"God hath never left himself
without witnesses"

The History of the Waldenses

Commonly called in England Lollards

BOOK I: "The History of the Waldenses commonly called in England Lollards: The first Book."

BOOK II: "The Second Book of the History of the Waldenses: Containing that which is come to our knowledge, of the grievous persecutions, which they have endured for their Faith, for the space of more than four hundred and fifty years."

BOOK III: "The First Book of the History of the Albigenses."

BOOK IV: "The Third Part of the History of the Waldenses and Albigenses. The First Book containing the Doctrine and Discipline that hath been common among them. The Second Book containing the Discipline under which they lived. The Third Book containing a refutation of sundry Doctrines of the Church of Rome."

by Jean Paul Perrin

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THE HISTORIE OF THE WALDENSES, COMMONLY CALLED IN ENGLAND LOLLARDS:

The first Booke.

Chap. I.

That God in all times hath raised vp labourers for the gathering together of his Saints. At what time Valdo began to teach, and with what fruite: what he was, and all they that from his name are called Waldenses.



GOD hath neuer left himselfe without witnesses, but from time to time he raiseth vp instruments to publish his grace, enriching them with necessarie gifts for the edification of his Church, giuing them his holy Spirit for their guide, and his truth for a rule, to the end they may discerne the Church which began in *Abel*, from that which began in *Caine*: As also teaching them to define

the Church by the faith, and the faith by the Scriptures, ſtrengthening them in the middeſt of their greateſt perſecutions, and making them to know, that the croſſe is profitable, ſo long as the faithfull change by that meanes earth for heauen, and the children of God are not loſt when being maſſacred and caſt into the fire by a courſe of iuſtice, we may find in their bloud and aſhes the ſeed of the Church.

That which hath bene obſerued in all ages, hath after a more particular manner appeared amongſt thoſe Chriſtians that are called *Waldenſes*, who were raiſed in a time when Satan held men in ignorance, hauing wrapt the greateſt part of thoſe that call themſelues Chriſtians in that great ſinne of the world, I meane Idolatrie, Kings and Princes imploying their authoritie for the eſtabliſhment thereof, appointing all thoſe to the ſlaughter that would exempt themſelues from the wounds due vnto Idolaters.

This was about the yeare of our Lord a thouſand one hundred and threeſcore, at what time the puniſhment of death was inflicted vpon all thoſe that did not beleeue, that (the words of conſecration being pronounced by the Prieſt) the body of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt was in the Hoſte vnder the accidents of the bread, the roundneſſe and whiteneſſe, yea the very bodie, as great and as large as it was vpon the croſſe, the bread vaniſhing, and being tranſſubſtantiated into the fleſh of Chriſt. At what time it was likewiſe enioyned to adore the Hoſte, to crouch vnto it, to bow the knees before it: yea it was called God, and men did beate their breaſts before it, and locked it vp in a boxe to worſhip it, as they ſtill vſe euen at this day.

This doctrine being altogether vnknowne to the Apoſtles, who neuer ſpake word of any ſuch myſterie, as alſo in the Primitiue Church, wherein there was neuer any Doctor

Doctor that taught this expiatorie ſacrifice for the liuing and for the dead, occaſioned many Chriſtians to enter into a deteſtation thereof, chuſing rather to ſuffer a temporall death by reſiſting ſuch Idolatrie, then by conſenting thereunto to ſuffer in hell.

Peter Valdo a citizen of *Lions* ſhewed himſelfe moſt couragious in the oppoſition of this inuention, taxing therewithall diuerſe other corruptions, which with time crept into the Church of *Rome*, affirming that ſhe had loſt the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, that ſhe was that whore of *Babylon*, that barren fig-tree, which our Sauiour had long before curſed. *Guido de Perignan* in the flower of Chronicles.

That we were not to obey the Pope, in as much as he was not the head of the Church.

That Monkerie was a ſtinking carrion, and the marke of the Beaſt.

That Purgatorie, Maſſes, dedication of Temples, worſhipping of Saints, commemoration of the dead, were no other then the inuentions of the diuell, and the ſnares of Auarice.

Valdo was ſo much the more attentiuely hearkned vnto, becauſe he was in high eſteeme for his learning and pietie, as alſo for his great bountie towards the poore, not onely nouriſhing their bodies with his materiall bread, but their ſoules with the ſpirituall, exhorting them principally to ſeeke Ieſus Chriſt the true bread of their ſoules. See the Sea of Hiſtories. fol. 203. *Claud. Rubis* in his hiſtorie of the Citie of Lions. p. 269.

Many Hiſtoriographers do write, that he had a reſolution to leade an vnblameable life, approching as neare as he could to that of the Apoſtles, & that vpon a mournfull vnluckie accident that fell out vnexpected, and it was this. Being one euening in the company of ſome of his friends, after ſupper paſſing the time with talke, and refreſhing themſelues, one of the company fell downe dead *Loie Cam.* in his hiſt. of the orthod. brethren of Bohemia. p. 7. *Guido de Perignan* in his flower of Chronicles.

vpon the ground, with which ſudden accident all that were preſent being ſtrangely affrighted, *Valdo* amongſt the reſt was touched to the quicke, and by this dart of Gods iuſtice was wrought to an extraordinary amendment of life, applying himſelfe wholly to the reading of the Scriptures, ſeeking in them his ſaluation, and ſometimes conſulting the writings of the ancients, he continually inſtructed thoſe poore people that reſorted vnto him for almes.

The Catal. of witneſſes of the truth. p.535. *Simon de Noion* in his booke of the names of the Doctors of the Church.

The Archbiſhop of *Lions* called *Iohn de Belles Mayons*, being aduertiſed that *Valdo* made profeſſion of teaching the people, boldly blaming the vice, luxury, exceſſe and arrogancie of the Pope and his Clergie, inhibited him from teaching, eſpecially for that being a lay perſon, he exceeded the limits of his profeſſion and condition of life, and therefore that he ſhould not continue therein vnder paine of excommunication, & proceeding againſt him as againſt an Hereticke.

Valdo replyed, that he could not hold his peace in a matter of ſo high importance as the ſaluation of men, and that he would rather obey God, who had enioyned him to ſpeake, then man who had commanded him to hold his peace.

Vpon this anſwer the Archbiſhop endeauoured to haue him apprehended, but that could not be, becauſe *Valdo* hauing many kinsfolke and friends, was beloued of many, and ſo continued cloſely in *Lions*, by the fauour and protection of his friends for the ſpace of three yeares.

Pope *Alexander* the third of that name, hauing vnderſtood that in *Lyons* there were diuers perſons that called into queſtion his ſoueraigne authoritie ouer the whole Church, fearing that this beginning of rebellion might

might giue ſome blow to his ſupreme dignitie & power, curſed *Valdo* and his adherents, and commanded the Archbiſhop to proceed againſt them by Eccleſiaſticall cenſures, euen to the vtter extirpation of them.

Claud. Rubis ſaith, that *Valdo* and his followers were wholly chaſed out of *Lions*, and *Albert de Capitaneis* ſaith that they could not be wholly driuen out. Other things we could not learne of this firſt perſecution, but onely that they that eſcaped out of *Lions*, who of *Valdo* were called *Waldenſes*, followed him, and afterwards did ſpread themſelues into diuerſe companies and places.

Claud. Rubis in his hiſt. pa. 269.

Albert de Capit. in his booke of the originall of the *Vaudois*.

Chap. II.

That the diſperſion of Valdo and his followers, was the meanes that God vſed to ſpread the doctrine of Valdo almoſt throughout all Europe.

Albert de Capitaneis ſaith, that *Valdo* retired himſelfe into *Dauphiney* at his departure from *Lions*, and *Claud. de Rubis* affirmeth that he conuerſed in the mountaines of the ſaid Prouince, with certaine rude perſons, yet capable to receiue the impreſſions of his beleefe. And true it is that the Churches of the *Waldenſes* which haue continued very long, and whereof there are yet a greater number then in any other place of Europe, are they of *Dauphiney*, and the bordering race or linage of them, that is to ſay, thoſe of *Piemount*, and *Prouence*. *Vignier* ſaith, that he retyred into *Picardie*, where in a ſhort time, he did ſo much good, that there were diuerſe perſons that did adhere vnto his doctrine, for which

Vignier in the 3. part of his hiſtoricall Biblioteque. pa. 130.

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Chap. III.

By what names the Waldenſes haue bene called by their aduerſaries: and with what faults and offences they haue bene charged.

THe Monks, Inquiſitors and mortall enemies to the *Waldenſes*, not being content to deliuer them euery day to the ſecular power, they haue beſides layed vpon them many opprobrious imputations, affirming them to be the authors of all the hereſies in the world which they endeuoured to purge, imputing all thoſe monſtrous abuſes that they had forged onely to the *Waldenſes*, as if they onely had bene the receptacle of all errours.

Firſt therefore they called them, of *Valdo* a citizen of *Lions*, *Waldenſes*; of the countrie of *Albi*, *Albigeois*. *Vaudois. Albigeois.*

And becauſe ſuch as did adhere to the doctrine of *Valdo*, departed from *Lions* ſpoiled of all humane meanes, and the moſt part hauing left their goods behind them, in deriſion they called them the beggers of *Lions*.

In *Dauphiney* they were called in mockerie *Chaignards*. *Chaignards.*

And becauſe ſome part of them paſſed the Alpes, they were called *Tramontaines*. *Tramontaines.*

And from one of the diſciples of *Valdo*, called *Ioſeph*, who preached in *Dauphiney* in the dioceſſe of *Dye*, they were called *Ioſephiſts*. *Ioſephiſts.*

In *England* they were called *Lollards*, of the name of one *Lollard* who taught there. *Lollards.*

Of two prieſts who taught the doctrine of *Valdo* in *Languedoc*, called *Henry*, and *Eſperon*, they were called *Henri-*

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Henriciens. *Eſperoniſtes.* *Henriciens*, and *Eſperoniſtes.*

Of one of their paſtors who preached in *Albegeois*, named *Arnold Hot*, they were called *Arnoldiſts.*

Arnoldiſtes.

Siccars. In *Prouence* they were called *Siccars*, a word of Pedlers french which ſignifieth Cutpurſe.

Fraticelli. In *Italie* they were called *Fraticelli*, as much to ſay, as Shifters, becauſe they liued in true loue and concord together.

Inſabathas. And becauſe they obſerued no other day of reſt but the Sabbath dayes, they called them *Inſabathas*, as much to ſay, as they obſerued no Sabbath.

Patareniens, or Paturins. And becauſe they were alwayes expoſed to continuall ſufferings, from the Latin word *Pati*, which ſignifieth to ſuffer, they called them *Patareniens.*

Paſſagenes. And foraſmuch as like poore paſſengers, they wandred from one place to another, they were called *Paſſagenes.*

Gazares. In *Germany* they were called *Gazares*, as much to ſay, as execrable and egregiouſly wicked.

Turlupins. In *Flanders* they were called *Turlupins*, that is to ſay, dwellers with wolues, becauſe by reaſon of their perſecutions they were conſtrained many times to dwell in woods and deſarts.

Touloufains. Lombards. Piccards. Lioniſtes. Bohemiens, Sometimes they were called by the names of thoſe countries and regions where they dwelt, as of *Albi*, *Albigeois*: of *Toulouze*, *Touloufains*, of *Lombardie*, *Lombards*, of *Piccardie*, *Piccards*, of *Lion*, *Lioniſts*, of *Bohemia*, *Bohemiens.*

Sometimes to make them more odious, they made them cõfederates with ancient heretickes, but yet vnder more then ridiculous pretexes. For becauſe they made profeſſion of puritie in their liues, and of faith, they called them *Cathares.* And becauſe they denied the bread which the prieſt ſhewed in the Maſſe to be God, they

Cathares.

called

called them *Arriens*, as denying the diuinitie of the eternall Sonne of God. And becauſe they maintained that the authoritie of Emperours and Kings depends not vpon the authoritie of the Pope, they called them *Manicheens*, as appointing two Princes. And for other cauſes which they fained, they called them *Gnoſtiques, Cataphrigiens, Adamites*, and *Apoſtoliques*. *Arriens.* *Manicheens. Gnoſtiques. Cataphrigiens. Adamites. Apoſtoliques.*

Sometimes they ſpitefully abuſed them. *Matthew Paris* cals them *Ribalds*. The compiler of the Treaſure of hiſtories calles thrm *Buggerers*. *Rubis* ſaith, that when a man ſpeakes of a ſorcerer, he cals him *Vadois*. And that which is more, he takes vpon him to proue that they are ſo. To which temeritie it ſhall be neceſſarie to anſwer in his due place, where they ſhall be cleared from all thoſe impoſtures which their enemies haue layed vpon them, out of thoſe bookes from which we haue gathered that which followeth. *Ribalds. Buggerers. Sorcerers.*

Firſt they impoſe vpon them, that ancient calumnie wherewith the painims defamed the Chriſtians of the Primatiue Church, that is, that they aſſembled themſelues in the night time, in corners and lurking holes, and that the Paſtour cõmanded the lights ſhould be put out, ſaying, *Qui poteſt capere capiat*, that is, catch who catch can, whereupon euery man endeuoreth to faſten vpon whom he can, without any reſpect of bloud or parentage, and that the lights being put out, they committed abhominable inceſts; many times the child with his mother, the brother with his ſiſter, and the father with his owne daughter: adding moreouer, that they were to vnderſtand, that the children begotten by ſuch copulations were moſt fit to be Paſtours. This impoſture is found in the booke of *Albertus de Capitaneis*, of the originall of the *Vadois*, pa. 2. In the booke of *Ramerius, de forma hæreticandi hæreticos, fol.* 36. *Item* in the accuſation of the Prieſts of *Buhemia*, which they make to the king *Ladiſlaus* againſt the Vadois. *Rai. ibid. fol.* 37.

Secondly, they haue charged them that they maintaine that a man may put away his wife when he will, and

the wife her husband to follow that ſect.

Claud. Rubis in his hiſtorie of Lion. pa. 269.

The third calumnie that they charge them withall is, that they haue communitie of all things amongſt them, euen of their wiues and all.

S. *Bernard* in his Homily 66. vpon the Canticles.

The fourth is, that they reiect the baptiſme of little infants.

Albert ibid.

The fifth, that they adore their Paſtors, proſtrating themſelues before them.

Albert ibid.

The ſixth, that they maintaine that it is not lawfull to ſweare, for any cauſe whatſoeuer.

Rain. fol. 36.

The ſeuenth, that they maintaine that the Pope doth ſinne mortally when he makes warre againſt the Turke, and that they likewiſe ſinne mortally that do obey him, when by them he makes warre againſt hereticks.

Rain. ibid. fol. 22. article 32.

The eight calumnie is, that they vſe no reuerence towards holy places, and that he ſins not more grieuouſly that burneth a Church, then he that breakes into any other priuate houſe.

Albert ibid.

The ninth, that they maintaine that the Magiſtrate ought not to condemne any to death, and that they that do it ſinne mortally: and that they maintaine this error, to the end they may eſcape the hands of the Iudge, and go vnpuniſhed.

Idem ibid.

The tenth, that the lay-man being in the ſtate of grace, hath more authoritie then the Prince that liues in his ſinne.

Rain. in Summa fol. 12.

The eleuenth, that with the *Manicheens* they ordaine two Princes, that is, one good God, the creator of good, and one bad, that is, the diuell, the creator of euill.

Idem lib. de forma hæret. fol. 21.

The twelfth, that whatſoeuer is done with a good intention, is good, and that euery one ſhall be ſaued in that which he doth in that ſaid good intention.

Albert. de origine Vaud. fol. 4.

The thirteenth, that it is a meritorious worke to perſecute

ſecute the Prieſts of the Church of *Rome*, the Prelates and their ſubiects. And that a man may without ſinne hurt them in their perſons or goods, and withhold their tenthes from them without ſcruple of conſcience.

The laſt is taken out of the booke of *Rubis*, where he ſaith, that *Valdo* and his Paſtors retired themſelues into *Dauphiney* in the vale *Pute*, and the valley *Angrongne*, where they found certaine people rather like ſauage beaſts then men, ſuffering themſelues to be mocked and abuſed, and where they became, ſaith he, one like another, and ſuch as rid poſt vpon a beſom. Adding therewithall (to bring within the compaſſe of his calumnies, the Townes, Cities, & States where the Goſpell is receiued in our times:) And to ſay the truth (ſaith he) theſe are two things that commonly follow the one the other, hereſie and ſorcerie, as it is verified in our times, in thoſe Cities and Prouinces which haue giuen entertainment vnto hereſie.

Claud. Rubis in his hiſtorie of Lion, booke 3. pa. 269.

Chap. IIII.

How the Waldenſes are iuſtified and cleared from the calumnies contained in the former Chapter, by thoſe writings which they haue left.

THe *Waldenſes* of *Bohemia*, whether they were the remainder of that people that followed *Valdo*, as ſome are of opinion that he ended his dayes in *Bohemia*, after he had retired himſelfe out of *Germany*, and eſcaped the hands of the Biſhops of *Mayence* and *Strasburge*: or whether they were ſuch perſons as afterwards profeſſed

feſſed the ſame faith which the *Waldenſes* did, it is without all doubt that they were grieuouſly perſecuted by king *Ladiſlaus* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*: and we haue in our owne hands an Apologie of the ſaid *Waldenſes*, which they ſent vnto the king whom they called *Lancelau*, to iuſtifie themſelues againſt ſundry complaints which were made againſt them by their aduerſaries: as alſo we haue a booke with this inſcription, *Aiço es la cauſa del noſtre deſpartiment de la Gleiſa Romana*. That is to ſay, Behold the cauſe of our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome*. And foraſmuch as the anſwer to the firſt calumnie, that is, that they aſſembled themſelues in darke corners, where the candles being put out, their aduerſaries do affirme they committed villanons inceſts, we haue copied out the anſwer of the ſaid Apologie in their owne tearmes and language, for the more certaintie, and better edification.

This Apologie the author Iean Paul Perrin ſet downe in two columnes, the one French, the other in the language of the Waldenſes, which for breuity ſake we ſet downe onely in Engliſh, referring thoſe vnto the French booke that deſire to ſee the originall.

In the letter to king *Ladiſlaus*. pa. 2.

AMong other things (ſay they) they publiſh, like angrie barking curres, that it is a law and common amongſt vs to ſay, Yeeld thy ſelfe to whomſoeuer ſhal requeſt thee: and that we take our pleaſures in darke caues and corners with whomſoeuer ſhall preſent themſelues vnto vs, whether they be our mothers, or daughters, or wiues, or ſiſters.

How true this is, it may appeare in that God hauing kept and preſerued vs for aboue theſe forty yeares paſt,

it

it hath bene neuer knowne that there hath bene any whoredome amongſt vs that hath eſcaped vnpuniſhed, or any ſuch villanie committed. In ſuch ſort that our liues and carriages condemne thoſe that accuſe vs.

And for as much as the *Waldenſes* ſpeake this of themſelues, and to their owne praiſe, and therefore this their iuſtification may ſeeme but weake, looke a little into that which they haue written elſewhere againſt whordome, which may ſuffice to ſhew, that they were very far from this diabolicall affection to debaſe themſelues by inceſts. The ſinne of luxury is very pleaſing to the diuell, diſpleaſing vnto God, and iniurious againſt our neighbours, becauſe therein a man obeyeth the baſeſt part of his bodie, rather then God who hath preſerued it. A fooliſh woman doth not onely take from a man his good, but himſelfe too. He that is giuen to this vice keepes faith to no man, and therefore *Dauid* cauſed his faithfull ſeruant to be ſlaine, that he might enioy his wife. *Amon* defiled his ſiſter *Tamar*. This vice cõſumes the heritage of many, as it is ſaid of the prodigall child, that he waſted his goods liuing luxuriouſly. *Balaam* made choiſe of this ſinne, to prouoke the children of Iſrael to ſinne, by occaſion whereof there died twenty foure thouſand perſons. This ſinne was the cauſe of the blindneſſe of *Sampſon*: it peruerted *Salomon*: and many haue periſhed by the beautie of a woman. Prayer, and faſting, and diſtance of place are the remedies againſt this ſinne. For a man may ouercome other vices by combating with them, but in this a man is neuer victorious but by flying from it, and not approching neare vnto it: whereof we haue an example in *Ioſeph*. It is therefore our duties to pray daily to the Lord, that he will keepe vs farre from the ſinne of luxury, and giue vs vnderſtanding and chaſtitie.

Their booke of the remedie againſt the ſinne of luxury. Chap 21.

See their booke of Vertues, in the Chapter of marriage.

Againſt the ſecond impoſture, that they maintaine that a man may put away his wife when it pleaſeth him, they ſay that marriage is a knot that cannot be vntyed but by death, except it be for fornication, as our Sauiour Chriſt ſaith. And Saint *Paul* 1. Corinth. 7. ſaith, That the wife is not to depart from her husband, nor the husband from his wife.

See the booke of the Waldenſes intituled of vertues in the Chapter of mariage.

To the third calumnie, touching the communitie of goods and wiues, they ſay concerning marriage, that it was ordained by God long ſince in the terreſtriall Paradiſe, and that it is a good remedie againſt whoredome. And that Saint *Paul* ſpeaking thereof ſaith, *Let euery man haue his wife, and euery woman her husband*: As alſo that the husband ought to loue his wife as Chriſt loued his Church, and that the married couple ought to liue together in holineſſe with their children, bringing them vp in the feare of God.

It appeareth by the proces that we haue in our hands, by which it appeares that *Lewes* the 12. of that name, condemned the vſurpers of the goods of the Waldenſes to a reſtitution.

It appeares by the treatiſes of *Meneobe*, and other inſtances made by the Waldenſes of Prouence.

As touching goods, euery man hath poſſeſſed his owne proper ſubſtance at all times and in all places. In *Dauphiney*, when the Archbiſhops of *Ambrun*, *Iohn* and *Roſtain*, had ſpoiled them of their goods: when the Lord of *Argentiere*, and *Montainar*, and *Arreas* of *Bonne* had diſpoſſeſſed the *Waldenſes* that dwelt in the valley of *Fraiſſimere* and of *Argentiere* of their goods and poſſeſſions, the reſtitution of euery mans inheritance was proſecuted by the particular perſons from whom they had taken them. The *Waldenſes* of *Prouence* do demand at this preſent of the Pope, the goods and lands which haue bene annexed to their demaine, and taken from them by confiſcation, euery particular perſon making faith for euery part and parcell of goods and lands which had deſcended vpon them from their anceſtors the *Waldenſes* time out of mind, they neuer hauing had any ſuch commu-

HAIL & FIRE

communitie amongſt them, that might any way derogate from that lawfull proprietie which euery one had to his owne lands.

The fourth calumnie was touching Baptiſme, which, it is ſaid, they denied to little infants: but from this imputation they quit themſelues as followeth.

In the booke of the Waldenſes intituled the Spiritual Almanacke. fol. 45.

The time and place of thoſe that are to be baptized is not ordained, but the charitie and edification of the Church and congregation muſt ſerue for a rule therein, &c.

And therefore they to whom the children were neareſt allied brought their infants to be baptized, as their parents, or any other whom God had made charitable in that kind.

True it is, that being conſtrained for ſome certaine hundred yeares to ſuffer their children to be baptized by the Prieſts of the Church of *Rome*, they deferred the doing thereof as long as they could poſſibly, becauſe they had in deteſtation thoſe humane inuentions which were added to that holy Sacrament, which they held to be but pollutions therof. And foraſmuch as their Paſtors (which they called Barbes) were many times abroad imployed in the ſeruice of their Churches, they could not haue the Sacrament of Baptiſme adminiſtred to their infants by their owne Miniſters: for this cauſe they kept them long from Baptiſme, which the Prieſts perceiuing, and taking notice of, charged them thereupon with this impoſture: which not onely their aduerſaries haue beleeued, but diuerſe others who haue well approued of their life and faith in all other points.

