was looked upon with an evil eye. The Romish propaganda took offence at it. The Vaudois pastors, who before could sometimes leave the prison under the inspection of an officer, no longer received this indulgence.† The numerous barbets, or Vaudois footmen, whom

* The last reached Geneva at the end of February; after this the commissioners Panchaud and Cornilliat returned home.

† There were nine in the citadel of Turin, (besides their families, consisting of forty-seven persons); they were Malanot; Jahier, of Pramol; Laurent; Giraud; Jahier, of Rocheplatte; Chauvie, Bastie, Léger, and Bertrand.

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the gentry placed in a livery behind their carriages, were no longer to be seen. All the claims for the abducted children were disregarded. The commissioners only obtained leave to visit the ministers, and that in the presence of several officers. But, as if the interest shown towards them was a sufficient reason for tightening the bonds of the prisoners, the next morning three pastors and their families, with a malefactor from Mondovi, were sent away to the castle of Nice. On the following day, three other pastors, with their families, were despatched to Montmeillan. The malefactor of Mondovi was not forgotten. The commissioners, having been apprized of the departure of the first and second, watched in the neighbourhood of the citadel for the setting out of the last. At the head of the procession was the bandit in chains; then came a cart with the children and the sick; next the three ministers and their wives on foot, accompanied by a sergeant-major. Directing their course to the Po, they embarked on it for the castle of Vercelli. The commissioners were scarcely allowed to exchange a few words with them, and to furnish them with what money they had. The father of the minister Bastie, sixty-five years old, and in bad health, was separated from his son, and remained in the citadel, with one person of his family to assist him.*

It was not that the duke's council had resolved on the destruction of these faithful pastors; they had even promised to release them in course of time; but they dreaded their influence on the exiles, and wished to keep them apart for some time longer.†

The efforts to obtain the return of the young children who were taken from their parents at the time of their imprisonment, remained without success. The commissioners returned in the course of May, 1687, having had the satisfaction, if not of saving all the unfortunate victims of oppression for whom they laboured, yet of preventing very great evils, and becoming, to a great number, a support against discouragement, an aid in distress, guides to brave the storm, and skilful pilots, to bring with a friendly hand the almost shipwrecked bark into port.

* See the Letter of April 2, (12th,) 1687, from the Commissioners to their Excellencies. Mark C of the Archives of Berne.

† Among the Vaudois pastors after their return, we find six of those here mentioned, Bastie, Léger, Giraud, Malanot, and the two Jahiers. The names of the others do not occur again, to our knowledge.

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Christ, the head of the church, had promised faithful protectors and sympathizing brethren for his witnesses while bearing the cross. Switzerland was the asylum where, by their care, the children of the martyrs, the descendants of the primitive Christians, came to sit down by the side of the sons of freedom, in the dwellings of the disciples of the reformers, Calvin, Viret, Farel, Zwingle, Œcolampadius, and Haller, ancient and revered friends of their fathers.

Hasten hither, mountaineers of the Vaudois Alps, disowned by your sovereign! come, ye families reduced by the sword of your persecutors; parents desolated by the loss of your children, torn from your arms by the cruel hand of antichrist! come, ye enfeebled old men, ye widows in tears, and ye children left desolate or orphans! Beyond the limits of your ungrateful country, Christ your Sovereign, your Husband, your Brother, waits for you. His brethren, who love you for his sake, and because they recognise in you that faith which dwells in them also, receive you with open arms. Weary travellers, a day of rest awaits you—a blessed station on the road watered with tears, which nevertheless leads you to heaven!

CHAPTER XXV.

THE VAUDOIS REFUGEES IN SWITZERLAND AND GERMANY RETURN IN ARMS TO THEIR COUNTRY AND OBTAIN PEACE. (1686—1690.)

Two thousand six hundred Vaudois, men, women, and children, were received within the walls of hospitable Geneva.* About one hundred and sixty, in two or three bands, had reached that city before them in the preceding autumn. A nearly equal number, retarded by sickness, abduction, or imprisonment, gradually joined the main body, which, with all these additions, never reached three thousand; the feeble remnant of a population of from fourteen to sixteen thousand. Moreover, they were either sick or worn out with fatigue and anxiety, and the greater part

* This is the number stated in the letter of March 19, (29th,) 1687, addressed from Switzerland to the marquis de St. Thomas, the duke's minister at Turin. Archives of Berne, mark C.

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indifferently protected against the rigours of winter* by the old garments they had worn in prison. There were some whose lives ended at the very moment their liberty began, and who expired between the two gates of the city; but in proportion as the wounds to be dressed were deep and alarming, the Genevese charity exerted itself to meet the exigencies of the case. The population hastened forth to meet the exiles as far as the bridge of the Arve, which is the frontier. The magistrates were obliged to prohibit persons from going out of the city in this manner, on account of the embarrassment which resulted from this eagerness. It was a point of contention who should have the honour of lodging one of these persecuted Christians. The greatest invalids and sufferers were taken by preference.† If they had any difficulty in walking, men carried them in their arms into their houses. Their hosts, as well as the committee of the Italian Exchange, provided clothes for all. If Geneva did so much for the Vaudois, it was because she believed that by the presence of these martyrs she would receive in spiritual blessings more than she could render to them in temporal aid.

One scene, which was repeated every time a new company of exiles entered the city, deeply touched the hearts of the bystanders, namely, the search made by the first and last comers for their relations, the questions they put, and the answers they received respecting the fate of a father, a mother, a husband, a wife, or of brothers, sisters, and children, whom they had not seen for ten months. We can scarcely tell which answer was the most overwhelming, "Your father died in prison," "Your husband has become a papist," "Your child has been carried away," or "No one has heard a word about the person you are inquiring for." It was not only bread, and clothing, and an asylum, which these children of the Alps had need of, they wanted also sincere friends to mourn with them, and console them in their afflictions.

If they met with sympathizing hearts at Geneva, they also found many in the cities and country places of Pro-

* The journey was made in January and February, 1687. The duke had clothed a small part of them, very indifferently.

† Arnaud says, "The Genevese contested with one another who should take home the most destitute."

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testant Switzerland and Germany, where the Christian brotherhood received them;* for they could not remain at Geneva. The treaty concluded by the evangelical cantons with the duke, for the emigration of the Vaudois, specified their withdrawment from the frontiers. Consequently, in proportion as they recovered from their fatigue, they were transported to the Pays de Vaud, and thence by Yverdon,† by the lakes and rivers, into the interior of Switzerland.

The evangelical cantons, Berne especially, had already supported thousands of the French refugees.‡ These victims of the cruelty of Louis XIV., were, one-fourth or one-third of them, assisted by public and private charity. The Vaudois, therefore, being quite destitute of everything, gave occasion for a superadded expense to the state and people, which was a heavy charge; but wise measures had been taken. Berne, for example, had made preparations from the moment that emigration had been decided upon. Five thousand ells of linen had been made into under garments; an equal quantity of the common woollen stuffs of Oberland had been used to prepare warm outer garments. Hundreds of pairs of shoes were laid up in the depôts. The bailiffs, being informed betimes of the wish of their excellencies, had stimulated (if, indeed, that were necessary) the generous sentiments of the communal administrations and of individuals. Another fast in February, 1687, at the moment when the great body of the exiles entered Geneva, had prepared their hearts by the inspirations of religion. Another collection had been made at the same time. The reformed Swiss received with open arms their brethren of Piedmont, as they had already received those of France; and with still greater compassion, for the Vaudois needed it more. The evangelical cantons distributed the refugees among them in a fixed proportion. Zurich took thirty per cent.; Bâle, twelve; Schaffhausen, eight; Saint-Gall, Outer Appenzel, the Grisons, and Glaris also

* A Vaudois, the author of the "Histoire de la Persécution des Vallées du Piémont," printed at Rotterdam in 1689, from which we have taken most of the preceding details, expresses his gratitude in these words—"With respect to the Vaudois, as well as other refugees, we may say that Switzerland was a secure haven, formed by God's own hand, to save from shipwreck those who were exposed to the waves of persecution."

† M. Louis du Thon, of Yverdon, was charged by their excellencies with providing the means of transport.

‡ Among these were many Vaudois from Pragela, Queyras, and other valleys in Upper Dauphiné.

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received some. Berne took charge of forty-four per cent.; part of whom were placed at Bienne, Neuville, and in the district of Neufchâtel.

The degree of charity, doubtless, was not the same everywhere. We must even confess that in some places it was constrained, being called for by the authorities. Some Piedmontese refugees complained; not all who employed them as workmen, always treated them well. Possibly, too, the kind reception given them in some places may have rendered them less contented in others; and, above all, languor and a longing for their native country, may have sometimes produced bad humour or despondency. Yet the generality of the exiles showed themselves sensible of kindness and grateful. "We have no language strong enough," said those of them who afterwards went to Brandenburg, "to express our gratitude for your favours. Our hearts, penetrated with all your acts of kindness, will publish in distant parts the unbounded charity with which you have refreshed us and supplied all our need. We shall take care to inform our children, and our children's children, that all our posterity may know, that, next to God, whose tender mercies have preserved us from being entirely consumed, we are indebted to you alone for life and liberty." *

While these victims of a fanatical policy rested under the roof of Christian hospitality, the question of their future residence seriously engaged their protectors in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland.† The elector of Brandenburg and several German princes opened their states to them. In Holland, they spoke of facilitating their emigration, in a body, to the Cape of Good Hope or to America.‡ The echo of these friendly voices brought their proposals to the ears of the Vaudois, and filled their hearts with disquietude. When, in the preceding year, the Swiss deputies had proposed to them the abandonment of their native country, as the only means of escaping still greater

* Letter of July 26, 1688, signed in the name of the Vaudois, assembled in the territory of Lenzburg, by Daniel Forneron and Jean Jalla. Archives of Berne, mark D.

† England governed by a popish prince, James II., who was soon to be driven from the throne for his attempts at religious oppression, was not, and could not be at that period, an effective protector of the Vaudois.

‡ Letter from the pastor Bilderdeck to the Vaudois. See Beattie's Views of the Valleys, London and Paris, 1838, p. 118.

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evils, a numerous party among them were energetically opposed to such a step. They never consented, till, having been prisoners for months in the fortresses of Piedmont, nothing remained to them but to apostatize or to emigrate. Now that dungeons, and their prolonged absence from their beloved native country, had only increased their affection for it, they felt intense agony at the thought that they should never see it again, and that they should be compelled to renounce it for ever. Certainly, they returned thanks to God, and blessed their brethren, for having obtained their liberty, for having fed and consoled them, and for offering them houses and lands again; but the places in which love to God and Christian charity offered them an asylum, could not occupy in their imagination the place of their native soil. A foreign land, however benevolent the inhabitants might be who would consent to share it with them, could never be the same to them as their own country, the land of their fathers. They could not forget those spots, the scenes of their childhood, which the habit of beholding had identified (so to speak) with their own being; the paternal roof, full of the most delightful recollections; the shade of the fig-trees and chesnuts, the fields, the patches on the hill-side they had cultivated, the majestic mountains, the green pastures where they had fed their flocks; their hearts were delighted with cherished images and recollections, which had increased doubly in value in their eyes. Ye Christians of Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and England, benefactors of the Vaudois, be not offended at this apparent indifference to your country, for you also have each a country that is dear to you! And thou, O Lord of heaven and earth, canst thou disapprove the preference they give to the country where their ancestors adhered faithfully to thee in the first ages of the church of thy Son? Their desire to serve thee still on the soil of Christian liberty, surrounded by the tombs of the martyrs, their progenitors, and to re-light in these revered spots the torch of thy gospel, that its flame may still shine in darkness, will it not be agreeable to thee? What shall we say? Does not their design come from thee? Doubtless, thou art not willing that the testimony rendered to the faith by the ancient Vaudois, should be weakened by the permanent removal of their

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children from the country in which they bore that testimony.

The desire of the Vaudois to return to their native country, though deeply cherished by them all, was only by degrees formed into a project, in proportion as they believed in the possibility of its realization. The minister Arnaud, who, in the sequel, was the leader of the enterprise, was probably its originator; but, in the first account that was given of it, it was attributed to the fervent zeal of the hero of Rora, the intrepid Janavel, who had retired to Geneva, after a capital sentence had menaced his life. Geneva, believing its honour engaged to the duke, banished him from its walls; but he soon returned thither.

The first attempt of the Vaudois to return to the valleys necessarily failed at its outset, from its being made so much at hazard, without precaution, without leaders, and, we may say, without arms. Those who engaged in it came in an irregular manner from their cantonments at Zurich, Bâle, Argovie, and Neufchâtel, to Lausanne and its environs, about the end of July, 1687, without having taken any of the preliminary measures necessary for such an expedition. Their numbers, moreover, were inconsiderable; only about three hundred and fifty. Being stopped by the chief magistrate of Lausanne at Ouchy, where they attempted to embark, they submitted, sorely against their will, to the order for returning to the places from whence they came.

Though in this instance unable to succeed, the Vaudois did not abandon their design. They perceived that it had been badly managed; that it was necessary to mature a plan, to make preparations for it, and then to execute it simultaneously and secretly, under the direction of their chiefs. This method they actually pursued. Their first care was to send three men* to discover by-roads, by which they could return to the valleys. It was desirable to avoid populous localities, to follow by preference the higher valleys and the elevated ridges, to pass the rivers

* One belonged to the valley of San Martino, another to Queyras, the third to the valley of Pragela. The fact, that of the three, two were Frenchmen from valleys near those of our friends, shows that the number of Protestants of these French valleys of Pragela and Upper Dauphiné, who had fled from persecution, was considerable. They now thought of establishing themselves in the Piedmontese valleys.

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near their sources, and then reaching their destination, to engage their friends secretly to prepare bread,* and to deposit it in convenient places. Such were the principal directions and instructions these persons received.

While the three spies were fulfilling their mission, at the peril of their lives, the cantons, dissatisfied with the attempt of the Vaudois, which might have compromised them with the duke of Savoy, continued the former negotiations with the German princes for the emigration of their guests, whose presence was now become inconvenient.

The elector of Brandenburg, Frederick-William, who was called by his contemporaries the Great Elector, a prince whose memory both the Vaudois and the French Protestants will bless for ever, was not content with interceding with the duke of Savoy on behalf of his oppressed brother Protestants, he showed himself ready to receive a part of the remains of their population, and wrote for subsidies on their behalf to the prince of Orange, to the states-general of Holland, to the city of Bremen, and to the elector of Saxony, as well as to England. It only remained to compute the number of the emigrants. Of two thousand six hundred and fifty-six Vaudois distributed among the cantons, the elector consented to take charge of about two thousand; the aged and the sick were to remain in Switzerland. Such were the arrangements settled at Berlin, in concert with the deputy of the cantons, counsellor Holzhalb of Zurich.

But the Vaudois, full of the project of returning to their native land, showed little eagerness to accept the asylum which the benevolence of the great elector offered them at Stendal, in the vicinity of the Elbe, to the north of Magdeburg. They were alarmed at the thought of being fixed at such a distance from their ancient country. The climate and the language also made them hesitate. The measures taken by the evangelical cantons and the Vaudois delegates had also inclined the hearts of the elector Palatine, the count Waldeck, and the duke of Wirtemberg to place lands capable of cultivation at the disposal of the exiles of the valleys. But, although the spring of 1688 had now arrived, the Vaudois could not resolve to separate themselves, and

* In the high Alps bread is only made once a year. It becomes as hard as a stone, and is kept like biscuit.

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to settle in these distant colonies. "It seemed that these unfortunate people," said Remigius Merian, resident of the elector of Brandenburg, at Frankfort, "changed their plans every day, and could decide on nothing. They were always longing after their own country and people. They undervalued the favours offered them by princes."*

Nevertheless, being obliged by their position to make their choice, they decided at last, that one part of them, about a thousand, should repair to Brandenburg, but that the others should distribute themselves in the Palatine and Wirtemberg, not to be too far removed from the dominions of the duke of Savoy; for they had not forgotten their secret project. How is it possible, when religious recollections and exile render your country doubly dear to you, to turn away your gaze from the distant mountains that environ it? The captives of Babylon exclaimed, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth," Psalm, cxxxvii., 5. 6.

The chamberlain de Bondelly had arrived with a commission to conduct the thousand Vaudois to their destination. The death of his master the great elector Frederic William, the protector of the persecuted Protestants, formed no obstacle to their departure, Frederic III. his successor, having shown his readiness to receive the inheritance of charity which his father had bequeathed to him.

On the other hand, the three spies had returned.† Their report on the state of the valleys, at that time inhabited by strangers, and on the road to be taken in returning thither, induced the directors to hold a council, in which it was resolved to make a second attempt through the valleys, the great and little St. Bernard and Mount Cenis. Bex, a little town at the southern extremity of the state of Berne,‡ at the foot of the mountains, near a bridge over the Rhone, was chosen as the place of rendezvous. The time fixed was the 9th or 10th of June 1688.

At the head of the movement was a man, whose name has resounded far and wide, and will be transmitted to the

* Dieterici, die Waldenser, etc. p. 145.

† They had been exposed to imminent danger. They were arrested in the district of the Tarentaise. Eight days they remained in prison, but at last had the good fortune to be set at liberty.

‡ It now makes a part of the canton of Vaud.

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most distant posterity, a man fitted both for peace and war; a humble minister of the Lord, and commander of an army; copious and eloquent in language enriched by the Holy Scriptures, when he applied himself to teach and exhort; full of unction and fervour when on his knees he supplicated the Father of mercies for his depressed church; brief and decided in tone when he directed the march, or gave orders in the tumult of battle: such a man was Arnaud. A native of the vicinity of Die, in Dauphiné, Henri Arnaud, one of the most esteemed pastors of the Vaudois church, had withdrawn himself at the time of the general disaster of 1686, being too prudent and too clearsighted to surrender himself to the duke's troops.* And when the residue of the people, to whom he had consecrated his life, were released from prison, he joined them. He sojourned at Neufchâtel with a part of his people. His genius and resolute character marked him out to the Vaudois, as the man around whom they ought to gather, as the living soul of their people,—in one word, as their chief. It was to him, in fact, that the general confidence gave the command of the enterprise for a long time projected, and which was now ripe for execution.

The most courageous Vaudois had quitted their cantonments and traversed Switzerland by night, through byroads, and repaired to Bex, the general rendezvous. But however secret their march, it could not be concealed from the senates of Zurich and Berne, nor from the council of Geneva, who suddenly were informed that sixty Vaudois who served in the garrison had just deserted, and entered the Pays de Vaud. Their project being thus divulged, was thwarted. A bark laden with arms did not reach Villeneuve, where they were waiting for it. The chief magistrate of Aigle, being apprised by their excellencies, was obliged to conform to their orders and stop the expedition. It also met with other insurmountable obstacles. The inhabitants of Valais in agreement with the Savoyards, having, on the first rumour, occupied the bridge of St. Maurice, the key of the pass, had both of them by their signals roused all Chablais, and put Valais on its guard. The fatal order for stopping their march was given with all the kind considera-

* He was present at the affairs of St. Germain, when two hundred Vaudois made so gallant a defence.

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tion possible to six or seven hundred Vaudois, who were then assembled in the temple of Bex, by the generous Fr. Thormann, magistrate or governor of Aigle. He addressed them with tears in his eyes, showing them that their project having taken wind and their adversaries being in arms, it would be rash to think of going any further, and that their excellencies could not permit it without laying themselves open to the charge of violating treaties. He did justice to their zeal; and, in order to incline their hearts to patience and trust in God, under their trials, he reminded them that the Lord who is attentive to the desires of his children, and holds the times in his own hand, knew well how to bring about the favourable moment. This sensible and friendly discourse having somewhat calmed their spirits, their pastor and leader, Arnaud, led them to entire submission by a sermon on the affecting words of the Saviour—"Fear not, little flock," Luke xii. 32.

The Vaudois being conducted to Aigle, and lodged with private individuals, took a grateful leave of this humane governor, who lent them two hundred crowns to assist those of them in returning who lived in the furthest parts of Switzerland. They felt how much they were indebted to him, when they saw themselves repulsed from Vevey, where they were even refused provisions, and when they found themselves treated with severity, all along the road, by order of the council of Berne, who were displeased, as may be easibly imagined, with an expedition which compromised their honour, since there were not wanting persons at Turin to suspect them of being accomplices. This was actually the fact; but the cantons cleared themselves entirely of such an imputation.

As to the persons engaged in this attempt, who were banished for some time to the Isle of Bienne (St. Pierre,) they received orders two months afterwards from the assembled cantons, to resume their route to the north of Switzerland, Zurich, and Schaffhausen, and to accept, notwithstanding the opposition many continued to show, the charitable offers of the German princes. More than eight hundred persons, men, women, and children, embarked on the Rhine, to be conveyed to the electorate of Brandenburg. And while the French commandant de Brissac fired at their boats, Frederic III. prepared to give them a cordial reception.

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A separate part of the town of Stendal was given them for a residence; they were amply supplied with all the comforts of life. They were allowed to have, not only their own pastor and schoolmaster, but also their own municipal magistrates and judges. Eight hundred Vaudois were to till and sow the rich lands of the Palatinate, which the elector, Philip William of Neuburg, had put at their disposal. Seven hundred were settled in Wirtemberg. A few hundreds remained in Switzerland, particularly in the Grisons. Arnaud, after having superintended this distribution, which he could not but deplore, set out, in company with a Vaudois captain,* for Holland, to consult respecting his secret project with prince William of Orange, who was more conversant than any other man with public affairs and the politics of Europe. This prince, who in the following year ascended the throne of England in the place of the papist James II., encouraged the persevering Arnaud, and led him to hope that circumstances would be very favourable to his enterprise. He advised him, meanwhile, to keep the Vaudois as much united as possible.

In fact, scarcely had a few months passed away, when the situation of political affairs favoured the accomplishment of Arnaud's project. War broke out, Germany was invaded in the autumn of 1688, and the French army overran the Palatinate. The Vaudois who were there, dreading these Frenchmen who had done so much mischief in their valleys, retired before them, and retook the road to Switzerland. A part of those in Wirtemberg did the same. The evangelical cantons, affected by their new sufferings, gave them a kind reception; Schaffhausen, particularly, where they obtained a temporary settlement. They were soon distributed in their ancient allotments, even in districts where the French language was spoken; as at Neuville and Neufchâtel. The intervention of Holland was perhaps not useless, in these times for the poor exiles, tossed about by political storms at a distance from their native land. M. de Convenant deputed by the states general, requested the cantons at the beginning of 1689 to continue their protection to the Vaudois till his Britannic majesty, William of Orange,† could provide for their settlement in his new

* Baptiste Besson of San Giovanni.

† The prince of Orange landed in England in Nov. 1688, and was crowned April 11, 1689.

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dominions. Thus protected, the children of the valleys waited for the important hour of their departure, gaining an honest livelihood, with their own hands, chiefly among the peasantry. Everywhere justice was done to their activity and probity. The only misdemeanour of which any one of them was accused, was the carrying off a musket; and this after some time was restored.

The dawn of their deliverance, so impatiently longed for, at last appeared on the political horizon, inviting the Vaudois to depart and to re-enter their own country in arms. Savoy was stripped of troops; Victor Amadeus having withdrawn them to Piedmont, where he needed them. France, attacked by the emperor and by the Dutch, to whom England, now governed by William III., would soon be joined, having itself to defend, could furnish no succour to the duke of Savoy against the Vaudois, who, when once more entrenched in their mountains, would know how to defend themselves, till their powerful protectors could obtain an honourable capitulation for them.

Feeling secure on the side of their adversaries, the Vaudois needed only to be on their guard against their friends, whose political relations constrained them to put obstacles in the way of their departure. The undertaking was certainly difficult; but if secrecy could be preserved, it was not impossible. The experience of two abortive attempts had taught silence and extraordinary prudence. Yet some suspicions were excited at Berne, and orders were given to the chief magistrates at Chillon and Aigle, at Nyon and some other places, in case the Vaudois should attempt a passage, as in the preceding year. Berne also caused Arnaud, who was residing at Neufchâtel with his wife, to be watched. This enterprising leader, however, took his precautions so well, made his preparations with so much ability, and gave his orders with such precision, that in spite of the watchfulness of the authorities, he perfectly succeeded.

The place of rendezvous appointed for the scattered Vaudois was a forest of considerable size called the wood of Prangins, situated on the borders of the lake Léman, in the vicinity of the little town of Nyon, on the confines of the Bernese territory.* The extent of the forest, its isolated position along the banks facing the Savoyard

* This district now forms part of the canton of Vaud.

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coast, from which it was not above a league distant, rendered it preferable to every other point. The time fixed for the gathering was equally well chosen. They took advantage of the solemnity of a general fast, which, keeping the population in the temples and the interior of the villages, prevented them from noticing the armed travellers, and rendered it very difficult to call out the militia of the country, in case the authorities wished to oppose either the gathering or the embarkation.

The movement of several hundreds of armed men could not be concealed so entirely that the magistrates should receive no notice of it;* but the care taken by the bands to conceal their march into the wood, and particularly their staying on the distant lands of the chief magistrate of Morges till the decisive moment, the evening of the 16th

* On the 14th of August, 1689, early in the morning, the chief magistrate of Lausanne, M. Sturler, was informed that one hundred and eighty Piedmontese, armed, had arrived at Vidy, and kept themselves concealed while waiting to embark. Major de Crousaz was sent to them, with orders to give up their undertaking, and to return home. The major sent back three boats, which were already at hand. The Piedmontese were irritated, but promised nevertheless to retrace their steps. The same magistrate received at midnight the deposition of two peasants of Romanel, near Lausanne, who declared that a troop of five hundred men, led by an officer on horseback, marching very quickly and in silence, had passed by their village towards the side of the lake. He learned, by his agents, that four hundred of these men had embarked in boats that came from the side of Geneva. The next day he found that they came from near Nyon. The others had disappeared.

At Morges, a town on the borders of the lake of Geneva, about fifteen or twenty miles from Nyon, on the 15th, a fast day, at the hour of afternoon service, that is at one o'clock, the magistrate of this town was informed that a great number of Piedmontese were secreted in the copses below Allaman. He immediately rode thither with some persons belonging to the place, and satisfied himself that there were about three hundred men there, armed with good firelocks. They declared their intention of going that evening to the wood of Nyon. The magistrate wrote to the chief magistrate of Nyon, and wished to arrest them, but of the hundred he thought he had made prisoners he could only secure seventeen. Not satisfied with this attempt, he called out the militia, and went to the wood of Nyon, where he found nobody. He also caused the boats to be seized.

The magistrate of Nyon, M. Steiger, who, agreeably to the orders he had received from Berne in the preceding month, had prohibited all boatmen from taking any Piedmontese to Geneva or Savoy under pain of death, was informed on the evening of the 15th by the magistrate of Morges of what had taken place. He sent a strong detachment of militia to the bridge of Promonthoux to watch for the arrival of the detachments of Piedmontese which were said to be in a wood of chestnut-trees under St. Bonnet and Bursinel, or in the copse of Allaman, and had been also seen near the gibbet of Rolle. This watch was renewed on the next day, the 16th of August. He sent a guard also to the entrances to the wood of Prangins. On the 15th, at evening, and particularly on the 16th, the magistrate of Nyon gave notice to all the militia of the bailiwick, even those of the mountain, to be, on the 17th of August, at five o'clock in the morning, at the guardhouse of Nyon, to march and take all the Piedmontese they could find in the wood of Prangins prisoners; but in the night of the 16th and 17th the Piedmontese, knowing what measures had been taken, embarked, although they were not all assembled.

A letter from the syndics of Geneva, of the 15th of August, announced to their excellencies that in the night sixty Vaudois had left for Nyon or Lausanne in several boats. (Archives de Berne, mark D.)

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of August, when they entered unperceived into the bailiwick of Nyon and the wood of Prangins, at a time when they were supposed to be far off, as the distance was thought to be too great for their arrival there; by such precautions the measures were thwarted, which the magistrates had hastened to take. All sources of apprehension were not yet removed. Scarcely had the principal brigades reached the wood of Nyon in the evening, when they saw persons landing from a multitude of boats, whose curiosity had brought them there to ascertain if the reports in circulation were well founded. This circumstance, which might have been fatal to them, and obliged them to embark much sooner than they had expected, before all their own people had arrived, turned out very advantageously for them, by putting at their disposal means of transport which they would otherwise have been without.

It was between nine and ten o'clock, in the evening of the 16th of August, 1689, the day after the fast, that Henri Arnaud gave the signal for their departure * by falling on his knees on the margin of the lake, and invoking, in a loud voice, the all-good and all-powerful God, who, in their distresses, had remained their safeguard and their hope. Fifteen boats unmoored, laden with the greater part of the little army. A gust of wind, which for a short time dispersed some of them, brought them within sight of a Geneva boat that contained eighteen of their people. No sooner had they reached the opposite shore than the transports pushed off again, in quest of those who might be waiting for them ;† but of the fifteen boats, three only reached the wood of Prangins in the night, and brought over a fresh detachment to the Savoy side. ‡ The others disappeared. By this mishap, two hundred men remained on the Swiss side. It may be

* How inscrutable and unfathomable are the ways of God! How did it come to pass that in the midst of such a movement, in some sense contrary to their plan, the Vaudois, so counteracted, set out in the numbers most convenient, according to all appearance?

† To the number of six or seven hundred, if we may rely on the declaration of the secretary Baillival, who had surprised them, and who employed many exhortations, reproaches, and menaces to turn them from their purpose.—(See the Report of the magistrate of Nyon in the Archives of Berne, mark D.)

‡ One of the boatmen of Nyon, named Signat, a native of Tonneins, in Guienne, a man zealous for religion, and a refugee, was left on the Savoy side by the other boatmen, while he was taking leave of his friends from the valleys. In vain he ran to the shore, calling after his comrades, who went off with his boat. "Come with us," said his new friends, "and we will give you a good house in lieu of your little boat." He accordingly set out with them.

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presumed that they were not the most ardent to engage in the struggle. Many of them were not even armed. Arnaud also regretted the loss of a score of men, who reached Morges too late, where they were stopped, and prevented from joining him. All these men, however, regained their asylum in the cantons; but the loss most lamented was that of a hundred and twenty brave men coming from the Grisons, St. Gall, and Wirtemberg. They were arrested in the small popish cantons by the desire of the count de Govon, the resident of the duke of Savoy, who had got tidings of their setting out, and they were sent to the prisons of Turin, where they remained till the peace. The Vaudois who were settled at Neufchâtel, and left it only on the 16th, also failed to reach the rendezvous, as well as the captain Bourgeois,* who was to have commanded the expedition.†

Nine hundred men had effected the passage of the lake,—a small company to attempt making their way through an unfriendly population, and thousands of soldiers entrenched behind streams of water, or in fortified positions; a company, on the other hand, far too numerous for the slender means of sustenance to be found in the by-places through which they intended to go; an untrained assemblage, formed of persons of every age, hardened, it is true, by toil, but yet strangers to military discipline and manœuvres. What could become of them, exposed as they would be to incessant privations and fatigues; to scorching heat during the day, and frost at nights, most frequently without shelter, through rain, through inhospitable tracts and deep defiles, by the sides of precipices, and over rocks

* Captain Bourgeois, of Yverdun, or Neufchâtel, an officer of merit, who had been requested by Arnaud to take the command of the little Vaudois army, was absent from the rendezvous. Being suspected of cowardice, he wished to clear himself from this injurious imputation, and to rejoin Arnaud. He collected a thousand Piedmontese, Swiss, and French, (the latter were the most numerous,) and crossed the lake at Vevay on September 11th, in the same year. He had some success in Chablais; but it was impossible for him to restrain his undisciplined troops, who gave themselves up to drinking and plunder, instead of marching onwards. When they arrived at Faucigny they would not go any further. The Savoyard troops guarded all the mountain ridges and passes. Being driven back on Geneva, and transported to the Swiss territory by vessels from that city, they disbanded. Captain Bourgeois was arrested by order of their excellencies, condemned to die, and beheaded at the harbour of Nyon in March, 1690. "All eyes but his own were bathed in tears," says a manuscript account. —Gruner, in Vulliemin, History of Switzerland, v. xiii.

† The sources from which we have taken the foregoing accounts are the archives of Berne, Vaud, and Geneva; the Histoire de la Rentrée des Vaudois, (History of the Return of the Vaudois,) by Arnaud, of which there are two editions, one very rare, of 1710, the other printed at Neufchâtel, in 1845.—Dieterici die Waldenser, Berlin, 1831.

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crowned with eternal snow? They are aware of all this, these inheritors of the Vaudois name, and of the glory and sufferings of their fathers. Now alone on the strand of the lake they have just crossed, they tread on the soil which they are about to bathe with their sweat and their blood. No illusion deceives them. The hard reality, with its dangers and privations, is before their eyes, stern as truth. But no one draws back; no one is startled. The love of their country influences them; the hope of return to the places of their birth, where from time immemorial their fathers raised on high the standard of the truth which is in Jesus Christ, animates them with unshaken confidence. The prize of the conflict seems to them worthy of the greatest sacrifices. It is a terrestrial native land, to the recollection of which they have attached their faith and hope of salvation, by an association of ideas easily to be accounted for in men full of the religious traditions of their ancestors. In setting out, sword in hand, to reconquer it, their hearts are at ease, for their cause is just. They seek for nothing but what they have been deprived of by deceit or violence.* Thus, in former ages, Israel seized the sword and buckler to maintain his right to the possession of the Holy Land. And these sons of the Vaudois, could they abandon, without remorse and without a struggle, their right to the land of the martyrs, their ancestors,—to their unquestionable heritage? Their presence on the Savoy side, at the entrance to the domains of their prince, is their answer; and as to the means of execution, they wish to employ none but such as are peaceful. They carry arms only to defend themselves if attacked, or if their passage be opposed. They desire to remain under the observation of God the righteous Judge, and beneath his holy protection. They hope to be able to repeat on their march and in every encounter, like the children of Israel, "Jehovah is our Banner."

Between Nernier and Yvoire, two towns of the Chablais, facing the wood of Prangins, Arnaud, the leader, landed from his frail bark with fourteen companions, and his first care was to place sentinels at all the avenues, and to

* It cannot be said that the court of Turin kept its promises to the Vaudois, when MM. de Muralt, the deputies from the evangelical cantons, negotiated the conditions of emigration; nor those that prince Gabriel of Savoy, made in the name of the duke, his nephew, to induce the Vaudois, who were not yet conquered, to lay down their arms.

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marshal his troops as they disembarked. He then divided his nine hundred men into twenty companies, six of which were composed of the French of Dauphiné, adjoining the valleys,* and of Languedoc; thirteen others were of different Vaudois communes;† and the last of volunteers, who were not willing to make a part of the preceding. They formed three bodies, an advanced guard, a centre, and a rear-guard, according to the tactics of regular troops, which were always observed by the Vaudois in their marches. Two ministers, beside Arnaud, were with the little army,—Cyrus Chyon, formerly pastor of Pont-à-Royans, in Dauphiné, and Montoux, of the valley of Pragela. The first, Chyon, was soon separated from the expedition. Having repaired with too much confidence to the first village,‡ to obtain a guide, he was taken prisoner, and led to Chambéry, where he remained till the peace.

The army once organized, and in a condition to defend themselves if the enemy appeared, bent their knees before the Lord, on whom the success of their enterprise depended, and ardently invoked his all-powerful aid. They then took a southward direction, in order to pass over the little mountain range that separates Chablais from Faucigny;—Yvoire being threatened, opened its gates and gave them a free passage. The villages through which they passed never dreamed of making resistance. Some gentry, as well as subaltern magistrates, whose persons they secured as hostages, were obliged to follow, and served as guides, till they were replaced by others. Nevertheless, they performed these coercive measures with so much address, and the discipline of the army was so strict, that the apprehensions at first felt by the inhabitants of the open country soon subsided, and the peasants with their ministers might be seen approaching and quietly watching the troops as they filed off, and even saluting them by saying, May God go with you! The parish minister of

* Namely, the valley of Clusone, or Pragela, of Queyras, of Embrunois, etc. Their captains were called Martin, Privat, Lucas, Turel, Foufrède, and Chien.

† Angrogna had three companies, whose captains were Laurent, Buffa, Etienne Frasche, and Michel Bertin; San Giovanni two companies, under the captains Bellion and Besson; La Torre one, under Jean Frasche; Villaro one, under Paul Pelenc; Bobbio two, under the captains Martinat and Mondon; Prarustin one, under Daniel Odin; St. Germain and Pramol one, under captain Robert; Macel one, under Philip Tron-Poulat; Prali one, under captain Peyrot.

‡ Probably at Nernier.

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Filly opened his cellar, and supplied them with refreshment, without receiving any remuneration. But very soon, while ascending the mountain by the path which leads to Boëge on the Menoge, in Faucigny, the encounter they had with the gentry, whom, notwithstanding their threatening tone, they made prisoners, and then with two hundred armed peasants, under the command of the governor of Boëge and a quarter-master, whose resistance was next to nothing, showed them nevertheless the necessity of being beforehand with the inhabitants. They perceived that if arms were generally taken up, the expedition would be exposed to great danger. They therefore employed a slight stratagem: they made one of the gentry who were kept as hostages write the following letter from Boëge, "These persons have arrived here to the number of two thousand; they have requested us to accompany them, that we may be able to give an account of their conduct, and to assure you that it has been perfectly regular; they pay for everything they take, and all they ask is a free passage. We beg you, therefore, not to sound the tocsin, or to beat the drum, and to withdraw your people in case they should be under arms." This letter, signed by all the gentry and sent to the town of Viû, in Faucigny, where they arrived at nightfall, had a very good effect; and on their march they met with no more resistance; on the contrary, they found the people eager to furnish whatever they asked for, even to saddle-horses and wagons. A similar letter sent to St. Joyre prepared a good reception for the weary travellers. But to gain time, they pushed on. It was only at midnight that they stopped in an open field and rested a little notwithstanding the rain.

The next day did not pass quite so peaceably. Cluse, a walled city, obstructed the narrow passage between the mountain to the north, and the impetuous Arve on the south. The inhabitants in arms lined the trenches; the mountaineers ran together, shouting out abuse. The firmness of the Vaudois, who resolved to force a passage, and the intervention of the hostages, who trembled for their own safety, led to a capitulation. The gates were opened, and provisions were sold. The little army continued its march southward, on the east bank of the Arve, at the foot of contiguous mountains from whose declivities they might

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have been crushed, by rolling down fragments of rock, and reached by way of Maglan the great bridge of St. Martin, facing Salenches. While still at a great distance they had seen on the other side a horseman riding at full speed, and concluded that he was going to give the alarm in the town, the chief place in Faucigny. Having advanced within a hundred paces of a great wooden bridge, flanked by many houses, and easily defended, the Vaudois halted and formed in close columns for the attack. But faithful to their rule never to seize by force what they could obtain willingly, they requested a passage over the bridge and through the city. The town-council, avoiding giving a precise answer, gained time, and collected six hundred men. At the sight of the latter, the Vaudois knew what they had to do, and, in an instant, they had crossed the bridge, and set themselves in order of battle. Their antagonists retreated behind the hedges, without firing; our warriors of two days old left them in peace in their turn, then resumed their march, and, quitting the valley of the Arve to plunge into a defile which opened to the south of Salenches, passed the night at Cablau, where they wanted a sufficient supply of provisions, and could scarcely dry their garments, soaked with the rain that had been falling incessantly since the preceding evening. Nevertheless these poor people blessed God that they had so far marched successfully, without fighting or loss of men, over bridges and through defiles where a few courageous defenders could have done them irreparable injury, and that he had granted them a peaceful night after so much fatigue and anxiety.

Rest was very necessary for them; for they were about to face physical difficulties of which the prospect might have shaken the courage of persons quite unfatigued and free from anxiety; how much more men who for a number of days and nights had known no rest or sleep but what they could enjoy during their brief halts, exposed to the injuries of the atmosphere, and for the last eighteen hours to rain,—not to mention the mental disquietude which scarcely allowed them to close their eyes? Now they had reached the foot of the gigantic Alps,—those masses which have braved the winds and storms of centuries, whose heads are hoary with eternal snows, and whose precipitous sides only offer in

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their rents or accidental slopes, a few perilous paths by which the traveller cannot advance without difficulty. They were come into the presence of the monarch of European mountains, the majestic Mont-Blanc; the Vaudois had to bend their steps over the undulating folds of his mantle of forests, and of rocks surmounted with silver snows, hollowed out with dazzling glaciers and torrent waterfalls; they came hither not to admire the wonderful works of God, nor to refresh their hearts by this sublime spectacle, but to shun cities and men, to breathe at liberty as they marched on rapidly, like the chamois bounding from cliff to cliff on the heights above them, or as the eagle that soared over their heads. They were arrived at the spot, where the Alps to the west of Mont-Blanc change their direction all at once by an obtuse angle, and instead of stretching westward descend in a zigzag to the south. Numerous valleys are spread out at their base, separated from one another by lateral branches of the principal chain. To the summit of these lateral branches it was necessary for our nine hundred travellers to ascend from the bottom of the valleys, in order to descend again into the opposite valley. This fatiguing labour was to be their daily task for eight days, one excepted. Often they could scarcely find anything to maintain them excepting milk and cheese, and the frozen water of the mountains. The rain frequently beat upon their backs bent with fatigue, and their suffering feet slipped many times in a day upon the snows and in the stony ravines. We shall not recount their sufferings in detail; they would fatigue the reader. Let it suffice to give a general idea, by this description of the route they followed.

From Cablau, in the mountains to the south of Salenche, the little army ascended to the valley of Mégève, at the foot of Mont Joli, which bounds it to the east, and separates it from that of Mont-Joie or Bonnant, and after having passed the first defile, where they refreshed themselves in the herdsmen's huts, they descended into the valley of Haute-Luce, to ascend immediately on the left, to the east, a precipitous mountain, whose aspect inspired horror, but which must unavoidably be crossed by whoever would enter the valley of Bonnant, to pass next through the defile of Bonhomme, as was the design of our

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travellers. At the sight of this awful mountain,* the courage of many failed. In various places, the road was hewn out of the rock: they were obliged to ascend and descend as if by a ladder suspended over the precipices. "Arnaud," says the author of the "Glorieuse Rentrée," ("Glorious Return,"†) "the zealous and renowned leader of this little flock, restored, by his holy and excellent exhortations, the courage of those who followed him. But this was not all; the descent was still more painful and dangerous than the ascent. To effect it, it was necessary almost always to sit and slide down precipitously, without any other light than the reflection of the snows and glaciers of Mont-Blanc, which rose before them.‡ It was not till late at night that they reached the shepherds' huts,§ in a place deep as an abyss, barren and cold, where they could not make a fire except by unroofing the hovels to take the wood, which in return exposed them to the rain which lasted all night. So many hardships determined captain Chien, belonging to one of the six French companies, to desert, taking a horse along with him. He was of a delicate constitution.

* Which the author of the Rentrée calls the mountain of Haute-Luce, from the name of the village at its foot, but which, without doubt, is either the Col-Joli, (7240, high,) or the Col de la Fenêtre, or Portetta, as it was named to Mr. Brockedon, who has visited these countries, and followed the same road as the Vaudois.—(See Picturesque Views of the Vaudois Valleys, by Beattie, p. 168.) It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine through which of these two defiles the Vaudois passed; they could not tell themselves, being obliged, owing to the thick fog, to commit themselves to a guide whom they distrusted and were obliged to threaten, and who, perhaps, in revenge, led them through the most difficult roads.

† It is not probable that Arnaud, to whom is attributed the compilation of the Glorieuse Rentrée, would speak thus of himself. But possibly this eulogium is quoted from the journal of young Paul Renaudin, (or Reynaudin.) of Bobbio, which Arnaud might have reproduced in the text. The author of the Glorieuse Rentrée acknowledges, in fact, that this journal, written with great fidelity and exactness, furnished him with many excellent materials for his history. The aged Joshua Janavel, who lived at Geneva, might have heard before his death the manuscript of his young compatriot read to him, which would excite the liveliest emotions. Paul Renaudin left Bâle, where he was a student, to join the army. He returned to his studies after the peace, and died pastor of Bobbio. (Histoire de la Glorieuse Rentrée, edition of 1710, pp. 69 and 175; or the edition of 1845, (pp. 65 and 131.) See, also, the learned essay on the Vaudois which is preserved in the library at Bâle.

‡ The summits and glaciers of the Miage, Trez-la-tête, etc.

§ The author of the Rentrée believes that these huts were those of St. Nicolas de Vérose; in which opinion he is probably mistaken, for he describes the place as in a deep hollow, like a desert and cold abyss, while St. Nicolas is a large village in a lively situation on the hill-side of Mont-Joli. The huts in which our travellers found such a miserable lodging were probably some near St. Nicolas, but situated higher up in the valley, at the foot of the pass of Bonhomme. Mr. Brockedon, quoted by Dr. Beattie in the Picturesque Views of the Vaudois Valleys, as having visited these districts by a Vaudois itinerary, believes that these huts, of which the Rentrée speaks, were those of the Barme.

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On the fourth day the little army passed through the defile of Bonhomme, which separates the province of Faucigny from that of Tarentaise, the basin of the Arve from that of the Isère. They ascended the mountain up to their knees in snow, while a heavy rain was falling. They had not been without fear of having their passage disputed, for they knew that in the preceding year, at the report of their first attempts, fortifications and entrenchments had been constructed in these places with embrasures and coverings, in a position so advantageous that thirty persons would have sufficed, our friends said when they saw them, to stop their passage and destroy them. They praised God most heartily that all these works had been abandoned. From the heights of Bonhomme they descended into the valley of the Versoi, where their resolute appearance overawed the peasantry who had assembled by the command of their lord to oppose their passage. In the evening they reached Sey on the Isère, and meeting there with a plentiful supply of provisions, they encamped not far from the town. The fifth day spent in going up the Isère had nothing remarkable, unless, perhaps, the excessive earnestness with which some gentlemen of Sainte-Foi wished to detain and lodge them; a politeness which rendered them suspected, and procured them the advantage of travelling in company with the other hostages. The number of these persons was now very considerable; but their lot was not so melancholy as to prevent their repeating with good-humour their accustomed saying when they saw some person of consequence coming towards them, "Here is another handsome bird for our cage!" This evening, for the first time in eight days and eight nights, Arnaud and Montoux, his colleague, were lodged, supped, and rested in peace three hours.

On the following day, they ascended Mount Isèran, from which the Isère takes its rise. Some shepherds, who had regaled them with milk on these mountains covered with cattle, warned them that on the other side of Mount Cenis some regular troops were waiting for them, determined to oppose them. This news, far from alarming them, inflamed their courage; for, knowing that the issue of battles depends on God, for whose glory they had taken arms, they doubted not that he would open a passage for them, whoever might attempt to close it.

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Having reached Maurienne in the evening, the little army on the seventh day ascended Mount Cenis, where they seized all the post-horses, so that the news of their coming could not be transmitted very rapidly. A small division also laid hands on some mules laden with the baggage of the pope's nuncio in France, cardinal Ange Ranuzzi, who was returning to Italy; but the muleteers having complained to the officers, they caused all the booty to be restored. Only a watch could not be recovered.* Having ended this affair, the army took the route of the little Mount Cenis, leaving the most frequented road to the left, and descended by the pass of Clairée† into the valley of Jaillon, having wandered out of the way in a mist and over the snow with which the earth was covered. Many passed the night wretchedly in the woods. The main body had no advantage over them, except that of warming and drying themselves round some fires.

When on the eighth day, leaving the valley of Jaillon, the Vaudois wished to press on to Chaumont, where they hoped to pass the Doire, (Doria Riparia,) one league above Suza, and for this purpose were seeking for an outlet from the narrow valley in which they had passed the night, they found the enemy in possession of the heights. A part of the French garrison of Exilles, and a great number of peasants, occupied an advantageous post which commanded the path along which they must go. Captain Pelenc, who was sent to treat with them, having been kept prisoner, the advanced guard, a hundred strong, set forward, but being immediately repulsed by a shower of balls, grenades, and stones, they forded the Jaillon, and defiled on the right bank, protected by a grove of chestnut trees. Yet the examination of the places inspiring some fears as to ultimate success, they decided on regaining the heights they had descended. This last resolution filled the hostages with despair, worn out as they were with fatigue. "Rather put us to death," they cried. Many of them were left behind. The Vaudois themselves did not accomplish it without great difficulty. Forty men lost their way;

* The prelate's correspondence was also missing. It seems that it came into the hands of the king of France, which sorely displeased and vexed the cardinal, as he felt himself committed by it. But the Vaudois always asserted their entire ignorance of the affair.

† This is Mr. Brockedon's opinion, who has carefully surveyed these places. The author of the Rentrée gives another name to this mountain, that of Tourlier.

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among others, the French captains Lucas and Privat, who were never heard of again; besides two good surgeons, Jean Malanot, taken by the Piedmontese,* and then conducted to the prison at Turin, and Jean Muston, taken by the French, and sent to the galleys, where he ended his days. As they re-ascended the defile of Clairée, the trumpets were sounded for a long time in order to collect the wanderers, and to indicate to all the right direction. They even waited full two hours, and then, being pressed for time, resumed their route, although a considerable number were missing.

From the summit of the mountain, where the little army had avoided an encounter with two hundred soldiers of the French garrison of Exilles, they proceeded through the defile of Touille, to the west, against Oulx, situated also in the valley of the Doire, but several leagues above Suza. Arnaud's intention was to pass the river at the bridge of Salabertrand, between Exilles and Oulx. The night had already overtaken them while they were still on the mountain. Near a village, a league from the bridge they hoped to force, a peasant whom they asked whether they could get any provisions by paying for them, replied very coolly, "Come on, they will give you all you want, and are preparing you an excellent supper!" These words, from the tone in which they were uttered, seemed rather threatening. But there was now no time to hesitate. After taking refreshment in the village, they renewed their march, and half a league from the bridge they saw before them about six-and-thirty fires, an indication of rather a large encampment; a quarter of an hour afterwards the vanguard came upon an advanced post.