The fifth calumnie was, that they adored their Paſtors, proſtrating themſelues before them. To iuſtifie the *Waldenſes* from this impoſture, there needs no more, but that the

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the Reader will be pleaſed to take the paines to reade that which they haue written touching the adoration of one onely God, in the expoſition that they made in the booke of their doctrine vpon the firſt Commandement of the Law of God. There you ſhall find that they haue giuen much honour euen to their Paſtors, as vnto thoſe that keepe the word of Reconciliation, entertaining them charitably, accompting themſelues obliged thereunto for conſcience ſake; but that they euer had any intention to giue that worſhip to the creature that is onely due vnto the Creator, can neuer be made good but by way of calumnie. Howſoeuer *Albert de Capitaneis* their deadly enemie in the Dioceſſe of *Turin*, would haue extorted from them, that they adored their Paſtors, which he could neuer enforce them to confeſſe.

It appeareth by the proceſſe formed by the ſaid *Albert* againſt the Waldenſes of the Alpes.

The ſixt calumnie was, that they maintained, that it was not lawfull to ſweare at all.

In their booke intituled the Spirituall Almanacke, in the expoſition of the third commandement.

They ſay and affirme, that there are lawfull oathes tending to the honour of God and the edification of our neighbours, alledging that place in the 6. Heb. 16. *That men ſweare by the greater, and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all ſtrife.* As alſo they alledge, that it was enioyned the people of Iſrael to ſweare by the name of the eternall God, Deut. 6. 13. and the examples of thoſe oathes that paſt betweene *Abimelec* and *Iſaac*, Gen. 26. 31. and the oath of *Iacob*, Gen. 31. 53.

The ſeuenth calumnie was, to make them odious to the people, as if they had preferred the peace with the Turke, before that with the Church & the kingdome of Chriſt, affirming that they maintained, that the Pope did mortally ſinne when he ſends an expedition of ſouldiers with the badge of the croſſe vpon their Caſſockes or Coatarmour againſt the *Sarazens*.

For

For their iuſtification herein, we muſt obſerue, that they complaine not of the enterpriſe of warre againſt the *Turkes*, but of thoſe ſpoiles that the Popes make of the goods of the Church and other diuine graces vnder the pretence thereof, abuſing the ignorant people with their Buls and Benedictions, who too willingly receiue their lies and inuentions, buying them at a deare rate. As alſo they thinke hardly of it, that the Pope ſhould ſend out his *Croiſades*, his croſſed ſouldiers being ſtrangers, to purſue them as heretickes, before they be heard or conuinced to be ſuch.

In the booke of the cauſes of their ſeparation frō the Church of Rome. p. 235

But they are not the onely men that condemne this auarice, which the reuenging ſpirits of the Popes haue ſhewed by their *Croiſades*.

Paulus Langius a Germane Hiſtoriographer layes an imputation vpon *Leo* the tenth, that he leuied great ſummes of money vnder a pretence of warre againſt the *Turkes*, which he beſtowed ſhortly after vpon thirtie Cardinals, which he had newly created.

Paul. Lan. in his Chronicle of France 1513. See the examination of the Councell of Trent. lib. 1. c. 5.

Guicciardine noteth in his Hiſtorie, that the ſelfe ſame Pope impoſed great exactions vpon the people, the benefit whereof fell into the lap of his ſiſter *Magdalen*, and that all that leuie of money was but to ſatisfie the auarice of a woman, and that the Biſhop of *Aremboldo* was thought by him a commiſſarie worthy ſuch an action, to put it in execution with all manner of extortion.

Alexander the fourth conuerted the vow of *Hieruſalem*, to the vow of *Pouille*, that is to ſay, the vow of reuenge: For he gaue power to his Legats to abſolue the King of England, *Henry* the third by name, diſpenſing with his vow of the croſſe for *Hieruſalem*, vpon condition that he ſhould go to *Pouille*, to make warre againſt *Manfred Frederic* Emperour not long before. It is the Hiſtoriographer

A part of Naples, whoſe inhabitants are held very dangerous.

riographer *Math. Paris*, that ſetteth downe the complaint that then was made, that is to ſay, that the tenths imployed for the ſuccour of the holy Land, were taken away and conuerted to the reliefe of *Pouille*, againſt the Chriſtians.

Math. Paris in his Hiſtorie of England.

The eight calumnie was, that they vſed no reuerence towards holy and conſecrated places, holding that that man ſinned not more grieuouſly that burneth a Church, then he that breakes into any other houſe.

See the firſt booke of the examination of the Councell of Trent. cap. 5.

In the booke of the cauſes of their ſeparation frõ the Church of Rome. p. 125

They ſay, that neither the place, nor the chaire, make a man the more holy, and they haue maintained that they deceiue themſelues much that comfort themſelues, or preſume the more, becauſe of the dignitie of the place: for what place more high then Paradiſe? what place more ſecure then heauen? and yet neuertheleſſe man was baniſhed out of Paradiſe for ſinning there; and the Angels were throwne from heauen, to the end they might be examples to thoſe that came after, and to teach them, that it is not the place, nor the greatneſſe nor dignitie thereof, that makes a man holy, but the innocencie of his life.

Againſt the ninth calumnie, that is to ſay, that they defend that the Magiſtrate ought not to condemne any to death, they ſay:

In the booke of the Waldenſes entituled The light of the treaſure of faith. fol. 214.

That it is writtẽ, that we are not to ſuffer the malefactor to liue, and that without correction and diſcipline doctrine ſerues to no purpoſe, neither ſhould iudgements be acknowledged nor ſinnes puniſhed. And therefore iuſt anger is the mother of diſcipline, and patience without reaſon, the ſeed of vices, and permitteth the wicked to digreſſe from truth and honeſtie.

It appeareth by the complaint they made to

True it is that they haue found fault that the Magiſtrates ſhould deliuer them to death, without any other knowledge

knowledge of the cauſe, then the ſimple report of Prieſts and Monkes, who were parties and iudges, inſomuch that hauing diſcouered the abuſe which they brought into the Church, they condemned them for heretickes, and deliuered them to the ſecular power (ſo they call their Magiſtrates.) Now this ſeemed vnto them a cruell ſimplicitie in the ſaid Magiſtrates, to giue faith to perſons paſſionate and not indifferent, ſuch as the aforeſaid Prieſts were, and to put to death ſo many poore innocent people, neuer hearing them or examining the cauſe.

the King *Ladiſlaus*, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

The tenth calumnie, was to make them odious to Kings and Princes, that is to ſay, that a lay man in the ſtate of grace, had greater authoritie then a Prince liuing in his ſinnes.

Againſt this impoſture they affirme, that euery one muſt be ſubiect to thoſe that are in authoritie, obey them, loue them, be at peace with them, honour them with double honour, in ſubiection, and obedience, and readineſſe, paying vnto them that which is their due.

In the booke of the cauſes of their ſeparation frō the Church of Rome. p. 41.

The eleuenth calumnie was grounded vpon that aſſertion of the *Waldenſes*, that the Pope had no authoritie ouer the Kings and Princes of the earth, who depend immediatly vpon God alone. For from thence they take occaſion to call them *Manichees*, as appointing two Princes.

Againſt this imputation they ſay; We beleeue that the holy Trinitie hath created all things viſible and inuiſible, and that he is Lord of things celeſtiall, terreſtiall, and infernall, as it is ſaid in S. *Iohn*, *All things are made by him, and without him nothing is made.*

In the booke of the treaſure of faith. art. 2.

The beginning of this calumnie was taken out of the Extrauagantes of Pope *Boniface* 8. who ſubiecting the au-

thoritie of Emperours vnto his, ſaith of his owne. *Quicunque huic poteſtati reſiſtit, Dei ordinationi reſiſtit, niſi duo (ſicut Manichæus) fingat eſſe principia. De Maiorit. & obedientia, Can. Vnam ſanctam. l. 1. tom. 8.*

The twelfth calumnie imports thus much, that they held that whatſoeuer is done with a good intention is good, and that euery one ſhall be ſaued in whatſoeuer is done with the ſaid good intention.

Rain. lib. de forma hæretic, art. 38.

To this impoſture we need no other anſwer then that which the Monke *Raynerius* (who was alwaies their backfriend) ſaith elſewhere, that is, that they maintaine that euery man is ſaued by his faith, which he cals a Sect. It is very neceſſary that a lyer ſhould haue a better memorie, then to affirme things contradictorie.

And to ſhew that they made no profeſſion of any ſuch beleefe, that may ſuffice that they haue ſaid againſt Antichriſt; That he hath brought theſe errors into the Church vnder a colour of good intention, and a ſhew of faith.

The thirteenth calumnie was, that they maintaine that a man may kill, or detaine from the Prieſts their tithes, without ſcruple of conſcience.

It appeareth by the proceſſe againſt the Waldenſes of Dauphiné, by *Albert de Capitaneis*, & other Monkes Inquiſitors.

It is certaine that if the *Waldenſes* had power to employ their tithes to ſome other vſe then to the nouriſhment of thoſe whom they find to be dumbe dogs, drowſie watchmen, ſlow bellies, ſeducing and being ſeduced, they had done it: but there was neuer any as yet that hath occaſioned the leaſt troubles that may be in that regard. It well appeareth that in whatſoeuer depended on their owne wils, they haue neuer offered more or leſſe vnto thoſe people, taking no thought for their Maſſes and Trentals after their death: the which the Prieſts complaine of, and from thence take occaſion to accuſe them for

for heretickes. And as touching reuenge, heare what they ſay.

The Lord knowing that we ſhall be deliuered, ſaith: Beware of men: but he doth not teach or counſell any of his choſen, to kill any, but rather to loue their enemies. When his diſciples ſaid vnto him, in the ninth of S. *Luke*, *Wilt thou that we command that fire come downe from heauen, and conſume them?* Chriſt anſwered and ſaid, *Ye know not what manner of ſpirit ye are of.* Againe the Lord ſaith vnto *Peter*, *Put vp thy ſword into thy ſheath, &c.* For temporall aduerſities are to be contemned, and patiently to be endured, for there happeneth nothing therein that is new. We are here the Lords floore, to be beaten, as the corne when it is ſeparated from the chaffe. *In the booke of the Waldenſes intituled of Tribulations. p. 274*

The laſt calumnie of the *Waldenſes*, which we haue gathered out of the writings of their aduerſaries, is that which *Claud. Rubis* layes vpon them as a foule aſperſion, in his Hiſtorie of the Citie of *Lions*. That being retired vnto the Alpes, at their departure from *Lions* they became like the reſt of the people of that countrey, beeſome riders. *Claud. Rubis in his hiſtorie of Lions. p. 269.*

And he is not content to tie himſelfe to the *Vaudois* onely, but he addeth, Theſe are things that ordinarily follow one another, Hereſie and Sorcerie, as it is verified (ſaith he) in our times in thoſe Cities and Prouinces that haue giuen entertainment vnto hereſie.

We will firſt iuſtifie the *Waldenſes*, and then anſwer *Rubis* in the behalfe of thoſe Cities and Prouinces which he hath incloſed within this calumnie. All they offend againſt the firſt Commandemẽt (ſay the *Vaudois* in the expoſition of the firſt Commandement) that beleeue that the Planets can enforce the will of man. Theſe kind of men, as much as in them lies, accompt the Planets as

gods; for they attribute vnto the creature, that which belongs vnto the Creator. Againſt which the Prophet *Ieremie* 10. ſpeaketh: *Learne not the way of the heathen, and be not diſmayed at the ſignes of heauen, for the heathen are diſmayed at them.* And S. *Paul* in the fourth to the Galathians, *Ye obſerue moneths, and dayes, and times, and yeares: but I am afraid of you, leſt I haue beſtowed vpon you labour in vaine.*

All they offend againſt this commandement, that beleeue Sorcerers and Soothſayers: for theſe men beleeue the diuels are gods. The reaſon is, becauſe they aske of diuels that which God alone can giue, that is, to manifeſt things hidden, and to foreſhew the truth of things to come, which is forbidden of God, Leuit. 19. 31. *Regard not them that haue familiar ſpirits, neither ſeeke after wizards to be defiled with them.* And in the 20. 6. *The ſoule that turneth after ſuch as haue familiar ſpirits, and after wizards to go a whoring after them, I will ſet my face againſt that ſoule, and will cut him off from amongſt his people.* And in the laſt verſe of that Chapter, *A man or woman that hath a familiar ſpirit, or that is a wizard, ſhall ſurely be put to death; they ſhall ſtone them with ſtones, their bloud ſhall be vpon them.*

As touching the puniſhment of this ſinne, and the vengeance that God taketh vpon ſuch a one, we reade in the 2. Kings 1. 3. that the Angell of the Lord ſent vnto *Elijah* to meete the meſſengers of *Ahaziah*, and to ſay vnto them, *Is it not becauſe there is not a God in Iſrael, that ye go to enquire of Baalzebub the God of Ekron?* and therefore ſaith the Lord in that place, *Thou ſhalt not come downe from that bed on which thou art gone vp, but ſhalt ſurely die.* *Saul* died, becauſe he had diſobeyed the commandement of God which he gaue vnto him: he regarded it not,

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not, neither did he hope in the Lord, but tooke counſell of Sorcerers, for which cauſe the Lord tooke away his life, and transferred his kingdome vnto *Dauid* the ſonne of *Iſhai*.

Let euery man therefore know, that all enchantment, or coniuration, or charme in writing, made to giue remedie to any kind of perſons or beaſts, is of no value, but is rather a ſnare of our ancient aduerſarie the diuell, by which he entrappeth and deceiueth mankind.

Here you may ſee what the *Waldenſes* haue written againſt Sorcerers out of the word of God. It remaineth that we anſwer vnto that calumnie of *Rubis*, that it is apparent in our times, that hereſie and ſorcerie are inſeparably ioyned together, in thoſe Cities and Prouinces that haue giuen place vnto hereſie.

He taxeth without all doubt the Citie of *Geneua*, and the States of the *Cantons* that haue receiued the Goſpell, without any other ſhew of proofe, but that moſt commonly in thoſe places Sorcerers are cõdemned to death, following the commandement of God, which ſuffereth no Sorcerer to liue. He might farre better haue concluded, if he had ſaid that in thoſe places where the reformation of Religion was eſtabliſhed in our times, no man doth either conuerſe or hath acquaintance with Sorcerers, but ſo ſoone as any ſuch is found he is put to death: And therefore no man can affirme that to be true, except he will ſay, that to burne Sorcerers, is to ſupport them, and by the authoritie of the word to put them to death, be a kind of hereſie.

It is true indeed that in thoſe places hereſie and ſorcerie are ioyned together, where they that make profeſſion to teach the people are for the moſt part Sorcerers; whereof many men haue complained, who haue written with

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with a great deale of griefe, that which they knew to be put in practiſe by their Prieſts and Monks, yea by ſome of the Popes themſelues.

Bodin in his Demon. l. 4. c. 6. p. 211.

Bodin affirmeth, that there are infinite indictments in which it appeareth that the Prieſts many times are not onely Sorcerers, or at leaſt wiſe that Sorcerers haue intelligence with the Prieſts, but that they are content to ſay Maſſes for Sorcerers, fitting them with ſacrifices, conſecrating their parchments, putting rings vpon their grauen tombes, or other the like things vpon their altar, or vnder the linnen of the altar when they ſaid Maſſe.

Iohn Vuier in his booke of diuels. l. 4. chap. 3. fol. 303.

Iohn Vuier Phiſitian to the Duke of *Cleue*, though he made profeſſion of the Romiſh religion, writes as followeth. If the Paſtors of the Churches did ſtop vp the windowes of falſe doctrines and other impieties, they ſhould certainly haue (ſaith he) a wholſome preſeruatiue for thoſe that are vnder their charge againſt the ſubtle practiſes and impoſtures of the diuell, whereby they that are moſt vnaduiſed ſhould not be ſo often intangled as commonly we ſee them, to the great hurt and detriment of their ſoules; which cometh to paſſe, not onely by the negligence of the Prieſts, whom it moſt concerneth, & whoſe charge it is to looke vnto it, but alſo by their purſuite, counſell, peruerſe doctrine, and deceitfull working, by which they allure and draw the ſimple people to haue recourſe to vnlawfull remedies, as often as they are any way afflicted with ſudden, long, knowne and vnknowne maladies, proceeding from naturall cauſes, or from thoſe which are aboue nature: which turneth to the great ſcandall of the Church, conſidering that they make profeſſion to be Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and for the moſt part they are Prieſts or Monkes, whom men thinke to be ſuch, that it

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it is a great wickedneſſe to haue the leaſt ill thought or opinion of them, ſince they ſhould ſerue for an example to their flocke, and conſidering they are Doctors and teachers; But perhaps (ſaith he) theſe Magicians thinke that this art belongs vnto them by a ſpeciall prerogatiue, and that they haue right thereunto by an hereditarie ſucceſſion, becauſe the Prieſts of Egypt (of whom *Pithagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Plato*, haue learned their Magicke) were Negromancers. Now I thinke not, ſaith he, that they that will take vpon them to defend theſe Prieſts and the practiſe of their enchantments, are ſo audacious as to obiect vnto me diuers Popes of *Rome* skilfull in the Magicke art, affirming that they haue put it in practiſe to their great profit & comfort: ſuch as *Silueſter* 2. was, who as *Platina* and *Nauclerus* affirme, obtained the Popedome by that meanes: and ſuch as *Benedict* 9. in the yeare one thouſand three hundred and two, who before was named *Theophilact*, and after *Maledictus*, becauſe of his wickedneſſe. Such alſo as was *Iohn* 20. and *Iohn* 21. as Cardinall *Benno* writeth, who aided themſelues with their familiar friends, *Laurentius*, *Gratian*, and *Hildebrand*, all culpable of theſe enchantments. For all the Popes that were after *Silueſter* 2. vnto *Gregory* 7. who was a great and a famous Magician, and who (as *Benno* writeth) as oft as it ſeemed good vnto himſelfe, would ſhake his ſleeues in ſuch a manner, that ſparkles of fire ſhould come forth of them, whereby he blinded the eyes of the more ſimple and leſſe ſubtle, as if they had bene miracles and ſignes of ſanctitie. Such were all theſe Popes, as it is ſet downe in their liues, where you may alſo reade many execrable examples, whereby they wonne women to their loue, and were much giuen to offer abhominable ſacrifices vnto diuels in forreſts and mountaines.

Platina in the life of *Silueſter* 2. fol. 218. printed at Paris ann. 1551.

Iohn Maire in his Hiſtorie of the Schiſmes of the Church ſaith, that all the Popes here ſpoken of were Sorcerers, Magicians and Negromancers.

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The Magicians then of our times, ſaith *Vuier*, muſt not thinke to couer themſelues vnder this mantell and pretence. But we haue reaſon to deplore the miſeries of theſe times, wherein we can hardly finde any men more wicked and leſſe puniſhed, then they that do alwayes admoniſh the ſimple people that the euils that happen vnto them are ſent by the permiſſion of God.

Moreouer he complaineth that theſe coniuring Prieſts dare to vſe infinite blaſphemies, enriched with diuerſe croſſes figured with their curſed and ſacrilegious hands. As alſo of that vſe they make of their holy water, of their exorciſed ſalt, their conſecrated tapers at Eaſter, their candles and tapers at Candlemas againſt the diuell, with which he mockes them: as alſo the fumigations of holy bowes vpon Palmeſunday, and of herbes ſtuck vpon the doores vpon the day of Saint *Iohn* the *Baptiſt*, and the ſprinkling of holy water at the feaſt of the Aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary*. Moreouer ſuch Prieſts, ſaith he, abuſe the ſacrament of the Euchariſt to commit their villanies.

He likewiſe complaineth that Theologie and Phyſicke are polluted with coloured exorciſmes, by their mumbling of barberous words in an vnknowne tongue, by abuſing the word of God, by bands, neck-laces, and charmes, all which conſpire and procure the vtter ruine and damnation of men.

Moreouer he ſaith, that the Prieſts haue very apparently made vſe of diuerſe apparitions of Sathan, affirming themſelues to be the ſoules of this or that man, and faining to be in the paines of Purgatory, for their owne particular profit. And when the diuell hath not ſufficiently furniſhed them, they haue counterfeited themſelues to be ſpirits, to draw the liuing to more frequent oblations, donations, and dotations, to ſatiate their

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their auarice.

Lauater ſaith as much, and relates at large the hiſtory of the falſe ſpirit of *Orleans*, and of the Iacobins at *Berne*, which amongſt others were the moſt famous impoſtures of Monkes.

Lauater in his booke of the apparition of diuels, Chap. 14. 7.

The famous Parliaments of *Aix* & *Grenoble* haue condemned vnto death diuerſe Prieſts that were ſorcerers, as namely, at *Aix* a certaine Hermit adored of the people for a Saint. And *Lewes Godfrey*, that famous Magician, beneficed in the Church of *Acoules* at *Marſeilles*, who was burnt in *Prouence* the laſt of Aprill, 1611. And at *Grenoble Nobilibus* a Monke, and a certaine Prieſt in the Dioceſſe of *Ambrun*, who baptized infants in the name of Baalzebub And therefore we may conclude, that foraſmuch as in theſe venerable Parliaments they haue condemned ſorcerers to death, which is not done elſewhere, they are to haue the blame that do it not, of which fault *Rubis* would ſeeme to taxe the States and Cities without exception. More modeſtie becomes a man then was in this paſſionate *Rubis*: for it is great reaſon, that among Prieſts ſuch ſhould be excepted, as God hath not ſo farre forth abandoned, as to ſuffer them to adhere to the ſorceries of Satan. This pratler ſhould haue thought, that either ſoone or late this calumnie would be retorted to his owne ſhame. He ſhould haue contented himſelfe with his reprochfull ſpeeches againſt the *Waldenſes*, of whom he hath belched many falſe reports, carried by the violence of his owne humour, and not haue laid aſperſions on the liuing: yea he ſhould bluſh to thinke that he hath giuen vs iuſt occaſion to retort vpon himſelfe and his wicked Prieſts, that which he would lay vpon thoſe that make profeſſion of the Goſpell, and that puniſh with death all ſorcerers: ſo farre are they from ha-

HAIL & FIRE

uing communion or conuerſe with them. Thus you haue the iuſtification of the greateſt calumnies that haue bene layed vpon the *Waldenſes* by their owne writings, which may ſatisfie any man that is not carried with paſſion. It is neceſſarie that we now produce ſuch witneſſes, for the better defence of their innocencie, as are free from all ſuſpition.

Chap. V.

Teſtimonies of pietie, probitie and erudition giuen to the Waldenſes, by diuerſe of their aduerſaries themſelues.

Iacob. Rib. in his collections of the Citie of *Tholous.*

Iacobus de Riberia, who in his time gaue aide to the perſecution of the *Waldenſes*, ſaith, that they held a long time the higher place in *Gallia Norbonen.* in the Dioceſſe of *Albi*, *Rodes*, *Cahors*, and *Agen*, and that in thoſe times they were of little eſteeme that would be called Prieſts and Biſhops, becauſe the ſaid Prieſts for the moſt part were either vnworthy or ignorant: and therefore it was an eaſie matter for the *Waldenſes* (ſaith he) to get the vpper hand amongſt the people, for the excellencie of their doctrine.

Chaſſagnõ citeth *Riberia* in his hiſtorie of the Albigeois. pa. 27.

Rainerius a Iacobin Monke and a cruell Inquiſitor of the *Waldenſes*, thinking to darken their reputation, becauſe they vſually read the Scriptures, ſaith, that when the *Waldenſes* would giue knowledge of their doctrine, they alledged many things touching chaſtitie, humilitie, and other vertues, ſhewing that we are to flie all vice and wickedneſſe, alledging the words of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, inſomuch that the women that vnderſtood them, were ſo raviſhed therewith, that they ſeemed to them rather

Rain. in his booke *De forma heret. fol. 98.*

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rather to ſpeake like Angels then men.