Every one perceiving that the critical hour on which the success or ruin of the expedition depended was come, listened to the prayer with deep attention; then, under favour of the night, they advanced to the bridge. To the cry of "Who's there?" they answered, "Friends,"—a suspicious answer, to which the enemy's only reply was "Kill! kill!" accompanied with a tremendous fire for a quarter of an hour; which, however, did no harm, Arnaud

* It appears that the Piedmontese cavalry of the count de Verrue, who occupied Suza, was also in the field; but the greater part of the troops were French. Each nation guarded its own prisoners.—See Histoire Militaire, (Military History,) by the count of Saluzzo, t. v, pp. 6, 7.

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having at the first shot ordered the men to fall on the ground. But a division of the enemy who had followed the Vaudois having taken them in the rear, they found themselves placed between two fires. In this critical moment, some of them, feeling that they must risk everything, shouted, "Courage! the bridge is won!" At these words the Vaudois rushing forwards headlong, sword in hand and with fixed bayonets, on the passage marked out for their valour, carried it, and vigorously attacking the entrenchments, forced them at once. They pursued their enemies so closely as to seize them by the hair. The victory was so complete that the marquis de Larrey, who commanded the French, and was himself wounded in the arm, exclaimed, "Is it possible that I have lost the battle and my honour?"

In fact, two thousand five hundred soldiers, firmly entrenched, that is, fifteen companies of regular troops and eleven of militia, without reckoning the peasantry and the troops that attacked the Vaudois in the rear, were defeated by eight hundred men worn out with fatigue, as well as novices in the art of war. The hand of God did this. The Vaudois had only ten or twelve wounded, and fourteen or fifteen killed. The French acknowledged a loss of twelve captains, besides many other officers, and about six hundred soldiers. This combat was advantageous for the hostages, who, almost all, availed themselves of it to make their escape. Of thirty-nine there remained only six of the most aged.

The moon had risen, the enemy had disappeared. The Vaudois provided themselves with military stores and other booty. They longed to take some repose; but prudence dictated their departure, for which Arnaud gave orders. Having thrown into the Doire a part of what they could not carry away, they collected what powder remained, and, on going away, set what they left on fire. To the tremendous explosion that followed, and resounded to a distance among the mountains, was added the sound of the Vaudois trumpets and the acclamations of the conquerors, who threw their caps in the air as a sign of gladness, and exclaimed, "Thanks be to the Lord of hosts, who hath given us the victory over all our enemies."

But if the joy were great, so also was the fatigue: to such

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a degree, indeed, that the greater part were overpowered with sleep; and yet it was necessary to advance, and, if possible, ascend the mountain of Sci, which separated them from Pragela, that they might not be surprised the next morning by all the forces which the enemy had in the valley of the Doire. But, with all the care of the rear-guard to arouse the sleepers and make them march, twenty-four remained behind and were taken prisoners—a loss which, added to the forty that missed their way in the ravines of Jaillon, deeply affected the army, otherwise so elated with their great success.

The next day, the ninth since they set out, was a Sunday. The dawn appeared as they reached the summit of Sci; and when they were all assembled, Arnaud, with a full heart, pointed out to them in the distance the tops of their mountains. A single valley only separated them—that of Pragela or Clusone, well known of yore, peopled throughout with Vaudois from time immemorial, who had long been united to those of Piedmont by alliances, by a similar ecclesiastical organization, and by a common synod. It was long ago a place of refuge for them in the persecution of 1655. It would still have been so if his most Christian majesty had not caused all the evangelicals to disappear, some years since, either by emigration or abjuration. It was not in a temple of any one of those once evangelical villages that our travellers were able to return thanks to God for the numerous proofs of his infinite compassion; it was on the solitary Sci, under the vault of the heavens, encircled by a vast horizon of mountains, lighted up by the dazzling rays of the rising sun. On this spot the conductor of this little band, Arnaud, on his knees like all around him, humbled himself with them before the Eternal, adoring and blessing him for their deliverances. All, after having confessed their sins, looked up with confidence to God, the Author of their salvation, and rose filled with fresh courage. Some hours after, they passed the Clusone, rested at la Traverse, and slept at the village of Jaussaud, at the foot of the defile of Pis.

The tenth day was spent by our travellers in the defiles of the mountains which unite the valley of Pragela with that of San Martino. A detachment of Piedmontese soldiers, which guarded the pass of Pis, took flight at the sight of

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our intrepid band. The latter, constrained by their privations to provide for the wants of the present moment as well as those of the future, felt authorized to capture a flock of six hundred sheep, which were feeding on their route; they restored, however, a small number for some money. The rest, slaughtered the next day and eaten without bread, furnished an acceptable repast.

On Tuesday the 27th of August, 1689, the valiant troops who had crossed the lake of Geneva eleven days before, and surmounted immense obstacles with self-denying constancy, set foot in the first Vaudois village, Balsille, at the north-west extremity of the valley of San Martino. Solemn moment! uniting the pleasant and painful recollections of the past with the fears and disquietudes of the future. Everything reminded them of happy days that were no more, but which might possibly be renewed. But, whatever might be the issue of their bold enterprise, everything announced to them that, for a long time yet, privations and a deadly struggle awaited them. They knew it, and were prepared for it. The repulse at the Jaillon, the glorious affair at the bridge of Salabertrand, and the effects of exhaustion and drowsiness at the ascent of Sci, had deprived them of almost a hundred and fifty men. Many who were wounded in the passage of the Doire had remained behind on the French territory; traitors, and minute search, had delivered them up to the royal vengeance. Lastly, desertion had taken from the army, during the last night, twenty of their defenders, probably Frenchmen of Pragela, or of Dauphiné, whom the vicinity of their native country detached from the common enterprise. Our heroic mountaineers were thus reduced to about seven hundred, while severe conflicts with thousands of disciplined soldiers awaited them.

It is important to form a just idea of their situation, rendered so critical by their small numbers, to find some apology for a cruel measure which the instinctive desire to preserve their own lives forced upon the Vaudois. The impossibility of guarding their prisoners, combined with the imperative necessity of concealing from their enemies their route and numerical weakness, constrained them to grant no quarter to the unfortunate soldiers or peasants whom the events of war threw into their hands. It was

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on the Alp* of the Pis, that the first execution began: six soldiers of the duke's guard were put to death.† At Balsille, forty-six militia-men of Cavor, besides two apostate peasants, were led two and two to the bridge of the Germanasco, executed, and then thrown into the whirlpool below. We must state, however, that thenceforward, the army never treated so many prisoners with such severity, and that only guides suspected, or apostate peasants, and some military men occasionally, were the victims of this terrible regulation.

From the northern valley, of which the village of Balsille occupied the western extremity, Arnaud with his troops descended at first along the torrent as far as Macel, into another part of the upper valley of San Martino, into the valley of Prali, (or the Prals,) which touches France on the west and joins the former on the east, above Perrier, forming as far as Pomaret only a deep furrow traversed by the Germanasco, with some slopes leading down to its two banks. The little army, for greater security, and that it might better explore the country, divided itself into two bodies, of which one passed by the mountain to Rodoret, and the other to Fontaine by the base of the valley. They nowhere met with soldiers, but only some Savoyards, new inhabitants, whom they captured. On reaching the hamlet of Guigou they were rejoiced to find the temple of Prals still standing. They pulled down the ornaments placed in it by superstition. Then the seven hundred warriors, laying down their arms, and crowding to the inside and before the porch, sang the seventy-fourth Psalm, which begins thus:

"O God, why hast thou cast us off for ever?
Why doth thine anger smoke against the sheep of thy pasture?" etc.

They also sang the hundred and twenty-ninth Psalm:

"Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say:
Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth:
Yet they have not prevailed against me," etc.

In order to be heard by those within as well as those without, Arnaud stood upon a bench placed in the doorway, and took for his text some verses of this latter Psalm.

* The term Alp is given by the Vaudois to the high pasture lands in which are the shepherd's huts

† When exhorted to pray, these poor ignorant papists asked how it was to be done! (See Glorieuse Rentrée.)

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At the sight of this temple, on hearing these sacred songs, and listening to the preaching of this servant of God surrounded with dangers, many were reminded of the last pastor who had preached in these places—the blessed Leydet, surprised by the papists as he sang psalms under a rock, and who died a martyr in 1686, confessing the name of the Saviour. Everything here, past and present, united to fill the assembly with deep emotion, and to make them seek from on high the help of which they felt the need.

Being assured that the upper villages of the valley of San Martino, thinly inhabited by a small number of papists, were stripped of troops, these conquerors of their native soil hastened to pass into the valley of Lucerna by the pass of Giulian, which they found occupied by two hundred soldiers of the guards. To attack them in spite of their bravadoes,* force their entrenchments, and put them to flight, was the work of an instant. This action only cost the life of a single Vaudois. The fugitives lost their ammunition, provision, and baggage,—an agreeable booty for the conquerors, who also slew about thirty-one men in the pursuit. The little army rushing down from the mountains into the large valley of Lucerna, took Bobbio, which lies at the bottom, by surprise, and drove away the new inhabitants. Then passing for a day from the fatigues of marching and conflict to more peaceful scenes, they transformed themselves either into a religious assembly, and listened with earnestness to the exhortations of one of their pastors, M. Montoux, or into a national council, deliberating on their interests, and imposing laws on themselves, the guarantee of order and justice. An oath of union and fidelity to the common cause, their re-establishment in the heritage of their fathers, with the practice of their holy religion, was taken, as in the sight of the living God, by the pastors, captains, and other officers, towards all the privates, and by the latter towards the former. They also swore to consider the booty as common property, to reverence the name of God, and to labour to recover their brethren from the thraldom of cruel Babylon. Four treasurers and two

* "Come on, come on, barbets (dogs) of the devil," cried the soldiers, "we occupy all the passes, and there are three thousand of us." Their sentinel shouted, "Who's there? If you do not speak, I fire." (*Vide* Glorieuse Rentrée.)

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secretaries were chosen to take charge of the booty, and a major* and an adjutant appointed over the companies.

The large town of Villaro, in the midst of the valley of Lucerna, was attacked as Bobbio had been; and at first the enemy fled, some to the valley of Guichard on the right bank of the Pélice, others to the convent, where they were closely pressed. But a considerable reinforcement of regular troops having come to their succour, the Vaudois were forced to retreat upon Bobbio, and eighty of them could only escape by dispersing themselves over the Vaudalin, the limit of the Alps of Angrogna, and then rejoining each other at a distance from the main body. Montoux, the second pastor, being separated from his people under similar circumstances, was surrounded by the enemy, and sent to prison at Turin, where he remained till the peace. Arnaud three times gave himself up for lost, three times he prayed with six of his men, and three times God averted the fatal blow. At last, this chief, whose life was so precious, gained the ridge on which eighty of his men had halted.

This defeat occasioned a change in their tactics. The first eight days of their return, the Vaudois, acting on the offensive, had successively beaten every corps of the enemy they had met on their march. Henceforward they attacked more rarely, and then only convoys, advanced-posts, or detached columns. Being reduced to act on the defensive, they entrenched themselves in mountainous retreats of difficult access, in natural fortresses that might be easily defended, while their detachments scoured the country to obtain provisions. It was on the declivities of their mountains, in the centre of their verdant pastures, once covered with their flocks, but now solitary, that they sold their lives dearly. Decided, at least, to die in their heritage on their widowed and desolate soil, they would not lay down their arms, except with their last groan, or for peace, if their prince offered them an honourable one.

Abandoning, therefore, the hope of keeping their ground in their ancient villages of the rich valleys of Lucerna, renouncing even the possession of Villaro and Bobbio, the Vaudois retreated to the heights of this last district, to the granges of the Serre-de-Cruel, a locality naturally fortified,

* Captain Odin. Arnaud was commander in-chief.

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whither they carried their sick and wounded. The eighty men who had taken refuge in the Alps of Angrogna, having received a reinforcement, formed an active brigade, always on the alert, making incursions on the hamlets and villages of this glen, and engaging in several skirmishes: amongst others, one near la Vachère and Mount Cervin. In this last, they made head against six hundred men, killed a hundred of them, and lost themselves only four. But they suffered great privations. Often they had nothing to eat but wild fruits. Twenty-nine men returned one evening with no food but a few nuts, with which they were forced to content themselves. A detachment which rejoined the flying camp before the combat we have just mentioned, had passed two days without anything to eat; yet they could not give each one a piece of bread to revive him larger than the palm of the hand. On the evening of the same day, all these refugees, in the rocks near a small hamlet called Turin,* thought themselves well off with a supper of raw cabbages, which they did not dare to cook for fear of being discovered. The next day, at Crouzet, also in the valley of San Martino, they had nothing to appease their hunger and recruit their strength but a soup made with cabbages, peas, and leeks, without salt, fat, or any seasoning, which, nevertheless, they swallowed very eagerly.

However, the little army here and there got hold of some better provisions, which they partly kept in reserve and partly used. Being stationed at Prali for two days, they cut down all the wheat they could find,† and hastened to have it ground at the mills in that place.‡ In the midst of these conflicts and labours, religious duties were not neglected. Arnaud administered the holy supper to the troops who accompanied him. He also visited the district of Bobbio, to attend to the same sacred ordinance with the Vaudois who lived there.

The little army was left in possession of the valley of San Martino by the retreat of the Piedmontese troops of the marquis de Parelle, who, at his departure, had burned le Perrier.

* Rière Fayet, in the valley of San Martino.

† The rye could not be cut at this height before the month of September.

‡ It was then, no doubt, that the expedition took place which is mentioned in the second part of the "Glorieuse Rentrée," (p. 160 of the edition 1710, and p. 122 of the edition 1845,) when fifty men went into Queyras, a French valley, and carried off seven or eight hundred sheep, and some heifers, of which they restored a small part.

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Taking advantage of this, the Vaudois proceeded to get in all the standing corn, thresh, and transport it to the retired village of Rodoret, where they established their magazine. It was also the vintage season in the lower parts of the valley, as well as the time for gathering walnuts, apples, and chestnuts.* The flying camp, always vigilant and active, captured some large convoys of provisions and wine; so that, if no misfortune happened, the future, as far as regarded the means of subsistence, was by no means to be dreaded.

The general satisfaction was disturbed at the moment by the desertion of captain Turel, a Frenchman, who, although brave and estimable, gave up the hope of final success, and persuaded four of his friends to go off with him. The unfortunate man only escaped the privations he dreaded, to endure a horrible punishment. Having been seized at Embrun, he was broken on the wheel alive, at Grenoble, among twelve wretched beings, of whom six were hung on his right and six on his left.†

The body of Vaudois that was left on the heights of Bobbio, though considerably weakened by the succours sent to the division that overran the valley of Angrogna, and particularly by the larger force that had entered the valley of San Martino, did not remain inactive. They burned and destroyed the convent abandoned at Villaro, that, on the enemy's return, it might not be made a fortress. They reduced Rora to ashes, pulled down the popish temple, killed more than thirty persons, and took away much booty. But when the Piedmontese troops, stationed in the valley, had received reinforcements large enough to cover the mountains with their soldiers, the Vaudois found themselves obliged to abandon their refuge at Serre-de-Cruel, after having set it on fire, and to withdraw to a more secure asylum—Pausettes, at the foot of l'Aiguille, a height easily defended, in the rocks of which

* Chestnuts make an important part of the winter provisions in the valleys of Piedmont.

† Here the First Part of the "Glorieuse Rentrée" ends, which is a record of thirty-one days to the 16th of September, taken from the journal of young Renaudin.

The Second Part, if we are not mistaken, is the original work of Arnaud himself; the general style is more concise; it is that of a leader who knew how to estimate the course of events, and, placing himself above the actors, felt himself authorized to distribute praise or blame. The pious reflections on the providential dealings of a merciful God are also those of a man deeply convinced, as Arnaud was, that the work he had undertaken proceeded from the Most High, and could not be carried on without his constant support.

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they constructed a few hovels, to stow the provisions they had brought from Prali in safety.

In more than one affair, the Vaudois, hunted like deer, made their pursuers repent of their boldness. Sometimes they even resumed the offensive, as at Sibaut, where the sixty brave men who were stationed at Pausettes, forced the entrenchments, behind which a body equal in number had mounted guard. They threw the captain and some of his men down the rocks. Altogether the enemy's loss amounted to thirty-four, without the Vaudois losing a man; but very soon losing their courage at the sight of so many enemies, they abandoned their new refuge, the fortifications of Pausettes, and lastly the impregnable post of Aiguille,* leaving all their winter provisions at the mercy of the soldiers, who scattered some over the ground, and set fire to the depôts that contained the rest. Even their flocks were taken from them. Being pursued from rock to rock, and forced to hide themselves in dismal recesses, on the brink of precipices, or in frozen caverns, deprived of their magazines, and unable to procure food, except at the peril of their lives, they would have come to a miserable end if Providence had not constantly watched over them, and at last enabled them to rejoin the main body, whose scene of action lay in the valley of San Martino.

As the foregoing recital intimates, in the autumn, numerous battalions appeared in the valleys, both Piedmontese and French; the former under the command of the marquis de Parelle, lieutenant-general, the latter under that of M. de l'Ombraille. Their troops covered all the villages and all the passes, with the exception of a few scattered hamlets and byways. The vale of Rodoret being attacked in the middle of October (at the same time as the position of Aiguille) by a troop of the enemy, had been found untenable. Desertion had begun again among the French refugees. Neither the fear of perishing miserably like Turel, nor nobler feelings could detain captain Fonfrède, with his lieutenant and twenty soldiers, who escaped to Pragela, where they were soon arrested, and then hung. The situation of the Vaudois army was certainly most critical, pursued as it was, incessantly, by a force twenty times its superior.

* In the middle of October.

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Accordingly on the 22nd of October, two thousand French having passed from Pragela into the valley of San Martino, and pitched their camp at Champ-la-Salse, the small remnant of the Vaudois held a council at night fall, at Rodoret, as to what step it would be most proper to take. It was evident that, in the presence of so many enemies, this post after a while would be untenable. But whither were they to retreat? Some advised the mountains of Bobbio; others suggested following the steps of the valiant captain Buffa, to the heights of Angrogna. Although the latter proposal seemed to be most generally acceptable, the partisans of the former were unwilling to accede to it. Division crept in among the chiefs: things seemed tending to certain ruin. At this critical moment, the pious Arnaud proposed that they should join in prayer to God, and without waiting for their reply, he invoked Him who is the Author of wisdom, prudence, and union; then, after having seriously and warmly exhorted his companions to sacrifice their particular views to the judgment of others, he advised the adoption of a third plan, that of retreating to Balsille; a proposition which gained all their suffrages so completely, that the same night, two hours before day, they were on their march thither. Wishing to avoid meeting their enemies, they passed through places so dangerous that it was often necessary to use both hands and feet, to keep their footing.* The general attention was so much occupied at such seasons that the hostages escaped after having bribed their guards.

The reader will recollect the position of the village of Balsille, on the Germanasque, at the habitable extremity of the north-west of the vale of San Martino, separated from the valley of Pragela by the defiles of Damian (or Dalmian,) and Pis, in the same direction, and by that of Clapier towards the east. The principal group of houses is near the torrent at the foot of the mountains, at which the gradual slopes have an eastern aspect. A stone bridge, near which is a mill, unites the two parts of the village, situated to the east, at the foot of the steep rocks of

* "He who has not seen these places," Araud exclaims, "cannot well imagine the dangers; and he who has seen them will no doubt consider this march as a fiction and a romance, but it is nevertheless pure truth; and it may be added, that when the Vaudois saw them again by day, as happened many times afterwards, their hair stood on end," etc. (V. Glorieuse Rentrée.)

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Guignevert, which rises towards the west, and is thickly wooded at its base. From this natural wall, a rock projects against the river and over the dwellings, sufficiently elevated, flattened, and in some places divided into terraces, forming quite a natural fortification. Three fountains supply it with water. It was on this rock that the Vaudois posted themselves, with a firm resolution of waiting steadily for their enemies without wearying themselves, as they had so often done, with running from mountain to mountain. To maintain their position, they began to form entrenchments, made covered ways, ditches, and walls, and dug more than fourscore cabins in the earth, surrounding them with channels to carry off the water. After the morning prayer,* those who were appointed went to labour at the fortifications. The entrenchments consisted of cuttings one above another. They made as many as seventeen where the ground was the least inclined, and disposed them in such a manner that when necessary they could retreat from one within the other; so that if the besiegers carried the first, the second remained; then the third, and so on, till they reached the summit of the rock. They drew out of the Germanasque the millstone which the proprietors, named Tron-Poulat, had thrown in on quitting the place three years before, and set the mill at work, which was of great service.† A little fort was also constructed above the castle we have described, on a rock higher up, but contiguous, though separated itself from the mountain towards the top by a rent, where they made a triple entrenchment. Lastly, on a lofty ridge, commanding the works, as well as the valley, they left a constant watch, to give notice of the least movement of the enemy.

The Vaudois had not commenced these labours more than three or four days when the French battalions, who, not having met with them at Rodoret, could only lay hands on their abundant stock of provisions, penetrated into the valley, coming from Prali, besides some other troops of the same nation, commanded by M. de l'Ombraille. In a short time, the Vaudois saw themselves inclosed on all sides;

* Arnaud preached twice a week, once on Sunday, and again on Thursday. Every day, morning and evening, he also assembled his companions for prayer, in which they joined on their knees, and with their faces on the ground.

† They also took advantage of the mill at Macel whenever they could.

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their advanced post at Passet, which covered the entrance of Balsille, was at the same time captured by a stratagem, though without any loss on their part, and on the 29th of October the enemy advanced to attack the castle. For this purpose they filled the woods, with which the mountain on which Balsille rests is covered, with detachments, which blockaded them from Friday to Sunday evening, and which suffered extremely, the snow falling incessantly. A hot skirmish, in which they lost at the passage of the bridge sixty men killed, and as many wounded, at last proved to them the impossibility of forcing a position so well entrenched and defended. All their summonses to surrender had been rejected. The Vaudois had not lost a single man.

In the course of November, as a part of the French troops had already retired much discouraged, de l'Ombraille having learned, by the report of an apostate who had visited Balsille, that the mill of Macel was often employed by the men of the castle, sent five hundred soldiers thither, who, after all, captured only one man, and killed two. These were French refugees. The survivor, who had only gone out, the day he was taken, to nurse his two sick friends, and to bring them back to the castle, had to carry their heads to la Pérouse to head-quarters. His edifying discourses so much interested the judge of the place, although a Roman Catholic, that he endeavoured to obtain his pardon from the inflexible Ombraille, but in vain. His constancy in the profession of his faith, his calmness in ascending the fatal ladder,* produced a powerful impression on the people of Pragela, the witnesses of his execution, and who had for the most part changed their religion from timidity.

Whether the season was too far advanced, or the position of Balsille appeared too strong to be carried by the means they had at their disposal, their enemies abandoned the upper glens of all the valley of San Martino, Macel, La Salse, Rodoret, and Prali, burning almost all the houses, granges, and corn-stacks, carrying away or destroying the stores of wheat and other eatables, and calling out to the Vaudois to

* He was hung at the castle of Bois in Pragela, from which it is supposed that he belonged to that district.

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have patience and wait for them till Easter. Having retired into better cantonments, they had their advanced posts at Maneille and Perrier.

Owing to this withdrawal of their enemies, the Vaudois felt perfectly free in their movements. The first months of their return to their native land had been spent, it is true, in privation and suffering, in the midst of daily conflicts; but at least they, the ancient proprietors of the soil, had remained masters of it. God who had protected them at the time of their first danger, and who had brought them to that inclement season of the year in which no one would venture to attack them in their mountains, could not he still deliver them in days to come? They were therefore, if not happy, yet thankful and inspired with hope. Desertion rather than death had a little thinned their ranks: their numbers however, in the valley of San Martino, still amounted to four hundred, without reckoning the little division which had fixed itself on the mountains of Angrogna, and one or two little bands in the wilds of the glen Guichard or among the alpine rocks of Bobbio.

One thing made them anxious; their means of sustenance. Where could they be found? The enemy, besides destroying everything they could when they retired, had closed against them all the avenues to inhabited places. A gracious Providence had provided for their need, by covering the fields of rye with snow, ripened in September, but which the papist cultivators in their flight had not reaped, and which they themselves had cut only in part, in order to withdraw them from the notice and devastation of the soldiers. Remaining untouched under this protective covering, they furnished a wholesome and abundant nutriment to the recluses of Balsille who reaped them during the winter. Moreover strong detachments, making sudden incursions into the valleys of Pragela and Queyras, brought in salt, butter, wine, and other provisions. From these various sources their subsistence was secured.