He addeth, that they taught what manner of men the diſciples of Chriſt ought to be, out of the words of the Goſpell and the Apoſtles, affirming that they onely were the ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles that imitated them in their liues. Concluding hereupon (ſaith he) that the Pope, the Biſhops, the Clergie that enioy the riches of this world, and imitate not the ſanctitie of the Apoſtles, are not the gouernours of the Church: it not being the will of Chriſt to commit his Church to ſuch kinde of people, that ſhould rather proſtitute her by their ill examples and wicked actions, then to preſent her a chaſt virgin, in the ſame purity they haue receiued her frō him; and therefore that we are not to obey them. He addeth moreouer, that they liued very religiouſly in all things, their manners well ſeaſoned, and their words wiſe and poliſhed, by their wils alwayes ſpeaking of God and his Saints, perſwading to vertue, and to hate ſinne, to the end (ſaith he) that they might be in greater eſteeme with good men. *Ibid. fol. 98.*

Claud. de Seiſſel Archbiſhop of *Turin*, giues this teſtimonie of the *Waldenſes*, that as touching their life and manners, they haue bene alwayes ſound and vnreproueable, without reproch or ſcandall amongſt men, giuing themſelues, to their power, to the obſeruation of the Commandements of God. *Claud.* in his treatiſe againſt the Waldenſes.

The Cardinall *Baronius* attributeth to the *Waldenſes* of *Tholouſe* the title of good men, which tels vs that they were a peaceable people, howſoeuer he elſewhere imputeth vnto them ſundrie crimes, and that very falſely. *Baronius* in his Eccleſiaſticall Annals, Tom. 12. an. 1176. pa. 835.

As touching erudition, *Rainerius* hath ſaid, that they teach their children, yea euen their daughters, the Epiſtles and the Goſpels. *Iacobus de Riberia* ſaith, that they *Raine. ibid. fol. 97.*

Iacob. de Rib. in his collections of the Citie of *Toulouze.*

were ſo well inſtructed in the Scriptures, that he hath heard a plaine countriman repeate the booke of *Iob* word by word, and diuerſe others that could perfectly repeate the whole new Teſtament.

Veſembec. in his Oration touching the Waldenſes.

The Biſhop of *Cauaillon* in the time of the great perſecution againſt the *Waldenſes* of *Merindall* in *Prouence* (of which hiſtorie we ſhall ſpeake in his due place) appointing a certaine Monke a Diuine, to enter into conference with them, to conuince their error, before (ſaith he) we come to violence: but the Monke being much perplexed, retired himſelfe, ſaying, that he had not ſo much profited in his whole life in the Scriptures as he had done in thoſe few dayes of his conference with the ſaid *Waldenſes*; in examining the Articles of their Confeſſion by the paſſages of Scripture cited by them. This Biſhop not being ſatisfied by this triall, ſent a companie of yong Doctors, that came lately from *Sorbonne*, to confound them by the ſubtiltie of their queſtions. But one there was among the reſt, that ſaid at his returne with a lowde voice, that he had learned more touching the doctrine neceſſarie to ſaluation, in attending to the anſwers of the little children of the *Waldenſes* in their catechizings, then in all the diſputations of diuinitie which he had euer heard in Paris.

Bern. de Gir. in his hiſtory of Fraunce. *lib.* 10.

Bernard de Girard Lord of *Haillan* ſaith, that the *Waldenſes* haue bene charged with more wicked opinions then they held, becauſe (ſaith he) they ſtirred the Popes and great men of the world to hate them for the libertie of their ſpeech which they vſed in condemning the vices and diſſolute behauiour of Princes and Eccleſiaſticall perſons.

Veſemb. in his Oration of the Waldenſes.

King *Lewis* 12. hauing bene informed by the enemies of the *Waldenſes* dwelling in *Prouence*, of many grieuous crimes

crimes which were impoſed vpon them, ſent to make inquiſition in thoſe places, the Lord *Adam Fumee* maiſter of Requeſts, & a Doctor of *Sorbon* called *Parui*, who was his Confeſſour. They viſited all their Pariſhes and Temples, and found neither images, nor ſo much as the leaſt ſhew of any ornaments belonging to their Maſſes and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, much leſſe any ſuch crimes as were impoſed vpon them; but rather that they kept their Sabbathes duely, cauſing their children to be baptized according to the order of the Primatiue Church, teaching them the Articles of the Chriſtian faith and the Commandements of God. The king hearing the report of the ſaid Commiſſioners, ſaid, (and he bound it with an oath) that they were better men then he, or his people. The ſame king vnderſtanding that in *Dauphiney*, namely, in the valley of *Fraiſſiniere*, in the Dioceſſe of *Ambrun*, there were a certaine people that liued like beaſts without religion, hauing an euill opinion of the Romiſh religion, he ſent a Confeſſour of his with the Officiall of *Orleans* to bring him true information thereof. This Confeſſour with his colleague came vnto the place, where they examined the *Waldenſes* dwelling in the ſaid valley, touching their beleefe and conuerſation. The Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* who made account that the goods of the ſaid *Waldenſes* were annexed to the demaine of his Archbiſhopricke, as being confiſcable for the cauſe of hereſie, preſſed the aforeſaid Commiſſioners ſpeedily to condemne them for heretickes; but the ſaid Commiſſioners would not obey his deſire, but rather iuſtified thē as much as in them lay, inſomuch that before their departure, the ſaid Confeſſour of the king in his chamber at the ſigne of the Angell in *Ambrun*, wiſhed in the preſence of many, that he were as good a Chri-

It appeareth by the memorials of the Archbiſhop of Ambrun named *Roſtain.*

Chriſtian as the worſt of the ſaid valley of *Fraiſſiniere*.

Ioachim Camer. in his hiſtorie, pag. 352.

King *Francis* the firſt of that name, and ſucceſſour to *Lewis* 12. vnderſtanding that the Parliament of *Prouence* had laid heauie burthens vpon the *Waldenſes* dwelling at *Merindol* and *Cambriers*, and other places thereabout, deſired to be informed of the beleefe, life, and conuerſation of the ſaid *Waldenſes*, and to that end commanded *William de Belay*, Lord of *Langeay* at that time his Lieutenant in *Piemont*, to make a diligent inquiry into thoſe affaires: whereupon the ſaid Lord ſent into *Prouence* two honeſt reuerent men, to whom he gaue in charge to make inquiry both of the liues and religion of the *Waldenſes*, as alſo of the proceedings of the Court of Parliament againſt them. Theſe two deputies to the Lord *de Langeay* reported that the greateſt part of the countrie of *Prouence* did affirme that the ſaid *Waldenſes* were a kind of people very painfull, and that about two hundred yeares ſince they departed from the countrie of *Piemont*, and came to dwell in *Prouence*, and taking vpon them the profeſſion of husbandmen and ſheepheards, they made many villages that were deſtroyed in the wars, and other deſart ſauage places, very fertile by their labours. And that they had found by informations in the ſaid countrie of *Prouence*, that the aforeſaid men of *Merindol* were a peaceable people, beloued of their neighbours, men of a good and godly conuerſation, carefull to keepe their promiſes, and to pay their debts without ſuites of law, very charitable, not ſuffering any amongſt them to fall into want and beggery, liberall to ſtrangers and poore paſſengers to the vtmoſt of their power: As alſo that the inhabitants of *Prouence* did affirme that they of *Merindol* were knowne from others of the countrie, becauſe they could neuer be perſwaded to blaſpheme,

or

HAIL & FIRE

or ſo much as to name the diuell, or in any ſort to ſweare, except it were vpon certaine contracts or in iudgement. And that they were likewiſe knowne by this, that whenſoeuer they fell into company of ſuch as vſed either idle, or wanton, or blaſphemous diſcourſe againſt the honour of God, they preſently departed.

Thus you ſee how many of the aduerſaries of the *Waldenſes* haue giuen honourable reports of them, enforced thereunto by the force of truth it ſelfe. Let vs now ſee in what eſteeme they haue bene with thoſe that ſucceeded them in the ſame beleefe.

Chap. VI.

Teſtimonies giuen of the Waldenſes by many great perſonages that haue made profeſſion of the reformed religion.

Theodor Beza calleth the *Waldenſes* the ſeed of the moſt pure ancient Chriſtian Church, which was miraculouſly preſerued in the middeſt of the darkneſſe and errours which haue bene hatched by Satan in theſe latter times. *Beza* in his hiſtorie of worthy men.

Conſtans vpon the Reuelation, ſheweth that the reformatiõ of the Church in the Weſterne parts of the world began in *France*, by the meanes of *Waldo*, and that from this ſource it ſpread it ſelfe through the reſt of *Europe*. *Conſt.* vpon the Apocalypſe.

Bullinger ſpeakes thus of the *Waldenſes*, What ſhould we ſay (ſaith he) that aboue foure hundred yeares ſince, throughout *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Bohemia*, and other countries and kingdomes of the world, the *Waldenſes* haue made profeſſion of the Goſpell of Chriſt Ieſus, *Bullinger* in the Preface of his ſermons vpon the Reuelation.

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Ieſus, and in many their writings and continuall preachings accuſed the Pope to be the true Antichriſt of whom the Apoſtle Saint *Iohn* had propheſied, and therefore we were to flie from him. Theſe people being tortured with diuerſe moſt cruell torments, haue with vnſpeakable conſtancie giuen teſtimony of their faith by glorious martyrdomes, and the like they ſuffer euen at this very day. It is beyond the power of man to baniſh them or to roote them out, notwithſtanding it haue bene often attempted by moſt mightie kings and Princes ſtirred vp by the Pope, but it is God (ſaith he) that hath hindred all their violent outrages. *Luther* confeſſed that he hated the *Waldenſes* as deſperate men, vntill he knew the pietie and truth of their beleefe by their owne confeſſions and writings, whereby he perceiued that theſe good and honeſt men were much wronged; and that the Pope had condemned them for heretikes, being rather worthie of the praiſe that is due to Saints and Martyrs: And that he had found in the ſaid *Waldenſes* one thing worthy admiration, and to be obſerued as a miracle neuer heard of in the Church of *Rome*, namely, that the ſaid *Waldenſes* hauing abandoned all humane learning, gaue them ſelueswholly, to the vtmoſt of their power, to the meditation of the law of God day & night, and that they were very expert in the Scriptures, and well exerciſed in them; and that contrarily they whom we call our great Maiſters in the Papacy, made ſo light account of the Scriptures (glorying neuertheleſſe in the title thereof) that there were ſome amongſt them, that had ſcarce ſeene the Bible.

Veſembecius in his Oration of the Waldenſes.

Hauing alſo read the confeſſion of the *Waldenſes*, he ſaid that he did thanke God for that great light that it had pleaſed God to impart vnto them, taking great comfort

fort with them, for that all occaſion of ſuſpition amongſt them whereby one was ſuſpected to the other of hereſie, was taken away, and that they were knit ſo cloſe together, as that they were all ſheepe of one fold, vnder the onely Paſtor and Biſhop of our ſoules, who is bleſſed for euer.

Oecolampadius writ vnto the Waldenſes of Prouence, in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and thirtie, this letter following.

This letter is found in the book of *George Morel*, paſtor of the Waldenſes touching the conference which he had with *Oecolamp.* and *Martin Bucer.*

WE haue vnderſtood with a great deale of contentment by your faithfull Paſtor George Morel, *what your faith and religion is, and with what termes you ſpeake thereof. We therefore yeeld humble and heartie thanks to our mercifull Father, who hath called you to ſo great light in this age, euen in the middeſt of thoſe obſcure darkneſſes which are ſpread throughout the whole world, and the vnlimited power of Antichriſt. And therefore we acknowledge and confeſſe that Chriſt is in you, for which we loue you as brethren. And I would to God we had power and abilitie to make you feele that in effect which we ſhall be readie to do for you, yea though it be in matters of greateſt difficultie. We would not that you ſhould take that which we write to proceed out of any pride, or attributing to our ſelues any ſuperioritie, but out of that brotherly loue and charitie we beare towards you. The Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath imparted vnto you an excellent knowledge of his truth, more then to many other people, and hath bleſſed you with a ſpirituall benediction. So that if you perſiſt in his grace, he hath in ſtore greater treaſures for you, which he will enrich you withall, and make you perfect, that you may grow to the full meaſure of the inheritance of Chriſt.*

The ſubſcription of the letter is, *Oecolampadius* wiſheth the grace of God the Father, by his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, and his holy Spirit, to his welbeloued brethren in Chriſt, which they call *Waldenſes*.

Martin Bucer writ vnto them at the ſame time this letter following.

BLeſſed be the Lord God and our louing Father, who hath preſerued you to this preſent time in ſo great knowledge of his truth, and who hath now inſpired you in the ſearch thereof, hauing made you capable and fit to do it. Behold now what the nature of true faith is, which is, that ſo ſoone as it knowes in part any ſparke of the diuine light, it preſerueth carefully the things that are giuen vnto it of God. Saint Paul is an example vnto vs, who in all his Epiſtles ſhewes the great care that he hath had to procure the glorie of God. And doubtleſſe if we pray with a good heart, that the name of God be ſanctified, and his kingdome may come, we ſhall proſecute nothing with ſuch diligence as the eſtabliſhment of the truth where it is not, and the aduancement thereof where it is alreadie planted. One onely thing doth eſpecially grieue vs, that our imployments at this time are ſuch about other affaires, that we haue no leiſure to anſwer you at large as we deſire, &c.

The reſt of this letter is hereafter in the booke of the perſecutions of the Waldenſes.

Le Sieur de Vigneaux who was a Paſtor of the *Waldenſes* in the vallies of *Piemont*, hath written a Treatiſe of their life, manners, and religion, to whom he giues this teſtimonie, that they were a people of a holy and godly life and conuerſation, well gouerned, great enemies to vice, but eſpecially their Barbes, for ſo they called their Paſtors. And ſpeaking of thoſe of his owne time, he ſaith:

Vigneaux in his Memorials of the Waldenſes. fol. 4.

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We liue in peace in theſe vallies of *Piemont*, and in loue & amitie one with another, we haue commerce together, neuer marrying our ſonnes to the daughters of thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, or our daughters to their ſonnes; yea our manners and cuſtomes pleaſe them ſo well, that ſuch as are maſters and call themſelues Catholickes, deſire to chuſe their men ſeruants and maid-ſeruants rather from amongſt vs then themſelues. And they come alſo from farre to ſeeke nurſes for their children amongſt vs, finding in ours more fidelitie then in their owne.

And as touching the doctrine for which the *Waldenſes* haue bene perſecuted, they do affirme (ſaith he) that we are to beleeue the Scriptures onely in that which concerneth our ſaluation, not any way depending vpon men. That the Scriptures containe in them whatſoeuer is neceſſary to ſaluation, and that we are not to beleeue any thing but what God hath commanded vs. It appeareth by the Hiſtorie of the Eſtate of the Church. p. 337.

That we haue one onely Mediatour, and therefore we are not to inuocate Saints.

That there is no Purgatory, but all ſuch as are iuſtified by Chriſt go to eternall life.

They approue of two Sacraments, Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord.

They affirme that all Maſſes are damnable, eſpecially thoſe that are ſaid for the dead, and therefore are to be aboliſhed.

That all humane traditions are to be reiected, as not being neceſſary to ſaluation.

That ſinging and often rehearſall of diuine Seruice, faſts tyed to certaine dayes, ſuperfluous feaſts, difference of meates, ſo many degrees and orders of Friers, Monks, and Nuns, ſo many benedictions and conſecrations of creatures, vowes, pilgrimages, and the whole confuſion

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HAIL & FIRE

and great number of ceremonies heretofore inuented, are to be aboliſhed.

They deny the ſupremacie of the Pope, and eſpecially that power that he vſurpeth ouer ciuill gouernment; and they admit of no other degrees, then Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons.

That the Sea of *Rome* is the true *Babylon*, and that the Pope is the fountaine of all the euils in theſe dayes.

That the marriage of Prieſts is good and neceſſary.

That they that heare the word of God, and haue the true knowledge thereof, are the true Church, vnto which Chriſt Ieſus hath deliuered the keyes, to let in the flocke, and to chaſe away the wolues.

Behold here (ſaith *Vinaux*) the doctrine of the *Waldenſes*, which the enemies of the truth haue impugned, and for which in thoſe times they perſecuted them, as their enemies themſelues do witneſſe.

Viret of the true & falſe religion. lib. 4. chap. 13. p. 249.

Viret ſpeakes of the *Waldenſes* as followeth. The Papiſts (ſaith he) haue impoſed great crimes, and that very wrongfully, vpon thoſe ancient faithfull people, commonly called *Waldenſes*, or the poore people of *Lions*, frõ *Waldo* whoſe doctrine they followed, by which they make it appeare that the Pope is Antichriſt, and that his doctrine is nothing elſe but humane traditions, contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt Ieſus. For which cauſe they haue dealt againſt them, as the ancient Painims did againſt the Chriſtians, accuſing them that they killed their owne children in their aſſemblies.

The Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory of the reformed Churches of France. tom. 1. lib. 1. p. 35.

The Author of the Hiſtorie of the reformed Churches in *France* writeth thus. The *Waldenſes* (ſaith he) time out of mind haue oppoſed themſelues againſt the abuſes of the Church of *Rome*, and haue in ſuch ſort bene perſecuted, not by the ſword of the word of God, but by all kind of

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of violence and crueltie, as alſo by a million of calumnies and falſe accuſations, that they haue bene enforced to diſperſe themſelues into what parts of the world they could, wandring through deſart places like poore ſauage beaſts, the Lord neuertheleſſe preſeruing the remnant of them, in ſuch ſort, that notwithſtanding the fury of the whole world, they were ſtill preſerued in three countries farre diſtant one from the other, that is, *Calabria*, *Bohemia*, and *Piemont*, with the bordering parts thereabout, from whence they haue bene diſperſed into the quarters of *Prouence*, about two hundred & ſeuentie yeares ſince. And as touching their religion, they haue alwayes auoyded the Papall ſuperſtition. For which cauſe they haue bene alwayes vexed by the Biſhops and Inquiſitors, abuſing the power of ſecular iuſtice, in ſuch ſort, that it is an euident miracle of God that they ſhould be able to continue.

Iohn Chaſſagnon writes as followeth. It is written of the *Waldenſes* (ſaith he) that they reiected all the traditions and ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, as vnprofitable and ſuperſtitious, and that they made no great account of their Clergie and Prelates. And for this cauſe being excommunicated and chaſed out of the countrey, they diſperſed themſelues into many and diuerſe places, as into *Dauphiney*, *Prouence*, *Languedoc*, *Piemont*, *Calabria*, *Bohemia*, *England*, and other places. Some haue written that one part of the *Waldenſes* retired themſelues into *Lombardie*, where they multiplyed in ſuch a manner, that their doctrine was diſperſed throughout all *Italie*, and came as farre as *Sicile*. Neuertheleſſe in this great diſperſion, they alwayes kept themſelues in vnion and fraternitie for the ſpace of foure hundred yeares, liuing in great ſinceritie and the feare of God.

Iohn Chaſſagnon in his Hiſtorie of the *Albigeois*. p. 25.

The

The Hiſtorie of the Eſtate of the Church. P.336.

The Author of the Hiſtorie of the State of the Church writes of them thus. After that *Waldo* (ſaith he) and his followers were driuen out of *Lions*, one part of them retired to *Lombardie*, where they multiplied in ſuch a manner, that their doctrine began to diſperſe it ſelfe into *Italie*, and came into *Sicile*, as the Patents of *Fredericke* the ſecond, giuen out againſt them whileſt he reigned, do witneſſe.

Veſemb. in his oration of the Waldenſes. P.3.

Veſembecius ſaith, that when the Pope and his catchpoles ſaw that the Romane Hierarchie receiued great detriment by meanes of the *Waldenſes*, inſomuch that there were certaine Princes that had taken their defence, amongſt whom was the King of *Aragon*, and the Earles of *Toulouze*, in thoſe dayes puiſſant Princes in *France*, they began to oppreſſe them vpon moſt vniuſt occaſions, bringing them into hatred with the people, and eſpecially of Kings, to the end that by this meanes they might be vtterly exterminated.

Vignier in his Hiſtoricall Bibliothec. p. 130.

Vignier makes mention of the *Waldenſes* in his Hiſtorical Bibliotheke, and ſaith, that they haue endured many long and grieuous perſecutions, and yet notwithſtanding there was neuer any thing that could hinder them from retaining that doctrine which they had receiued from the *Waldenſes*, deliuering it (as it were) from hand to hand vnto their children.

Hologaray in his Hiſtory of Foix p. 120. 121.

Hologaray affirmes, that the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* were of a contrary opinion to the Biſhop of *Rome* in all thoſe maximes or principles that were publickly preached & commanded by his authoritie, that is, that were inuented by him, and contrary to the word of God. And he witneſſeth withall, that there were amongſt them wiſe men, and very learned, and ſufficient to defend their beliefe againſt the Monkes.

Mathias

Mathias Illyricus writes, that he finds by the writings of *Waldo*, which lay by him in certaine ancient parchments, that *Waldo* was a learned man, and that he did not cauſe the bookes of the Bible to be tranſlated into the vulgar tongue, but that he tooke paines therein himſelfe. *Math. Illyricus* in his Catal. of the witneſſes of the truth. p. 134.

It is moſt certaine, that the aduerſaries of *Waldo* and the *Waldenſes*, make no great account of theſe aboue named teſtimonies, becauſe they hold them to be both of one and the ſame ranke and order, both the witneſſes and thoſe to whom they beare witneſſe, that is, all for hereticks: but this Hiſtorie is not onely for the enemies of the truth, but to the end the louers thereof may ſee that that which is here produced, doth not intend onely our owne particular commendations, but to ſhew that there haue bene before vs certaine great perſonages, whoſe memorie they reuerence that haue ſpoken of the *Waldenſes* as of the true Sacraments of God, who haue maintained the truth with the loſſe of their liues, and earneſtly deſired in their times to ſee the reformation we enioy in ours.

And as *le Sieur de S. Aldegonde* ſaith, the occaſion why they were condemned for hereticks, was no other but becauſe they maintained that the Maſſe was an impious corruption of the holy Supper of the Lord. In the firſt table of his differences, the third part. p. 150.

That the Hoſte was an idoll forged by men.

That the Church of *Rome* was wholly adulterated and corrupted, and full of infidelitie and idolatrie.

That the traditions of the Church were but ſuperſtitions and humane inuentions.

That the Pope was not the head of the Church, and for other points of this nature.

And as the ſaid *Aldegonde* obſerues, it was a great

worke of God, that how diligent ſoeuer the Popes with their Clergie haue bene, vſing likewiſe the aſſiſtance of ſecular Princes and magiſtrates, to roote them out, yet they could neuer do it, neither by proſcriptions, nor baniſhments, nor excommunications, nor publications of their Bulles, nor Indulgences and Pardons to all thoſe that ſhall make warre againſt them: nor by any manner of torments, fire, flames, gibets, or other cruell effuſion of bloud, could they euer hinder the current of their doctrine, but it hath ſpread it ſelfe almoſt into all the corners of the earth.

This hath *le Sieur de Saint Aldegonde* writ of the *Waldenſes*. But foraſmuch as doubt may be made, whether we haue in theſe dayes any proofes in the world of their beleefe, it is neceſſary that we produce hereabouts an inuentorie of bookes which they haue left vnto vs, to the end that when there ſhall be any queſtion of their doctrine, euery one may vnderſtand what the writings are out of which we haue gathered that which they taught.

Chap. VII.

That Peter Waldo and the Waldenſes haue left bookes which make proofe of their beliefe, and what they are.