Those most to be lamented among the Vaudois were they whom the course of war, or some imprudence, had placed at a distance from their brethren. The following fact will show what they suffered. A band of twelve, who had concealed themselves in a cave or isolated grotto, behind L'Essart, in the district of Bobbio, were constrained

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by hunger to come out and procure provisions. On returning to their asylum, they thought that the traces of their footsteps in the snow might be perceived, and decided on seeking for a new one in La Biava difficult of access. Scarcely had they set out when they saw behind them a troop of one hundred and twenty-five peasants, who in less than a quarter of an hour would have surprised and surrounded them; therefore, throwing away their little baggage immediately, they made haste and reached a ridge above, from which they fired so accurately on the assailants, that of the first fifteen shots thirteen took effect; and when the peasants asked for a parley, and an honourable retreat on both sides was agreed upon, they acknowledged twelve dead and thirteen wounded: not one of the twelve Vaudois was hurt. Their victory, nevertheless, did not relieve them from trouble for more than a day, or even a shorter time; for on returning towards evening through the bypaths to La Biava, they were every moment exposed to destruction among the precipices under their feet. The situation of their new refuge left nothing to be desired in point of security. They might have passed months there without being pursued; but after two days they were driven from it by the intensity of the cold. Accordingly they again descended into less savage parts, to seek for a milder climate, or a better abode, in the midst of new dangers. Saddened by suffering, but animated with stern resolution, they were proceeding on their way, when they met an armed band. In a moment, they retreated behind a house, and their fire killed one man, an enemy as they supposed; when to their great grief, mingled with lively joy, they recognised the party to be composed of their Vaudois brethren. With tears in their eyes they ran to meet them. They went on together through the pass Giulian, and at last found in the castle of Balsille the rest, protection, subsistence, and security which the twelve fugitives had almost despaired of.

The winter passed peaceably at Balsille in the work of erecting defences, in laying in a stock of provisions, and in anticipations of the future, regulated by the confidence in God which the pious Arnaud sought to cherish in all by his firm bearing, his conversation, and the exercises of worship. The monotony of their life was interrupted only

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by the friendly visits and messages of relations, or of officers in the duke's service. All these proceedings tended to the same end, intimidation. The desire was to induce the Vaudois to arrange for a final withdrawal from their native soil. For this purpose it was sought to excite their fears by confidential communications respecting the lot that awaited them. A numerous army would surround and destroy them in the spring; if they were wise, they would accept terms while they could be granted. They were conjured not to risk any longer the cause of their relations who were detained in the prisons, nor the interests of those who, having become papists, dwelt in their ancient villages; and were implored also to think of their wives and children whom they had left in Switzerland, and who would be deprived of their natural protectors by their inconceivable and imprudent pertinacity. They were reproached also for their attempt, as if it had been an act of rebellion, a crime against their lawful sovereign. The last argument was the only one which deserved a formal answer on the part of men who, submitting to all personal sacrifices, could not be turned from their enterprise by the consideration of the sufferings of individuals. Arnaud explained himself many times on this point, and particularly in a letter which the council of war, of which he was president, wrote to the marquis de Parelle, begging him to lay the contents before the duke. Its statements were as follows:

"I. That the subjects of your royal highness, dwelling in the valleys, were in possession of the lands to which they lay claim and which belonged to them from time immemorial, and that these were left to them by their ancestors.

"II. That they always punctually paid to his royal highness all the imposts and taxes he was pleased to lay upon them.

"III. That they always rendered faithful obedience to the orders of his royal highness, in all the commotions that have taken place in his dominions.

"IV. That in the last commotions* excited against his faithful subjects at the instance of others, and not of his royal highness,† there was not so much as a single criminal

* This refers to the persecution of 1686, as a consequence of which they were obliged, as we have seen, to emigrate to Switzerland.

† At the suggestion of the king of France.

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process in the valleys, but each one was occupied in living peaceably in his own house, rendering to God the adoration which all his creatures owe him, and to Cæsar what belongs to him; nevertheless, a people so faithful, after having endured many sufferings in the prisons, were dispersed and sent wandering over the world. It could not be thought strange that this people should long to return to their own country. Alas! the very birds, creatures destitute of reason, return in their season to seek their nests and their dwelling-places without being hindered from so doing; and shall men be hindered, who are created in the image and likeness of God? The intention of the Vaudois is not to shed human blood, except only in self-defence; they will injure no one. If they remain on their own lands, it is to be, as before, with all their families, good and faithful subjects of his royal highness, the sovereign prince whom God has given them. They will redouble their prayers for the preservation of his royal highness and all his royal house, and above all, to appease the anger of the Most High, who appears to have a controversy with the whole earth."*

As the Vaudois could not make an unconditional submission, and the hour was not yet come in which the prince would acknowledge the justice of their cause, the negotiations were interrupted after some conferences, and led to no result.

When the snows had begun to melt in the upper valleys, and the roads underneath the mountains might be considered as passable, French troops might be seen directing their march towards Balsille, at the bottom of the valleys of San Martino and of Pragela, through the pass of Clapier and that of Pis. Those who made their way through this latter passage remained two days on the mountain in the snow, and without fire, for fear of being discovered. The soldiers were obliged to crowd closely together, in order to keep themselves warm while they were waiting for orders to renew their march and invest the place.

We have described the position of the castle, and the artificial means of defence which were added to those afforded by nature. Yet there was one more which we have not yet mentioned, because it was formed during the

* Europe was distracted by a general war.

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winter. Access to the place not being possible with any chance of success for the assailants, except on the side of a stream which ran at the foot of the castle where the ground is not so steep, Arnaud had fortified this part with special care. He had planted strong palisades and raised small parapets, with trees disposed in such a manner that the arms and boughs were towards the enemy, and the trunks and roots towards the Vaudois; and to make them firm they were covered with large stones, so that it was not easier to move them than to scale them.

The distinguished De Catinat, lieutenant-general of the armies of France, commanded the troops assembled round Balsille, amounting to twenty-two thousand men; namely, ten thousand French, and twelve thousand Piedmontese: too large a body, certainly, to make the assault, but of whom two-thirds were to be employed in investing the place and guarding all the passages, in order to make prisoners of the five hundred men who were besieged, if they should attempt to escape. Catinat, in haste to go elsewhere, hoped to accomplish the affair in one day.*

The firing began on Monday morning, May 1, 1690. The dragoons, who were encamped in a wood on the left of the castle, crossed the river, and placed themselves in ambush all along its bank, under a shower of balls and with great loss of men. Some hundreds of the duke's soldiers remained without stirring from their first position.† The major part of the enemy's forces approached the ruins of Balsille as far as the foot of the rock, but they quickly retreated, leaving many dead on the spot, and carrying away a number of wounded. An engineer‡ having observed the approaches to the chateau with a spy-glass, and noticing, as he thought, that the weakest part was on the right, a picked corps of the regiment of Artois, five hundred strong, was dispatched thither for the assault.

* A letter written by an eye-witness, who served in the duke's army, and which is quoted in the "Glorieuse Rentrée," speaks of Catinat as having directed the operations in person. We are disposed to believe him. Arnaud, who out of respect, perhaps, for so great a name, does not name him in narrating the assault, says nevertheless, some pages further, "Catinat, who had experienced the valour of the Vaudois, did not judge it expedient to expose his person a second time."—Glor. Rent., p. 306, ed. 1710; and p. 197, ed. 1845.

† On the mountain, at the back of which the fortress lay which they were to attack, but which they thought impregnable. They fired, nevertheless; Catinat waited for their firing to order the assault on the castle.

‡ As we are disposed to think, this was no other than Catinat himself.

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Seven hundred peasants of Pragela and Queyras followed, to pull down the palisades and the parapets. On the signal being given, and amidst the general firing of seven thousand soldiers drawn up in line of battle, the picked battalion rushed forward to the entrenchment marked out with unparalleled ardour. They thought that they should only have to clear away the boughs that were heaped together, in order to have an open path; but they soon perceived that the trees were immovable, and, as it were, driven into the soil by the mass of stones that were heaped upon them. The Vaudois seeing that they could not accomplish their object, and were advanced very near, opened such a vigorous fire, the young men loading the muskets which the more experienced discharged with a sure aim, that, though the snow was falling and wetted their powder, the ranks of the assailants were evidently thinned; and when confusion began to spread among the victims of the assault, the Vaudois made a fierce sally, pursuing and cutting in pieces the remains of these picked troops, of which not above ten or a dozen escaped, with the loss of their hats and weapons. Their commander, De Parat, being wounded in the thigh and arm, and having been found among the rocks, was made prisoner with two serjeants, who remained faithfully by his side to take care of him. Strange to say, the Vaudois had not one either killed or wounded! The enemy retreated in consternation the same evening; the French to Macel, the Piedmontese, who had remained quiet spectators of the engagement, to Champ-la-Salse. Three days after, the enemy passed into the French territory (the vale of Pragela) to recruit themselves, firmly resolved to return and avenge such an affront, and to die rather than abandon their enterprise. The same day Arnaud delivered a very powerful discourse, and was himself so deeply affected that neither the flock nor their pastor could refrain from tears.

On stripping the dead bodies, charms were found upon them, or supposed preservatives against the attacks of the evil one and death; precautions that were judged indispensable by men who had been taught to believe that the barbets had dealings with the devil.*

* Most of these charms or amulets were printed. The following is a specimen: "Ecce cruꝛcem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fugite partes adversæ; vici leo de

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Catinat, deeply mortified by the check he had received, made all the necessary preparations for taking signal vengeance; but he did not judge it expedient to risk a second time his own person, and his hopes of a French marshal's baton; he therefore left the execution of the enterprise to the king's ambassador at the court of Savoy, the marquis de Feuquières.

On Saturday, the 10th of May, the advanced guard gave notice of the approach of the enemy. Immediately the outposts were abandoned, and all fell back into the castle. They gave up with regret the exercises of preparation for the holy supper, of which they had intended to partake the next day, being Whitsunday. The same evening, the enemy encamped close at hand; this time there were only twelve thousand soldiers and fourteen hundred peasants. Having been formed into five divisions, they completely surrounded the place; two were stationed in the valley at Passet, and at the foot of the mountain near La Balsille; the three others on the heights in the vicinity of the fort, one at Clos-Dalmian, the other a considerable way up the rocks, the last in the woods beyond the castle, at Serre de Guignevert. Dispensing with the tactics of a siege, they approached the castle within musket-shot, entrenching themselves behind some good parapets; for, besides pioneers in great numbers, and soldiers, either for musketeers or for digging trenches, all the rest employed themselves in making fascines and carrying them to the extremities of the works. By day, it was impossible to attack their works; for no sooner did the enemy catch sight of a Vaudois cap, than they let off a hundred firelocks without running any risk on their part, protected as they were by sacks of wool and by their parapets. But scarcely a night passed without some sallies being made by the besieged.

Seeing that the discharge of musketry answered no end but to waste powder and shot, De Feuquières planted a cannon * on a level with the castle, on the mountain of

tribu Juda, radix David, Allel. Allel., ex S. Anton. De Pad., homo natus est in ea; Jesus, Maria, Franciscus, sint mihi salus." *i.e.* "Behold the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; flee, ye adversaries! I, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, have conquered. Alleluia, Alleluia. From Saint Anthony of Padua, a man who was born in it; Jesus, Maria, Franciscus, may they be my salvation."

* We may judge of the calibre of the cannon by this fact:—About 1811, in

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Guignevert; he then hoisted a white flag, and after that a red one, to intimate to the besieged that unless they requested peace they could expect no quarter. They had already been invited to surrender, and had answered, that "not being subjects of the king of France, and that monarch not being master of the country, we cannot treat with his officers. Being in the heritage left us by our fathers from time immemorial, we hope by the aid of him who is the Lord of hosts to live in it and die in it, should only ten of us be left! Discharge your artillery, our rocks will not be terrified, and we will listen to it."

The next day the cannon thundered all the morning; the balls made a breach in the walls, and orders were given for the assault in three points. One column marched up by Clos-Dalmian; a second by the ordinary approach; and the third by the stream, without caring for the fire of the besieged, nor for the stones they rolled down upon them. The enemy, moreover, protected their men by a shower of balls, which, nevertheless, by a miracle of the Divine goodness, killed none in the castle. But the Vaudois assailed at once from so many quarters, and by forces so disproportionably greater than their own, saw themselves compelled to evacuate their lower entrenchments. Before quitting them they put to death their prisoner, M. de Parat, who, when informed of their intentions, replied, "I pardon you my death."

Balsille could not be defended much longer. The watch placed upon an elevated summit had been driven off by the enemy, who had fired upon it from the neighbouring rocks. According to all appearances, the fortress as well as the upper entrenchments must soon be forced. Happily, the day was drawing to its close. One means only of safety was left to the Vaudois—flight. It was a difficult matter, for they were surrounded on all sides by the enemy. If they had for a moment indulged the hope of succeeding during the darkness, they lost it as soon as they beheld the great fires which were lighted every evening and cast a bright glare all round. Nothing was left for them but to die. The French were rejoicing at the prospect of seeing them march to execution: the cords for tying and hanging

removing the earth on the site of the castle, a ball was found weighing about eleven pounds of twelve ounces, that is, about eight pounds avoirdupois.

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them all were quite ready; but if that Providence which had hitherto delivered them from the hands of their enemies, had permitted them now to be driven to the last extremity, it was only for the purpose of making them more sensible with what care He watched over their preservation. In fact, a thick fog came on before night, and captain Poulat, who belonged to Balsille, having offered to be their guide, they prepared to follow him. An attentive examination of the enemy's posts, by means of their fires, had indicated to this leader (who was perfectly familiar with the localities, the undulations and inclinations of the ground,) the possibility of escaping, if God permitted it, though by a frightful road along a ravine or precipice which he pointed out. Without hesitation they descended in file, through a fissure of the rocks, the greater part of the time sitting and sliding down, or going on their knees, laying hold of branches of trees or of bushes, and resting for a few moments. Poulat and those who were with him at the head groped with their feet, purposely made bare, as well as with their hands, lengthening or gathering up their bodies, to make sure of the nature and firmness of the ground on which they were about to trust themselves: all in their turn imitated the movements of those who preceded them. The approaches to the castle were so well watched that they could not entirely avoid coming into the neighbourhood of some of the soldiers on guard. Accordingly so it happened; they passed close to a French patrol just as he was going his rounds: and, unfortunately, at that instant, a Vaudois trying to help himself with his hands, let fall a small kettle he was carrying, and which as it rolled attracted the attention of the sentinel. Immediately he gave the challenge, "Who goes there?" "But," says Arnaud humorously, in his narrative, "this kettle (which fortunately was not like one of those that the poets feign as giving oracles in the forest of Dodona) making no answer, the sentinel thought he was mistaken, and did not repeat his challenge." Having reached the foot of the precipice, the Vaudois, descending the steep slopes of Guignevert, directed their course southward towards Salse. It was now two hours after daybreak, and they were still ascending by steps which they hollowed out in the snow. Then the enemy, who were encamped at Lautiga under the rock where the Vaudois had placed

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their mountain watch, discovered them, and cried out that the barbets had made their escape.

A detachment in pursuit followed at their heels. The Vaudois descended to Pausettes, or Salse, on the other side of the mountain, where they rested and took refreshment. They did the same at Rodoret, whither they next betook themselves. They were no sooner on their march again than they perceived on the heights behind them a column of the enemy, taking the road to Rodoret. Penetrating their design, the Vaudois ascended the summit of Galmon, between Rodoret and Prali. They halted there for two hours, during which they made a review, the sick and wounded were sent to a declivity called Le Vallon, with the surgeon of M. de Parat, under the guard of some of the strongest. They then descended rapidly on the side of Prali, concealed themselves in the wood of Serrelémi, where they waited for the night. A fog fortunately rising, they resumed their march, and ascended to the hamlet called La Majère, where they were disappointed in finding no water; but Heaven taking pity on them, sent them rain, which in this retreat was as useful and seasonable, as on other occasions it had been inconvenient and injurious.

On the next day, the 16th, they reached Prayet; then crossing the valley below Prali in a fog, they entered the rocky mountains and precipices which, from Rous on the south, descend and divide themselves towards the north. They passed on to Roccabianca (a white rock, with a quarry of fine marble,) and halted for the night at Fayet, a lateral glen of the valley of San Martino.

On the 17th, as the enemy were already on their track at Pouèt, they left the mountain to the south and invaded Pramol. There they came into conflict with the inhabitants and some soldiers entrenched in the churchyard, killed fifty-seven men, and burned the village. They had to lament on their own side three wounded and as many killed, without reckoning one of their wives (though very few of them were there) who was struck at the very moment she was carrying some straw to smoke those persons who had taken refuge in the temple. They captured the commandant de Vignaux, with three lieutenants. The first of these officers informed Arnaud, when he delivered up his sword, that Victor Amadeus would have to decide in three days either to con-

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tinue his alliance with France, or to join the coalition which the emperor, one part of Germany, Holland, England and Spain, had formed against Louis XIV. Arnaud, who by his secret relations with the prince of Orange, now become king of England, had been initiated into European politics, but during his isolation in Balsille had been debarred from any certain intelligence, perceived in an instant how much depended for himself and his troop on the resolution the duke might take. He saw it would be either their ruin or deliverance. To foresee what the determination of the prince would be, was impossible : he waited for it with intense anxiety.

On the following day, May the 18th, 1690, being Sunday, in a higher hamlet of Angrogna, (probably Les Bouils,) whither the Vaudois had repaired on quitting Pramol, the decision taken by Victor Amadeus was announced to them, and peace was offered them in his name by two individuals of San Giovanni and Angrogna, whom they well knew, MM. Parender and Bertin, sent for this purpose by the baron de Palavacini, a general of the duke.

Who can imagine the joy of these poor people whom a war of nine months had weakened and reduced to two-thirds of their original number, whom famine pursued, and who, chased from their last asylum, tracked like game from rock to rock, from valley to valley, could only expect death or perpetual imprisonment? News so unexpected might have been fatal to many by exciting their sensibility too strongly, and transporting them at once, without any intermediate steps, from the gloomiest resolutions to the most delightful hopes, if the fear that it was premature had not repressed the first impulses of their joy.

But gradually events occurred to confirm the fact. The Piedmontese garrison of the town of La Torre, captured, under the eyes of the Vaudois, the French detachment of Clérambaud, which in pursuit of these latter, had entered that place to refresh themselves. At the same time, provisions were distributed in the duke's name to these poor fugitives from Balsille, who eight days before had been doomed to death. The village of Bobbio was put into their hands, and entrusted to their protection. A little while after, they witnessed the arrival of the ministers Montoux and Bastie, captain Pelenc, the surgeon Malanot, and twenty others who, released from the prisons at Turin, hastened to meet

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their brethren with transports of joy. It is told that on this occasion the prince kindly addressed them, and said that he would not prevent them from preaching anywhere, even in Turin. They also saw themselves treated with confidence. The commandant of the troops of his royal highness called for their co-operation, and, in conjunction with the duke's troops, they passed through the defile of La Croix, assisted in beating the enemy, burned Abriés, and returned to Bobbio laden with booty. They attacked the French troops entrenched in the forts of San Michel of Lucerna, and of La Torre. Success crowned the arms of their prince whom they were now happy to serve.

One of their captains having made an incursion into Pragela and seized a courier with letters for the king of France, Arnaud, who had informed the baron Palavicini of the occurrence, received orders to bring the despatches to him, and accompanied this general-in-chief to his royal highness. Victor Amadeus II. received the Vaudois deputation with cordiality. "You have," he said, "only one God and one prince to serve. Serve God and your prince faithfully. Up to the present time we have been enemies; henceforward we must be good friends; others have been the cause of your misfortunes; but if, as you ought, you hazard your lives in my service, I will also hazard my life for you; and as long as I have a morsel of bread, you shall have your share of it."

If political interests had reconciled Victor Amadeus to his unfortunate subjects of the Vaudois valleys, if the necessity of defending his frontier, joined to the want of experienced soldiers, made him confide that post of honour to these very men whose character and sentiments he had misapprehended, we must still acknowledge that the sight of their devotedness to his cause and their exemplary fidelity touched his heart, and won his affection for them. This prince, enlightened as to the disposition and wishes of his subjects in reference to religion, gave them his esteem, and did not withdraw it. It is true, it was not till some years after the 13th (23rd) May, 1694, that the act of pacification respecting the Vaudois affairs was proclaimed; nevertheless from the first day that the offer of peace was made, the reconciliation was sincere and complete on both sides.

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The confidence of the prince was not limited to committing the guard of the frontiers to a band of the once proscribed Vaudois, nor his esteem to granting the rank of colonel to their chief, Arnaud; his justice crowned their wishes by consenting to the return of their families to the valleys, as well as their reinstatement in their ancient heritage. At the beginning of July, the indefatigable Arnaud travelled in all haste to Milan, to meet the Vaudois bands who were expected there.* These were without doubt composed of exiles that had remained in the north of Switzerland, the Grisons, and Wirtemberg, and who, being informed of the favourable disposition of Victor Amadeus rejoined their brethren, bringing with them their wives and children whom the latter had confided to their generous hosts, when they set out eleven months before for the conquest of their native country. From the lofty mountains of Switzerland, they descended to the friendly plains, whose sovereigns, like their own, were members of the coalition.

We regret the want of precise information respecting the return of the Vaudois who were domiciled in western Switzerland, those of Neufchâtel for instance, who arrived too late at the wood of Prangins for embarking.† But what does it signify? It is sufficient to know that the generality of the members of this great family, with few exceptions, directed their footsteps to the country of their fathers. This was the case with even those at the greatest distance. The elector of Brandenburg, who had received them into his dominions with so much cordiality, and had incurred great expense in their settlement, did not hesitate to make fresh sacrifices in order to gratify the wish of their hearts. He generously furnished them with the means of returning home.‡

To do entire justice to the good faith of Victor Amadeus

* See Arnaud's letter to the governor of Aigle.—V. Glorieuse Rentrée.

† Arnaud's wife was at Neufchâtel, as appears from the letter above-mentioned.

‡ Their passport is dated the end of August, 1690. (See Dieterici, p. 290.) Nine hundred and fifty-four set out: only eight hundred and forty-four had arrived there, and some of these remained in their new country; among others two preachers, a Jacob and a David Bayle. (Dieterici.) This difference between the number of those who set out, and those who had arrived, naturally prompts the question, Whence did this difference arise? Among the conjectural answers that may be given to it this appears the most simple and probable, that many of those who at first had refused to set out for Brandenburg, afterwards decided to do so.

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we ought to add that he not only allowed all the exiles to return, but consented that those Vaudois whom distress had enslaved for a time to the Romish worship should return to the faith of their pious ancestors and their heroic brethren. Availing themselves of his benevolence, and making use of their liberty, a great number of young persons of both sexes, who had been forced to enter into the service of the rich Piedmontese in order to save their lives, as well as the children who were abducted at the time of the imprisonment in 1686, and of the emigration in 1687, hastened to the places of their birth to seek their relations, and to profess once more a faith the recollections of which still filled their hearts.

After four years of cruel and painful separation, how happy were they to see themselves again in that beloved country which they had recovered, but where they had everything to re-establish! As when Israel released from captivity returned to the land of their fathers to rebuild Jerusalem, to restore its temple and its worship and to cultivate its long-abandoned fields that they might present their tithes to Jehovah, so this feeble remnant of the Vaudois, without laying aside the weapons that were necessary for the defence of their prince, took the trowel, the spade, and the plough, rebuilt their thatched cottages, repaired their temples and their villages, recognised and sowed their fallow ground, and with grateful and loving hearts returned thanks to the all-wise, all-good, all-powerful God, who having made them pass through severe but salutary trials, had restored to them, on the soil of their fathers, the liberty of serving him with a pure worship, conformable to his word.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE VAUDOIS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, AND DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—1690—1814.

"SERVE God and your prince faithfully;" such was the principal passage and substance of the address of Victor Amadeus II. to the Vaudois chiefs, when he declared that

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he would grant his affection as well as protection to their people. Words delightful to their ears! for if they brought under their notice a duty which in their last armed conflict had undergone a forcible interruption, they specified in the first place that duty which claimed the preference to it. The duke himself placed fidelity to God before that which related to his own person. Their past conduct thus received its justification in the judgment even of him who was most interested, next to themselves, that there should be no recurrence of conflict between the two duties. The future, in its turn offered them some security, since the prince of his own motion assigned to the two great duties which should govern the life of a Christian citizen, the same order as that in which the Vaudois had always placed them, when they supported them by an appeal to the apostolic injunction, "Fear God, honour the king," 1 Peter ii. 17.

The Vaudois, grateful to their sovereign for the return of his benevolence, endeavoured to give him palpable proofs of their sincerity; and, in the first place, by shedding their blood for him. They hastened to his standard at the first call, without sparing themselves. "They were a great support to the duke of Savoy, when the war with France broke out," says a Piedmontese author, Charles Botta, who is far from being prejudiced in their favour.* The count of Saluzzo, in his Military History of Piedmont, expresses himself as follows:—"These mountaineers hastened to join the marquis de Parelle who had not long before attacked them, and the skirmishes on the mountains cost the enemy, whom they drove from Lucerna, more than a thousand men."† The marquis Costa de Beauregard, in his "Historical Memoirs of the House of Savoy," (*Memoires Historiques sur la Maison de Savoie,*) speaks of the bravery of the barbets, who rendered themselves formidable to the French.‡ He even passes an eulogium on their conduct at the siege of Coni, in the following year. "This fortress," he says, "invested from the commencement of the campaign, was for a long time defended only by its own inhabitants and some troops of peasants from the neighbouring districts, among others by eight hundred Vaudois under the command of a chief celebrated among them."

* Storia d'Italia, t. vii. p. 20.
† Histoire Militaire, t. v. p. 13. ‡ Tom. iii. pp. 38—41.

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While the military force of the valleys distinguished itself in the defence of towns as well as in the field of battle,* and thus fulfilled the wish expressed to their leader Arnaud by their prince, the latter interested himself according to his promise in the establishment of the Vaudois families, and gave the necessary orders for that purpose. Nevertheless, the resumption of their ancient inheritance was not so easy in point of law as the simple act might have been, for this property had changed masters. One part had been ceded to religious corporations; another part sold to individuals; a third had been let on a lease. It was desirable to make an amicable arrangement with the various holders of the property; and the prince acted accordingly.

It would be interesting to know the numbers of the Vaudois who established themselves in their burned or half-deserted villages; but the exact data are wanting. All that we know is, that, during the years immediately following, the number of Vaudois able to bear arms did not exceed a thousand or eleven hundred.† And taking into account the very small proportion of children to adults, on their return, we can scarcely suppose the population more than three or four thousand persons. There was, however, in a short time, a rapid increase, the effect of numerous marriages and births, as is attested by some of the parish registers.‡ To the account of the Vaudois we must also add, in order to have the real number of the evangelical professors who came to repeople the valleys, some thousands of French from Pragela, Dauphiné, and elsewhere, some of whom had deserved this favour by fighting in the ranks of the Vaudois, under the conduct of Arnaud; and others, attracted by their brethren and friends, had joined

* At Marsaille—a battle lost, it is true, by the duke and his allies—the Vaudois captains were Imbert, Peyrot, Combe, and Caffarel. (Storia di Pinerolo, 1836; t. iv. p. 140.)

† Letter translated from the Dutch, sent from Zurich to their Excellencies at Berne. (Archives de Berne, mark E.)

‡ In the register of births, in the church of Angrogna, it is stated that from the month of August, 1690, to January 1st, 1697, there were 95 marriages and 143 births in this very large commune.

It is also stated that at this latter date there remained in the commune, thirty-eight or forty men who had been at Balsille; that 100 persons of Angrogna had returned from Piedmont, and that during these six years seventy persons of all ages and both sexes died. (It is not mentioned in this document whether any women, children, and other persons, returned from Switzerland.)

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them, desirous as they were to live in countries bordering on the parts from which Louis XIV had driven them.

Victor Amadeus, who regretted having been deprived, by a persecution equally unjust and impolitic, of a faithful and courageous people, and who now wished to see them acquire some consistence, permitted the establishment of these strangers, who assimilated themselves to his subjects.

The manifesto, which was intended to determine the position of the Vaudois in the state, to recognise their right to the possession of the territory, and to guarantee the exercise of their religion, was, we may easily imagine, a document as difficult for the sovereign to draw up as to publish, on account of the constant opposition of their inveterate enemies, the papists, especially the priests and their agents. Nevertheless, the real services they had rendered to their prince in this war were too recent, and those that were still expected from their zeal too necessary, to allow the refusal of this authentic act. An edict of pacification was therefore published; but care was taken to grant the Vaudois no new advantage. They were put on the same footing on which they stood before the events that led to their exile. The edict, which is dated 13 (23) May, 1694, contains in substance the recognition of their legitimate establishment in the land of their ancestors, and their hereditary possessions; the revocation of the edicts of January and April, 1686; with a general and complete amnesty, and the promise of the favour of their prince. It obtained, moreover, all the legal sanctions of registration that were necessary to render it effectual.* That the Vaudois, however, did not obtain their re-settlement without meeting with impediments is proved by the fact that pope Innocent XII., in a bull of the 19th of August, of the same year, 1694, declares the ducal edict respecting the Vaudois to be null and void, and enjoins on his inquisitors to pay no regard to it in the pursuit of these heretics. But the senate of Turin, in decided harmony with the will of the prince, confirmed, by their rescript of the 31st of August, the validity of the edict of May 13 (23), and prohibited the pope's bull.

* This fact is not without importance. The history of former periods shows us that many decrees of his royal highness were not effective, owing to their not being entered in the registers of the Senate. (For the Edict, see Storia di Pinerolo, iv. 141, and especially DUBOIN, RACCOLTA, etc., Turin, 1826, t. ii., p. 109 to 278, which contain the edicts relating to the Vaudois.)

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However ill-disposed certain persons might be, the Vaudois colony would have advanced rapidly to prosperity and risen from its ruins, protected as it was by the good-will of its sovereign, if politics, with their sinister means, their temptations and cruel reservations, had not given it a fatal blow. Victor Amadeus, seduced by the brilliant promises of Louis XIV. who restored to him his lost provinces and requested his daughter's hand for his grandson, the heir presumptive to the crown of France, consented to break his engagements with his allies and to place himself under the patronage of the great king. If, in accordance with the conditions of the treaty, Victor Amadeus remained faithful to his pledge to maintain the Vaudois in their heritage, and if he protected them against their inveterate enemy, the real author of the frightful calamities of 1686, yet he consented, alas! to rigorous measures against the French belonging to the reformed church who were settled in the valleys, with whom he had made, it is true, no express engagement, but whom five years' residence might authorize to consider themselves as his new subjects. It was stipulated in this treaty, concluded secretly at Loretto at the beginning of 1696,—1, That the inhabitants of the Vaudois valleys should have no communication or connexion with the subjects of the great king in matters of religion; and, 2, That the subjects of his most Christian majesty who had taken refuge in the valleys should be banished.

In conformity with this treaty those of the French reformed settled in the valleys, who had enlisted in the Vaudois army, in the service of the duke, were obliged to quit the camp at Frescarole, and pass into Switzerland. They reached the French part of the canton of Berne at the beginning of August. Others followed them in the month of September.* In the course of 1698, and not before, the terms of the treaty were fully executed. In the interval, apart from the efforts made to lead back to popery, by working on their fears, those who had returned to the Vaudois faith to alienate family property by marriages with Catholics; and to prevent the valley of Perosa from being peopled with Vaudois,—scarcely any change was perceptible in the valleys.† But on the 1st of July, 1698, the

* Archives of Berne, mark E.

† Arnaud's letter, dated from La Torre, 1697, to M. Walkenier, ambassador to the Swiss from the Low Countries.—(Archives de Berne, mark E.)

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duke of Savoy published the twofold decree which his powerful neighbour had wrested from him; namely, prohibiting the Vaudois from having any connexion, in religious matters, with his French subjects, and ordering the latter to leave the valleys within the space of two months, under pain of death and confiscation. This edict forcibly expelled seven pastors, who came originally from Pragela and Dauphiné,—Montoux, the companion of Arnaud, Pappon, Giraud, Jourdan, Dumas, Javel, and, lastly, Henri Arnaud himself. In fact, Arnaud was a Frenchman, from the environs of Die. Had it been otherwise, some reason probably would have been found for getting rid of him, for jealousy and calumny pursued him with their envenomed tongues. The accusation was wickedly renewed against him of wishing to form a republic, although his part in civil affairs was confined to settling the differences which sometimes arose in families, in rebuilding houses, or in the division of property on the unexpected return of some relation. His person was too highly venerated, his counsels were much valued, and followed too promptly, to render it surprising that umbrage should be taken at a man so influential among his adopted people. His name, celebrated by the remembrance of his exploits, by his enterprising genius and heroic firmness, as well as by his talents and virtues as a pastor, made him an object of dread to a party destitute of generosity, who in the councils of the prince secretly excited hatred against the evangelicals. It was with a heavy heart that the friend, the leader, the hero, the beloved pastor of the Vaudois, quitted for ever these churches to which he had consecrated his life, and for whose re-establishment he had not feared death on the field of battle. Three thousand Frenchmen, refugees from Pragela, Dauphiné, and elsewhere, withdrew with him from the valleys, where after cruel persecutions, they had found for a few years an imperfect repose.

Geneva, which had admitted within its walls the unfortunate Vaudois twelve years before, again charitably received these new guests, until their departure for Switzerland and Germany. Arnaud entered it on the 30th August, 1698. The companies of the other exiles followed during the first days of September.*

* Archives of Berne, mark E; correspondence of Geneva.

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Always prompt in his measures, Arnaud had scarcely arrived, when he set out to solicit an asylum for his brethren from the Protestant courts of Germany. Writing from Stuttgard, he had the pleasure of announcing to the Bernese magistrates that the duke of Wirtemberg was favourable to the exiles, and would admit them within his territories.

They left, and this time without the hope of ever returning to their inhospitable valleys. The love of the Lord and Christian charity upheld their tottering steps. At one of their halts, at Knittlingen on the road from the Rhine to Maulbronn, a few leagues only from their destination, they took possession of the soil by depositing in it the remains of one of their faithful pastors, named Dumas, to whom death had scarcely given time to reach a place of refuge before he departed.*

It was on the west and north of Stuttgard that the emigrants from the Vaudois Alps established themselves and founded their colonies, to which, from recollections at once mournful and delightful, they gave the names of villages in the valleys of Perosa and Pragela which they had been obliged to quit. In the district of Maulbronn Villar, (more commonly Gross Villar, that is Great Villar,)† Pinache, and Serres,‡ Lucerna or Wurmberg, Le Queyras, a quarter in the town of Dürrmenz,§ and Schoenberg, to which Arnaud, who settled there as pastor, gave the name of Mûriers ;‖ Pérouse,¶ in the district of Léonberg ; Neu-

* We are indebted for these particulars, as well as for many others respecting the Vaudois settlements in the south-west of Germany, to the kindness of our fellow-countryman and friend, M. P. Appia, pastor of the French church at Frankfort-on-Main. The valleys of Piedmont number him among the worthiest of their sons, and one of their most devoted counsellors. I hope this humble and faithful servant of God will bear with this public expression of respect which his character claims ; we are prompted to it by personal regards and a conviction of its truth.

† In course of time, this village contained a thousand Vaudois, and thus, no doubt, acquired the name of Great Villar. At the present time, the village is much less populous, and one-third, or perhaps one-half of its families are of German extraction. The last Vaudois pastor in this parish was one of the name of Mondon, at the beginning of this century. He was a native of the valleys.

‡ This latter place is sometimes called Sarras.

§ At Dürrmenz the emigrants built, in 1700, a street in a straight line, which they called Queyras, in remembrance of the valley of that name in Upper Dauphiné. The chapel of ease belonging to the parish is at a hamlet called Sangach, which the Vaudois pronounced Sinach.

‖ Schoenberg is now only a suburb of Dürrmenz.

¶ Now a village of 500 souls which retains no vestiges of a Vaudois settlement beyond the names of the families and of the locality, such as Sartaz, Pinadella, Grands-Ordons, Petits-Ordons.

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Hengstett, which they called Bourset,* in the district of Calw; Mentoule,† now Nordhausen, in the district of Brachenheim; La Balme, now called Palmbach, with Moutschelbach, between Pforzheim and Dourlach; Waldensberg, in the county of Waechtersbach, (Isemburg.) A certain number of families established themselves at Waldorf, a village in the ancient principality of Isemburg. The landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt offered also an asylum to some of Arnaud's companions in Rohrbach, Wembach, and Hahn, also at Keltersbach; the prince of Hesse-Homburgh at Dornholzhausen, and the count of Hanau in his own residence.

On the soil of Germany, these victims of the fanatic hatred of Louis XIV. experienced no recurrence of sufferings such as those they formerly endured. Protected by the august princes of the Protestant faith, and treated by them with equity and kindness, like their other subjects, they have lived in prosperity and peace.

Down to the commencement of the present century, the Vaudois colonies of Wirtemberg governed themselves, as far as regarded ecclesiastical affairs, by means of a presbyterian synod. Conformably to the traditions of their church, they provided at their own expense the means of worship and instruction, and paid for the repairs of the temples, parsonages, and school-houses, as well as the maintenance of the schoolmasters and pastors; a considerable charge upon their poverty, which was lightened however by the contributions of English charity. For a long time they had the pleasure of being watched over by pastors of their own or of the mother-country, and of listening to their instructions in the language of their ancestors. But for many years they have been under the control (though unwillingly for the most part, and with a constrained submission) of the superior consistory of Stuttgard. Henceforward, the language of their worship and schools is German, and the national element is lost. In a short time their separate history will end, if it have not done so already.

* Neu-Hengstett is only a poor commune of about 400 souls, all agricultural labourers. The last Vaudois pastor was named Geymonat, whom many persons still remember. He came from the valleys.

† Founded by the Vaudois of Montoul, Fénestrelles, and Usseaux in Pragela, not being able to agree on the name of the settlement, the prince of Wirtemberg called it Nordhausen.

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The Vaudois patois is almost forgotten, though it may be in use in a certain number of villages.* Very soon, it is to be feared, nothing but the names† of families and those of villages and particular localities will recall the origin of these men of the south, whose swarthy complexion and black hair will no longer serve to distinguish their descendants.

In one of these colonies, Schoenberg, near Dürrmenz, the hero of the Vaudois terminated his career. Preferring the exercise of his pastoral functions to military honours and glory, Henri Arnaud declined the pressing invitations of William III., king of England, who had sent him a colonel's brevet and the offer of a regiment. He wished to forget, as a humble presbyter, the art of war and generalship together with the remembrance of his exploits. Wholly devoted to the work of the ministry, to the preaching of the gospel, to consoling the poor and the afflicted, he applied himself to lead the flock committed to his charge no longer into their ancient country, as when he reconquered the Vaudois soil at the head of nine hundred valiant men, but to the heavenly abodes, in the footsteps of the Head and Saviour of the church.

Having been twice married, and the father of three sons and two daughters, he died at Schoenberg on the 8th of September, 1721, at the age of fourscore years, leaving a very inconsiderable patrimony to his children,—an evident proof, that in his connexions with the great in this world, as well as in his enterprises, he had forgotten himself while seeking only the general good.

Within the humble precincts of a temple with walls of clay, and a bell whose sound was never heard beyond the cherry-trees of the village, gratitude and respect have assigned an honourable place to the mortal remains of this great man, for whom the modest crook of a shepherd of souls had a stronger attraction than an elevated rank in the

* In 1820, a schoolmaster, originally from the settlement of Serres, conversed at Lausanne in the patois, which he generally used, with the students from the Vaudois valley, and was understood by them. The pastor Appia, in two visits which he paid to the Vaudois settlements of Wirtemberg, in 1845 and 1846, ascertained, that though in many villages, such as Serres and Pinache, all the families still speak their ancient idiom; at other places, such as Perosa, it is entirely forgotten.

† Among the names well-known in the Vaudois valleys and in Pragela, are those of Rivoire, Mondon, Geymet, Vole, Poèt, Peyrot, Clapier, Pascal, Jourdan, Carrier, Jouvenal, etc.

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army, than honour and glory, or than the favour of courts. His ashes repose at the foot of the communion-table. An engraving, hung under the desk of the pulpit, exhibits the features which distinguished the hero of Salabertrand and Balsille; while a Latin inscription engraven on the stone that covers his tomb recalls his exploits. The following is a translation:

"BENEATH THIS TOMB LIES HENRI ARNAUD, PASTOR, AND ALSO MILITARY COMMANDER, OF THE PIEDMONTESE VAUDOIS."

In the centre of the monument—

"Thou seest here the ashes of Arnaud, but his achievements, labours, and undaunted courage no one can depict. The son of Jesse combats alone against thousands of foreigners; alone he terrifies their camp and leader. He died Sept. 8, and was buried, 1721.

"AGED LXXX."

The Vaudois population of the valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, Perosa, and San Martino, now considerably diminished by the forced emigration of three thousand Frenchmen, whose presence during many years had filled up the immense vacancies made by persecution, had themselves to suffer, at times, measures severe and vexatious, as well as prejudicial to their prosperity. Although it appeared certain that Victor Amadeus was not unfavourably disposed to the Vaudois, yet an underhand and concealed war was made upon them. Contrary to the terms of the edict for their re-establishment, the children of the Vaudois who had been dispersed over Piedmont were tampered with and turned from the faith by promises of marriage and other means of seduction, or by acting on their fears by threats. Under the pretext of the incompatibility of Protestantism and Popery, and at the instigation of France, their next neighbour,* endeavours were made to prevent the Vaudois of the half-valley of Perosa from entering into possession of their property on the left bank of the Clusone, and establishing themselves there. Payment in full was claimed out of their slender means, of all the taxes and imposts since

* It must be recollected that France at that time possessed the valley of Pragela, the eastern part of the valley of Perosa and Pinerolo.

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their expulsion in 1686, and consequently during the period which they had spent in foreign lands, and in which their property was possessed by others. Ancient debts, also, which they supposed were extinguished, were laid to their account, amounting, with some fresh items, to 450,000 French francs, for which interest was required at three per cent. It was an additional misfortune that the imposts had been considerably increased, and were exacted with rigour. While they were not required from the Catholics, the Vaudois, who were unable to discharge them, were immediately ejected. Popish missionaries traversed the villages and mountains, directing their efforts chiefly to poor families, whom they too often succeeded in drawing into apostasy. Sometimes, the vague rumour of a new and immediate forced emigration was spread from place to place, and filled their hearts with anxiety; at other times, they were calmed and consoled by being assured that the duke was most kindly disposed towards his Vaudois subjects. They were never allowed to repair or rebuild the churches that had been injured or pulled down, and the severe measures taken against the French part of the population prevented their having a sufficient number of ministers. This want would have been unsupplied if the canton of Berne had not sent some preachers, by permission of the duke.*

At the end of 1698, the situation of the Vaudois appeared so precarious that one of their pastors, Blachon, expressed in a letter his fears that such a state of things could not last a year, and as it concerned himself, he saw no safety but in emigration. The Vaudois at this period, after the departure of the French Protestants, were reduced to the number of eleven hundred men able to bear arms. Such were the effects of the return of Victor Amadeus to an alliance with France. Political considerations overpowered the better feelings of his heart. The Vaudois were victims to his plans of aggrandizement.

An alteration in the politics of the court of Savoy, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, led to a slight amelioration in the condition of the valleys. Victor Ama-

* At that time, the following eminent men were among the pastors of the valleys: Jacob Dubois, Phillippe Dind, Isaac Senebier, Joseph Decoppet, Philippe Dutoit, and Abram Henriod.—(Extract from the parish registers of the valleys.)

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deus escaped from the influence of Louis XIV. on the occasion of the Spanish succession, and entered into a league with the emperor of Germany and the two great Protestant powers, England and Holland, to make war on the French monarch. It may be supposed that in the correspondence of the allied cabinets, and in the conferences of the ambassadors, the affairs of the Vaudois came under discussion, and that the intercession of the Protestant courts was not unavailing. The secret articles of the preceding treaty of alliance, signed at the Hague, in 1691, were no doubt confirmed, by which the duke of Savoy guaranteed to the Vaudois the exercise of their religion. This prince also approved of the protection granted by these two powers to the churches of the valleys, and permitted the transmission of foreign subsidies intended to aid their poverty. A few words on this subject may be properly introduced here.

Queen Mary, the consort of William III., king of England, had formed a fund,—the interest of which was then and is still called, the Royal Subsidy, for the purpose of paying the salaries of the pastors of the valleys, and also those of the colony of Wirtemberg.* The states-general of Holland employed the interest of a fund obtained by collections throughout the states, as well as the amount of annual collections, for the payment of the salaries of schoolmasters, gratuities to superannuated pastors, and to the widows of pastors, for relieving the poor of each church, and also for the support of a Latin school. And as we are now on the subject of gifts of Christian charity made at this time, or a few years before, for the suffering Vaudois, we must not forget the bursaries appropriated by the evangelical cantons of Switzerland to the students of the valleys in some of their academies; namely, one at Bâle, five at Lausanne, and two at Geneva. In this last city, one was paid by the state out of the funds of the general hospital;† the second proceeded from a donation

* It has been said that since the wars at the beginning of this century, the pastors of the Vaudois settlements in Wirtemberg cease to receive their salaries from England. Those of the valleys are still indebted to it for a part of their maintenance. We may add that in 1770, the liberal collections made in Great Britain permitted an augmentation of the pastors' salaries in the valleys. The interest of this latter fund bore the name of the National Subsidy, to distinguish it from the Royal Subsidy furnished by the crown.

† This bursary ceased in 1798; those of Lausanne were partially interrupted, and afterwards re-established for a time.

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made by M. Clignet, postmaster at Leyden, and entrusted to the Committee of the Italian Exchange.*

While the valleys, in consequence of their prince's taking a part in the coalition against France, felt themselves less oppressed by the restraints of a hateful fanaticism which that power then displayed towards evangelical Christians, their militia, enlisted under his banners, acquitted themselves with the greatest credit. The war that Victor Amadeus had to sustain against his ancient ally was long and disadvantageous to his arms. His personal courage, his perseverance in the contest, and great efforts could not save him from being crushed under the strokes of his formidable neighbour. He saw himself deprived of the greater number of his fortified places, and at last, in 1706, was besieged in his capital, Turin. The recital of the vicissitudes of this siege does not enter into the plan of this history, yet we must mention an episode in it which is strictly connected with our subject. The labours of the siege were suddenly interrupted by the flight of the duke of Savoy, who left the city at the head of a body of cavalry. The French general, the duke de la Feuillade, pursued him with a party of the besiegers, reckoning upon getting possession of his person. In fact, more than once Victor Amadeus was closely pressed, and in imminent danger. Having almost reached Saluzzo, he proceeded to the left of the Po, and took refuge in the mountains, among his faithful Vaudois. Let us here quote the words of the count de Saluzzo, who was, after all, no great friend to the Vaudois:

"The object of Victor Amadeus was," he says, "to encourage M. de la Feuillade to run after him. He fell back to Lucerna. The Vaudois joined him in great numbers. He was so well fortified in the position he chose, that the French general, after advancing as far as Bricherasco, gave up the design of encountering him."† The Piedmontese historian notices the fact of the stay of Victor Amadeus in the midst of the Vaudois, and the zeal of the latter to surround his person, in order to defend him unto death; but he does not say, what, nevertheless, we cannot pass over in silence, that the duke reposed at night under the roof of a Vaudois,

* These details are extracted from a little work, entitled, *Le Livre de Famille*, (The Family Book,) Geneva, 1830, by the ancient moderator of the Vaudois churches, P. Bert, who, from his office, might be expected to know them.

† Histoire Militaire, t. v., p. 189.

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in the midst of the humble population of Rora. Thus this enlightened prince appreciated and estimated at its proper value the honesty and perfect fidelity of his evangelical subjects, whom the popish perfidy and hatred of Louis XIV., though they had been so long attached to him, had represented as enemies of his person and kingdom, and whom he had treated with excessive rigour twenty years before. The confidence displayed on this occasion by Victor Amadeus did as much honour to his judgment as to the simple and faithful men to whom it was given. The family of Durand Canton, to whom the privilege belonged of offering hospitality to their sovereign, preserve irrefragable proofs of it; namely, the goblet and silver service he made use of, which he left as a memorial of his visit, as well as an authentic act, authorizing the family who received him to bury their dead in their garden. During the retreat of the French, who were at last beaten by prince Eugene under the walls of Turin, and constrained to flee after having raised the siege of that city, the Vaudois gave a second mark of devotion to their sovereign, by not sparing themselves in the pursuit. "The French army," says the count of Saluzzo, "took the route to Dauphiné, which it did not reach without experiencing fresh losses, having been continually harassed on its march by the Vaudois soldiers, under the command of colonel de Saint-Amour."*

The peace of Utrecht in 1713, so advantageous to Victor Amadeus, whose dominions it increased, while putting on his head a royal crown, that of Sicily, exchanged some years afterwards, rather by constraint, for that of Sardinia, tended inevitably to bring back that attention and activity to the interior which had been expended outwardly on a contest of the most serious importance. Political prejudices were again in action against the existence of a religious confession different from that of the generality. The secret enemies of the Vaudois and of the reformed religion impelled the government to some vexatious and even unjust measures. In the first class we may mention the obligation imposed on all the Vaudois churches to observe as holydays all the numerous festivals ordained by the Romish church, contrary to their ancient usages, and notwithstanding the absence of antecedent legal arrangements; so also

* Histoire Militaire, t. v., p. 212. The Vaudois signalized themselves by other feats of arms in the first half of the eighteenth century.

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the difficulties, or rather direct hindrances, put by the custom-house in the way of the admission of the books necessary for the services of religion; and the refusal to admit any Vaudois to the office of notary: also many grievances which have been constantly repeated since that time. Another measure taken against the Vaudois may be cited as evidently unjust, namely, that which constrained the Vaudois parents, whose child might have passed over to popery, to provide him with a maintenance, or to give him his legal portion, both of personal and real property; an unjust measure, for it tended to weaken parental authority, to give an advantage to vicious and rebellious children, and to reduce aged persons to indigence, by depriving them of property without which they could not make shift to live. These exactions and severities drew forth complaints from the population of the valleys. They had recourse to the benevolence and justice of their sovereign; but whatever methods they took, however humble the petitions they addressed to him, no success attended their efforts.