In the former Chap.

THat *Waldo* left ſomething in writing vnto vs, it appeares by that which *Math. Illyricus* ſaith, that he hath certaine parchments of his, which ſhew him to be a learned man.

Hiſtorie of the Eſtate of the Church, p. 307.

The Author of the Hiſtorie of the Eſtate of the Church giues this teſtimonie that followeth. *Waldo* at the ſame time (ſaith he) made a collection in the vulgar tongue

HAIL & FIRE

tongue of ſundry paſſages of the ancient Fathers, to the end he might defend his opinions not onely by the authoritie of the holy Scripture, but alſo by the teſtimonie of the Doctors againſt his aduerſaries.

About fortie yeares ſince *le Sieur de Vignaux* Paſtor of the Churches of the *Waldenſes* in *Piemont*, writ as followeth in his memorials that he made: Of the beginning, Antiquitie, Doctrine, Religion, Manners, Diſcipline, Perſecutions, Confeſſions, and progreſſe of the people called *Waldenſes*, I that write (ſaith he) can witneſſe, that being ſent vnto theſe people to preach the Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which I did about ſome fortie yeares together, I had no need to take much paines to win them from the ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, nor to roote out of their minds the Pope, the Maſſe, Purgatory, and ſuch other things, wherein they were a long time Doctors before my coming, although the greateſt part of them knew neither A nor B.

It is to this ſeruant of God to whom we are much bound for the multitude of bookes written by the *Waldenſes*. For as oft as he lighted vpon any, he gathered them together and kept them carefully, which he did the more commodiouſly, for that, as he ſaith, he conuerſed with them almoſt for the ſpace of fortie yeares, which was about ſome foureſcore yeares paſt. For it was about the end of his dayes that he deliuered to ſome particular perſons his ſaid Memorials, which he had gathered touching the *Waldenſes*, and all thoſe ancient bookes which he had collected in their vallies, touching the ſubſtance of which he thus ſpeaketh. We haue, ſaith he, certaine ancient bookes of the *Waldenſes*, containing Catechiſmes and Sermons, which are manuſcripts written in the vulgar tongue, wherein there is nothing that makes for *Ibid.* p. 3.

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the Pope or poperie. And it is wonderfull, ſaith he, that they ſaw ſo clearely in thoſe times of darknes, more groſſe then that of *Egypt*.

Le Sieur de Saint Ferriol, Paſtor in the Church of *Orange*, being carried with an holy curioſitie, gathered together many of the ſaid bookes, which he ſhewed to *le Sieur de S. Aldegonde*, who made mention of them in his firſt table, wherein he ſaith that there are other manuſcripts written in a very ancient letter in the Library of *M. Ioſeph de la Scale*.

In his firſt table. p. 153.

Now all the bookes hereunder mentioned, being deliuered vnto me to furniſh me with proofes for this Hiſtorie, I will reduce into this Catalogue.

Firſt we haue in our hands a new Teſtament in parchment in the *waldenſes* language, very well written, though with a very ancient letter.

Alſo there is a booke intituled the Antechriſt, which thus begins, *Qual coſa ſia l'Antechriſt, en datte de l'an mille cent & vingt*.

In the ſame volume there are contained diuers Sermons of the Paſtors of the *waldenſes*.

With a Treatiſe againſt ſinne, and the remedies to reſiſt ſinne.

Alſo a booke entituled, The booke of Vertues.

In that volume there is another Treatiſe with this inſcription, *De l'enſeignament de li filli*: that is to ſay, of the Inſtructions of children.

A Treatiſe of Mariage.

A Treatiſe entituled, *Li parlar de li Philoſophes & Doctors*, that is, ſentences of Philoſophers and Doctors.

All which bookes are written in the language of the *waldenſes*, which is partly Prouenciall, and partly *Piemontaine*. All of them ſufficient to inſtruct their people to

HAIL & FIRE

to liue well, and to beleeue well: the doctrine of all which bookes being conformable to that which is taught and beleeued at this preſent in all the reformed Churches.

From hence we conclude, that that doctrine that hath bene maintained in our times againſt humane inuentions, is not new but to thoſe that haue buried it wilfully, or whoſe anceſtors haue deteſted it, out of their ignorance of the goodneſſe thereof; there being found diuers writings, and that in great number, which make good that for theſe foure hundred and fiftie yeares the doctrine of the reformed Churches is the ſelfeſame which for many ages hath bene buried by ignorance and ingratitude.

Which our aduerſaries themſelues haue in ſome ſort auouched, when they ſay and confeſſe, that that doctrine which they call new, is but the ſubſtance of the errors of the ancient *Waldenſes*, as may appeare by their owne writings, from whence we haue gathered that which remaineth, in the Chapter following.

Chap. VIII.

That the aduerſaries of the Waldenſes haue acknowledged that the doctrine of the Waldenſes is conformable to that of thoſe that at this preſent make profeſſion of reformation.

Lindanus makes *Caluin* an inheritor or heire of the doctrine of the *Waldenſes*. *Lindan.* in his analiticke tables.

The Cardinall *Hoſius* ſaith, that the leproſie of the *Waldenſes* hath infected all *Bohemia*, at what time following the doctrine of *Waldo*, the greateſt part of the kingdome of *Bohemia* was ſe- *Hoſius* in his firſt booke of the hereſies of our times.

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in ſuch ſort that many of the people, ſchollers, Nobles, and Eccleſiaſticall perſons themſelues, followed the ſame doctrine.

The Cardinall *Bellarmine* ſaith, that *Wickliffe* could adde nothing to the hereſie of the *Waldenſes*. *Bellar.* Tom. 2. lib. 1. Chap. 26. col. 86.

Ecchius layes an imputation vpon *Luther*, that he hath done nothing elſe but renew the hereſies of the *Waldenſes*, *Albig.* *Wickliffe*, and *Iohn Hus*, long ſince condemned. *Ecchius* in his commonplaces Chap. 28.

Alphonſus de Caſtro ſaith, that *Wickliffe* hath done nothing elſe but brought to light the errours of the *Waldenſes*. *Alphonſus* lib. 6. againſt hereſies. pa. 99.

Arnold Sorbin prieſt of *Monteig* reprocheth the cities and townes of Saint *Antonin*, *Montauban*, *Millan*, *Caſtres*, *Puylorens*, *Gaillac*, and others of the *Albigei* and *Languedoc*, that they haue done nothing but reuiue the errours of the *Albigeois*. In the hiſtorie Frier *Peter* of the valleys Sernay. fol. 172.

Iohn de Cardonne in his Rimes in the forefront of the hiſtorie of the ſaid Monke of the valley *Sernay* ſaith thus: In the hiſtorie of the Monke of the valleys Sernay.

What the ſect of Geneua doth admit,
Th'hereticke Albigeois doth commit.

Anthony d'Ardene of *Tholouſe* in the ſame booke ſaith: *Ibid.*

Wherewith our Hugonites ſeaſoned were,
The ſame intention, the ſelfeſame care.

We need not therefore diſpute any longer of the antiquitie of this doctrine, but onely of the puritie thereof, ſince that not onely by the affirmation of thoſe that were aduerſaries to the *Waldenſes* and the laſt reformation, there are whole ages, during the which the ſubſtance of that beleefe hath remained in diuers perſons, who crying out againſt the abuſes which haue crept into the Church, haue bene oppreſſed by perſecutions. And for as much as it is denied, that we haue had a ſucceſſion of ſuch inſtruments, who haue oppoſed themſelues from time

HAIL & FIRE

time to time againſt thoſe corruptions and errours, which haue borne ſway, we will produce in the Chapter following a catalogue, both of thoſe which our aduerſaries haue named, and put to death, and of thoſe whom the *Waldenſes* haue had for their Paſtors for theſe foure hundred and fiftie yeares laſt paſt, at leaſtwiſe of as many as haue come to our knowledge.

Chap. IX.

The names of thoſe Paſtours of the Waldenſes who haue inſtructed them for foure hundred yeares laſt paſt, and haue come to our knowledge.

Waldo from whom the *Waldenſes* tooke their name, began to teach the people in the yeare of our Lord, a thouſand one hundred and ſixtie.

In his firſt table of Differ. pa. 150.

Le Sieur de Sancte Aldegonde obſerueth, that at the ſame time that *Waldo* began to ſhew himſelfe and to teach at *Lions*, God raiſed others in *Prouence* and *Languedoc*, among whom the principall were, *Arnold*, *Eſperon*, and *Ioſeph*, of whom they were named *Arnoldiſts*, *Ioſephiſts*, & *Eſperoniſts*: though becauſe their doctrine was firſt receiued in *Albi* in the countrie of the *Albigeois*, they were commonly called *Albigeois*, in ſuch manner that on the one ſide the *Waldenſes*, and on the other the *Albigeois* were as the two Oliues, or the two lampes which Saint *Iohn* ſpeaketh of, whoſe light did ſpread it ſelfe through all the corners of the earth.

At the ſame time (ſaith he) followed *Peter Bruis*, whereupon many called them *Peter Bruſiens*.

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To whom there ſucceeded in doctrine, one *Henry*, the one being a Prieſt the other a Monke, and they taught in the Biſhoprickes of *Arles*, *Ambrun*, *Die*, and *Gap*, from whence being chaſed away, they were receiued at *Thoulouſe*.

There was a certaine man (ſaith he) called *Barthelmew* borne at *Carcaſſonne*, that ordered and gouerned the Churches in *Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Hungaria*, and appointed Miniſters, as *Mathew Paris* reports, naming him their Pope or Biſhop, and alledging to that purpoſe the letter which the Biſhop of *Portuenſe* Legate to the Pope in the parts thereabouts, writ to the Archbiſhop of *Roan* and his ſuffragans; demanding ſuccours and aſſiſtance againſt them, inſomuch that they were at the laſt conſtrained to retire themſelues into deſarts, following that propheſie in the 12 of the Reuelation, which ſaith, that the woman great with child, that brought forth a man child, which is the true Church of God, ſhould in ſuch ſort be perſecuted by the Dragon, which caſt out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cauſe her to be carried away of the flood, ſo that ſhe was conſtrained to flie into the wilderneſſe, where ſhe ſhould be nouriſhed for a time, and times, and halfe a time, or for the ſpace of forty two moneths, or a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore dayes. *Idem ibid. p. 151*

Rainerius makes mention of two famous Biſhops of the *Waldenſes*, viz, of one *Belazinanza* of *Verona*, & one *Iohn de Lugio*, who taught amongſt them after the abouenamed, & about the yeare a thouſand two hundred & fifty.

Arnold Hot, paſtor amongſt the *Waldenſes*, maintained the diſputation at *Mont Real*, whereof we ſhall make mention in his due place.

Lollard was alſo in great reputation amongſt them,

both for a Commentary which he had written vpon the Reuelation, as alſo for that he had giuen knowledge of their doctrine in *England*, of whoſe name the *Waldenſes* were called *Lollards*.

The *Waldenſes* of the valleys of *Angrongne*, of *Dauphiney*, *Prouence*, and *Calabria*, haue had for their Paſtors, theſe whoſe memories they haue preſerued for aboue three hundred yeares paſt, that is to ſay, in *Piemont*,

It appeares by the memories of *Vignaux*. fol. 14.

Paul Gignons de Bobi.
Peter the leſſe.
Anthony of the valley of *Suſe*.
Iohn Martin of the valley Saint *Martin*.
Mathew de Bobi.
Philip of the valley *Lucerna*.
George of *Piemont*.
Steuen Laurence of the valley Saint *Martin*.
Martin de Meane.
Iohn of the valley of *Lucerna*, who for ſome offence was ſuſpended from his office for ſeuen yeares, during which time he remained at *Gennes*, where the Paſtors had a houſe, as they had alſo another very faire one at *Florence*.
Iohn Girard, de Meane, ſurnamed with the great hand.
Of the valley of *Angrongne*, *Thomas Baſtie*, who died in the ſeruice of the *Waldenſes* Churches at *Pouille*.
Sebaſtian Baſtie, who died in *Calabria*.
Iohn Bellonat, of the ſame valley, who was the firſt amongſt the Paſtors that married a wife.
Of the valleys of *Perouſe*, *Iames Germain*.
Benedict Gorran.
Paul Gignous, de Bobi.
Iohn Romagnol, of *Seſena* in *Italie*.
Of *Dauphiney*, *Francis* of the valley of *Fraiſſiniere*.

Michel

Michel Porte, of the valley *Loyſe*, in *Briançonnois*.
Peter Flot of *Pragela*.
Of *Prouence*, *Angelin de la Coſte*.
Daniel de Valentia, and *Iohn de Molines*.

Theſe two were ſent into *Bohemia* to ſerue in the Churches of the *Waldenſes* gathered together in the ſaid Realme: but they betrayed the Churches, and brought much miſchiefe vpon them, by diſcouering vnto the enemies of the ſaid *Waldenſes* whatſoeuer they knew of their troupes and meetings, whereby there happened a great perſecution: which occaſioned the Churches of *Bohemia* to write to the *Waldenſian* Churches of the Alpes, from thence forward not to call to ſuch vocations any perſons whoſe faith, honeſtie and zeale, was not throughly knowne by long proofe and experience.

The laſt Paſtors which they had were *George Maurel*, and *Peter Maſçon*, who in the yeare of our Lord 1530. were ſent into *Germany* to confer of religion with *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer* and others. *Peter Maſçon* was taken priſoner at *Dijon*.

Steuen Negrin and *Lewis Paſchal* were ſent into *Calabria* in the yeare 1560. to the *Waldenſian* Churches at *Montald*, Saint *Xiſt*, and other places thereabout. *Steuen Negrin* was taken priſoner and ſent to *Coſence*, where he died in priſon for want of ſuſtenance.

Lewis Paſchal was ſent to *Rome*, where he was condemned and burnt aliue, Pope *Pius* the fourth of that name being preſent and his Cardinals: whom he ſummoned to appeare before the throne of the Lambe to giue an account of their cruelties.

There are a great number of others, as may appeare by the proceſſe commenced againſt the *Waldenſes* of *Dauphiney* which are come to our hands, wherein men-

It appeareth by that bagge of proceſſe which was found in the Cabinet *du Sieur d' Auençon* Archbiſhop of Ambrun, at the laſt taking of Ambrũ, againſt the Waldenſes of Froiſſiniere, & Largentiere.

tion is made of diuers Paſtours which they haue had, who haue bene many times impriſoned and deliuered vnto death by the Monkes the Inquiſitors, who cauſed them to be watched euen vpon the high Alpes, when they trauelled from one companie to another. This ſmall number may ſuffice to giue vs to vnderſtand, that though their enemies did their beſt endeuour wholly to baniſh them, and to roote them out from off the earth, yet the eternall God hath not ceaſſed to prouide laborers for his harueſt, when there was any need, to preſerue euen to this preſent day, only in *Dauphiney* and *Prouence*, many thouſands that thinke it their glory to haue come from the ancient *Waldenſes*, and are rather inheritours of their zeale and pietie, then their earthly ſubſtance, which their perſecutors do poſſeſſe, as the Pope doth at this preſent, who hath ioyned to his pretended Apoſtolike chamber, all the inheritance of the *Waldenſes* who haue had any thing in his countrie of *Venecin*; and vnder the pretence of hereſie, if he could, he would take away their liues too: ſo far is he from thinking to reſtore that which in vaine he hath bene importuned to do, & which his officers haue promiſed to reſtore, with more vanitie and falſhood then honeſtie or true meaning. Now foraſmuch as the Reader not knowing what manner of men their Paſtors were, they may be the leſſe eſteemed, we will in the Chapter following inſert what we find in their writings, which may make proofe of their vocation, the exerciſe of their charge, zeale, and pietie.

Chap. X.

What manner of men the Barbes or Paſtors of the Waldenſes were: what their vocation, with what zeale and fidelitie they haue exerciſed their charge.

The

THe Monke *Rainerius* reports many things touching the vocation of the Paſtors of the *Waldenſes*, which neuer were. As that which is impoſed vpon them, that they haue one greater Biſhop, and two followers, which he cals the elder ſonne and the yonger, and a Deacon; that he laid his hands vpon others with ſoueraigne authoritie, and ſent them whither he thought good, like a Pope. *Rain. de forma hæret. fol. 8.*

Againſt theſe impoſtures, I haue here ſet downe what is found in their writings touching the vocation of their Paſtors.

All ſuch (ſay they) as are to be receiued for Paſtors amongſt vs, notwithſtanding they remaine yet with their parents, are to intreat vs to receiue them to the miniſterie, and that we will be pleaſed to pray vnto God for thē, that they may be made capable of ſo great a charge. Which the ſaid ſuppliants do to no other end, but to ſhew their humilitie. The booke of the Paſtors *George Maurel*, and *Peter Maſſon*. pa. 8.

They are to learne certaine leſſons, and to learne by heart all the Chapters of Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Iohn*, and all the Epiſtles which they call Canonicall, a good part of the writings of *Salomon*, *Dauid* and the Prophets.

Afterwards hauing good teſtimonies of their learning and conuerſation, they are receiued with the impoſition of hands into the office or function of preaching.

The laſt that are receiued are to do nothing without the leaue and licence of their Seniours receiued before them. As alſo they that are firſt ought not to attempt any thing without the approbation of their companions, to the end ỳ all things might be done amongſt vs in order.

We Paſtors do aſſēble our ſelues together, euery yeare once, to determine of our affaires in a general Councell.

Our nutriment and apparell are willingly adminiſtred

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miniſtred vnto vs, and as it were by way of almes, very ſufficiently by the people whom we teach.

The money that is giuen vs by the people, is carried to the aforeſaid generall Councell, and is deliuered in the preſence of all, and there it is receiued by the moſt ancients, and part thereof is giuen to thoſe that are trauellers or wayfaring men, according to their neceſſities, and part vnto the poore.

When any of vs that are Paſtors ſhall fall into anie foule or vncleane ſinne, he is caſt out of our companie, and forbidden the charge of preaching.

Amongſt other power and authoritie which God hath giuen to his ſeruants, it belongs vnto them to chuſe guides of the people, and Ancients in their charges, according to the diuerſitie of imployment, in the vnitie of Chriſt. Which is proued by the ſaying of the Apoſtle in his Epiſtle to Titus, Chap. 1. verſe 5. *For this cauſe left I thee in Crete, that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in order the things that are wanting, and ordaine Elders in euery City, as I haue appointed thee.*

Thus you ſee how the Paſtors of the *Waldenſes* were choſen and maintained in their charge, but to the end that their zeale may the better appeare, we will inſert in the Chapter following a letter which one of the ſaid Paſtors writ to one of their Churches, by which it may eaſely appeare with how holy and ſanctified affection they laboured to call the people to repentance, and to inſtruct them in the faith.

Chap. XI.

An Epiſtle of the Paſtor Barthelmew Tertian, written to the Waldenſian Churches of Pragela.

Ieſus

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Ieſus be with you.

To all our faithfull and welbeloued brethren in Chriſt Ieſus. Health and ſaluation be with you all. Amen.

THeſe are to aduertiſe and to aduiſe your brotherhood (hereby acquitting my ſelfe of that dutie which I owe vnto you all in the behalfe of God, principally touching the care of the ſaluation of your ſoules, according to that light of the truth which the moſt high God hath beſtowed on vs) that it would pleaſe euery one of you to maintaine, increaſe, and nouriſh to the vtmoſt of your power, without diminution, thoſe good beginnings and cuſtomes which haue bene left vnto vs by our anceſtors, whereof we are no way worthy. For it would little profit vs to haue bene renewed by the fatherly inſtance, and the light which hath bene giuen vs of God, if we giue our ſelues to worldly, diabolicall, and carnall conuerſations, abandoning the principall, which is God, and the ſaluation of our ſoules, for this ſhort and temporall life. For the Lord ſaith in his Goſpell, *What doth it profit a man to gaine the whole world, and to loſe his owne ſoule?* For it ſhould be better for vs neuer to haue knowne the way of righteouſneſſe, then hauing knowne it to do the contrary. For we ſhall be inexcuſable, and our condemnation the greater: for there are greater and more grieuous torments prouided for thoſe that haue moſt knowledge. Let me therefore intreate you by the loue of God, that you decreaſe not, but rather increaſe that charitie, feare and obedience which is due vnto God, and to your ſelues amongſt your ſelues, and keepe all thoſe good cuſtomes which you haue heard and vnderſtood of God, by our meanes: and that you would remoue

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moue from amongſt you all defaults and wants, troubling the peace, the loue, the concord, and whatſoeuer taketh from you the ſeruice of God, your owne ſaluation, and the adminiſtration of the truth, if you deſire that God ſhould be mercifull vnto you in your goods temporall and ſpirituall. For you can do nothing without him; and if you deſire to be heires of his glorie, do that which he commandeth: If you will enter into life keepe my commandements. Likewiſe be carefull that there be not nouriſhed amongſt you any ſports, gluttony, whoredome, dancings, nor any leudneſſe or riot, nor queſtions, nor deceits, nor vſury, nor diſcords; neither ſupport or entertaine any perſons that are of a wicked conuerſation, or that giue any ſcandall or ill example amongſt you, but let charitie and fidelitie reigne amongſt you, & all good example; doing to one another as euery one deſires ſhould be done vnto himſelfe. For otherwiſe it is not poſſible that any man ſhould be ſaued, or can haue the grace either of God or man in this world, or glorie in another. And it is neceſſarie that the conductors principally ſhould haue a hand herein, and ſuch as rule and gouerne. For when the head is ſicke all the members are likewiſe ill affected. And therefore if you hope and deſire to poſſeſſe eternall life, to liue in good eſteeme and credit, and to proſper in this world in your goods temporall and ſpirituall, purge your ſelues from all diſorderly waies, to the end that God may be alwayes with you, who neuer forſaketh thoſe that truſt in him. But know this for a certaine, that God heareth not nor dwelleth with ſinners, nor in the ſoule that is giuen vnto wickedneſſe, nor in the man that is ſubiect vnto ſin. And therfore let euery one cleanſe the wayes of his heart, and flie the danger if he would not periſh therein. I haue no other thing to write at this preſent, but that you would

put

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put in practiſe theſe things: And the God of peace be with you all, and accompanie vs in our true, deuout, and humble prayers, that he will be pleaſed to ſaue all thoſe his faithfull that truſt in Chriſt Ieſus.

Wholly yours Barthelmew Tertian, readie to do you ſeruice in all things poſſible according vnto the will of God.

This Epiſtle of the Paſtor *Tertian* giues vs aſſuranee of that holy affection which they had to leade the people of God; but the Confeſſion of the faith of the *Waldenſes* found in the bookes of thoſe Paſtors aboue mentioned, ſhall ſhew vs more clearely how pure their beliefe hath bene, and how farre from thoſe hereſies and errors that haue bene imputed vnto them. And that therefore they haue bene very vniuſtly perſecuted.

Chap. XII.

The Confeſsion of the faith of the Waldenſes.

WE beleeue & do firmely hold all that which is contained in the twelue Articles of the Simbole which is called the Apoſtles creed: and we accounte all that for hereſie which agreeth not with the ſaid twelue Articles. Article 1. Taken out of the booke intituled the Spirituall Almanack, and from the Memorials of *George Morel.*

We beleeue that there is one God, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt. Art. 2.

We acknowledge for holy & Canonicall Scripture the books of the Bible, that is to ſay, the fiue books of *Moſes.* Art. 3.

Geneſis.
Exodus.
Leuiticus.
Numbers.
Deuteronomie.

The booke of Ioſhua.
The Iudges.
Ruth.
1. of Samuel.
2. of Samuel.