At this juncture, a monarch, whose august house had constantly given the Vaudois proofs of its enlightened and Christian benevolence, Frederic William I., king of Prussia,*

* The letter of the king of Prussia to the king of Sardinia:—"Sir, my Brother,—Affected as I am with the present mournful situation of the Protestant churches in the valleys of Piedmont, I cannot forbear addressing these lines to you on their behalf, hoping that your majesty will receive them more favourably, since you will easily judge by the affection you feel towards those who profess the same religion as yourself, that I must have the same tender regard for the said churches, and that their preservation and tranquillity can never be indifferent to me.

"I cannot believe that the complaints of these poor churches have reached your majesty, or if they have, that they have been represented so as to do them complete justice; for every one knows that your majesty is too generous to be able to refuse remedying the grievances of a people who, on many important occasions, have shed their blood and sacrificed their property in the service of your majesty, and that with so much bravery and fidelity that your majesty has always appeared satisfied.

"Relying on these testimonies, I promise myself that your majesty will be well pleased, as I earnestly entreat, to continue your royal protection and benevolence to the aforesaid Protestant churches, and allow them peaceably to enjoy the edicts already published in their favour, and especially that of the 23rd of May, 1694, in contravention of which it has been attempted to oblige the said Protestant churches, under rigorous penalties, to observe all the feasts appointed by the Romish church, which is a proceeding directly contrary to that liberty of conscience, of which, as your majesty knows, no prince can deprive his subjects without committing extreme violence, and without encroaching even on the rights reserved for the Divine Majesty, to whom alone belongs the dominion over the hearts and consciences of men.

"The ordinance published under your majesty's name, that the Protestant Vaudois must furnish the children who have abjured the religion of their fathers with a maintenance, or give them their legal share of the real and personal property of their parents, cannot be less severe nor less contrary than the above-

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interceded in their favour in the beginning of the year 1725. The answer of Victor Amadeus, although evasive, expressed friendly dispositions towards them. These were also shown in a subsequent act, which will soon come under our notice, without its being possible to say that they materially modified the condition of the victims of popish prejudices, or that they much weakened the opposition of a jealous religion, which never ceased to hold up to their prince as dangerous subjects men whose blood had recently been spilt in his service. The principles of an enlarged toleration never prevailed in the administration of the Vaudois affairs, and at this time so much the less, when the government was resolved to take very severe measures against the evangelical Christians of another part of his majesty's states, namely, that of Pragela, annexed to the Piedmontese territory by the treaty of Utrecht.

In spite of the fury of Louis XIV., and the violent emigration to which, in 1698, he had forced more than three thousand Protestants of that country, there still remained in the valley of Pragela some hundreds of persons, who although less fervent in their faith, and less disposed to sacrifice their lives for it, either by exile, or openly confessing their religion, nevertheless preserved in secret the hopes, the belief, and the worship of the gospel. Passing under the dominion of Savoy in 1713, and seeing that their brethren in the faith and neighbours in the valleys of Lucerna and San Martino enjoyed the exercise of their religion, they took courage, put off all dissimulation, and assembled frequently for edification in the temple of their brethren. For some time, their return to the faith of their ancestors was unnoticed, both by the Vaudois and their neighbours. But Romish susceptibility and the traditional

mentioned to Divine and human laws, since it inspires Protestant children with sentiments of insubordination and withdraws them from the obedience due to their fathers and mothers, reducing the latter at the same time to an impossibility of maintaining themselves; especially when their property lies entirely in land, or they are constrained to part with many portions of their property, to make them over to their children, who may have been seduced to abandon the Protestant religion.

"I beg also your majesty to be assured that of all the marks of friendship you are able to give me, that of paying attention to my intercession for the said Protestant churches will always be to me the most agreeable, and the one for which I shall feel most sensibly obliged. I shall with pleasure avail myself of every opportunity to testify my lively gratitude, and to prove to your majesty the sincerity and high consideration with which I am, etc.,

"Berlin, Jan. 6, 1725. FREDERICK WILLIAM."

(Vide Dieterici, p. 396.)

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policy of the government now took the alarm at their boldness, and brought it to an issue in 1730. An edict constrained them to choose between a fresh abjuration and exile. A friendly attempt at mediation on the part of the king of Prussia with the king of Sardinia could not ward off the blow.* Three hundred and sixty individuals, recovered from their former fall, and animated with the love of the Lord, not feeling themselves at liberty in their consciences to deny their faith, decided on the latter alternative. They arrived in the Pays de Vaud in the course of May, 1730. The government of Berne received them with the same charity which it had displayed towards their unfortunate brethren in the preceding century. A part of them settled there ;† the rest rejoined their relatives who were settled in Wirtemberg or elsewhere.

All the friends of the gospel in Pragela did not emigrate. The weak dissembled afresh, and went to mass. In secret, they continued to read the word of God. After the end of the century, the author of this work, then a student, having requested hospitality at a house in the valley, met with a cordial reception as one preparing to be a minister of the gospel. "We have the Bible,—we read it," they said; and placed the precious antique volume before him. It is not very long since that the popish authorities, jealous of the sacred book, seized and burned all the copies they could discover in the valleys. The last victory over the truth—to burn the Bible in the nineteenth century!—Spirit of Rome! thou art always the same.

In this same year, 1730, Victor Amadeus II. was urged by the French court to severe measures against the French Protestants who had taken refuge in the valleys, and by pope Clement XII. to punish the relapsed and renegades, with the threat, that if his wishes were not complied with, he would dissolve the advantageous concordat that then existed between him and the court of Turin. Being thus prompted, Victor published on the 20th June a severe edict against three classes of persons, in which also are to be found some arrangements respecting the churches of the

* Dieterici, pp. 398, 399.

† We find in the lists published by M. Dietrici, p. 404, names that still exist in the Canton de Vaud, and in the neighbouring cantons, such as Bermond, Guvot, Papon, Jannin, Perrot, Turin, Chailler, etc. Many other names are the same in the Canton de Vaud as in the Vaudois valleys; such are those of Gonin, Buffa, Chauvi, Gonnet, Barloz, Bonnet, Bonjour, Blanchod, Odin, Malan, Combe, etc.

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valleys. The French Protestants, whom the toleration granted to the Vaudois and their vicinity to them had attracted thither, were ordered to leave his majesty's dominions within six months under pain of flogging, and afterwards five years at the galleys. The Vaudois who should give them an asylum would receive the estrapado* for the first offence, and for the second a public flogging. Catholics who had embraced Protestantism, and Vaudois who had become Catholics, but had returned to their former profession, were to receive a similar sentence. The same threats were held out to those who should conceal them. In vain the compassionate monarch who reigned over Prussia requested a full toleration in favour of the converts from Catholicism, referring on their behalf to the edict of pacification of 1694: Victor Amadeus remained inflexible.† About five hundred proselytes, now stedfast and unflinching at the thoughts of exile, took, at the beginning of the winter of 1730, the road to Geneva, where they arrived in the course of December.

As to the arrangements in the edict of the 20th of June, respecting the ancient churches of the three Vaudois valleys, it was decreed that conformably to the edict of 1620, their members should enjoy the right of working in their houses, with closed doors, on Catholic feast-days, and that they might from time to time obtain from magistrates of this religion permission to be employed on public works when similar permission was granted to the Catholics; that the acquisition of real and personal property was lawful for them within the limits, and that as to their properties beyond these, the senate would decide according to reason and justice;‡ that the cemeteries of the Vaudois were to be at a distance from dwelling-houses, or the public roads, and without inclosures; that, however, no alteration should be made in the state of those of Rora, La Torre, Villaro, and Bobbio. A subsequent article decreed that the funeral processions might be as numerous as they pleased; that no new temple should be built, their number remaining the

* A punishment in which the person was raised by his hands tied behind his back, and then let fall with a slight concussion, once, twice, or more, as the case might be.

† Correspondence of the king of Prussia and the king of Sardinia in Dieterici, p. 398.

‡ That is, according to their notions of what was proper.

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same as before 1686 ; that, however, the *cabane* (cottage or thatched house ; this is the name the edict gave to the temple of St. Barthélemi) might be kept standing, but without being enlarged or repaired ; that the pastor should not live in its vicinity, but return and fix himself at Rocheplatte, as in ancient times ;* the Vaudois were authorized to have schoolmasters taken from among themselves and of their religion, provided they admitted into their schools none but Vaudois children, under a penalty of twenty-five crowns of gold for every Catholic child they should admit, and banishment in case of a second offence ; provided, it was further enacted, that the said schools were held in the quarters where the fewest Catholics dwelt : finally, in a concluding article, it was absolutely forbidden to admit the people of Pragela into the temples of the valleys.

We may be convinced by the preceding account, that Victor-Amadeus, though personally recovered from his prejudices against the Vaudois, and convinced of their fidelity as well as of the other moral qualities that distinguished them, did not grant them much greater liberties than his predecessors. Yet, if he did not show entire tolerance, if he established restrictions of many kinds on the extension, rather than on the maintenance of the Christian faith, and the increase of the evangelical population in the three ancient valleys and in that of Pragela, we must allow that it was owing to the incessant solicitations of the eternal enemies of the Vaudois and the requirements of his warlike and powerful neighbour of France. Let us acknowledge that if he could not do more for his subjects, whose services and characters were misapprehended, he had at least the merit of fixing definitively, with a firm hand, the civil and religious positions of the Vaudois, by confirming the ancient edicts which determined it, and promulgating new ones. By these measures, if the condition of the descendants of the martyrs remained low, humbled, and straitened, yet it escaped, for ever it may be hoped, from arbitrariness and uncertainty.

Under the reign of Charles Emmanuel III., who ascended the throne in 1730, on the voluntary abdication of his father, Victor-Amadeus II., the senate of Turin published, in 1740, a summary of the edicts concerning the Vaudois,

* These restrictions respecting St. Barthélemi have ceased.

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in twenty-six articles, to serve as a guide to the judicial and executive authorities. This publication might be considered as a new royal benefit. For if it notified to the magistrates the restrictions imposed on the civil and religious liberties of the Vaudois, it established on the other hand the rights that were conceded to them by their sovereign, and thus rendered their position more stable for the future.

Henceforward under the reign of Charles-Emmanuel III., and after that, under Victor Amadeus III., who took the crown in 1773, until the time of the French revolution, few striking events interrupted the course of the uniform life of the inhabitants of the valleys. We may, however, cite as a title to the favour of their sovereign, the brilliant courage which they exhibited at the siege of Coni in 1747, and at the battle of Assiette in 1747, which was lost by the French; renowned actions which have claimed the praises of military men,* as well as the esteem of Charles-Emmanuel III., who called them his brave and faithful Vaudois.† Why are we obliged to add, in spite of the proofs of love and devotion on the part of the subjects, and of esteem on the part of the sovereign, the Vaudois frequently saw their children taken away by the artifices of priests and monks, sometimes even by violence, without any possibility of obtaining justice; and themselves forced to contribute to the expenses of the Romish worship, to pay tithes, first-fruits, and other things besides to parish priests,‡ contrary to the express words of the royal edicts, which relieved them from such burdens.

Such was the success which the papal power had obtained in the valleys, when, in 1789, the sound of the first movement of the French revolution was heard in Piedmont. The Alps could not arrest the progress of the new ideas, which, after fermenting and threatening for a long time, at length found vent in a sudden explosion. Attractive and dazzling theories, promises of liberty and happiness, proclaimed in tones that were everywhere audible, inflamed the minds of men, and wrapped their hearts in pleasing illusions. In their

* Histoire Militaire, by the count of Saluzzo, t. v., p. 213.

† This royal expression was quoted, with the facts we have narrated, in a petition presented, in 1814, to count Cerutti, minister of his Sardinian majesty.

‡ Tableau du Piémont (Picture of Piedmont), by Maranda, Turin, the year xi., p. 32. Memoirs and petitions presented in 1814 to count Cerutti.

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conversations, in the social circle, nothing was talked of but the events that were transpiring beyond the Alps. A pastor of the valleys ventured to make an allusion to them, in a sermon preached before the assembled synod, in the autumn of the same year, 1789. His brethren, being disturbed at the possible effects that so imprudent a discourse might produce on public opinion, as well as the evils which it might bring on the Vaudois population from the ruling powers, exerted their right of discipline, and suspended the indiscreet orator from his functions for six months. This decision was equally wise and just; for the preacher had violated his duty as a subject of the king, by attracting attention to questions hostile to his government, and as a pastor, by introducing politics into the pulpit.

Such a fact sets in a clearer light than any words would do, the spirit that animated the valleys at this critical epoch. The emotions of the heart spoke in favour of the new principles proclaimed in France; but a sense of duty to the authorities prevented the faithful subject from receiving and propagating them. The heart in some persons prevailed over a traditional submission. Nevertheless, we shall not depart from the truth in saying, that it would have been difficult, under such circumstances, for men so little favoured by the government as the Vaudois had been, to have given greater proofs of prudence and moderation. Perceiving the delicacy of their situation, they took the greatest pains to prevent and to avoid everything that might commit them.

This conduct insured to them the confidence of their sovereign, who, in 1792, called them to take arms for the defence of their frontiers. And when, in the following year, Victor Amadeus III., being despoiled by the French of two of his most beautiful provinces, Savoy and Nice, resolved to act on the offensive and attack the enemy, he entrusted the protection of the valleys of Lucerna and San Martino to the fidelity of the Vaudois, commanded by one of their officers, colonel Maranda, under the orders of general Gaudin, also a Protestant and a Swiss.*

The French, who were aware how precarious and exposed the situation of this poor people had been, believed that they should find no difficulty in impelling them to revolt,

* From Nyon, on the lake of Geneva.

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to surrender the passes, and to make common cause with them. They were deceived. The Vaudois esteemed fidelity to their oath, even in their depressed condition, preferable to the splendid hopes of civil, political, and religious liberty, if acquired by perjury. Yet this admirable conduct could not silence calumny, nor stifle all suspicion. How could it be credited, that men, so often ill-treated on account of their religion, would refrain from avenging themselves, and refuse the emancipation that was promised them? They were, accordingly, accused of lending an ear to the proposals of the enemy. Some unfortunate facts gave a colour to these rumours. The Vaudois militia had given way at some points; the fort of Mirabouc, at the bottom of the valley of Lucerna, in the gorge of the only pass that leads to France, had surrendered;* and though the investigation ordered on this occasion had proved in the clearest manner the innocence of the inhabitants of the valleys,† the exasperation resulting from these suspicions had grown to such a height, that, by the aid of fanaticism, it ripened among the papists of the environs into the detestable project of a second St. Bartholomew, of which the Vaudois of San Giovanni and La Torre were to be the victims.

All the men of these two communes, able to bear arms, were on the mountains occupied in guarding the frontiers; none remained in their dwellings on the plain but the women and children, with the sick and aged; feeble defenders! The enterprise, therefore, was not a dangerous one. On the night of the 14th and 15th of May, 1793, a troop of assassins assembled at Lucerna, intending at a given signal to invade these two districts and put all to fire and sword. The plot had been so secretly arranged that not a Vaudois knew of it. Two Catholics, one an ecclesiastic, the respectable Brianza, the parish priest of Lucerna, and captain Odetti, of Cavor, gave them notice of it. The latter, when he reached the house of his friend,

* A Swiss officer, named Mesmer, commanded. He was ill, and the place was badly provided with the means of defence. One of the two cannons burst, when the match was applied, on the approach of the enemy. The garrison was composed of one-half company of Vaudois and one-half of Piedmontese invalids. Mesmer was intimidated, and capitulated. But if timid, he acted, nevertheless, with good faith; for, after the surrender of the fort, he set out for Turin to explain his conduct, and was there beheaded. V. Tableau du Piémont, t. v., p. 166.

† Musset, the only Vaudois officer in the fort, opposed the capitulation to the utmost; he thought the place might have been defended.

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M. Paul Vertu, at La Torre, said, on entering, "I am come here to defend you and yours, to the last drop of my blood." He then detailed the dreadful plot in which he had refused to take a part. Several messengers were immediately despatched to the mountains, to the husbands and brothers of the intended victims. General Gaudin, when urged to let them fly to the defence of their families, refused to believe in the existence of so odious a project; but the list of the conspirators, to the number of more than seven hundred, which was placed before his eyes, put an end to his incredulity. Yet if on the one hand he could not resolve to deprive so many innocent creatures of their natural defenders, on the other, he knew not how to detach a sufficient force from his division without exposing himself to be overpowered by the French, or how to allow the Vaudois to withdraw without awakening the suspicions of the Piedmontese troops with whom they were associated. A stratagem relieved him from his embarrassment. On the evening of the fatal night, towards the close of the day, a false alarm was given; a shout resounded on the heights, "The French! the French!" followed very soon by "Sauve qui peut!" ("Save himself who can!") The Vaudois first quitted their elevated post, and in the midst of a sharp fire of musketry sounded a retreat as if the enemy were pursuing them. The Piedmontese troops, who were stationed between them and the bottom of the valley, seeing this, began in their turn a retrograde movement, and threw themselves into La Torre and San Giovanni, which they occupied for the night. The conspirators, frightened at the pretended aggression of the French, abandoned their infernal project. Gaudin being called to Turin to render an account of his conduct, justified himself by presenting the proofs of the conspiracy and the list of the conspirators. The documentary evidence could not be rebutted; it was absolute. But he was at the same time withdrawn from the valleys, and not long after dismissed from the service; his superior humanity lost him the confidence of the court. Of the assassins, not one was punished; none of them were even sought for.

The government being disquieted and suspicious, and imagining that the French were in communication with the valleys, thought it needful to take very severe measures.

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A Vaudois, named Davit, an artillery officer of colonel Frésia's, who had succeeded general Gaudin in the command, was given up by his superior to a court-martial, and hung as a traitor. The two officers of the highest rank in the Vaudois militia, colonel Maranda and major Goante, were also thrown in prison. Other arrests were talked of as about to take place; but the two accused individuals were able to demonstrate their own innocence, as well as that of their friends and companions.

The liberation of Maranda and Goante, their restoration to their place, and the superseding of colonel Frésia, (who had been detested ever since the execution of Davit,) by a Swiss officer, general Zimmermann,* calmed the agitated and timid spirits in the valleys, by showing that the government, being now better informed as to the real facts of the case, had renounced its unjust suspicions, or at least its severity. Confidence was soon restored. Zimmermann, though a Roman Catholic, succeeded in gaining the general affection.

The Vaudois, taking advantage of the favourable moment when the court was convinced of their innocence, accepted the offer made by the general of becoming their agent there. Through his intervention they transmitted to their sovereign a petition, in which, after just protestations of attachment to his person and dynasty, they requested the redress of certain abuses and some amelioration in their political condition. Their application was not altogether unsuccessful. The duke of Aosta, the king's younger son, then stationed at Pinerolo, at the head of a division of the army, transmitted a most gracious answer to the petitioners, in which it was said, that the constant and distinguished proofs they had given of attachment and fidelity to their sovereigns, and the sentiments they had recently expressed, in offering to join with all possible zeal the force intended to repel the enemy, had disposed the king to receive their memorial favourably. Nevertheless, a compliance with the request for an equality of political rights with those of his other subjects, was deferred till the arrival of peace.†

* A native of Lucerna, formerly colonel of the Swiss guards at Paris. He had escaped the massacre of the 10th of August, and had lately entered the service of Piedmont.

† We naturally ask, would not this concession in our times, if made to a popu-

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From this time, however, permission was generously granted to have physicians of their own religion; measures were promised to be taken against the abduction of children, which was frequently practised, as well as the introduction of unfit Catholics into the councils of the commune, and the abolition of charges and imposts that affected the Vaudois alone. We perceive that the royal favours did not go beyond the most ordinary requirements of justice, and yet the prince, and even the Vaudois themselves, considered them as gracious gifts, it having been so much the practice to treat the Vaudois as intruders, barely tolerated, and to consider their sharing in the principal advantages which all the rest of their fellow-subjects enjoyed as an extraordinary benefaction.

Peace arrived in the spring of 1796; but it was a disastrous peace,* which wrested from the king some of his most beautiful provinces, and prostrated him under the overwhelming influence of the French republic and the young general of the army of Italy, Napoléon Bonaparte. A new king, Charles Emmanuel IV., ascended the tottering throne of his deceased father, on October 10, 1796. This was the moment for granting his faithful subjects the political equality which they sought, and which their loyal services deserved. The British ambassador seized this juncture to make a representation in their favour; but all he could obtain was a confirmation of the inconsiderable concessions that were granted three years before. No! we are mistaken; the royal missive, or "billet," as this official document was termed, contained an additional favour—permission to repair the temples! to enlarge them, if required; and, (can it be credited? for it was a generous act,) to remove them to more commodious sites, provided their number were not increased, and notice were given to

lation who have always been devoted to their sovereign, and who are reduced to the necessity of seeing their active youth annually dispersed to a distance, be politically more useful to the state than troublesome or dangerous? Is it to be dreaded on religious grounds, when we see everywhere else Catholics and Protestants living together in peace?

* An armistice was at first concluded on April 28, 1796, at Cherasco, by general Bonaparte the conqueror, to the king's plenipotentiaries. Peace was signed soon after. The king ceded to France the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice; he consented to the destruction of the forts of Susa and Brunette, and granted to France, during the war, the occupation of Coni, Tortona, and Alexandria, as well as the free passage of the French troops in their marches. Hist. de la Revol. Franç., par Thiers.

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the intendant of the province, in order that he might give the necessary directions.*

It was impossible but that the presence of the French army (it is well known that the army of Italy numbered in its ranks the most enthusiastic revolutionists) would excite the Piedmontese to aim at shaking off the yoke of feudal servitude, and acquiring all the political privileges proclaimed in France as the inherent right of man. A secret agitation was rapidly succeeded by tumultuary movements in towns and country places, as far even as Moncalier, at the very gates of Turin. Truth requires us to avow that the valleys were not entirely strangers to them. A company of revolutionists,† of the valley of Lucerna, repaired to Campiglione, the château of the marquis of Rora, one of their principal lords, and requested the abolition of his feudal titles. "My friends," he replied, with admirable presence of mind and courteousness, "if there be any of my titles that you do not like, I will abandon them most cheerfully, with the exception of one, which you shall not deprive me of, I mean my title of friend of the Vaudois, and my ancient affection for my dear and brave Vaudois!" These words, so opportunely uttered, were enough to disarm them. They retired, without committing the slightest outrage.

General Zimmermann was sent to the valleys, ostensibly to hear the wishes of the communes, but in reality to observe how things stood; and received orders, soon after his arrival, to make some arrests. In Piedmont the court had had recourse to executions, by way of example. But the warrior showed himself to be the friend of peace. In his report, he recommended the adoption of mild measures, and he had the satisfaction of seeing them approved; the valleys escaped imprisonments and executions.

The complicated difficulties of the times rendered the weight of his crown insupportable to Charles Emmanuel. He signed a solemn act of abdication on December 9th, 1798. France left him the possession of Sardinia. From that day, Piedmont was regarded and administered as a French province. This event, in which moreover the Vaudois had taken no part, put them in a position they had

* Royal letter, Aug. 26, 1797.

† This company was composed of Catholics as well as Vaudois.

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never before enjoyed, and which they had never dared to expect. In one day, and as if by magic, they beheld the downfal of all the prohibitory, humiliating, and restrictive laws under which they had so long groaned. The barrier which had inclosed them within such narrow limits, which had condemned them to be crowded in some isolated valleys, was thrown down. A free field was opened to their industry and activity which hitherto had been shackled. From being despised pariahs, barbets, hated and kept at a distance as malefactors, they saw themselves placed on an equal footing with their haughtiest persecutors. A people who had been regarded as intruders, and were tolerated only at pleasure, were now become citizens like the rest. Men who had been treated as spurious children of the state had at length obtained a recognition of their legitimacy. In one day, and by a single act, without their will being consulted, every species of liberty had been secured to them; and what was more precious to them than all the rest, they were put in possession, without any reserve, of that religious liberty, the right of serving God according to their consciences, for which they had toiled and shed their blood for centuries.

But as if to instruct them that the preservation or prosperity of the Christian life is not dependent on political circumstances, scarcely was the French domination established in Piedmont before it was exposed to the most imminent dangers. The army of Italy being attacked in the spring of 1799 by Suwarrow, at the head of the Russians and Austrians, was forced to retreat precipitately in the midst of a population excited against it, and soon roused to fanaticism. At this difficult moment, the Vaudois remained faithful to the power at that time established, and obeyed the orders of their superiors to descend into the plain with the other troops, and assail Carmagnola, the head-quarters of the insurgents. The action opened with a terrible discharge of artillery; and although the insurgents had intrenched themselves in a convent, where they illuminated the Madonna,* they were crushed by the bravery of the Vaudois and the regular troops. General Freissinet levied

* A Madonna is an image of the holy virgin. It is almost needless to say that the Roman Catholics worship images, and look upon any injury done to them as sacrilege.

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a military contribution. This expedition was charged as a crime on the Vaudois; they were accused of sacrilege and pillage. But how could they be held responsible for a combat in which they engaged only in obedience to the military authority which they still recognised? As to sacrilege, could any one seriously accuse them of it? Ought they to have retreated without fighting, and received a murderous fire from the convent without returning it, merely because a Madonna with lighted tapers had been placed in front? As to the forced contribution levied by the French general, we know not how it can be imputed to them. If any individual cases of violence are referred to, supposing them to have occurred, all the Vaudois would regret them.

A second fact has been imputed to them as a crime; let the reader judge: we give it without comment. Three hundred wounded French, coming from Cavor and fleeing before the Austrians, arrived, towards the end of May, in wagons, at the village of Bobbio, the extreme frontier of the valley of Lucerna, on the side of France, in a shocking state of destitution and suffering. The pastor of the place, Rostaing, a respectable old man, assisted by his wife, relieved the most pressing wants of these unfortunate beings as far as he could. A calf, twenty-five loaves, and some wine, all that his presbytery contained, were furnished them by his care. The parishioners supplied what was deficient from their slender means. The sores of the wounded were dressed and bound; after which hundreds of men carried them into France in their arms, or on their shoulders, a distance of ten leagues, over a lofty defile, along precipices, and in the midst of snows which were impassable to beasts of burden.* The Vaudois never quitted them till they had deposited them in safety, in the hands of their fellow-countrymen. This fact was notified to the French army in an order of the day by general Suchet,† who sent a copy of it to the pastor with a very flattering letter.

This generous action, joined to the vigorous resistance which the Vaudois, faithful to their oaths, made to the last

* Colonel Maranda, in his work, "Tableau du Piémont," claims the honour of the plan which was put in execution under his direction by the pastor Rostaing. It may be as he says; nevertheless the devotedness of the pastor and the people of Bobbio is not the less admirable.

† Dated at the head-quarters at La Pietra, 3rd Frimaire, year 8.

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against the invasion of the Austro-Russian army, and to their defence of the government which had taken refuge at Perrier, would have brought on them the greatest misfortunes if God had not sent the prince Bagration from the centre of Russia to protect them. In the midst of the furious clamours of the Piedmontese, who longed to lay waste the valleys with fire and sword, this prince, an aide-de-camp of Suwarrow, was able to ascertain the real state of things ;* he understood and appreciated the line of conduct pursued by the Vaudois. "They are under the protection of the marshal," (Suwarrow,) replied a Russian officer to the head of the supreme council at Turin, who was reproaching and threatening the deputies of the Vaudois valleys, "we have nothing to do with your Piedmontese antipathies."

So far from undertaking anything against them, the Russians even left them their arms, to defend themselves in case of an attack ; nothing was required of them but a simple promise not to employ them against the allied troops.

The Vaudois, for about a year, remained placed between the belligerent armies. Their mountains resounded with the tramp of foreign troops ; and more than once with a vigorous discharge of musketry. They escaped, however, from greater evils which menaced them.

The year 1800 arrived. The first consul of the French republic, another Hannibal, crossed the Alps at the head of a great army, to throw himself on the Austrians and Piedmontese, who fancied themselves in security, and to snatch from them a victory at Marengo, on the 14th of June, and with it the possession of the richest provinces. Piedmont once more passed under the domination of the French, and the Vaudois immediately enjoyed the privileges of which they had only just caught a glimpse.

But this return to liberty was not, after all, a return to prosperity and happiness. All the plain and the valleys presented at this time a more wretched spectacle than can easily be imagined. An extreme scarcity, added to the pillaging of the soldiers and the rapacity of the commissaries, both French and Austrian, had raised the price of

* It is not impossible that England had recommended the Vaudois to the protection of the generals of the allied powers.

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provisions so extravagantly, that hardly any money could procure them. The poor only existed in misery, while numbers died of hunger.

In these circumstances the financial position of the pastors became very critical. The Royal English Subsidy, which formed the largest part of their income, had been withdrawn from the time they became the subjects of France. The English National Subsidy continued to reach them but irregularly; the share of each amounted to about five hundred francs. This was all their salary; too little, certainly, for the wants of a family. The devotedness of their parishioners exerted itself to assist them. In more than one locality, the elders of the church might be seen busy in calling at houses to procure a supply of bread for the pastors. On hearing of these pressing necessities, the executive commission of Piedmont took measures, well intended, but far from politic. It will be recollected that Roman Catholic parishes had been formed throughout the whole extent of the valleys, notwithstanding the extreme fewness of the flocks, and property and rents had been assigned to the officiating priests. The executive commission provided in a different manner for their support; and remitted the administration of these properties and rents, with some small deductions, to Vaudois moderators, to defray the expenses of worship and instruction. The administration of the popish institution for Vaudois catechumens at Pignerol,* and its dependencies, was also entrusted to them as a pledge that henceforth the evangelical people of the valleys would not have to dread the seductions and violence of the papists; thus giving some little satisfaction to the wounded feelings of the Vaudois, by putting the persecuted in possession of the house of their spiritual oppressors. It is lamentable that they should have provided in this manner for the maintenance of the pastors and schoolmasters; the Catholics looked upon it as an act of spoliation and hostility. This opinion was no doubt unjust, since the decision was made by the existing authorities, composed moreover of Catholics, and not by the Vaudois; but although it was certainly lawful for the

* In this institution the Vaudois children who had been abducted from their parents were instructed in popery, as well as all those persons who could be seduced by any means to the Romish faith. Since the restoration, it has been used for its original purpose, at least as far as regards the latter class.

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authorities to give satisfaction to a Christian church that had been long oppressed, it would have been much better to have done it in a manner less irritating towards the party that was thus humiliated. As for the rest, it is merely an act of justice to state that during the whole time of the French domination, the pastors and their flocks never gave occasion to the priests or their parishioners to complain of their conduct.

The ecclesiastical administration of the valleys remained the same during the first years of the reunion with France; it continued as in time past in the hands of the consistories, the synod, and the table, or superior executive commission. It was not till 1805, when the emperor was on his way to Turin, that the assimilation of these churches to the other Protestant churches of the French empire was projected,* and some months later it was definitively settled by a decree of the 6th of Thermidor,† in the year 13. According to this decree the different churches were arranged in three consistories; namely, those of La Torre, Prarustin, and Villesèche. The first comprised the parishes of La Torre, Villaro, Bobbio, and Rora. The second, those of Prarustin, Angrogna, and San Giovanni. The third, those of Villesèche, Pomaret, St. Germain, Prali, Maneille and Pramol. This organization lasted as long as the valleys were subject to France.

During this period, the Vaudois, heretofore crowded within narrow limits, came forth and acquired property in the plain. The temples that had fallen in ruins were repaired. At San Giovanni, where all the places appropriated to worship and instruction had been closed since 1658, a temple was erected.

This large and beautiful edifice was scarcely finished when it suffered great damage from the earthquake which, in 1808, spread consternation through the valleys and the province of Pinerolo, and was also felt in many parts of France and Italy. For four months, from the beginning of April to the end of July, shocks more or less violent con-

* The moderator, Rod. Peyran, obtained at that time an audience with Napoléon.

† The decree is dated from the palace of St. Cloud. Another decree, confirming the concessions of funded property, made by the executive commission for the support of the Vaudois pastors, is dated from Boulogne. As to the remainder of the salaries, it was provided for conformably to the law of Germinal, year 10.

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tinued to shake the ground and buildings of every kind. The damages were so great that they were estimated at two or three millions for the district of Pinerolo and the valleys. Clouds of an unusual and ominous aspect had been the forerunners of this scourge. On the eve of the first shocks the barometer fell very low: a sudden and very considerable increase of water was noticed in the torrents of the valley of Lucerna, and the water in the wells became whitish: a cold and violent wind began to blow. The first shock, followed by several others in close succession, was felt in the afternoon of April 2nd. These were the most terrible of all. Churches and houses fell in ruins; those that remained standing were seriously damaged. Large portions of rock were detached from the summits of the mountains, and rolled down with a crash into the valley. The lower communes were those that suffered the most; among others, San Giovanni, La Torre, and Lucerna: those higher up felt it but slightly; yet everywhere the consternation was great; scarcely any persons dared to remain in their houses. The population lived in tents; some individuals sheltered themselves in old casks or in slight sheds made for the unexpected emergency. These places, lately so peaceful, presented the appearance of a camp where all was confusion. All agriculture, commerce, and handicraft were put a stop to; fear had seized every one to such an extent that they thought of nothing but how to save their lives. In this respect each one experienced the protection of Divine Providence; for during all the time this visitation lasted, they had only to lament the loss of three lives, and the letters written at that period are filled with recitals of deliverances that were truly miraculous.*

The following years, down to 1814, so fertile in political and military events, present no fact within the range of our narrative deserving of particular attention. But before we proceed to the new and last period of this history, it will be of importance to examine into the religious spirit of the years we have passed through.

The end of the eighteenth century was marked in the valleys by a decline in the tone of religion, which was weakened everywhere. There, as in other countries, it

* Correspondance Vaudoise, etc.—Vaudois Correspondence; or, a Collection of Letters from the Valleys on the Earthquake of 1808, etc., Paris, 1808.

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might be remarked that the Christian spirit, so vigorous and so fruitful in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fed itself less abundantly from the pure source of the gospel. A proud rationalism, mere human opinion, began to claim a place in theology, and, attempting to make religion more accessible and less repulsive in its doctrines, tarnished and disfigured it. The candidates for the sacred ministry, acquired for the most part in the foreign academies, where they prepared for entering upon it, nothing but a cold orthodoxy, or the germs of Socinian laxity.* The first years of the nineteenth century brought no amelioration. Virtue was often preached and exalted more than the work of Christ, or than faith, or than the love of the Lord. The title of philosopher was placed at least on a level with that of Christian.† The Vaudois representative of this tendency was M. Mondon, the late pastor of San Giovanni, a man of talent, well versed in classical literature and profane history, of a singular, capricious character, but courageous and full of frankness. His belief was attacked, and on good grounds, for it was far from being evangelical; it was he who in a manuscript answer to a pastoral letter of the bishop of Pinerolo, summed up the fruits of the Spirit, enumerated by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians, (ch. v.,) and in that to the Galatians, (ch. v.,) in these words: "In substance, these are their names,—humanity, justice, and reason."‡ He was, moreover, an austere man, and of regular conduct.

M. Peter Geymet, pastor of La Torre, and moderator for twelve years, was also a person of note at this period, but less for his theological opinions and preaching than for the part he acted in political affairs. Being called to take a share in a Piedmontese council (*consulte*) at Turin, he attracted attention and gained the esteem of many influential persons by the warmth with which he undertook the defence of religion when attacked in this assembly. On the reunion of Piedmont to France, he was nominated sub-prefect of Pinerolo, and filled that honourable office for thirteen years.§

* In fact, at Lausanne cold orthodoxy, and at Geneva, Socinianism.

† Letter, in manuscript, from a herdsman of the high mountains of Angrogna, March 19, 1819.

‡ Answer of a pastor (M. Mondon) to the bishop of Pinerolo. MSS.

§ The author of this work can attest that in the midst of his multiplied occupations, this good father found special hours which he devoted to the instruction of his numerous family.

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While he rendered important services to his own brethren in the faith, he also acquired the respect and attachment of all his constituents. He left behind him in this important place, though wholly Roman Catholic, an untarnished reputation for probity, at a time when high functionaries generally possessed so little. At the restoration, Geymet withdrew to La Torre so poor, and so modest withal, that he, who a short time before was the first magistrate in the valleys, did not refuse to accept the humble post of master of a Latin school, the salary of which did not exceed seven hundred francs, and to which he devoted his latter days, till his death in 1822.

But the pastor whose name has attracted the most attention, at least among foreigners, is Rodolph Peyran, who was at his death pastor at Pomaret, after having been moderator of the Vaudois churches from 1801 to 1805, and from 1814 to 1823. He merited his celebrity by his very great erudition, of which he has left proofs in his manuscript letters, on a great variety of subjects, addressed to various persons, and in which he has manifested a mind capable of great things, if the religious and moral sentiment had combined with his genius in producing them. Although an able controversialist, he made too little use himself of the excellence of the doctrines that he so victoriously defended. He always reproached himself for the agitated life of his youth. The best remembrance that he has left of himself among his fellow-countrymen, is that of a mind abounding in sallies of wit, and full of originality.

It is not too severe to say that the end of the last century and the commencement of the present, produced in the valleys the germs of religious declension. If the lukewarmness or the errors of some ministers of the gospel, victims themselves of the spirit of the times, contributed on one side to the weakening of the faith, and of the Christian life in some localities, yet we must acknowledge that the greatest evil arose from political circumstances, from an unavoidable contact with the men of the French revolution, with the zealots of impiety. Everything tended to divert the soul from the interior life hidden with Christ in God. The power of the human understanding, united to material force, was regarded as the regenerator of the world. Nothing was thought of but social organization, material conquests,

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interests purely human, and worldly glory. There was no room left in this world, so to speak, for the interests of the world to come: all eyes were turned towards that extraordinary man whose achievements obscured the splendour of all that preceding ages had admired. Napoléon concentrated the attention of every one on his person and his empire. Attracted by his voice, hurried along by his genius, the sons of the Vaudois submitted to the conscription, hastened to range themselves under his banners, to shed for a foreign nation their precious blood, and to expend a life which their ancestors, the martyrs, had consecrated to the prosperity and defence of the church. Cut down by death in fields of battle or in hospitals, few of them ever saw their native country again. Some acquired reputation and rank in the army. The name of colonel Olivet is popular in the valleys; his portrait, lithographed, is to be found in every cottage. Other Vaudois distinguished themselves like M. Geymet, in civil administration.

But while the young and men in the prime of life were more or less excited and carried away by the torrent of new ideas, the aged, the simple-minded, the serious, the mountaineers in the retired hamlets, mothers of families, and respectable pastors, preserved their primitive manners and traditions, by the recital of the sufferings of their ancestors, and by the reading and teaching of the Holy Scriptures.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE VALLEYS SINCE THE GENERAL PEACE (1814—1846).

THE time marked by the wisdom of Providence for the end of Napoléon's reign approached. His unbounded ambition prepared an immense grave for his armies in the frozen snows. The work assigned him by "the Lord of lords" was accomplished; kings and nations had received salutary lessons. The emperor of the French was vanquished, and forced to abdicate. Restored for a hundred

* For this chapter the author has consulted the histories of the time, the Tableau du Piémont, by Maranda, Turin, year xi. of the French Republic, some manuscripts, and the recollections of several contemporaries.

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days to the possession of a part of his dominions, he fell once more from his elevation; and leaving for ever to others the task of governing the world, he closed his life in humiliation, and in painful reflection, as the prisoner of England, at St. Helena.

The legitimate sovereign of Piedmont returned to the possession of his states, increased by the spoils of his enemy. Victor Emmanuel received the homage of the ancient and new provinces of his monarchy. The Vaudois valleys were not the last to acknowledge his authority, and to promise entire fidelity to their prince.

Nevertheless, if the fall of Napoléon was a benefit to Europe, now exhausted and decimated, it was rather a loss to the Vaudois, who, from being on a level with all the other members of the Piedmontese family, and enjoying equal laws with them, again descended to the condition of sectaries, and were placed under a system of exclusion and privation. They had hoped better things. They confided in Victor Emmanuel, because he had resided in their neighbourhood, at Pinerolo, in 1794; had visited their valleys, and commanded their militia, when as duke of Aosta he was at the head of a division of the army which protected their frontiers. So great were the expectations they founded upon him, that, at the congress of Vienna, they abstained from the employment of means at which they supposed he might take offence. We have been assured that a friend of the Vaudois had prepared the way for having their emancipation demanded from the king as a condition of the territorial advantages he would enjoy. A memorial to this effect was drawn up; but at the moment of sending it, the Vaudois board, fearing to displease a monarch whom they believed to be generous, did not think fit to forward it. They were contented with acquainting the king's government with the wishes of the population, and interesting two superior officers of the allied powers in their favour, the count de Bubna, an Austrian general, and lord Bentinck, commander of the British forces in the Mediterranean, and then at Genoa. Their requests related to liberty of conscience and worship; to a political equality with the other subjects of the king; to the abolition, (which had already taken place, in fact, since 1800,) of all humiliating restrictions in their religious

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and civil relations; and lastly, some particular points, such as the salary of the pastors, and an efficacious protection against the abduction of the Vaudois children.

This was too much to expect from a court politic, superstitious, and little disposed to innovate. To re-establish the Vaudois affairs on their ancient footing was in its eyes the most prudent decision; and it would go no further. One of the first acts presented for the signature of Victor Emmanuel, after his return to his capital, was the edict which replaced the Vaudois under all the restrictive ordinances that were in force during the reign of his predecessors, before the French domination. We may easily imagine the surprise, the grief, the depression which this news occasioned in the valleys. After the full enjoyment for fifteen years of the advantages of religious liberty and political equality, it appeared hard to be obliged to surrender the general interests of the church to the disquieting guardianship of a government ruled by priests, and to see themselves inclosed in narrow limits, like culprits in a prison, or restrained to a small number of occupations to the exclusion of the more honourable professions, as men who were unworthy of consideration.

The first use to which this restrictive edict was applied by the authorities was to shut up the temple of San Giovanni, which had been built at Blonats, in the centre of the parish, during the French occupation. It became necessary, in consequence, to re-open the ancient edifice, which was situated out of the commune, in Angrogna.

A second case soon after occurred; the parsonages, properties, and rents, which had been assigned to the priests in the valleys, before the French domination, and transferred during that period to the hands of the Vaudois directory or board, were reclaimed by the former recipients and occupants. To this no objection was made. But not content with being put in possession of their ancient benefices, the priests claimed a reimbursement of the property and revenues which the pastors had enjoyed; an unjust requirement, since the Vaudois board had not administered this property except by order of the authorities at that time established.

Accordingly, though the government refused to the Vaudois the position they wished to hold in the state, it

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could never think of sanctioning such ridiculous claims as those of the Romish clergy in the valleys. By its orders, without doubt, count Crotti,* superintendent of the province of Pinerolo, a magistrate whose memory is still revered, assembled the interested parties, and desired them to argue their claims before him. Although moderate in form, the discussion was earnest, each party stoutly defending its own opinion; and there seemed no likelihood of their coming to a settlement, when the youngest priest, who, as such, spoke after the rest of his brethren, gave an opinion quite different from theirs. "The ministers," he said, "have administered not only lawfully but loyally; they have preserved our property uninjured and in a perfect state. We ought to claim nothing from them." This equitable priest justified his view of the case with so much frankness and truth, that it prevailed, and terminated the difference to the great satisfaction of the worthy intendent, who, in the name of the king, had undertaken to settle it.

Their sovereign, in replacing the Vaudois under a restrictive and obsolete system of legislation, did not, it is plain, intend to push matters to extremity. Thus, with respect to the temple of San Giovanni, he granted, after the lapse of a year, permission to perform Divine service in it. Yet, as some concession must be granted to the priest who considered himself aggrieved, pained, and incommoded by the very sight of those who entered it, as well as by the singing of the hymns which were heard outside from the door being left open, an order was given to raise a structure that would hide the door. This was obeyed by raising a screen formed of planks before it.† The sovereign gave a proof of his tolerance in allowing the pastor to retain his residence in the parish, and in permitting schools also to be kept there. Thus an end was put to the prohibition which since 1658 deprived San Giovanni of worship and schools within its limits, as well as of a pastor's presence. This redress of abuses, and extended toleration, may be imputed to the new spirit with which the government was

* In the course of a long exile among the Protestants he had learned to appreciate them, and always treated the Vaudois with respect.

† This fence fell down from decay a few years ago, and, at the suggestion of the same priest, a screen in the interior was substituted for it, which he considered sufficient.

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animated, though slowly, in reference to the affairs of the Vaudois.

The Vaudois also received other proofs of the king's benignant disposition. By the withdrawal of the funds and incomes which were set apart for the worship and schools, under the French government, the pastors, schoolmasters and managers were reduced to penury. The foreign subsidies had returned to the valleys with the peace, but the sum was of smaller amount than formerly. The Royal English Subsidy was no longer received, owing to a cause known to the Vaudois. The Dutch funds, diminished by a third under the French administration, did not yield more than that proportion. These necessities having been laid before his majesty, he took them, as well as some other requests, into consideration; and on Feb. 27, 1816, published an edict, by which he conferred three favours on his Vaudois subjects :—I. A fixed annual salary to the pastors:* II. Permission to keep their property acquired beyond the limits during the French government: III. License to practise, besides the common trades, the professions of surgeon, apothecary, architect, land-surveyor, and those for which a diploma was not required, after having submitted to the prescribed examinations and conformed to the regulations.

As a new spirit of enlarged toleration thus presided over the acts of government, the Romish clergy changed the method of carrying on their ancient warfare against the Vaudois church. Violence and oppression not suiting the spirit of the times, they had recourse to a method often employed in preceding ages, namely, discussion, but giving it a milder form, that of pastoral letters. The bishop of Pinerolo, Bigex, undertook this task. His addresses were well written, and combined all the qualities requisite for persuasion, if the number and arrangement of the arguments and the art of presenting them could make up for

* This salary was 500 livres (or French franks) for each of the thirteen ancient pastors, payable by the public functionaries, and raised by an additional tax on the landed property of the Vaudois. This annual allowance has admitted of the establishment recently, with the royal approbation, of two new pastorates, one at Rodoret, an ancient parochial dependency of Prali, another at Macel, similarly related to Maneille. The salary of these two pastors is inferior; it is provided for entirely by means of a part of the Royal British Subsidy, which remained unemployed because of the salary assigned by his majesty to the thirteen ancient pastors.

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the unsoundness of the foundation. All that could be said to entice the disciples of the Saviour into the great establishment of which the centre is at Rome, was repeated; error was palliated, and false doctrines coloured or attenuated. On the appearance of the first of the pastoral epistles, in 1818, the Vaudois public, whether on account of the novelty of the thing or for fear of consequences, was very much agitated. Nevertheless, it was very soon seen that where the spirit of the reformation, or rather the spirit of the ancient Vaudois, which accords with the mind of God, breathed, the spirit of Rome could not mislead the understanding; that where the word of God is not only preached, but within the reach and in the hands of all, there, popish error, the worship of saints and the observance of the mass, will only gain isolated partisans. Nevertheless, many pastors thought it their duty to reply by manuscript refutations, which being copied a great many times circulated from family to family. Those of MM. Geymet, Rod. Peyran, and Mondon, deserve to be particularly mentioned. The seriousness of some, and the excellent selection of arguments, form a striking contrast to the tone (far too light) of others. The feebleness of the cause of the adversaries and the excellence of their own, were not sufficient reasons, when the matter in question was really the gospel and the kingdom of God, for indulging in pleasantry, personality, or malice. This paper war, after being carried on for some time with vigour, subsided without any result beyond the noise it made at the time. It was attempted to be renewed, but without success, by the bishops who succeeded M. Bigex; by M. Rey, in 1826, in a pastoral letter devoid of all persuasive argument, and lastly by the present bishop, M. Charvoz, in pastoral letters and numerous writings, composed with ability, in which learning is employed in the service of error with very great skill. By these publications, printed and circulated through the diocese, in Piedmont and elsewhere, endeavours were made to effect a change of opinion, as if the Vaudois, reduced to silence, would succumb to the force of argument in favour of the Romish system. The valleys undoubtedly reckon at this hour, among their pastors, men of talent, versed in biblical science and in the history of the church, and capable assuredly of taking up the gauntlet that has been thrown

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down to them. But, independently of the little advantage to be gained in refuting objections a hundred times made and as often answered, and in exploding assertions of which the falsehood is generally acknowledged, especially in the valleys, it is difficult, and indeed almost impossible, for the spiritual guides of these churches to do it by means of the press, since their writings would be partially cancelled, or totally suppressed by the censorship, and they themselves might be called to account, under pretext of having wronged the Romish church.

The prejudices and repugnance with which the suggestions of the priests inspired the Roman Catholics against the Vaudois made their way to the throne itself. Charles Felix, who became king on the abdication of Victor Emmanuel in 1821, refused to admit to an audience the Vaudois deputation, who were commissioned by the Valleys to present their homage to his majesty. His religious prejudices prompted him to this severity. He condescended to explain the cause, "Tell them," he said, "that they only want one thing, that is, to be Catholics." Their fidelity in fact never failed them; for when, in 1821, all Piedmont, so to speak, was involved in a revolutionary movement, the Vaudois almost alone remained attached to legal order and legitimacy.