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1. of Kings.
2. of Kings.
1. of the Chronicles.
2. of the Chronicles.
1. Eſdras.
Nehemiah.
Eſter.
Iob.
The booke of Pſalmes.
The Prouerbes of Salomon.
Eccleſiaſtes.
The ſong of Salomon.
The Propheſie of Iſaiah.
The Popheſie of Ieremie.
The Lamentat. of Ieremie.
Ezechiel.
Daniel.
Hoſea.
Ioel.
Amos.
Obadiah.
Ionah.
Micah.
Nahum.
Habakuk.
Zephaniah.
Haggai.
Zachariah.
Malachi.

The Apocryphall bookes are theſe that follow, which are not receiued of the Hebrewes, but we reade them (ſaith S. *Hierome* in his prologue to the Prouerbs, for the inſtruction of the people, not to confirme the authoritie of Eccleſiaſticall doctrines: that is to ſay,

The third booke of Eſdras.
The fourth of Eſdras.
Tobiah.
Iudith.
Wiſedome.
Eccleſiaſticus.
Baruch, with the Epiſtle of Ieremiah.
Eſter after the 10. chap. to the end.
The ſong of the 3. children.
The hiſtorie of Suſanna.
The hiſtorie of the Dragon.
1. Maccabees.
2. Maccabees.
3. Maccabees.

Here follow the bookes of the new Teſtament.

The Goſpell according to S. { Mathew. Marke. Luke. Iohn.

The

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The Acts of the Apoſtles.
The Epiſtle of S. *Paul* to the Romans.
The firſt to the Corinth.
The 2. to the Corinthians.
The Epiſtle to the Galat.
The Epiſt. to the Epheſians
The Epiſtle to the Philippians.
The Epiſtle to the Coloſ.
The firſt to the Theſſal.
The ſecond to the Theſſalonians.
The firſt to Timothie.
The ſecond to Timothie.
To Titus.
To Philemon.
To the Hebrewes.
The Epiſtle of S. Iames.
The 1. Epiſtle of S. Peter.
The ſecond of S. Peter.
The 1. Epiſtle of S. Iohn.
The ſecond of S. Iohn.
The third of S. Iohn.
The Epiſtle of S. Iude.
The Reuelation of S. Iohn.

The bookes aboue named teach thus much, that there is one God almightie, wholly wiſe and wholly good, who hath made all things by his goodneſſe. For he created *Adam* according to his owne image and ſimilitude: but by the malice of the diuell, and the diſobedience of *Adam*, ſinne entred into the world, and we are made ſinners in *Adam*, and by *Adam*. Art. 4.

That Chriſt was promiſed to our forefathers, who receiued the Law, to the end that knowing their ſin by the Law, and their vnrighteouſneſſe and inſufficiencie, they might deſire the coming of Chriſt, to the end he might ſatisfie for their ſins, and accompliſh the Law by himſelfe. Art. 5.

That Chriſt was borne at the time appointed by God his Father, that is to ſay, at a time when all iniquitie abounded, and not for our good workes ſake onely: for all were ſinners; but to the end he might offer his grace and mercie vnto vs. Art. 6.

That Chriſt is our life, and truth, and peace, and iuſtice, and Aduocate, and Paſtor, and ſacrifice, and ſacrificer, who died for the ſaluation of all thoſe that beleeue, Art. 7.

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and is raiſed againe for our iuſtification.

Art. 8. We do alſo firmly hold, that there is no other mediator and aduocate with God the Father but onely Ieſus Chriſt. And as touching the Virgine *Marie*, that ſhe is holy, humble, and full of grace; and ſo do we beleeue of all the other Saints, that they attend in heauen the reſurrection of their bodies at the day of iudgement.

Art. 9. We do alſo beleeue that after this life, there are onely two places: the one for thoſe that ſhall be ſaued, the other for the damned, which we call Paradiſe and Hell, denying altogether Purgatory, as being a dreame of Antechriſt, and inuented againſt the truth.

Art. 10. We haue alſo alwayes beleeued, that the inuentions of men are an vnſpeakable abomination before God, as the feaſts and the vigils of Saints, holy water, the abſtaining vpon certaine dayes from fleſh, and ſuch like, but principally the Maſſes.

Art. 11. We do abhorre all humane inuentions, as coming from Antechriſt, all which bring troubles with them, and are preiudiciall to the libertie of the ſpirit.

Art. 12. We beleeue that the Sacraments are outward ſignes of holy things, or viſible formes of inuiſible grace; and are of opinion that it is good that the faithfull do ſometimes vſe thoſe ſignes and viſible formes, if it may be done: But neuertheleſſe we beleeue and do hold, that the aforeſaid faithfull may be ſaued, not receiuing the ſaid ſignes, when they want place or power to vſe them.

Art. 13. We do not acknowledge any other Sacrament but Baptiſme and the Euchariſt.

Art. 14. We do honour the ſecular power, with all ſubiection, obedience, promptitude and payment.

CHAP.

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Chap. XIII.

Another Confeſſion of the faith of the Waldenſes.

WE beleeue that there is one onely God, who is a Spirit, the Creator of all things, the Father of all, who is aboue all, and in vs all, who is to be adored in ſpirit and truth, vpon whom onely we waite, and to whom we giue all glorie for our life, our nouriſhment, clothing, health, ſickneſſe, proſperitie, aduerſitie: we loue him as the author of all goodneſſe, we feare him as knowing our hearts. Art. 1. Taken out of the booke of *Charles du Moulin de la Mon. des François.* p. 65.

We beleeue that Ieſus Chriſt is the Sonne and image of his father; that in him dwels the fulneſſe of the diuinitie; by whom we know the Father, who is our mediatour and aduocate, and there is no other name vnder heauen giuen vnto men by which we can be ſaued; in whoſe name onely we call vpon the Father, and vſe no other prayers but thoſe that are contained in the holy Scriptures, or agreeing vnto them in ſubſtance. Art. 2.

We beleeue that the holy Ghoſt is our Comforter, proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, by whoſe inſpiration we make our prayers, being renewed by him, who doth all good works in vs, and by him we haue knowledge of all truth. Art. 3.

We beleeue that there is one holy Church, which is the congregation of all the elect and faithfull, which haue benefrom the beginning of the world, and ſhall be vnto the end, whereof our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is the head: the which Church is gouerned by his word, and guided by the holy Ghoſt, in which all good Chriſtians ought to remaine: for it prayeth without ceaſſing for all, and the Art. 4.

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word thereof is agreeable vnto God, without which no man can be ſaued.

Art. 5. We hold that the Miniſters of the Church ought to be irreprehenſible both in life and doctrine, otherwiſe they are to be depoſed from their office, and other to be ſubſtituted in their place. And that no man ought to preſume to vndertake this honourable calling, but onely he which is called of God as *Aaron*, nouriſhing the flocke of Chriſt, not for diſhoneſt gaine, or as hauing any ſuperioritie ouer the Clergie, but as being an example to the flocke, in word, in conuerſation, in charitie, in faith, and in chaſtitie.

Art. 6. We confeſſe that Kings, Princes, and Gouernours are ordained and eſtabliſhed Miniſters of God, to whom we are to obey. For they carrie the ſword for the defence of innocents and the puniſhment of malefactors; and for this cauſe are we bound to do them honour, and to pay tribute. From which power and authoritie no man can exempt himſelfe, as may appeare be the example of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who refuſed not to pay tribute, not challenging any iuriſdiction of temporall power.

Art. 7. We beleeue, that in the Sacrament of Baptiſme the water is the viſible and externall ſigne, which repreſenteth vnto vs that which by the power and vertue of God inuiſible, ſo working, is within vs, that is to ſay, renouation of the ſpirit, and mortification of our members in Ieſus Chriſt, by which we are alſo receiued into the holy congregation of the people of God, proteſting and declaring before it our faith and change of life.

Art. 8. We hold the holy Sacrament of the table or Supper of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, to be a holy remembrance and thankſgiuing for the benefits which we haue receiued by his death and paſſion, which is to be receiued in faith

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faith and charitie, examining our ſelues, that ſo we may eate of that bread and drinke of that cup, as it is written in the holy Scripture.

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

We confeſſe that they that feare God, ſeeke the things that pleaſe him, doing good workes, the which he hath prepared to the end we ſhould walke in them, which are charitie, ioy, peace, patience, benignitie, goodneſſe, mildneſſe, ſobrietie, and other workes contained in the holy Scriptures. Art. 10.

On the contrary, we confeſſe that we are to take heed of falſe teachers, whoſe end is to call the people from the true worſhip of God, and to reſt themſelues vpon creatures, putting their confidence in them, as alſo to perſwade the people to leaue thoſe good duties that are contained in the holy Scriptures, and to do thoſe that are inuented by men. Art. 11.

We hold the old and new Teſtament for the rule of our faith, & we agree to the generall Confeſſion of faith, with thoſe articles contained in the Symbole of the Apoſtles, which doth thus begin, *I beleeue in God the Father Almightie, &c.* Art. 12.

And for as much as the Paſtors of the *Waldenſes* taught their people the *Athanaſian* Creed in the *Waldenſian* language, we haue taken it out of their bookes, word by word as they pronounced it in old time.

CHAP.

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Chap. XIIII.

The Symbole of Athanasius in the Waldensian language.

QVal quequal vol esser faict salf deuant totas cosas es de necessita tenir la fe Catholica, laqual si alcun non tenré entierament sensa dubi perirá eternalment. Ma aqueſta es la fe Catholica. Que nos honran vn Dio en Trinita, & la Trinita en vnita, non confondent personnas, ni departent la substantia. Car autra es la personna del Paire, & del Filli, & del Sanct Esperit. Lo Paire non crea, lo filli non crea, lo Sanct Esperit non crea. Lo Paire non mesuriuol, lo Filli non mesuriuol, lo Sanct Esperit non mesuriuol. Lo Paire Eternal, lo Filli Eternal, lo Sanct Esperit Eternal. Emperço non tres Eternals, ma vn Eternal, enaimi non tres mesuriuols, & non crea. Semeillament lo Paire tot Poissant, lo Filli tot poissant, & lo Sanct Esperit tot Poissant, emperço, non tres tot Poissants, ma vn tot Poissant. Enaimi lo Paire es Dio, lo Filli Dio, lo Sanct Esperit Dio, emperço non tres Dios, ma vn Dio. Enaimi lo Paire es Seignor, lo Filli Seignor, lo Sanct Esperit Seignor, emperço, non tres Seignors, ma vn Seignor. Ca enaimi nos sen costreit confessar per Christiana verita, vna chascuna persona Dio o Seignor, enaimi per Catholica Religion, nos sen defendu dire esser tres Dios ni tres Seignors. Lo Filli es sol del Paire, non faict, ni crea, ma engenra, lo Sanct Esperit es del Paire, & del Filli, non fait, ni crea, ni engenra ma procedent. Donc lo es vn Paire, non tres Paires, vn Filli, non tres filli, vn Sanct Esperit, non tres Sanct Esperits. En aqueſta Trinita alcuna cosa non es premiera ni derniera, alcuna cosa maior, o menor, ma totas tres personas entre lor son ensem Eternals, & eygals. Enaimi que per totas cosas coma esdict de sobre, la sia dhonorar la Trinita en Vnita, & l'Vnita

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ta en Trinita. Donc aquel que vol eſſer fait ſalf ſenta enaima de la Trinita. Ma a la ſalut eternal es neceſſari creyre fidelment l'encarnation del noſtre Seignor Ieſus Chriſt. Donc la fe dreita es que nos crean, & confeſſan que lo noſtre Seignor Ieſus Chriſt filli de Dio, es Dio & home. Et es Dio engendra auant li ſegle, de la ſubſtantia del Paire, & es home na al ſegle de la ſubſtantia de la Maire, eſſent perfect Dio, & perfect home: d'anima rational & d'humana carn, aigal del Paire ſecond la Diuinita, & menor ſecond l'humanita. Loqual iaciaço quel ſia Dio & home, emperço lo es vn Chriſt & non dui, ma vn, non per conuerſion de la Diuinita en carn, ma propiament de la Humanita en Dio, vn totalment, non per confuſion de la Diuinita en carn, ma propiament de la humanita en Dio: vn totalment, non per confuſion de ſubſtantia ma per vnita de perſonas. Car enaima larma rational, & la carn, es vn home, enaima Dio & home es vn Chriſt loqual eſt paſſionna per la noſtra ſalut, deſcende en li enfern, lo ters iorn reſuſcite de li mort, & monté en li cel, & ſee a la dextra de Dio lo Paire Omnipotent. Daqui es a venir iugear li vio & li mort. A laduenament delqual tuit an a reſuſcitar, cum li lor corps, & ſon a rendre raçon de li lor propi faict. Et aquilli que auran faict ben, anaren en vita eterna, & aquille que aurant faict mal anaran al fuoc eternal.

The beliefe of the *Waldenſes* is ſufficiently knowne by that which is contained in the pure & holy doctrines of their confeſſions aboue mentioned: and yet neuertheleſſe it is for the ſame that they haue bene perſecuted for the ſpace of foure hundred and fiftie yeares, & ſtill ſhould be if they liued neare thoſe places where humane inuentions are preferred before the word of God. For though Satan be confounded, and his kingdome diſſipated by the brightneſſe of the Goſpell, yet he ceaſſeth not to hold thoſe vnder the yoke of Idolatrie, whoſe vnderſtan-

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dings he hath blinded, and to keepe them by violence vnder the tyrannie of his lawes, hiding that ignorance and errour that men do naturally loue, in thoſe darkneſſes wherein they take pleaſure. But as it hath not pleaſed the eternall God, that the faith of his ſeruants and Martyrs ſhould be buried, ſo it likewiſe pleaſeth him, that their conſtancie ſhould be made manifeſt for our edification and example. And this is the reaſon why hauing ſhewed in the firſt booke that the *Waldenſes* beleeued to ſaluation what was neceſſary, I haue thought good to publiſh in the ſecond booke that which is come to my knowledge of their ſufferings for righteouſneſſe.

The end of the firſt Booke.

THE

PART OF THE CATALOGVE OF *the Waldenſes bookes, being accidentally omitted in page 44. after the 30. line, are here inſerted as followeth.*

A Commentarie or paraphraſe vpon the Symbole of the Apoſtles.

A Treatiſe of the Sacraments.

A Commentarie or Paraphraſe vpon the Commandements.

A Commentarie vpon the Lords prayer.

A Treatiſe of Faſting.

A Treatiſe of Tribulation.

A little Catechiſme intituled, Interogations menors.

A Treatiſe againſt dancing and tauernes.

A Treatiſe of foure things to come, that is to ſay, death vnto all: eternall life to the good: hell to the wicked: and the laſt iudgement.

A Treatiſe entituled, *Del Purgatori ſoima:* that is to ſay, Of the dreame or inuention of Purgatory.

A Treatiſe againſt the inuocation of Saints.

We haue alſo a booke very ancient whereof the title is, *Aeyço es la cauſa del noſtre diſpartimẽt de la Gleiſa Romana.* That is to ſay, This is the cauſe of our ſeparation from the Church of Rome.

In this volume there is an Epiſtle or Apologie of the *Waldenſes* entituled, *La Epiſtola al Sereniſſimo Rey Lancelau, a li Ducs, Barons, & a li plus veil del regne: lo petit tropel de li Chriſtians appella per fals nom falſamente P. O. V.* that is to ſay, Poore or *Waldenſes.*

There is alſo a booke, wherein there are many Sermons of their Barbes, and an Epiſtle called, The Epiſtle to our friends, containing many excellent doctrines to teach

teach all ſorts of people how to leade their liues in all ages.

In the ſame volume there is a booke entituled, *Sacerdotium*, wherein is ſhewed what is the charge of a good Paſtor, and what the puniſhment of a wicked.

There is alſo come to our hands, a booke of poetry in the Waldenſian tongue, wherein are theſe Treatiſes following. A prayer entituled, New comfort. A rithme of the foure ſorts of ſeeds mentioned in the Goſpell. Another entituled Barque. And one called, The noble leſſon, of which book *Le Sieur de Saint Aldegonde* makes mention.

In his firſt Table p. 153.

We haue alſo an excellent Treatiſe entituled, *Vergier de conſolation*, containing many good inſtructions, confirmed by the Scriptures and diuers authorities of the Ancients.

Alſo an old Treatiſe in parchment entituled, Of the Church: and another called, The Treaſurie and light of faith.

Alſo a booke entituled, The ſpirituall Almanacke.

Alſo a booke in parchment, Of the meanes to ſeparate things precious from the baſe & contemptible, that is to ſay, vertues from vices.

Alſo the booke of *George Morel*, wherein are contained all the queſtions which *George Morel* and *Peter Maſçon* moued to *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer* touching religion, and the anſwers of the ſaid parties.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES:

Containing that which is come to our knowledge, of the grieuous perſecutions which they haue endured for their Faith, for the ſpace of more then foure hundred and fifty yeeres.

CHAP. I.

By whom the Waldenſes haue been perſecuted, for what, by what meanes, and in what times.

THE *Waldenſes* haue had no greater enemies then the *Popes*; becauſe, ſaith the *Monk Rainerius*, that amongſt all thoſe that haue raiſed themſelues againſt the Church of *Rome*, the *Waldenſes* haue been alwaies the moſt dangerous and pernicious, inſomuch that they haue reſiſted him for a long time; as alſo becauſe this Sect, (ſaith he) is more generall, for there is not almoſt any

Rainerius of the Waldenſes.

Country in which it hath not taken footing. And thirdly, becauſe all other by their blaſphemies againſt God, ſtrike a horror into mens hearts; But this on the contrary, hath a great appearance of piety, for they carry themſelues vprightly before men, and beleeue rightly touching God in all things, holding all the Articles that are contained in the Simbole, hating and reuiling the Church of *Rome*, and therein (ſaith he) they are eaſily beleeued of the people.

Rainer. cap. de ſtudio peruertendi alios & modo decendi. fol. 98.

And in another place the ſaid *Rainerius* ſaith, that the firſt leſſon that the *Waldenſes* giue to thoſe whom they winne to their Sect, is this, that they teach them what the Diſciples of Chriſt ought to be, and that by the words of the Goſpell and the Apoſtles, affirming, that they onely are the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, that immitate their life. Inferring thereby (ſaith hee) that the Pope, the Biſhoppes and Clergy, that poſſeſſe and inioy the riches of this world, and ſeek after them, follow not the examples of the Apoſtles, and therefore are not the true guides of the Church, it neuer being the purpoſe of Chriſt Ieſus, to commit his chaſte and beloued ſpouſe, to thoſe who rather proſtitute her by their ill examples, and wicked actions, then preſerue her in that purity wherein they receiued her at the beginning, a virgin chaſte and without ſpot.

In hatred therefore of diuers diſcourſes which the *Waldenſes* haue written againſt the luxury, auarice, pride, and errors brought in by the Pope, they haue alwaies perſecuted them to the death.

The meanes they haue vſed vtterly to exterminate them, haue been in the firſt place their thunderbolts, curſes, cannons, conſtitutions, decrees, and whatſoeuer elſe might make them odious to the Kings, Princes,

ces, and people of the earth, giuing them ouer, aſmuch as lies in their power, vnto Satan, interdicting them all communion and ſociety with thoſe that obey their lawes, iudging them vnworthy and vncapable of any charges, honours, profits, or to inherit, or to make willes, or to beburied in common church-yards, confiſcating their goods, diſ-inheriting their heires, and where they could by any meanes apprehend them, they haue condemned them to be deliuered to the ſecular power, their houſes to be razed, their lands and moueables confiſcated, or giuen to the firſt conquerour. And of all theſe ſentences we haue at this day the ſcedule, giuen by the Popes, with the inſtruments which they haue imployed to ſuch executions, as alſo of the commands which they haue giuen vnto Kings, Princes, Magiſtrates, Conſuls and People, to make an exact inquiſition, to ſhut the gates of the Citty, to craue the aſſiſtance, and beſt helpe of the people, to ring the Tol-bell, to arme themſelues: and if otherwiſe they cannot be apprehended, to kill them, and to vſe all manner of violence, which they ſhall ſee needfull in ſuch a caſe: Giuing to the accuſers the third part, or ſome other portion of that which ſhall bee confiſcated, all councellors and fauourers of them being condemned to the ſame puniſhment.

Theſe ſentences are to bee ſeen in the manuel of the Inquiſitors, with the letters of Pope Alexander the thirteenth & of diuers other Popes which ſucceeded him.

And foraſmuch as no Prince or Magiſtrate, or any other had any power to frame a proces againſt any in the fact of pretended hereſie; commandement was giuen to the Biſhops, euery one in his iuriſdiction, to make an inquiry into their flockes, and take notice how euery particular perſon was affected, to the ordinances of the Popes, and the Church of *Rome*. So when *Waldo* began to complaine and to cry

out againſt the corruptions, of the ſaid Church of *Rome*. *Alexander* the third then Pope, enioyned the Archbiſhop of *Lion* to proceed againſt him; and foraſmuch as the ſaid Prelate did not baniſh him according and as ſoon as he deſired, he ſpeedily aſſembled a Councell, where he excommunicated *Waldo*, and all thoſe that followed his doctrine, though it were vnder other names.

This Councel was held at Latran. 1180. See the 27. Chap.

But this meanes was thought to be too eaſie for ſo preſſing an action as this of the *Waldenſes* was, who ceaſed not for all thoſe thunderbolts, to preach, that the Pope was *Antichriſt*, the *Maſſe* an abomination, the *Hoſte* an idoll, and *Purgatory* a fable. Points that being receiued were ſufficient to ouerthrow all the authority of the Pope, & to drie vp all the riuers of gaine and greaſe of the Clergy. And therefore *Innocent* the third, who ſucceeded Pope *Celeſtine* the third of that name, about the yeer 1198, tooke another courſe then that of the ordinary Biſhoppes, to frame the proces againſt the *Waldenſes*, and others whom he called Heretickes. He authorized certaine Monkes, who had the full power of the Inquiſition in their hands, and framed the Proces, deliuered to the ſecular power, by a full and abſolute authority, and a far ſhorter way, but much more cruell, deliuering the people by thouſands into the hands of the Magiſtrates, & the Magiſtrates to the executioners; whereby in a few yeers, all Chriſtendome was much moued by thoſe pittifull & lamentable ſpectacles, to ſee all thoſe burnt or hanged, that did truſt only in one Lord Ieſus Chriſt for their ſaluation, and renounced the vaine hopes inuented by men, & for their profit, which was all the fruit of that aforeſaid Inquiſition, which we ſhall ſpeake of in the Chapter following.

CHAP.

HAIL & FIRE

CHAP. II.

Of the Inquiſition: by whom it was firſt put in practiſe: by what ſubtilties and cruelties the VValdenſes haue been vexed by it.

IN the beginning of the proſecution of the Popes, vtterly to exterminate the *Waldenſes*, they were content with the meanes aboue mentioned in the precedent Chapter, but either becauſe the buſines went but ſlowly forward, or becauſe notwithſtanding thoſe meanes, the number increaſed in ſuch manner, of thoſe that beleeued, that theſe meanes were foūd to be weake, it was reſolued by Pope *Innocent* the third, to aſſay whether by the way of preaching hee could obtain that, which by violence he could neuer doe. He ſent therefore certaine Biſhops and Monkes, who preached in thoſe places of the *Waldenſes* that were ſuſpected to profeſſe their religion; but as he ſaith, that writ the *Treaſure of Hiſtories*, the ſaid Preachers conuerted not any, but a few poore people, but for the moſt part (ſaith he) they ſtill perſiſted in the profeſſion of their faith. In *Gallia Narbonenſi* there were imployed two Monks, that is to ſay, *Pierre de Chateauneuf*, and *Dominique* born at *Calahorre* in *Spaine*, to whom they ioyned a certain Abbot of *Ciſteaux*, and in a throng, as it were together, there came many other Prieſts and Monkes, & amongſt the reſt a certain Biſhop of *Ceſtre*. The Monke *Pierre de Chateauneuf* was ſlain in this buſines, and for that canonized for a Saint. *Dominique* conti-

The Treaſ. of Hiſt. in the yeere 1206.

Lib Inquiſit. cap. de non occidendo. fol. 100.

Sic fuit occiſus Sanctus Petrus de Ordine fratrum Predicatorum.

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HAIL & FIRE

continued in his perſecution of the *Waldenſes* both in deed and word. This Monke ſeeing himſelfe to bee in authority, inſtituted an Order of *begging Monkes*, who after his name were callad *Dominicans*, and the ſaid Monke was canonized, and his Order confirmed by Pope *Honorius*, being warned (ſaith hee) to doe it, by a dreame. For it ſeemed to him, that the Church of *Rome* was falling, and that *Dominique* vpheld it with his ſhoulders, in recompence whereof, the ſaid Pope commanded that the ſaid Order ſhould haue the firſt place among the *Mendicants*.

Moynes qui mandiant.

Mandians.

The Martirologe in the life of Dominique.

It is ſaid of this Monke, that his mother when ſhee went with childe with him, ſhee did dreame, that ſhee had in her wombe a dogge that caſt out flames of fire out of his throat. His followers interpret this to his aduantage, as if hereby we were giuen to vnderſtand, that hee ſhould be that dogge, that ſhould vomit out that fire, which ſhould conſume the Heretikes: But on the contrary, they whom hee euery day deliuered vnto death, might well ſay that hee was the dogge, that had ſet on fire all Chriſtendome, and that the flames that came out of his throat, doe note vnto vs, thoſe fiery and infernall ſentences which he pronounced againſt the Chriſtians. Howſoeuer hee caried himſelfe ſo well in theſe affaires, that before hee died, he built many goodly houſes in *Languedoc*, *Prouence*, *Dolphine*, *Spaine*, and elſwhere, by which hee had obtained great reuenewes, either from the liberality of thoſe that affected his Order, or the Confiſcations of the *Waldenſes*, by which the Count *Simon of Montfort* gaue him great priuiledges and almes, as cutting large thongs of another mans leather.

He laboured in the Inquiſition as the chiefe, with ſuch

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ſuch contentment to the Popes, that from that time forward, the Monkes of his Order, haue been alwaies imployed in the Inquiſition.

The power giuen to theſe Monkes Inquiſitors, was without limits. For they could aſſemble the people, whenſoeuer it pleaſed them, by the ſound of a bell, proceed againſt the Biſhops themſelues, and ſend out proces, if there were need, to impriſon, and to open the priſons without controle. All manner of accuſations was auailable enough: A Sorcerer, a Harlot were ſufficient witneſſes, without reproch, in the fact of pretended hereſie. It was no matter who did accuſe, or whether by word of mouth, or by tickets caſt in before the Inquiſitor, for without any perſonall appearance, or confronting one another, the the proces were framed, without party, without witneſſe, and without other law, then the pleaſure of the Inquiſitor. To be rich was a crime neere vnto hereſie, and he that had any thing to loſe, was in the way to bee vndone, either as an Hereticke, or at the leaſt, as a fauourer of heretikes. One bare ſuſpition ſtopped the mouthes of fathers and mothers, and kinſfolke, that they durſt not intercede for puniſhments to come, and he that did intreat for the conuey of a cup of cold water, or a little ſtraw to lye vpon in ſome ſtinking dungeon, was condemned for a fauourer of Heretickes, and brought to the ſame or worſe extremities. There was no Aduocate that durſt vndertake the defence of his neareſt kinſman or friend, or Notary that durſt receiue any act in his fauour. And that which was more, after that a man was once intangled within the ſnares of the Inquiſition, he could neuer liue in any aſſurance, for hee was alwaies to beginne

againe:

HAIL & FIRE

againe : For if any man were ſet at liberty, it was only for a time till they might better conſider of it. Death it ſelfe made not an end of the puniſhment, for they haue left vnto vs certaine coppies of their ſentences againſt the bones of the dead, to diſ-interre and to burne them, yea thirty yeeres after the deceaſe of the party accuſed. They that were heires had nothing certaine, for vpon any accuſation of their fathers or kindred, they durſt not vndertake the defence of their owne right, or poſſeſſe their owne inheritance, without the crime or ſuſpition of Hereſie, and that they rather inherited their bad faith and opinions then their goods. The people, yea the moſt mighty and richeſt amongſt them, were conſtrained, in a manner, to adore theſe Monkes the Inquiſitors, and to beſtow vpon them great Preſents for the building of their Couents and dotations of their houſes, for feare to bee accuſed of Hereſie, and not to be eſtemed zealous for the faith of thoſe holy fathers. And the better to entertaine men with an apprehenſion of theſe things, they ſometimes made ſhewes and brauadoes of their priſoners, leading them in triumph at their Proceſſions, ſome being enioyned to whip themſelues, others to goe couered after the manner of S^t. *Benedicts*, that is to ſay, with certaine red Caſſockes with yellow croſſes, to ſignifie that they were ſuch as had been conuinced of ſome errour, and that at the firſt offence they ſhould afterward commit, they were already condemned for Heretickes. Others appeared in their ſhirts, bare-foote and bare-headed, with a with about their neckes, a torch in their hands; that being thus prepared and furniſhed, they might giue terror to the beholders, to ſee ſuch perſons of all eſtates and ſex, brought

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brought to ſo miſerable a condition, being all forbid to enter into the Church, but to ſtay in the porch, or to caſt an eye vpon the Hoſte when it was ſhewed by the Prieſt; vntill it was otherwiſe determined by the Fathers the Inquiſitors.

And for the full accompliſhment of the contentment of the ſaid Fathers, their accuſed were exiled for a penance, into the holy Land, or enrolled for ſome other expedition againſt the *Turkes* or other Infidels, leuied by the command of the Pope, to ſerue the Church for a certaine time at their owne charge: and in the meane time, the ſaid holy Fathers tooke poſſeſſion of the goods of the poore Pilgrims; and that which was worſt of all, at their returne, they muſt not enquire whether the ſaid Monkes had in their abſence any priuate familiarity with their wiues, for feare leſt they ſhould be condemned for back-ſliders, impenitent, and altogether vnworthy of any fauour.

Now theſe violences being executed from the yeer a thouſand two hundred and ſix, which was about the time that *Dominique* erected his Inquiſition, to the yeere one thouſand two hundred twenty eight, there was ſo great a hauock made of poore Chriſtians, that the Archbiſhops of *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Narbonne*, being aſſembled together at *Aingou*, in the ſaid yeere 1228, at the inſtance of the ſaid Monkes the Inquiſitors, to confer with them about diuers difficulties in the execution of their charge, had compaſſion of the miſery of a great number that were accuſed, and kept in priſon by the ſaid Monkes the Inquiſitors, ſaying:

It is come to our knowledge, that you haue apprehended ſo great a number of the *Waldenſes*, that it is not only not poſſible to defray the charge of their

See the Catal. of the Teſt. of the truth. pag. 534.

nouriſhment, but to prouide lyme and ſtone to build priſons for them; we therefore counſell you (ſay they) that you defer a little ſuch impriſonments, vntill the Pope may bee aduertiſed of the great numbers that haue been apprehended, and that he doe aduiſe what pleaſeth him to bee done; if not, there is no reaſon you ſhould *take offence* for thoſe that are impenitent and incorigible, or that you ſhould doubt of their relaps, or that they ſhould eſcape away, or hauing their liberty ſhould infect others, becauſe you may condemne ſuch perſons without delay.

Veus twiſſiez.

There needs no other proofe then this of the aforeſaid Prelats, to make it appeare that the number of thoſe whom the Inquiſition had deliuered vnto death, was very great. For touching the queſtion moued by the ſaid Inquiſitors, whether they that haue frequented the company of the *Waldenſes*, and haue receiued the Supper of the Lord with them, are to be excuſed, becauſe they ſay they offended out of ignorance, not knowing that they were *Waldenſes*: The the anſwer of the ſaid Prelats was, that they were not to be excuſed; Becauſe (ſay they) who is ſo great a ſtranger, as not to know that the *Waldenſes* haue been puniſhed and condemned for theſe many yeers ſince, and who knoweth, not that for a long time they haue been purſued and perſecuted at the charge and trauell of Catholikes, this purſuit being ſealed by ſo many perſons condemned to death; if it cannot be called into doubt.

And yet neuertheles, the ſpeech of the ſaid Prelats being conferred, with that which *George Morell*, in the yeer a thouſand fiue hundred and thirty, hath written, it would be none of the leaſt wonders that God hath wrought

wrought, that notwithſtanding the bloody perſecutions after *Waldo* his time, in the yeere a thouſand one hundred ſixty, there were according to the report of *Morel*, aboue eight hundred thouſand perſons that made profeſſion of the faith of the ſaid *Waldenſes*.

George Morel in his memorials. pa. 54.

As touching the ſubtleties of the ſaid Inquiſitors, we ſhould not haue had any knowledge thereof, but from ſuch as haue eſcaped from the Inquiſition of *Spaine*, but that it was the will of God that their cunning trickes ſhould not bee ſo cloſely hid, but that wee had examples thereof euen from themſelues.

Behold then the crafty ſubtleties of the Inquiſitors, which ſerued them for a rule in the framing of their proces againſt the *Waldenſes*.

It is not expedient to diſpute of matter of faith before lay-people.

No man ſhall be held for a penitent man, if he accuſe not thoſe that he knowes to be ſuch as himſelfe.

He that accuſeth not thoſe that are like vnto himſelf, ſhall be cut off from the Church, as a rotten member, for feare leſt the members that are ſound, ſhould be corrupted by him.

After that any one hath been deliuered to the ſecular power, great care muſt bee taken, that hee bee not ſuffered to excuſe himſelfe, or to manifeſt his innocencie before the people: becauſe if be he deliuered to death, it is a ſcandall to the lay-people; and if hee make an eſcape, there is danger of his loyalty.

Good heed muſt bee taken, not to promiſe life vnto him that is condemned to death, before the people, conſidering that an Heretike will neuer ſuffer himſelfe to bee burnt, if hee may eſcape by ſuch promiſes.

HAIL & FIRE

And if he ſhall promiſe to repent before the people, if he haue not his life granted vnto him, there will ariſe a ſcandall amongſt them, and it will be thought that he is wrongfully put to death.

Note (ſay they) that the Inquiſitor ought alwaies to preſuppoſe the fact, without any condition, and is onely to enquire of the circumſtances of the fact, as thus: how often haſt thou confeſſed thy ſelfe vnto Heretickes? In what chamber of the houſe haue they layen, and the like things.

The Inquiſitor may looke into any booke, as if he found there written, the life of him that is accuſed, and of all that he enquires of.

It is neceſſary to threaten death to the accuſed, if he confeſſe not, and to tell him the fact is too manifeſt, that it is fit he ſhould thinke of his ſoule, and renounce his Hereſie, for he muſt die, and therefore it ſhall bee good for him to take patiently whatſoeuer ſhall light vpon him. And if he ſhall anſwer; ſince I muſt die, I had rather die in that faith I profeſſe, then in that of the Romiſh Church, then conclude for certaine, that before he made but a ſhew of repentance, and ſo let him ſuffer iuſtice.

Wee muſt not thinke to vanquiſh Heretickes by learning or by the ſcriptures, inaſmuch as men that are learned, are rather confounded by them, whereby it comes to paſſe, that the Heretickes fortifie themſelues, ſeeing they are able to delude the moſt learned.

Againe, great heed muſt bee taken that the Heretikes neuer anſwer directy, and when they are preſſed by frequent interrogations, they haue a cuſtome to alledge for themſelues, that they are ſimple and fooliſh people,

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people, and therefore know not how to anſwere. And if they ſhall once ſee the aſſiſtants to bee moued with compaſſion towards them, as if they ſhould doe them wrong, thinking them to be ſimple people, and therefore not culpable; then they gather heart, and make a ſhew of ſhedding teares like poore miſerable creatures, and flattering their iudges, they endeauour to free themſelues from the Inquiſition, ſaying: Sir, If I haue been faulty in any thing, I will willingly doe penance, but yet giue me your aide and aſſiſtance to deliuer me from this infamy, into which I am fallen by the malice of others, not mine owne fault.

But then the couragious Inquiſitor muſt not yeeld for all theſe flatteries, nor giue any beliefe to thoſe diſſimulations.

Moreouer the Inquiſitor muſt tell them, that they ſhall gaine nothing by ſwearing falſly, becauſe they haue enough to conuince them by witneſſes; and therefore they muſt not thinke, that by meanes of their oath they ſhall auoide the ſentence of death; but they muſt promiſe them (ſay they) that if they will freely confeſſe their error, they ſhall haue mercy; for in ſuch perplexities, there are many, that confeſſe their error in hope to eſcape.

Thus you ſee the ſubtilties of the Monkes the Inquiſitors, ſuch as they practiſed in times paſt, againſt the *Waldenſes* throughout all Europe: It remaines that we now ſee what their practiſe hath been in euery particular Realme and Prouince, ſo far forth as is come to our knowledge. And firſt we will begin with *Dauphine*, becauſe it is the Prouince into which *Waldo* and his followers retired themſelues at their departure from *Lion*.

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CHAP. III.

Of the Waldenſian Churches in Dauphine, and the perſecutions which they haue ſuffered, which are come to our knowledge.

THe *Waldenſian* Churches in *Dauphine*, haue been for theſe many hundred yeeres ſpread abroad throughout diuers parts of the Prouince. For they haue had Churches in *Valentia*, where at this preſent there are places, wherin times out of mind, the faith of the *Waldēſes* hath been receiued from the father to the ſonne, as the place *des Faulques*, and *Beauregard* in *Valentia*, and *La Baulme* neere *Creſt*; out of which places there are come to our hands certaine proces againſt ſome particular perſons of the ſame places, for being accuſed by the Inquiſitors as adhearing to the faith of the *Waldenſes* aboue three hundred yeeres ſince. But the more famous Churches of the ſaide Prouince, are thoſe of the Valley of *Fraiſſiniere*, neere *Ambrun*, of *Argenterie*, of the Valley *Loyſe*, which for the *VValdenſes* ſakes was called *Val lute*, as if there had been nothing in the ſaid Valley but a Brothel-houſe, and receptacle of all manner of diſſolute liuing and villany. This was vtterly rooted out. On the other ſide of the Alpes, there is a valley called the Valley of *Pragela*, where they haue inhabited time out of minde. A Valley that is in the iuriſdiction of the Arch-biſhop of *Turin*, peopled euen at this preſent with thoſe that are deſcended from the firſt *Waldenſes*, of whom mene-

Valentinois.

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tion hath been made heretofore. They were the inhabitants of this Valley that peopled the *Waldenſian* Valleies of *Piedmont*, *La Perouſe*, *Saint Martin*, *Angrongue* and others; as alſo thoſe of the *Waldenſes* inhabited in *Prouence*, and *Calabria*, are come out of thoſe places of *Dauphine*, and *Piedmont*. In ſaid Valley of *Pragela*, there are at this day, ſix goodly Churches, euery one hauing their Paſtor, and euerie Paſtor hauing diuers villages, which belong to euery one of theſe Churches, all filled with thoſe that haue deſcended from the ancient *VValdenſes*. They are Churches truely reformed time out of minde. For although in the ſaid Valley, there are at this preſent old people, and not a ſmall number that draw neere, yea and ſome that are aboue a hundred yeere old, yet theſe good old men, haue neuer heard of their fathers, or grand-fathers, that maſſe was euer ſung in their times in that Country. And though perhaps the Arch-biſhops of *Turin*, haue cauſed it to be ſong in the ſaid Valley, whereof the inhabitants haue had no knowledge, yet there is not any amongſt them, that makes profeſſion of any other faith or beleefe, then that the confeſſion whereof we haue heard in the former booke.

For all thoſe bookes before mentioned, haue bin receiued by the Inhabitants of the ſaid valley, which hath been in times paſt, one of the ſafeſt retiring places that the *Waldenſes* had in all Europe, enuironed on all ſides with mountaines almoſt vnaccreſſable, within the caues whereof they retired themſelues in times of perſecution.

Le Sieur de Vignaux who was one of the firſt Paſtors that preached to his people, long before the

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the exerciſe of the reformed Religion was free in *France*, could not ſatisfie himſelfe with the liberall ſpeech, integrity, and piety of theſe people, whom he found altogether diſpoſed to receiue the diſpenſation of the word of God, which their fore-fathers had cheriſhed, and in which they had inſtructed their poſterity. And it was worthy the obſeruation, that notwithſtanding they were weakned on all ſides, and enuironed with the enemies of their Religion, in danger to be apprehended when they went out of their dores, yet was there neuer any worldly reſpect that had power to alter their holy reſolution, from the father to the ſonne to ſerue God, taking his word for the rule of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience. And in this deſigne it was, that they haue been bleſſed of God, aboue all Chriſtian people throughout Europe, inſomuch that their infants were hardly weaned from their mothers breaſt, but their parents tooke a ſingular delight to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian faith and doctrine, vntill they were able to confound many perſons dwelling elſwhere well ſtrooken in yeeres, and ouerwhelmed with ignorance.

To this paſſe their Paſtors brought them, who not being content to giue them exhortations vpon the Sabboth daies, went alſo in the weeke-daies to inſtruct them, in the villages and hamlets thereabouts, not ſparing themſelues for the roughnes of the rockes, the coldneſſe of the ayre, the inciuility of the country, where they were faine to clime vp high mountains to viſit their flocke, and to carry vnto them the foode of their ſoules; euen at thoſe times when the people in the heat of ſummer were keeping their cattell vpon the high rockes, and there they many times teach and inſtruct

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ſtruct them in the open fields. There you may ſee thoſe that heare the word of God with attention and reuerence : There is diſcipline exerciſed with fruit; There the people pray with feruency of zeale, at their retaine from their labors, at night when they go to their reſt, & in the morning before they vndertake any worke; Firſt in their priuate houſes, then in the Temple they begge the aſſiſtance of the Lord in all their actions, thoughts, words, and deeds, and ſo betake themſelues to their labours, vnder the protection of the liuing God, whom they loue, and honour and adore. There you may deſcry more zeale, and more ſimplicity, then in many other places, that abound in the delights and pleaſures of this world; neither are they ſo rude and blockiſh, but that they haue diuers amongſt them that can reade, and deliuer their mindes in good tearmes, eſpecially they that trauell ſometimes into the lower Countries for their commodities; they haue Schooles wherein their children are taught and nurtured, neither doe they want any thing they thinke neceſſary to aduance the glory of God amongſt them.

The firſt perſecution that is come to our knowledge, was that, which was moued by a certain Monke Inquiſitor of the Order of the Frier-Minors, named *Francis Borelli*, hauing a Commiſſion in the yeere 1380, to make inquiry and to informe touching the Anno 1380. Sect of the Waldenſes, in the Dioces of *Aix*, *Arles*, *Ambrun*, *Vienna*, *Geneua*, *Aubonne*, *Sauoy*, the *Venetian* County, *Dyois*, *Foreſts*, the Principality of *Orenge*, the Citty of *Anignon* and *Selon*, as his Bull gaue him authority, which he receiued from *Clement* the ſeuenth, who then was Reſident and ruled in

This Bull was taken out of the Chamber Country of Grenoble.

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Auignon. By reaſon of the neerenes of his Court to the habitation of the *Waldenſes*; hee thought good to purge *Dauphine*, of thoſe that held him to bee Antichriſt; and for this cauſe he commanded the Biſhops of *Dauphine*, *Prouence*, and other places, to which his power did extend(for there was then a ſchiſme,and all Europe was diuided, partly for *Vrbani* the ſixt, and partly for this ſaid *Clement*) to watch in ſuch ſort ouer their flockes, that there might not any liue amongſt them that was of the Sect of the *Waldenſes*.

This Monke cited to appeare before hin at *Ambrun*, all the inhabitants of *Eraßiniere*, *Argentiere*, and the valley *Pute*, vpon paine of excommunication. They appeared not,nor any for them,& were therefore condemned for their contumacy, and in the end ſhut out of the Church, by the laſt and moſt direfull excommunication of offenders: and in the ſpace of thirteene yeeres, during which time he alwaies caught one or other,he deliuered by ſentence to the ſecular power to be burnt at *Grenoble*; that is to ſay, of the valley *Pute*, *William Marie* of *Vilar*, *Peter Long*,alias *Chaſtan*;*Iohn Long*,alias *Truchi*, *Albert Vincens*, *Ioane* the wife of *Steuen Vincens*, and diuers others; that is to ſay, to the number of one hundred and fifty men, diuers women, with many of their ſonnes and daughters well ſtrooken in yeeres, whoſe names we haue not heere inſerted becauſe we would not grieue and weary the Reader.

Of the *Valley* of *Argentiere* and *Fraßinieres*, *Aſtine Berarde*, *Barthelemie* the wife of *Iohn Porti*, and others of both ſexes, to the number of eighty, who were all condemned to be deliuered to the ſecular power; in ſuch ſort, that whenſoeuer any one of them was apprehended, he was preſently brought to *Grenoble*, and there

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golden gate. For in the proces that are come to our hands, there are many that complaine, that they had neuer been entangled in the ſnares of the Inquiſitots, but for their goods; beeing well knowne that they neuer had any knowledge of the Beleefe of *Waldenſes*.

As touching the *Waldenſes* of the valley of *Pragela*, they were aſſayled by their enemies vpon the ſide of *Suſa* a towne in *Piedmont*, about the yeere a thouſand foure hundred : and foraſmuch as they had many times aſſaulted them in vaine, at ſuch times as they could retire themſelues into the high mountaines, and caues or hollow places thereof, from whence they might much indamage, and hinder thoſe that came to aſſaile them, the ſaid enemies ſet vpon them, about the Feaſt of the Natiuity of Chriſt, a time when theſe poore people neuer thought, that any would haue durſt to haue paſt the mountaines being couered with ſnow, who ſeeing their caues and cauerns taken by their enemies, they betooke themſelues to one of the higheſt mountaines of the Alpes, named afterward the Albergam, that is to ſay, the mountaine of retrait, and running together in troopes with their wiues and children, the mothers carrying their cradles, and leading their infants by the hand, that were able to goe, the enemy followed them vntill night, and ſlew many before they could recouer the mountaine. They that were then ſlaine had the better bargaine. For night comming vpon theſe poore people which were in the ſnow, without any meanes to make any fire to warme their little infants, the greateſt part of them were benũmed with cold, & there were found in the morning foureſcore ſmall infants dead in their cradles, and moſt

1400.

Vineaux in his Meuoi. fol. 6.

HAIL & FIRE

moſt of their mothers mothers died after them, and diuers others were giuing vp the laſt gaſpe.

The enemies being retired in the night, into the houſes of theſe poore people, they ranſacked and pillaged whatſoeuer they could carry to *Suſa*, and for the full accompliſhment of their cruelty, they hanged vpon a tree a poore *Waldenſian* woman, whom they met vpon the mountaine *de Meane*, named *Margaret Athode.*

The Inhabitants of the ſaid *Valley*, hold this perſecution to be the moſt violent, that their fathers haue related vnto them, that in their times or the times of their grand-fathers they haue euer ſuffred; and they talke of it at this preſent, as if it were a thing lately done, and freſh in memory; ſo often from the father to the ſonne, hath mention been made of this vnexpected ſurpriſe, the cauſe of ſo many miſeries amongſt them.

Now in the meane while, the *Waldenſes* of the valley *Fraßiniere*, that remained and had eſcaped this aforeſaid perſecution, were againe violently handled by the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* their neighbour in the yeere 1460, that is, in the time of Pope *Pius* the ſecond of that name, and of *Lewis* the eleuenth King of *France.* 1460.