By the elevation of the present king, Charles Albert, prince of Carignan, the prejudices which prevailed on the throne are now banished from it. Intelligent and generous, the father of his subjects, Charles Albert has put an end to many severities and indignities which were heaped upon the Vaudois. Promotion in the army had been refused to them; since the French domination, no Vaudois had been raised to the rank of an officer. Charles Albert has repaired this intentional slight. Superstition had refused, at Aosta, honourable burial to a Vaudois, an aged soldier, Major Bonnet; Charles Albert, listening to the appeal of justice, imposed silence on the voice of intolerance, and gave authority to one of his Vaudois subjects, the chaplain of the Protestant ambassador at Turin, to transport the remains of the aged warrior with honour to one of the cemeteries of the valleys. It cannot however be denied that, in some of his measures, the prince has appeared to return at times to the distrustful and restrictive policy of

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most of his predecessors: thus his government has put in force, for some years, the edict which confined all the Vaudois within the valleys, and did not allow them to stay more than three successive days in a locality beyond those limits, unless perhaps at Turin. In the same manner, a desire has been shown to constrain the Vaudois proprietors of land in the Catholic territory, to sell it within a short space of time. But we are anxious to add that his majesty, urged in the name of tolerance and equity, has not sanctioned the first measure, and has modified the second in the following manner:—Property possessed beyond the limits by the Vaudois is not to be sold compulsorily, and may pass in succession to legal heirs; but in the case of escheat, or obstruction to the course of descent, such property is to be sold to Roman Catholics.

These restrictions, injurious even to the revenue, increase the discomfort which is already felt in the valleys by a population too large for such narrow limits. A part of the twenty thousand Vaudois cooped up amidst snowy cliffs, barren rocks, and the plain which is closed to them, can barely exist: their activity expends itself for nothing, and is lost. Emigration becomes the only resource of those who are not proprietors; for of commerce there is almost none, and labour was scarcely more profitable. France and Switzerland increase by the loss of population which the valleys incur: Marseille, Nîsmes, Lyons, and Geneva receive a great number, who are daily increasing in consequence of that distrustful policy which expels from Piedmont the most moral part of its population.

The popish system, it is true, finds its advantage in this system of oppression, which furnishes it with subjects of conquest. It is especially among the poor, in distress and burdened with families, and the demoralized, that the religion of Rome gains ground from time to time by means of bribes. In this way, from fifteen to twenty persons have passed over to Popery in a single year.

The increasing wants of the Vaudois population, since the restoration, have attracted afresh, as in former ages, the attention and interest of the Protestants of Europe. One sovereign, the late glorious king of Prussia, Frederick William III., testified a lively solicitude for them. They have found indefatigable benefactors among the clergy of

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England, and many of the gentry of that noble nation. Holland and Switzerland have added new contributions to their former aid. Other states also have taken part in giving assistance.

During a long course of years, the pious Frederick William III. was represented at Turin by count Waldburg Truchsess, who was furnished no doubt with special instructions concerning the Vaudois colonies (as he called the valleys). The noble count was their constant support: he visited them, sojourned amongst them, made himself acquainted with their wants, occupied himself actively in improving their condition, often spake in their favour to their sovereign, and on more than one occasion interested himself for them. It was by his endeavours, aided by the ambassadors of England and Holland, that an evangelical chapel was established at Turin, with the approbation of the king, which is regularly supplied by a resident Vaudois pastor, and open to the Vaudois and Protestant population (far from inconsiderable) of the capital.

To the count Waldburg belonged also the first idea of an establishment which Protestant charity has bestowed on the valleys, namely, a hospital for the sick. Struck with the miseries and ills which the want of succour and medical aid left incurable; mortified too with seeing that no Vaudois was admitted into an infirmary without being harassed with solicitations to change his religion, the ambassador interested his sovereign in the founding of such an establishment. Request was next made in all the evangelical states for permission to make collections for this object. The consent of the king of Sardinia to the plan was asked, and graciously granted. Collections were made in 1825, in Prussia, England, Holland, France, Switzerland,* throughout Protestant Germany, and even in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia.† The funds collected are secured in foreign parts. They were sufficiently abundant to build and endow two hospitals instead of one: one at La Torre, for the valley of Lucerna; the other at Pomaret, for the two other valleys. The blessings of the sick, of their families, and of the Valleys altogether, rest on the authors of so great a benefit.

* The canton of Vaud collected 500 louis.

† The bust of the emperor Alexander, preserved in the hospital, is a memorial of a generous donation.

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A third signal service rendered to the Valleys by the king of Prussia, Frederick William III., was the creation of two bursaries in favour of Vaudois students at the university of Berlin. By this means the candidates for the ministry, instructed under the eyes of the king, by the lectures of an Augustus Neander, and by the paternal counsels of a Dieterici, cannot but promote, with the blessing of God, the spiritual prosperity of the Christians of the Alps.

The Prussian monarch, who took delight in advancing the temporal and spiritual good of his humble brethren in the valleys, did not leave this world without receiving proofs of their gratitude. They testified the same sentiments also to his representative more than once during his lifetime, and, after that, to his mortal remains. His excellency had left directions to deposit his remains in the midst of his beloved Vaudois, as he was wont to call them. On August 18th, 1844, the heads of the Vaudois family received his remains, and accompanied them with weeping eyes to the cemetery of La Torre, where they were placed among the ashes of their dead. All the pastors, the members of the consistory, deputies from all the communes, the college, the schools, with an assemblage of two or three thousand persons, testified the veneration felt by the people for their pious benefactors.

Next to the count Waldburg and his pious sovereign, may be named, amongst the warmest friends of the Vaudois in England, the Rev. Mr. Sims, and the Rev. Dr. Gilly, George Lowther, esq., colonel Beckwith, and others. By their publications, correspondence, and conversations, they have excited in their native country a lively interest for the descendants of those who confessed the pure gospel at a period antecedent to the Reformation. Many of them have united their efforts for the improvement of the schools. As to the higher branches of instruction, formerly one master, paid by the Walloon committee of Holland, had the entire charge of it, under the title of rector of the Latin school; Dr. Gilly and his friends applied the funds they raised to enlarge this primary institution, with the consent of the committee in Holland, and the approbation of his Sardinian majesty.

Two professorships have been added to that which already existed at La Torre: their union constitutes a

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college, where Latin, Greek, French, Italian, geography, history, and the mathematics are taught in connection with religion. A spacious building, designed for the classes, and a library, has been built in the outskirts of La Torre, on the Villaro road, in a beautiful situation, at the expense of the Vaudois communes, with the aid of a generous donation. Scholarships have also been founded for the benefit of the pupils. The ancient Latin school of Pomaret, in the valley of San Martino, by an increase in the salary of the instructor, now enjoys the services of a superior man. Excited by the example of English Christians, the communes have increased the salaries of the parish schoolmasters, in the hope that their young people who enter on this useful vocation will prepare themselves for it by more extensive and solid studies than formerly. Many, in fact, have placed themselves for this purpose in the normal school of the canton de Vaud, which has been eagerly opened for them by a benevolent government. The residences of the schoolmasters and the school buildings have been put on a uniform footing. It is impossible in speaking of these various efforts and improvements to forget the venerated name of colonel Beckwith, whose enlightened charity has been displayed in aiding, by liberal donations, the repair or erection of more than eighty schools, greater or smaller, in districts or parishes.

A superior school for girls was still wanting, but has been formed under the name of a boarding-school, (*pensionnat,*) by the same benefactor. Schoolmistresses and teachers have also been established in various places, by generous aid. Were we permitted, we should be gratified to mention among the benefactresses the name of a noble Prussian lady, the countess F——.

The Swiss cantons continue to give assistance to some Vaudois students in the universities of Lausanne and Geneva.

Holland, whose moral and pecuniary support has been so important to the Valleys in their distresses, has continued to render signal services by contributions towards the salaries of the schoolmasters and the teacher of the Latin school, and by its aid to the superannuated pastors and their widows, as well as by gifts to deserving students.

It was impossible that such visible marks of the interest

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taken in the Valleys by the Protestants of Europe should not attract the attention, and, in some degree, excite the distrust of the government, although on closer examination it might easily be assured that nothing had been done in a spirit of either open or concealed hostility, and that all their improvements tended only to the greatest welfare of the valleys. Could it then be thought that the government would have wished to form a counterpoise to these measures by permitting, at the very gates of La Torre, the head-quarters and centre of this movement, the erection of an establishment in aid of the Romish missions, for eight fathers, under the name of the priory of the holy religion, and of the military order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus? During the building of this convent and of its vast church, the people of the valleys became disturbed and anxious, and could not think without emotion of the intentions it announced. Those who knew the history of their native country recollected that more than once disturbance, followed by cruel measures against their forefathers, had been occasioned by the introduction of monks into the midst of a Vaudois population. It was feared that this establishment would be a source of evil at no very distant period. As the day for the completion of the building and its consecration drew near their anxiety increased.

But such was not the intention of his majesty; at least, so we are authorized to believe, after the proofs he then gave of his goodwill and confidence in his Vaudois subjects. Charles Albert, in his quality of grand master of the order of the Saints Maurice and Lazarus, had consented to be present at the dedication of the new temple of La Torre. The military commandant had already given orders to quarter the troops of the line in that city, as a guard for his majesty. They were expected, when the report was spread that Charles Albert had declined to employ them, that he had even sent back to Pinerolo half a squadron of the royal carabiniers who had been appointed to accompany him, and finally that the marquises of Lucerna and Angrogna had proposed to the king that he should be received by the Vaudois militia, and that this offer had been accepted. This news dissipated the sombre thoughts that had been gathering in many hearts. They vanished entirely when it was known that his majesty had said, in reply to

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those who urged him to make use of the regular troops, "I require no guard in the midst of the Vaudois." They all instinctively drew the conclusion that the king entertained the best feelings towards them, since he wished for no other defenders than their love. This hope rose brightly in their hearts, like the sun, which at daybreak, on Sept. 24th, 1844, gilded the mountains, after the two days of incessant rain which had chilled the limbs of the Catholics who had assembled on the 22nd for the dedication.

All the men able to bear arms in the valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, and Prarustin, formed themselves into two lines for the passage of the king, who in the midst of solemn silence repaired to the new Roman temple to perform his devotions. During this time the militia formed into companies, and proceeded to Lucerna, half a league distant. The king quitted La Torre on foot, surrounded by a dense crowd, who hailed him with affection; and then entered his carriage and pursued his journey. In the direction of Lucerna, repeated acclamations and shouts of joy were heard from the Vaudois militia who awaited his arrival. The king, affected by such a cordial reception, took his stand at the gate of the palace of Lucerna, and made the militia file off by companies according to their communes and with their colours. He saluted each standard, and every one could see a good-humoured smile on his countenance when a standard-bearer, not content with lowering his colours before his sovereign, saluted him by taking off his hat also. The Vaudois Board, or Directory, were admitted in their turn to an audience, and met with a gracious reception; and when, after having delivered to the syndic of La Torre a liberal donation for the poor of the two communes, the king left at night for Turin, he saw from a distance La Torre illuminated, and the dark mountains that surround it covered with bonfires, as if to enlighten as far as possible the route of their prince, who had found the way to the hearts of his subjects.

It would seem that it was not in the hearts of the Vaudois alone that the visit of the 24th Sept., 1844, left ineffaceable traces. Charles Albert, in a gratifying manner, has preserved the remembrance of it by an enduring memorial. He has caused a beautiful fountain to be constructed at the entrance of the town of La Torre, with this inscription:—"*Il re,*

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Carolo Alberto, al popolo che l'accoglieva con tanto affetto." "The king, Charles Albert, to the people who welcomed him with so much affection."

Since that time, nothing has interrupted this confidence between the sovereign and his faithful Vaudois subjects. May it always endure, and increase in his august house, as well as fidelity to God and the king in the hearts of the inhabitants of the valleys!

A WORD

TO MY DEAR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN OF THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS.

HAVING now reached the termination of this History of the Vaudois Church from its origin, and of the Vaudois of the Valleys of Piedmont to the present day, I cannot take my leave of you, for whom principally I have written this work, without addressing a parting word. It is that of an old man, known to all your pastors, the greater part of whom have been his pupils, and of whom more than one are his kinsmen. I may then say to all of you, as Abraham to Lot, "Are we not brethren?" Listen, then, to my voice.

The corner of the earth that you inhabit, under the vault of heaven and the inspection of the Omnipotent, has been from time immemorial the cradle of our Vaudois church. Our origin, as evangelical Christians, goes back to the first ages of the Christian church. It has been attempted to brand with ridicule that just claim which constitutes our glory. Error has endeavoured to forge a false history for you. As a son of the martyrs, like yourselves, as a descendant of the most ancient confessors of the truth, I have felt it my duty to retrace the facts for you, to place before your eyes the testimonies on which our history rests; I have done it without art, guided as I have been by the love of truth.

Ye descendants of the Vaudois, aspire to resemble your forefathers. Ye have received from generation to generation the glorious heritage of sound doctrine; transmit it, unimpaired, to your children. In your retired valleys, as in

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the days of darkness, the Eternal has preserved the light which was extinguished elsewhere; guard it carefully, now that it shines with renovated splendour in other places and in other climes. To faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit join the proof of your sincerity, a life of renunciation of sin, of entire devotedness to your heavenly Shepherd, to the Sovereign Redeemer of your souls! "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

But for this end, dear fellow-countrymen, guard against saying with self-complacency, like the church of Laodicea, "I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing." Dread lukewarmness and religious indifference—for behind these faults, death lies in ambush. The life of the soul which, as well as that of the body, God alone gives, equally requires nourishment. Give it the nourishment that suits it, and it will live. Jesus is the Bread of life—seek for him in your Bible, by continual reading; seek for him in heaven, by your prayers; seek for him in the church, which is his body, by associating with the faithful, with assembled saints, and by approaching with faith and repentance the table of the Lord.

Dear fellow-countrymen! I now take my leave of you and your families, imploring on your persons as I do on this work, the Divine blessing.

Your Brother in the faith, as well as in the flesh,

ANT. MONASTIER,
Pastor.

LAUSANNE,
Oct. 13, 1846.

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APPENDIX.

In the Appendix to the original work the undermentioned pieces are given.

I. A short geographical and statistical description of the Vaudois valleys of Piedmont.

II. (A) Three Catalogues of the ancient writings of the Vaudois.

(B) A few of the principal of these writings; namely,

1. The Noble Lesson, A.D. 1100.
2. Some extracts from other religious poems of the Vaudois, without date, but reputed to be as ancient as The Noble Lesson.
3. The Vaudois Catechism, A.D. 1100.
4. Their Confession of Faith, A.D. 1120.
5. A Treatise on Antichrist, A.D. 1120.
6. Extracts from the Treatise on Purgatory, A.D. 1126.
7. The Formulary of their Confession of Sins, without date, and in French, M. Monastier not having at hand the manuscript in the Romance language or Vaudois dialect.

So much of the geographical and statistical statement as seemed useful is given in this Appendix, but it has not been thought expedient to print here the catalogues and other document extending over 147 pages.

The first of the three Catalogues (A) contains the titles and description of those ancient writings of the Vaudois made use of by Perrin in the composition of his History of the Vaudois, and mentioned by him.

The second Catalogue consists of ancient writings of the Vaudois, collected in the valleys by Jean Léger, and delivered by him, in the year 1658, to Sir Samuel Morland, British ambassador or commissioner from Oliver Cromwell to Turin, who deposited them in the library of the University of Cambridge. According to Léger these writings were contained in seven volumes. A list of them is in Morland's "History of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont," folio, London, 1658.

The third Catalogue is that of Vaudois works deposited by Léger in the library of Geneva.

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The Noble Lesson (La Nobla Leyczon) is a metrical production, consisting of 479 lines, in the Romance or Vaudois language, which has been frequently translated. It consists chiefly of an abstract of the Old and New Testament history, and refers to the corruptions introduced into the nominal church after the apostolic age. The introductory lines fix the date of its composition to be the beginning of the twelfth century.

1. O brethren, give ear to a noble lesson :
2. We ought often to watch and pray,
3. For we see this world is near its end;
4. We ought to be very earnest in good works,
5. For we see the end of this world approaches.
6. Eleven hundred years are fully accomplished
7. Since it was written, "We are in the last times."

A GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE VAUDOIS VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT.

GEOGRAPHY.

The Vaudois valleys are situated in the Alps, on the eastern side of the great chain of mountains of that name, which separate High Dauphiné from Piedmont; they lie to the north of Mount Viso and the sources of the Po, to the south of Geneva, and to the west of the city of Pinerolo.

They are formed by the mountain ranges which descend from the great chain of the Alps, their western limit, to the plains of Piedmont on the east. The ridges which separate them from France reach the height of more than three thousand metres [eleven or twelve thousand feet] above the level of the sea, and the breaks of the chain afford only two passages, that of Abries being the most northern, and the Col de la Croix [pass of la Croix] the most southern. The range which bounds the Vaudois valleys on the north separates them from the valley of Pragela, or Clusone. The chain which shuts them in on the south, and which is more elevated than the preceding, descends from the Viso, and touches the high valley of the Po in the province of Saluzzo. On the east, their only barrier is formed by the depression or flattening of the mountains, as they merge into the plain, and by the waters of the Clusone, which flow into the Po.

The Vaudois valleys are separated from one another by ridges of considerable elevation. Taken altogether, they form a truncated or irregular triangle, of which the base is the ridge of the high Alps, running from north to south, and the sides of which converge towards Pinerolo, without actually reaching it.

They may also be considered as a fan-shaped group of valleys,

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resting against the giant Alps, and uniting together in two large valleys, which approach each other in the direction of Pinerolo, but become blended with the plain, against which the two last slopes of two of these depressed ridges form a half valley between these mountains and the river Clusone.

This Vaudois half valley, called the valley of Perosa, is, properly speaking, only the extreme western (or right) flank of the valley of Pragela, which surrounds the Vaudois valleys from the north-west to the south-east. It includes also an interior vale, that of Pramol, which proceeds from the banks of the Clusone, near Saint Germain towards the west, between the valley of San Martino on the north, and Angrogna to the south.

The two other great Vaudois valleys are (i.) the valley of San Martino on the north, through which flows the torrent called the Germanasco, which falls into the Clusone, opposite the little town of Perosa, at the outlet of the valley of Pragela, and formed by the junction of the lateral vales of Rioclaret and Faèt with that of Le Perrier, which again is itself formed by the junction of the upper alpine vales of Macel or Balsille, Rodoret, and Prali from north to south.

(ii.) The valley of Lucerna, to the south of that of San Martino, watered by the Pélice, a small stream, which receives the waters of the Angrogna, the Lucerna, and many others of less importance. This valley, the widest and most extensive of all, is flanked towards its outlet to the plain on the east by two vales; the one to the south, the smallest, is that of Rora, traversed by the Lucerna; the other to the north, large enough to be often reckoned as forming a distinct valley, is the vale of Angrogna, watered by the noisy torrent of the same name. It is enclosed beteen the valleys of San Martino on the west and north, and of Perosa by the vale of Pramol on the north-east, and by the side of Prarustin on the east; and lastly, by the valley of Lucerna on the south. This last extends in a plain from east to west, and terminates by the high pass of the Col de la Croix, which opens into France, following the same direction, by the pasture-lands and Col Giuliano, which separate it from the valley of San Martino to the north, and by the Combe des Charbonniers, or vale of Guichard, in the direction of Viso to the south-west.

The distribution of the parishes in the respective valleys are as follows. A glance at the map will supply the want of further explanations.

A. The Valley of San Martino.

The valley of San Martino has five churches, or Vaudois parishes; Prali, Rodoret, and Macel in the mountainous vales

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on the west, ranged in this order from north to south; Maneille, the fourth parish, which belongs to the eastern part of the valley; and Villesèche, the fifth, at the entrance of the valley to the east, with two dependencies, namely, Rioclaret and Faèt. This parish stands on both sides of the river.

The Vaudois of some communes, where the catholics form the majority, as at Le Perrier, Ciabrans, San Martino, etc., frequent the churches of Maneille and Villesèche, according as either is most within their reach.

B.—The Half-valley of Perosa.

The half-valley of Perosa contains four parishes: I. That of Pomaret at the outlet of the defile which separates this half-valley from the valley of San Martino; the Vaudois inhabitants on the other side of Pinache, to the south, attend at this church. At Pomaret there is a Latin school and a Vaudois hospital. II. The parish of San Germain, of which Chenevières and Turina, or Envers-les-Portes form a part. III. That of Pramol and Peumian, to the North of San Germain, an Alpine district; and, IV. that of Prarustin with Rocheplatte, as a dependency. The parish church is that of San Barthélemi.

C.—The Valley of Lucerna.

The valley of Lucerna has six large parishes, which are so many populous communes. I. Angrogna, to the west of Prarustin and Rocheplatte; this parish has two temples, that of Saint Laurent, near which the pastor dwells, and that of Le Serre. II. San Giovanni, to the south of Angrogna: the temple is at Blonats, in the centre of the parish: it was formerly at Ciabas on the Angrogna. III. The church of La Torre, to the west of San Giovanni: the temple is at the hamlet called Les Coppiers: near it is the hospital. The Vaudois possess in the outskirts of the town of La Torre, two interesting establishments—a college, and a girl's boarding-school. IV. Proceeding westward, we meet fi st with the parish of Villaro, with a town of the same name, containing the church; then, V. That of Bobbio which occupies all the lower part of the valley; the parish temple is in the village of that name. Two chapels belong to this parish, the one in La Combe des Charbonniers, the other in La Combe de la Ferrière. Lastly, VI. The parish of Rora, the smallest of those in the valley of Lucerna; it is to the south of that of La Torre, from which it is separated by a ridge of steep and naked rocks.

STATISTICS.

A.—Population.

The Vaudois population of the valleys amounted in 1839 to

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more than twenty thousand souls, exclusive of four or five thousand Roman Catholics; a number far too large for the extent of territory, taking into account the nature of the soil.

According to the census made by order of government, of the date 1839, the exact numbers were for the communes:—Vaudois, 20,394; Catholics, 4,589.

B.—Climate and Productions.

The Vaudois valleys, from their southern situation and their outlet on the plains of Piedmont, would naturally have the warm temperature of the south, if their lofty mountains, and the considerable elevation of the greater part of the soil above the level of the sea, did not counterbalance this effect.

The air is generally pure and healthy in these valleys. Sheltered from the north winds by the mountains, the climate is mild and temperate, but varies according to the height of the localities. Snow falls in great quantities in all the Alpine region, and the avalanches cause frequent accidents.

The soil in the lower part of the valleys and on the neighbouring hills, is fertile. The vine succeeds there as well as wheat, maize, the mulberry, and other good fruit-trees; even the fig-tree in the open air.

The middle region has all the productions which belong to that altitude; wheat, rye, maize, oats, barley, potatoes, etc., likewise the common fruit-trees, and chestnuts in great quantities.

Such are the rich productions of the most fertile part of these valleys. One third probably, or at least one fourth of their extent, which is from about twenty to twenty-four square leagues, is thus favoured. But two-thirds, or perhaps three-fourths of this extent of country presents nothing but precipices, ravines, naked rocks and alpine districts, or such as have a northern aspect. The cultivation of the land is here very laborious and unproductive. The inhabitants in different places are reduced to cultivate some small patches of ground among the rocks, to which they must carry mould on their backs. A great part of the population only live by the product obtained from a few cattle—cows, goats, and sheep.

No branch of industry, excepting the labour of the field, and the care of cattle, can be carried on to any extent among this population, who are naturally active, but on bad terms with their neighbours. The sale of articles of daily consumption is in the hands of the Roman Catholics at Pinerolo, and in the other small towns of the neighbourhood, where all the markets are held.

The Vaudois valleys do not produce in sufficient quantity for their population the provisions that are most necessary, which therefore have to be purchased. If they have some productions in superabundance, such as butter, cheese, potatoes, fruits, the

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inhabitants cannot dispose of them for want of suitable channels. The only market of considerable size is that of Pinerolo, but besides that it is not accessible to all the localities of the valleys, provisions abound there already in every direction.

C.—Religious Administration of the Vaudois Churches.

All that relates to the relief of the poor, to hospitals, to education, and to the religious affairs of the Vaudois, is the result of an administration formed from among themselves, in the nomination of which all the churches of the valleys take a part. This administration is particular or general.

Each church has its parochial administration. The heads of families united with their pastor form the church. The population generally dispersed is divided into districts. The individuals of a district choose, with the concurrence of the consistory, an elder, or inspector, who enjoys certain prerogatives. When the choice is agreed upon, the name of the person chosen is proclaimed aloud from the pulpit. If no opposition be made, he is publicly installed into his office, consecrated by prayer, and becomes a member of the consistory, who regulate the affairs of the parish, under the presidency of the pastor, and exercise discipline there.

The general administration is composed of a Synod and a Board.

The Synod is composed of the pastor and ministers resident in the valleys (the chaplain of the ambassadors at Turin is also admitted to it,) and a lay delegation from each of the five parishes. These delegations may consist of more than one deputy, but each delegation has but one vote. The Synod meets specially when any business requires it, and regularly at the end of four or five years, with the permission of the sovereign, who is represented in it by the superintendent of the province. The members of the Synod, the sittings of which last for two or three days, and the king's representative, have their expenses paid by the parishes or communes. The Synod prepares and determines all the administrative regulations, names the members of the administration called the Board, examines its proceedings, passes its accounts, and decides on all important affairs.

The Board is composed of five members; three ecclesiastics and two laymen. They are chosen according to certain rules, at the beginning of each Synod, and remain in office till the opening of the next Synod. The ecclesiastical members perform the functions of moderator, or president, assistant-moderator or vice-president, and secretary.

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