This Arch-biſhop named *Iohn*, made a Commiſſioner againſt the ſaid *Waldenſes*, a certaine Monke of the order of the Frier-Minors, called *Iohn Vayleti*, who proceeded with ſuch diligence and violence, that there was hardly any perſon in the vallies of *Fraßiniere*, *Argentiere*, and *Loyſe*, that could eſcape the hands of the ſaid Inquiſitor, but that they were apprehended either as Heretickes, or fauourers of them.

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They therefore that knew nothing of the beleefe of the *Waldenſes*, had recourſe vnto King *Lewis* the eleuenth, humbly beſeeching him, to ſtay by his authority the courſe of ſuch perſecutions. The King granted vnto them his letters, the which wee haue in this place thought good to inſert at large, becauſe by them it ſhall be eaſie to know what the will and deſire of the ſaid Monkes was, who intangled in their proces many of the Romiſh religion, vnder colour of the Inquiſition againſt the *Waldenſes*.

The Letters of King Lewis the eleuenth.

Lewis by the grace of God, King of France, Dauphin de Vienois, Conte de Valentinois, and Dioys; to our well-beloued and faithfull Gouernour of our Country of Dauphine, health and dilection.

TOuching that part of the Inhabitants of the valley Loyſe, Fraſſiniere, Argentiere, *and others of our Country of* Dauphine, *it hath been certified, that notwithſtanding they haue liued, and are deſirous to liue as becommeth good Chriſtian Catholikes, without holding, or beleeuing, or maintaining any ſuperſtitious points, but according to the ordinance and diſcipline of our mother the holy Church; yet neuer-*

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neuertheleſſe, ſome religious Mandians, who call themſelues the Inquiſitors of the faith, and others thinking by vexations and troubles, to extort from them their goods, and otherwiſe to moleſt them in their perſons, haue been deſirous, and ſtill are, to lay falſe imputations vpon them, that they hold and beleeue certaine Hereſies and ſuperſtitions againſt the Catholike faith; and vnder this collour, haue and ſtill doe vex and trouble them with ſtrange inuolutions of proces, both in our Court of Parliament in Dauphine, and in diuers other Countries and iuriſdictions.

And to come to the confiſcation of the goods of thoſe whom they charge with the ſame offence, many of the Iudges, yea, and the ſaid Inquiſitors of the faith themſelues, being cõmonly religious Mandians, vnder the ſhadow of the office of Inquiſitors, haue ſent, and euery day do ſend forth proces againſt thoſe poore people, without reaſonable cauſe; putting ſome of them to the racke, and calling them in queſtion without any precedent information, and condemning them for matters whereof they were neuer culpable, as hath bin afterwards found, and of ſome, to ſet them at liberty, haue taken, and exacted great ſummes of money, and by diuers meanes haue vniuſtly vexed and troubled them, to the great preiudice and hinderance, not

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onely of the ſaid Suppliants, but of Vs and the Weale-publicke, of our Country of Dauphine.

Wee therefore being willing to prouide againſt this miſchiefe, and not to ſuffer Our poor people to be vexed and troubled by ſuch wrongfull proceedings, eſpecially the Inhabitants of the ſaid places affirming, that they haue alwaies liued, and will liue, as becommeth good Chriſtians, and Catholikes, not hauing euer beleeued, nor held other beleefe, then that of our mother the holy Church, nor maintained, nor will maintaine, or beleeue any thing to the contrary, and that it is againſt all reaſon, that any man ſhould be condemned of the crime of Hereſie, but onely they, that with obdurate obſtinacy wil ſtubbornly maintain and affirme things contrary to the ſincerity of our faith. Wee haue by great and mature deliberation, and to meet with ſuch fraudes and abuſes, vniuſt vexations and exactions granted to the ſaid Suppliants, and doe grant, and of our certain knowledge, and ſpeciall conſent, full power and authority royall, & Delphinale; VVe haue willed and ordained, and doe will and ordaine by theſe Preſents; that the ſaid Suppliants, and all others of our Country of Dauphine, *be freed from their courts and proces, and whatſoeuer proces any of them ſhall haue ſent forth, for the cauſes aboue mentioned; We haue of our certaine knowledge, full*

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power and authority royall and Delphinale, aboliſhed, and doe aboliſh, made, and doe make of none effect by theſe Preſents, and we will that from all times paſt vnto this day, there be nothing demanded of them, or wrong offered, either in body or goods, or good name. Except neuertheles there bee any, that will obſtinately and out of a hardned heart, maintaine and affirme any thing againſt the holy Catholike faith.

Moreouer, we haue willed and ordained, and doe will and ordaine, that the goods of the ſaid Inhabitants Suppliants, and all other of our Country of Dauphine, that for the cauſes aboue mentioned, haue been taken and exacted of any perſon, in any manner whatſoeuer, by execution or otherwiſe; ſhall by the ordinance or command of our Court of Parliament of Dauphine, or any other whatſoeuer, as alſo all bils and obligations, which they haue giuen for the cauſes aboue ſaid, whether it be for the paiment of fees for the ſaid proces or otherwiſe, ſhall againe bee reſtored vnto them, vnto which reſtitution all ſuch ſhall be conſtrained, that haue in any thing, either by ſale or ſpoile of their goods, moueables or vnmoueables, by detention or impriſonment of their perſons any way wronged them, vntill they haue reſtored their goods, and things aboue mentioned, and obeyed; otherwiſe to bee inforced by all due and reſonable

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meanes requiſite in ſuch a caſe, notwithſtanding all appellations whatſoeuer, which our will is in any manner be deferred.

And becauſe that by reaſon of thoſe confiſcations, which haue heen heretofore pretended, of the goods of thoſe whom they haue charged and accuſed in this caſe, diuers more for couetouſneſſe, and a deſire of the ſaid confiſcations, or part of them, then for iuſtice, doe and haue put many people in ſute, and to come to the end of their confiſcations, haue held diuers tearmes againſt iuſtice. VVe haue declared, and doe declare by theſe Preſents, that we will not from hence forward, for the ſaid cauſe, haue any confiſcations taken, leuied, or exacted, for vs, or by our Officers; and whatſoeuer right may come vnto vs, we doe acquit our ſelues off, and remit vnto the children or other inheritours thereof, againſt whomſoeuer ſhall pretend aright to thoſe confiſcations. As alſo to meet with thoſe fraudes and abuſes, offered by the ſaid Inquiſitors of the faith; we haue forbid, and doe forbid, that any man ſuffer any of the ſaid Inquiſitors of the faith, to proceed from hence forward againſt any of the ſaid Inhabitants of our country of Dauphine, nor reſtraine any of them for the cauſe aboue mentioned, without expreſſe letters from our ſelfe touching that matter. Moreouer we haue forbid, and doe forbid,

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for the cauſe aforeſaid and the like, any of our Iudges and Officers of our Subiects to vndertake any iuriſdiction or knowledge, but all cauſes and proces in the ſaid caſe, to be ſent vnto vs, and thoſe of our grand Counſell to vs; to whom, and not vnto others, wee haue reſerued the hearing and determination. Wee therefore command and directly enioyne you, that our Letters be put in execution from point to point, according to the forme aboue ſaid, and not other waies, as in ſuch caſe is requiſite. For it is our pleaſure it ſhould bee done; and to doe it we giue you full power and authority, and commiſſion, and ſpeciall commandement. We charge and command all our Iuſtices, Officers, Subiects, Commiſſioners, and Deputies, to giue their aſſiſtance for the due obedience thereunto. 1478.

Giuen at *Arras* the 18 of *May*, 1578.

The Arch-biſhop of *Ambrun* ceaſeth not to proceed againſt the accuſed, yea he was much more animated then before, grounding himſelf vpon that clauſe of the aforeſaid Letters; *If there bee not any found rebellious and refractary, and that obſtinately harden themſelues in their opinions.* And therefore he pretended not to doe any thing againſt the aforeſaid Letters, becauſe they that had obtained them, made not their appearance in iudgement, for their iuſtification, verifying that they were neither obſtinate nor rebellious. Moreouer, the Arch-biſhop extorted from the one

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part of the Inhabitants af *Fraſsiniere*, *Argentiere*, and the valley *Loyſe*, a diſclaiming of thoſe requeſts preſented to the King, declaring that there were no people in *Dauphine* leſſe free from Hereſie, then they that were moſt forward to purge themſelues before the King: He cauſed information againe to be made, and that which we haue obſerued in the ſaid informatiõs is, that the witneſſes produced by the Arch-biſhop were almoſt all Prieſts or Officers of the ſaid Arch-biſhop, as namely *William Chabaſſal* Canon of *Ambrun*, *Francis Magnici*, Prieſt of the valley *Loyſe*, *Roſtain Payan*, Curat of Saint *Marcelin*, *Anthony Garneri* Prieſt, *Aimar Raimond* Chaplin, *Michael Pierre*, Curat of *Fraſſinieres*, al which depoſed, that all they that had recours vnto King *Lewis* the eleuenth were *Waldenſes*. The Arch-biſhop being thus ſtrengthned, by their diſclaime, and theſe witneſſes, and the aſſertion of one *Iohn Pelegrin*, who was corrupted with ſiluer, to accuſe the *VValdenſes* of ſuch ancient calumnies, as long ſince haue been laid vpon the Chriſtians of the Primatiue Church, that is, that they aſſembled themſelues together in darke places, to commit whoredom, the candels being put out; he ſent to the Court, to iuſtifie himſelf againſt thoſe informations giuen to the King, that he purſued the *Waldenſes*, rather to get their goods, then for any zeale hee bare to the Catholicke faith: but this onely witnes preuailed but little, againſt many other, who would neuer depoſe any thing againſt their cõſcience, that they had euer ſeen amongſt the *Waldenſes*, any thing that had but the leaſt appearance of that villany wherewith the aforeſaid falſe witnes had charged them. Neuertheles the Arch-biſhop ceaſeth not to annoy the foreſaid accuſed to the vtter-

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vttermoſt of his power, in ſuch ſort, that wanting meanes to defray the charge, the greateſt part of them betooke themſelues to flight, there being only amongſt thoſe that were perſecuted, one *Iames Patineri*, who openly auerred the vniuſt vexation, to the preiudice of the Letters obtained of his maieſty, and demanded a coppy of the proceeding, that hee might right himſelfe by Law. The Arch-biſhop leaues him in peace, purſuing thoſe t hat wanted courage to oppoſe themſelues againſt his violences. But the Conſuls of *Fraſſiniere*, *Michael Ruffi*, and *Iohn Girand*, ſped not ſo well: For hauing been cited to appeare before the ſaid Arch-biſhop to anſwere both in their owne name, and of the inhabitants of their Valley; hauing anſwered that they had nothing to ſay before the ſaid Arch-Biſhop, becauſe their cauſe was then depending before the King and his Counſell, which they then openly auerred, and demanded a Coppy off: being preſſed to anſwere, notwithſtanding their proteſtations, and auerment to the contrary, *Michael Ruffi* anſwered in his owne language, and nodding his head, *Veici rages*, and vpon a new inſtance or importunity *veici vna bella raiſon*; the Arch-biſhop being ſtrangely moued againſt the ſaid Conſuls for this their contempt, ſent them to the fire without any other Indictment. But the Arch-biſhop ſtaied not long after them; for he died, and not without an euident proofe of the iuſtice of God, preſently after the ſaid execution. Thus ended the perſecution of the ſaid Arch-biſhop, and his Commiſſioner *Iohn Veileti* in the yeere one thouſand foure hundred eighty ſeuen. 1487.

Now we may obſerue one notorious villany in the proces framed by this Monke *Veileti*: For hauing

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the ſaid proces in our hands, we found certaine bils or tickets, in which the ſaid Commiſſary tooke the anſweres of thoſe that were accuſed, ſimply as they were taken from their mouthes; but wee haue afterwards found them ſtrangly ſtretched and extended in the proces, and many times quite contrary to that which was in the *ſumptum* as they call it, inuerting and altering the intention of the ſaid accuſed, making him to ſay that which hee neuer thought of; as for example: Inquire whether hee beleeued, that after the words of the Sacrament were pronounced by the Prieſt in the Maſſe, the body of Chriſt was in the Hoſte, in as groſſe a manner and as great, as it was vpon the croſſe; If the *Waldenſes* ſhall anſwere no; *Veileti* ſets downe the anſwere thus; *That hee had confeſſed, that he beleeued not in God*, or at leaſt wiſe his Scribe, he dictating it. Againe, Inquire whether wee ought not to pray vnto Saints; If he anſwere no: they ſet it down, that he railed and ſpake ill of the Saints. Inquire whether we are to reuerence the Virgin *Mary*, and pray vnto her in our neceſſities; If hee anſwere no: They ſet it downe in writing, that he ſpake blaſphemy againſt the virgin *Mary*. Behold here the fidelity of the ſaid Monkes inquiſitors, in an action ſo important, and it could not be without the great prouidence of God, that ſuch impiety ſhould be conſerued and kept vnto this preſent time, that men might ſee with what ſpirit they were led, that cut the throats and burnt the faithfull of the Church, after they had oppreſſed them with impoſtures, demanding of vs neuertheles, where theſe faithfull of the Church were, which they haue maſſacred before theſe times wherein we liue.

And if the Reader deſire to know, how ſuch Proces,

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ces, and Indictments are come to our hands; here hee may ſee againe, that it hath not been without the great prouidence of God, that they themſelues that haue committed theſe cruelties and villanies, are they that haue kept the ſaid papers and proces in their libraries, and places wherein their Records are laid; as namely the Arch-biſhops themſelues of *Ambrun*; *Iohn* and *Roſtain* and others vntil the time that this Citty being recouered out of the hands of the Conſpirators, in the yeere one thouſand fiue huudred eighty fiue, and brought vnder the obedience of the King, by *Monſieur* the *Mareſhal de l'eſdignieres*; all the ſaid proces and proceedings attempted, and intended for many hundred yeeres together, againſt the ſaid *Waldenſes*, were caſt into the ſtreet, by reaſon that the Arch-biſhops houſe was ſet on fire, by the enemies themſelues, with an intent to defend a tower, called *Tour Brune*, whether they were retired, and to cut off a Gallery of wood, by which the Arch-biſhop had paſſage to the ſaid Towre. The Lord *de Calignon* of happy memory, and whileſt he liued being Chancellor of *Nauarra*, being there; and the Lord of *Vulcon* at this preſent, Counſeller to the King in his Court of Parliament at *Grenoble*, they cauſed the ſaid Indictments long ſince framed againſt the *VValdenſes* to be gathered together, from whence we haue collected that which concerns the cruelties, and lewd cariage of the ſaid Monkes Inquiſitors, and their adherents, as alſo, that which hereafter followeth touching the *Waldenſes* in *Dauphine*, and the perſecutions of the Arch-biſhops of *Turin* againſt the *Waldenſian* Churches of *Pragela* by their Commiſſaries. 1585.

Hither-

Hitherto we haue not found that any haue hotly purſued the *Waldenſes* by war; but *Albert de Capitaneis*, Arch-deacon of *Cremona*, ſent againſt them by *Innocent* the eight, in the yeere one thouſand, foure
1488. hundred, eighty eight, began to intreat the aſſiſtance of the Kings Lieutenant in *Dauphine* called *Hugnes de la Paln*, who for this ſeruice leuied troopes of men, and marched to thoſe places, where the ſaid *Albert* told him there were any of the *Waldenſes*, namely in the valley of *Loyſe*. And to the end the buſines ſhould ſeeme to be vndertaken according to a forme of iuſtice, and to giue the better authority to that which by them ſhould be executed, the ſaid Lieutenant of the King tooke in his company a Counſeller of the Court, named Mr. *Iohn Rabot*. Being arriued at the ſaid valley *Loyſe*, they found none of the Inhabitants, to whom they might ſpeake a word; for they had all retired themſelues into their cauernes into the high mountaines, hauing carried thither with them their little children and whatſoeuer was moſt pretious vnto them, and fit for nouriſhment. This Lieutenant of the King cauſed a great quantity of wood to be laid at the entrance of their caues or cauernes, and fire to be put vnto it, in ſuch manner that either the ſmoake by ſmothering them, or the fire by burning them, conſtrained a great number, to caſt themſelues headlong from their cauernes vpon the rockes below, where they ended their liues, being broken in peeces, and if there were any amongſt them that durſt to ſtirre, hee was preſently ſlaine by the ſouldiers of the ſaid County of *Varax*, Lord of *Paln*. This perſecution was very extreame; For there were found within the ſaid cauernes foure hundred ſmall infants, ſtifled in their

their cradles, or in the armes of their dead mothers. It is held for a certaine truth amongſt the *Waldenſes* of the neighbouring Valleis, that there then died aboue three thouſand perſons, men and women of the ſaid Valley. And to ſay the truth they were wholly extirpated, in ſuch ſort, that from that time forward, the ſaid Valley was peopled with new Inhabitants, there was no family of the ſaid *Waldenſes* that euer tooke footing there; which is a certain proofe that all the Inhabitants thereof of both ſexes died at that time. This Lieutenant of the King, hauing deſtroyed the ſaid Inhabitants of the Valley *Loyſe*, fearing leſt the *Waldenſes* ſhould ſettle themſelues there againe, & to the end they might not one day be troubled againe to chaſe them out, he gaue the goods and poſſeſſions of the ſaid Valley, to whom it pleaſed him, which was no ſooner parted amongſt them, but the *Waldenſes* of *Pragela*, and *Fraßinieres* had prouided for their ſafety, attending the enemy at the paſſages, and narrow ſtraites of their Valleies, in ſuch manner, that when the ſaid Leiutenant of the King came to inuade them, hee was conſtrained honeſtly to retire. *Albert de Capetaneis* being called elſewhere by his Commiſſion, ſurrogated a certaine Monke of the Order of Saint *Francis*, named *Francis Ploieri*, who began to informe anew againſt the *Waldenſes* of *Fraßiniere*, in the yeere one thouſand foure hundred eighty nine. He citeth them to appeare before him at *Ambrun*, and for not appearing, he excommunicateth them, curſeth and recurſeth them, and in the end condemned them for Heretickes, partinacious, and backſliders, to be deliuered to the ſecular power, and their goods confiſcated. To this iudgement there gaue aſſiſtance, in behalfe of the Court of Parliament 1489.

in *Dauphine*, a certaine Counceller thereof named *Ponce*, to the end that this mixt iudgement might be without appeale. The ſentence was pronounced in the great Church at *Ambrun*, afterward faſtned vpon the doore of the ſaid Church in a great Table, in the lower part whereof, there were thirty two Articles of the beleefe of the ſaid *Waldenſes*, that is to ſay, againſt the Maſſe, Purgatory, the Inuocation of the Saints, Pilgrimage, the obſeruation of Feaſts, diſtinction of Viandes vpon certaine daies, and other matters that were affirmed by the ſaid *Waldenſes*.

But this Inquiſitor added to the Articles of their beleefe, that they held, that for the augmentation of humane kind, a man might company with his owne ſiſter, neece, or other in any degree of proximity whatſoeuer, becauſe God hath ſaid, Increaſe and multiply.

Againe, that euery man that burneth in luſt, may carnally know any woman whatſoeuer, without ſinning, becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith, that it is better to marry then to burne, and becauſe it is ſaid in the Goſpell (*qui poteſt capere capiat*) interpreting it thus, catch hee that catch can.

Now the informations vpon which they grounded their ſentence being come to our hands, this impoſture hath been dicouered to their owne condemnation: for there is not any witnes, or at leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of thoſe that were heard; but they were Prieſts or Monkes, who being demanded by the ſaid Monke, whether they knew this beleefe contained in the aforeſaid Articles to be true, anſwered, that they neuer knew, amongſt the *Waldenſes* any ſuch things either taught or practiſed.

In

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In the ſame bundle or bag of proces againſt the *Waldenſes*, there is there one framed againſt two Paſtors, who were takeu, *about the hill in the ſide of the Plaine*, the one named *Francis Gerondin*, the other *Peter Iames*, in the yeere one thouſand foure hundred ninety two. Being demanded why the Sect of the *Waldenſes* grew and increaſed ſo faſt, and for a long time together had ſpred it ſelfe into ſo many places. This Monke thus ſets downe the anſwere of the Paſtor *Gerondin*; That the diſſolute life of the Prieſts was the cauſe, and becauſe the Cardinals were couetous, proud, luxurious, being a thing knowne vnto all, that there was neither Pope, Cardinall, nor Biſhop, that kept not their whores; few or none that had not their youth for Sodomy: and therefore it was an eaſie matter for the *VValdenſian* Paſtors, to perſwade the people, that the Religion of ſuch ſcandalous perſons was not good, ſince their fruits were ſo bad. And preſently after, the ſaid Paſtor being demanded, what they taught touching Luxury: They make him to anſwer, that luxury is no ſinne, except it be betwixt the mother and her childe. As if it had been poſſible that the Paſtors could haue drawne the people from the Church of *Rome* by condemning the luxury of the Prieſts, if they themſelues ſhould teach, that luxury was no ſin. Againe, being demanded why the inceſt of the childe with the mother was a ſin, they make him to anſwere; becauſe God hath forbidden it; And being asked, where hee hath forbidden it, they make him to ſay, that Chriſt Ieſus ſaid vnto *Iohn* before he aſcended vp into heauen, *Garde to done ſer ay failli vna volta non tornar piu.* That

Suy le col de coſte Plane.

1492.

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is to ſay, Take heed thou enter not into that place from whence thou once cameſt. And all this was thus ſet downe and ſubſcribed, not onely by the dictat and appointment of the ſaid Monke, but by the approbation and ſignature of the Councellor *Ponce*, and one *Oronce* Iudge of *Briancon*. Wherin appeares the priuat conſpiracy, and vniuſt confederation of the ſaid Inquiſitors, in that they were not content to perſecute them with violence, but to oppreſſe them with calumnies, making the ſaid Paſtors to anſwer ſo vnaptly & childiſhly touching thoſe things wherein (as it ſhall appeare in it due place, that is to ſay, in their expoſition vpon the ſixt Commandement) the ſaid Paſtors were throughly exerciſed in the Scriptures, and therefore that it is a plaine impoſture which they haue forged, and an idle tradition, in which expoſition they leaue nothing to ſay againſt luxury and incontinency of all that is taught vs in the word of God.

This perſecution was very extreame: for the *Waldenſes* being condemned by the Inquiſitor as Heretickes; *Ponce* the Counſeller, and *Oronce* Iudges, ſent them to the fire without appeale; and that which multiplied the number of thoſe that were perſecuted, was, that whoſoeuer did any way mediat for them, whoſoeuer hee were, whether it were the child for the father, or the father for the child, he was preſently impriſoned, and his indictment framed, as a fauourer of Heretickes.

In the yeere one thouſand foure hundred ninety foure, *Anthony Fabri* Doctor and Canon of *Ambrun*, and *Chriſtopher de Salliens* Canon Vicar, and Officiall of the Biſhop of *Valence*, had Commiſſion from the Pope to commence ſuit againſt the *VValdenſes*

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denſes in *Dauphine*, otherwiſe called *Chagnards*. *Fabri* the Inquiſitor, and one *Gobandi* Notary of *Ambrun* and Secretary to the ſaid Inquiſitors carried to *Ambrun* a certaine indictment framed againſt *Peironette* of *Beauregard* in *Valentinois*, the widdow of one *Peter Berand*, of whom we doe not make mention for her conſtancie, but becauſe ſhee deliuered in her anſweres many things that may adde ſome things to this Hiſtory.

Being therefore demanded whether ſhee had ſeen, or vnderſtood of any of the Paſtors of the *VValdenſes*, ſhee anſwered at the firſt, that ſhee had not, being reſolued to anſwere to all interrogatories negatiuely. The Inquiſitors ordained, that becauſe ſhee had not ſatisfied their demands, ſhee ſhould bee conueied to the priſon of the Biſhop of *Valence*, who being threatned to be further vrged touching the queſtion, confeſſed that about ſome twenty fiue yeeres ſince, there were two men clothed in gray, that came to her huſbands houſe, & that after ſupper, the one of them asked her, *N'aues vous iamais auui parlar d'un plen pung de mond, que ſi non era tot lo monde ſeria afin.* That is to ſay, Whether ſhee had heard any ſpeech of a handfull of people that are in the world, without which the world muſt haue an end. Hauing anſwered that ſhee neuer heard any ſpeech thereof, but of one *Monſen Andre*, Parſon of *Beauregard*, who often told her, that there was a ſmall number of people in the world, without whom the world muſt periſh; and that then he likewiſe told her, that he was now come thither, to confer with her about that little flocke, and to giue her to vnderſtand, that they were the men, that had learnt by the Commandements of God, how to ſerue him, & that they trauelled about the world to inſtruct men,

HAIL & FIRE

how they ought to adore and honour him, and to reforme the abuſes of the Churche of *Rome*. Againe, that among other things he told her, that we ought not to doe any thing to another, which wee would not haue done vnto our ſelues; That wee are to worſhip one onely God, Who is onely able to helpe vs, and not the Saints departed; That wee ought not to Sweare; That we are to keep faith in marriage, and to keepe holy the Sabboth day, but that theee was no neceſſity of obſeruing other Feaſts. That Eccleſiaſticall perſons were too rich, which was the cauſe why they maintained their ſtrumpets, and liued ſcandalouſly; and that of the Pope hee ſaid in his language; *Autant crois & autant maluais es lo Papa coma neugun autre, & per co non ages de poiſſanſa.* That is to ſay, that the Pope is as bad, or rather worſe then any other, and therefore he hath no power. Againe, that hee taught that there was no Purgatory, but only Paradiſe for the good, and hell for the wicked. And therefore all the ſingings and ſuffrages for the ſoules of of the dead, by the Prieſts, auaile nothing; nor the walkes, and goings and commings of the Prieſts about the Church-yards, ſinging *Kirieleiſon*. As alſo, that it was better to giue to the poore, then to offer vnto Prieſts, and that it was a vaine thing to bow the knee before the images of Saints.

Shee was ſent backe to priſon, and the next morrow called againe: but perſiſting in her former ſpeach, ſhee added, that the ſaid Paſtors had told her, that the Prieſts that receiued mony for the Maſſes they ſing, were like *Iudas* that ſold his Maſter for ſiluer; and they that gaue mony for their Maſſes, were like the Iewes, that bought Chriſt with mony.

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Theſe Inquiſitors diſcharged this *Peironette*, vntill they were otherwiſe aduiſed, hauing firſt drawen from her, whatſoeuer ſhee knew, of the aſſemblies of the *Waldenſes*, of ſuch perſons as frequented them, of the places and times, which afterwards brought great trouble to the ſaid Churches of the *Waldenſes*, and gaine and prey to the Inquiſitors.

In the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand foure hundred ninety ſeuen, the Arch-biſhop of *Ambrun*, named *Roſtain*, would know at his arriuall, how things had paſſed vntil then, againſt the *Waldenſes* of his Dioces, and finding that they that dwelt in the valley of *Fraſſiniere*, had been excommunicated by the Inquiſitors that had then framed their indictmēts, & that they had deliuered them to the ſecular power, nothing hindring the execution of the ſentences pronounced againſt them, but their flight, he would not enter into the ſaid Valley, though he were earneſtly requeſted, by one *Fazion Gay*, an inhabitant of the ſaid Valley, ſaying, that they had been condemned *authoritate Pontificis Romani*, and therefore he might beginne his iourney vnto them *inconſulto Pontifice*: but when our holy father *laxabit mihi manus* (ſaith he) and their abſolution ſhall be plaine and apparent vnto me, I will go to viſit them. *Fazion Gay* ſpeaking in the behalfe of the ſaid Inhabitants, that made profeſſion to liue like good Catholikes (ſay they) anſwered, that the King had releaſed of ſuch puniſhments, prouided that they liued like good Catholikes for time to come. 1597.

The Arch-biſhop replied, that hee would doe nothing vntill he had ſent to the Pope, and that to that purpoſe he had deputed a Maſter in Theology, called Frier *Iohn Columbi*, and he would write to the Pope and

and Cardinals, and ſend them a verball report of what had paſſed againſt them, and he would requeſt their aduiſe, how to carry himſelfe in this buſineſſe. But he gaue them afterwards to vnderſtand, that he could receiue no anſwere. Hereupon King *Charles* the eight of that name, King of *France*, being departed this life, the ſaid Arch-biſhop tooke his iourney to the Coronation of King *Lewis* the twelfth, in the yeer one thou-
1498. ſand foure hundred ninety eight, which being come to the knowledge of the ſaid Inhabitants of *Fraſſiniere*, and knowing too well, that they had no reaſon to expect, that any thing in their fauour could come from *Rome*, and that the Arch-biſhop would be eaſily intreated, to enioy thoſe goods that had been confiſcated by his predeceſſors, and that hee would be vnwilling to make reſtitution of thoſe goods which they had annexed to his Arch-biſhopricke, they reſolued with themſelues to ſend to King *Lewis* the twelfth, and to become humble petitioners vnto him, that hee would be pleaſed, to take ſome order for the reſtituti- of their goods, the which the ſaid Arch-biſhop, the Monkes Inquiſitors, and diuers others detained from them. The King committed this buſines, to his Chancellor and his Counſell: The Chancellor ſpeaking therof to the Arch-biſhop, he anſwered, that the reſtitution that they demanded, concerned not himſelfe, becauſe the ſaid goods were confiſcated by the Inquiſitors long time before he was called to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Ambrun*: but there were then at *Paris* (ſaith he) the Preſident of *Grenoble*, and the Chancellor *Rabot*, that were able to anſwere to the ſaid Article, they being the men that had condemned them.

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HAIL & FIRE

The *Waldenſes* on the other ſide, were very earneſt that the ſaid Arch-biſhop namely, and eſpecially might be enioyned to make reſtitution of their goods, becauſe many parcels of the ſaid goods were annexed to the demaine of the ſaid Arch-biſhop, and that whenſoeuer they demanded them, he ſent to the Pope, to the preiudice of that, which the late deceaſed King had ordained.

The grand Counſell hauing taken knowledge of this buſineſſe, ordained that nothing ſhould be innouated, in that which concerned the *Waldenſes* of *Fraſſiniere*, the King hauing written to the Pope, that there might be Apoſtolicall Commiſſaries ioyned with the ſaid Arch-biſhop as Ordinary, to make an end of this buſines for this time.

For the proſecution of the ſaid ordinance, there were named for Apoſtolicall Commiſſioners, a certaine Confeſſor of the Kings, and the Officiall of *Orleans*, who came to *Ambrun*, in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred and one, and the fourth of Iuly. 1501.

Here let the Reader iudge of the capacity of the ſaid Arch-biſhop, by thoſe memorials that he hath left, and which wee haue heere written out word for word.

The Gentlemen, (ſaith he) the Confeſſor, and the Officiall of *Orleans*, being arriued at *Ambrun*, ſent vnto mee a Poſt for the Packet to bring the Letter miſſiues of the King, to the which being receiued by me, I obeyed, and ſent vnto them to intreat them, that they would be pleaſed to lodge with me as Monſieur the Confeſſor had promiſed to doe at *Lyon*, and preſently I ſent ſome of my people, to offer them a lodging, and ſent them of my wine: to whom they anſwe-

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red, that I ſhould no more ſend any thing, to the end that they of *Fraßiniere*, ſhould not haue them in ſuſpition, and that therefore they would not accept of my lodging. And after dinner I went to their lodging, accompanied with Monſiuer the Abbot of *Boſcaudon*, ſome of my Canons, and other Officers, and to the ſaid Commiſſioners I offered againe my houſe, doing them honour and reuerence, as to Apoſtolicall and Royall Commiſſioners, and for the honour of their charge and perſons; Then the ſaid Commiſſioners preſented vnto me the ſaid Apoſtolicall and Royall Commiſſions, requiring of me, as being ioyned in the ſaid Commiſſions, and as ordinary, to take notice of it. The Commiſſions being viewed and read, I preſently offered my ſelf, with all honor and reuerence, to giue them all the aid and fauour I could poſſibly, and that for my part, there ſhould nothing bee wanting, but that the ſaid Commiſſion ſhould be fully accompliſhed, offering vnto them all the proces and indictments that I had, as they demanded them, notwithſtanding a great part of the ſaid proces were remaining in the great Counſell, from the time of that Monſieur the Chancellor *Adam Fumee* (who cauſed my predeceſſor and his Secretary to be areſted) at *Lion* vntill the ſaid *Adam Fumee* had the originall of the proces, which *were about the charge of a moyle*, not ſuffering the ſaid Secretary to retaine any writing, as the ſaid Secretary *medio iuramento*, in their preſence depoſed. Afterwards Monſieur the Confeſſor began to blame thoſe Commiſſioners, which in former times had been imployed therein. And did charge and admoniſh (*ſemel, bis, ter, ſub pœna excommunicationis latæ ſententiæ, trina & Canonica monitione præcedente*)

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dente) that I ſhould ſhew, and that incontinently, all the indictments that I had touching this matter, for he was to ſpend in this buſineſſe but a few dayes, being to returne vnto the Court, at the Feaſt of our Lady in *Auguſt* to the King, who expected him, as his Confeſſor, notwithſtanding, that before I had offered to deliuer him the ſaid proces. But when I ſaw that he proceeded againſt all forme of Law, and that hee purpoſed to proceede againſt the dignity Epiſcopall, rather by ſuſpenſions then excommunications, and that I was a Iudge as well as he, and more then that, Ordinary, I asked the Copy of their Commiſſions, *& terminum ad reſpondendum*, according to the forme of the Law written. Then Mouſieur the Confeſſor anſwered, that he had vſed the ſaid Cenſures and Commands not long before againſt the Maſters of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and that therefore he might vſe it againſt my ſelfe.

Replying alſo vnto me, You petty Clarkes know nothing but two *C. C. Codice*, *& Capitulo*, and two *ff. Digeſtis*, and will take vpon you to ſuppreſſe Diuinity, and that he heard the King ſpeake it out of his owne mouth, that the Arch-biſhop of *Ambrun* would oppoſe himſelfe againſt his Commiſſion, and bee an open accuſer of the *Waldenſes*. To whom I anſwered, that hee muſt pardon me, for I did not beleeue but that the King had a better opinion of me, becauſe in this matter I had neuer trauelled but to a good end, as I alwaies intended to doe. Then Monſieur the Confeſſor continuing in his diſcourſe, ſpake theſe words, *Vos ad me in modum Scribarum & Phariſæorum Chriſtum accuſantium ad Pilatum acceſiſtis, cum tantis viris Eccleſiaſticis ad terrendum me : ſed nihil teneo ſub*

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vobis aut domino veſtro, & de nihilo vos timeo. That is to ſay; You are come vnto mee as the Scribes and Phariſies, when they accuſed *Chriſt* before *Pilate*, and with ſo many Eccleſiaſticall perſons, to terrifie mee, but I hold nothing vnder you or your dominion, and I feare you not at all. To which I anſwered, that I brought no more with mee, then thoſe that were accuſtomed to beare mee company walking through the Citty. And ſuddenly he commanded the lay-people to auoid the chamber, then reuoked the ſentences which hee had thundred out againſt mee, againſt all forme of law, ſaying; that it was expedient to vſe thoſe rigorous tearmes in the preſence of the lay-people, and eſpecially there being ſome of the *Waldenſes* preſent, as more at large touching the kind carriage of Monſier the Confeſſor, and of matters aboue ſpoken of, it appeares by a publike inſtrument.

Thus you ſee part of the notes of the Arch-biſhop *Roſtain* ſet downe word by word, wherein we finde ſundry falſhoods, as for example: He writ in great griefe, that the ſaid Commiſſioners, heard not aboue three or foure witneſſes, and we finde in the ſaid bundle of writings for remembrance, of the Arch-biſhop *Roſtain*, a Coppy of informations wherein there were foure and twenty witneſſes heard and examined.

Againe he ſaith, that they asked no other queſtion, but if they were good Catholikes or no, to which being well taught, they anſwered yea, and with that anſwere the Commiſſioners contented themſelues: And yet it appeareth that they demanded diuers queſtions touching the Euchariſt, Purgatory, Inuocation of Saints, and diuers other points.

Againe he ſaith, that the witneſſes were fearefull and

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and durſt not ſpeake, and yet it plainly appeareth, that the witneſſes produced, were for the moſt part Prieſts and Monkes, of the faction of the Arch-biſhop, exhibited by him.

Againe, that they ſuffered nothing to be ſet downe in writing; whereas it appeareth, that there are no Indictments where there is more written, then in thoſe that were framed by the ſaid Commiſſioners.

But that which troubled the Arch-biſhop moſt, was that the ſaid Commiſſioners gaue ſentence of abſolution touching Contumacy, *ſine præiudicio cauſæ principalis & iuris cuicunque acquiſiti*; againſt which the Arch-biſhop proteſted, and would not yeeld his conſent to ſeale the ſaid ſentence, complaining that Monſieur the Officiall of *Orleans* had made knowen by his proceedings, that he fauoured the ſaid *Waldenſes*, eſpecially hauing ſaid openly at his lodgiug at the ſigne of the Angell in *Ambrun*, that he deſired to be but as good a Chriſtian, as the worſt of *Craſſiniere*.

But the greateſt hurt came to himſelfe, for he ſaw that hee muſt reſtore diuers viniards belonging to the ſaid *Waldenſes*, ſituated at S. *Clements*, S. *Creſpin*, and at the place *Chanteloube*, and diuers inheritances at *Chateau-Roux*, which his Predeceſſor named *Iohn*, had ioyned to the Demaine of his Arch-biſhopricke.

The Confeſſor of the King hauing reported vnto him and to his Counſell, what he knew touching the *Waldenſes*, and how they were abſolued of their contumacy, did ordaine that the goods of the ſaid *Waldenſes* ſhould be reſtored, whereupon theſe Letters following were granted by King *Lewis* the twelfth of that name.

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

FOr as much as it is come to our knowledge, that the Inhabitants of Frassiniere *haue endured great troubles and vexations, punishments, and trauels, VVe desiring to releeue them, and that they should be restored to their goods, moueables, and immoueables, do by these Presents command all those that detaine the said goods, that incontinently and without delay, they desist and renounce the said goods, and restore them to the said Suppliants, or their Atturneies for them, euery one in his place and ranke. And in case of opposition, refusall or delay; Wee hauing regard to their pouerty and misery, wherein they haue a long time, and now are detained, without power to obtaine iustice, desiring with all Our heart it should bee administred vnto them, Our will is to take notice thereof in Our owne proper person, warning all those that shall oppose themselues, or make delay, to appeare before Vs at a certaine competent day, &c.*

Giuen at *Lion* the twelfth of *Oct.* 1501.

These Letters being executed, it was the opinion of most men, that since the faireſt and best part of the goods of the said *Waldenses* was possessed by the Lord Arch-bishop, that there was great reason, that hee should

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ſhould giue example vnto others; ſeeing eſpecially, that that which they held, came vnto ſome of them as a ſallary or fee for their puniſhments, and by the hands of the Arch-biſhop *Iohn* his Predeceſſor.

The Arch-biſhop *Roſtain* anſwered, that he held none of the goods of the *Fraßinieres*: onely certaine goods had been annexed to his Arch-biſhopricke vpon good and iuſt cauſe, and incorporated to his Church, by his Predeceſſor, the ſaid goods being within the territories and iuriſdiction thereof, in which no commandement of the King hath euer been accuſtomed to be executed, and therefore it is not to bee beleeued, that it commeth from the will of the King, being Protector of the Churches, and following the example of his great predeceſſors: But yet neuertheleſſe, the ſaid Arch-biſhop being willing to pleaſe our Lord the King, will bee content to yeeld vnto the ſaid Inhabitants of *Fraſsiniere* the ſaid vineyards, vpon condition that other the Lords and Maſters of *Dauphine*, deliuer that which they haue of the ſaid goods, and then the Arch-biſhop will be content to reſtore that which hee and his Church doe poſſeſſe.

Thus theſe poore people were fruſtrated of their attempt. For there was not any one that would reſtore any thing of that which he detained. And therefore they ſummoned before the King and his counſell the ſaid Arch-biſhop, Maſter *Pons* Counſellor of the Parliament at *Grenoble*, *Peter de Rames*, Eſquier, Lord of *Poit*, *Faix de Rames*, the Maſter of *Montainard*, and of *Argentiere*, *Arrouars de Bonne*, and diuers other ordinary Atturnies, Prieſts and Burgeſes of *Ambrun*, and *Briancon*. They ſent to the Court, and hauing

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hauing there more friends and credit, then the Inhabitants of *Fraßiniere*. Their excuſe was receiued, wherein they declared, that it was not in their power to reſtore the ſaid goods, before the Pope had abſolued them.

And the Arch-biſhop proteſted, that hee for his part, was ready to reſtore all that his Predeceſſors had vnited to his Church, prouided that they had the aforeſaid abſolution. This occaſioned ſuch as were leſſe affected and conſtant, to aſſay this way, and to ſend to Pope *Alexander* the ſixt of that name, then Biſhop of *Rome* : But they were compelled rather not to goe to *Rome*, but to fetch a writ of abſolution from the Cardinall Legat in *France*, *George* of the title of Saint *Xiſt*; which would ſuffice, and might be obtained with leſſe charge. For the obtaining whereof they had the Commiſſary, the Kings Confeſſor. They ſent therefore one *Steuen Roux*; who who brought two Bulles, one by which he gaue abſolution for Simony, theft, murder, vſury, Adultery, dedention of Benefices, deſtruction of goods Eccleſiaſticall, violence againſt Clerks, by beating them, vnlawfull oathes, periuries, Fraudes, yea Apoſtacy, and Hereſie, and whoſoeuer had committed any crime, were it neuer ſo hainous, this Cardinall abſolued them from all, by his Apoſtolicall authority.

And foraſmuch as his Arch-biſhop might pretend, that the ſaid Bull did not abſolue the ſaid people of *Fraßinieres*, hauing been condemned by the ſaid Apoſtolicall authority, by Commiſſioners and Inquiſitors deputed by the Pope, and therefore his mouth was ſtopped, he brought another Bull, in which there was eſpecially this clauſe; *Hauing power from the*

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the Pope to decide or determine any matter, that any other, that hath been deputed by that holy Sea, or ſubſtituted can doe, yea where there hath been an appeale, abſoluing all that haue in any manner been condemned.

This poore man thought he had gotten much; and proceeded far in this buſines; but the Arch-biſhop *Roſtain* flouted his Bulles, ſaying that they were obtained with too great a price and importunity, and that he muſt haue an abſolution from the Pope himſelfe. And ſo reſolued with himſelfe to reſtore nothing, and all the reſt followed his example. And notwithſtanding they had had abſolution from the Pope, yet they would haue reſtored, nothing for he knew well inough that in thoſe daies, all things were ſold at *Rome*, witneſſe thoſe Latine verſes which were writtena gainſt the ſaid *Alexander* the ſixth.

Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria Chriſtum,
Emerat ille prius, vendere iure poteſt.
Pope Alexander ſold altars, Chriſt, and his croſſe,
He bought them, had he not ſold, had liued by the loſſe.

Againe,

Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Corona,
Ignis, Thura, Preces, Cœlum eſt venale, Deúſque.
Temples & Prieſts, Altars & Crowns, they ſell for pelfe,
Fire, Frankincenſe, Prayers, heauen, and God himſelfe.

which is to be vnderſtood of their breaden god in the Maſſe.

The Arch-biſhop therfore, was the cauſe, why others kept ſtill thoſe goods in their poſſeſſion, without any reſtitution; and though ſome particular perſons were afterwards called into queſtion, as namely *Le Sieur de Montainar, de Rames*, and others, yet they could neuer haue any remedy.

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1560. In the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred ſixty, the *Waldenſes* of *Fraſiniere* and *Pragela*, had their Churches furniſhed with Paſtors, who held them in the exerciſe of their religion, at that time wherein they perſecuted vnto death all thoſe that made profeſſion of reformation. The Preſident *Truchon* made an Oration to the States of *Prouence* aſſembled the ſame yeere, the ſixt of Nouember, of purpoſe to exterminate the ſaid *Waldenſes* of *Fraſinieres* and *Pragela*, ſaying, that it was neceſſary to purge the old and ancient Leuen, likely to make ſoure the whole Country of *Dauphine*, if ſome courſe were not taken to preuent it. By theſe States it was reſolued by open force to extirpate them, and by armes, and to this purpoſe Commiſſions were giuen forth to leuy troopes of men, and to paſſe into the ſaid Valleies: but ſo ſoone as the drumme was ſtrooken vp, and the men in armes throughout *Prouence*, the vnexpected death of King *Francis* the ſecond of that name altered the deſigne, and afterwards the ſaid *Waldenſian* Churches in *Dauphine* continued, as ſtill they doe by the ſingular fauour of God.

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CHAP. IIII.

Of the Waldenſian Churches in Piedmont, and thoſe perſecutions they endured, that are come to our knowledge.

THE *Waldenſes* haue had famous Churches in the Valleis of *Piedmont*, *Angrongne*, *la Peroufe*, the Valley Saint *Martin Lucerna*, and other bordering places for time out of minde. It is held for certaine amongſt them, that they are a part of the *Waldenſes* of *Dauphine*, *Pragela*, *Fraſſinieres*, and other places their neere neighbours; and that in time being multiplied in ſo great abundance, that the Country could not feed them, they were conſtrained to diſperſe themſelues at length and at large, where they might beſt ſettle themſelues. So deare like brothers, haue they been one to another, and notwithſtanding they haue been alwaies oppreſſed with troubles, yet with a moſt hearty loue and charity, they haue euer ſuccoured one another, not ſparing their liues and goods for their mutuall conſeruation.

The firſt troubles that the *Waldenſes* of *Piedmont* endured, came from the report of certaine Prieſts, ſent thither by the Arch-biſhop of *Turin*, who informed that the people that were committed to their charge, liued not according to the manners and beliefe of the Church of *Rome*, neither offering for the dead, nor caring for Maſſes, or abſolutions, nor to get any of theirs out of the paines of Purgatory by any of their

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vſuall meanes. The Arch-biſhops of *Turin* haue perſecuted them, as much as lay in their power, making them odious to their Princes, who vnderſtanding of the good report that their neighbours gaue of their milde & honeſt conuerſation, and that they were a ſimple people, fearing God, of a good carriage, without deceit or malice, louing integrity and plaine dealing, alwaies ready to ſerue their Princes, and that very willingly they yeelded vnto them all dutifull obedience, and that with alacrity: Being in ſuch grace and fauour with the people their neighbours, that they endeauoured to bring into *Piedmont* to their ſeruice, their yong people, and to prouide their nurſes amongſt them to bring vp their yong infants; the ſaid Princes continued a long time in a purpoſe not to moleſt them: but the Prieſts and Monkes that were frequent amongſt them, gaining nothing by this their beliefe, charged them with an infinite number of Calumnies, and whenſoeuer they went into *Piedmont* vpon occaſion of buſineſſe, they alwaies caught one or other, and deliuered him to the Inquiſitors, and the Inquiſitors to the executioner; In ſuch manner, that there was hardly any Towne or Citty in *Piedmont* in which one or other of them was not put to death. For *Iordan Tertian* was burnt at *Suſe*; *Hypolite Rouſſier* was burnt at *Turin*; *Villermin Ambroiſe* was hanged at *Meane*; as alſo *Anthony Hiun*, *Hugh Chiampe de Feneſtrelles* being taken at *Suſe*, was conueied to *Turin*, where his bowels were torne out of his belly, and put into a baſon, and hee afterwards cruelly martyred: among which the ſeruants of God, there were ſome who haue maintained that truth, which they haue knowne for aboue two hundred and

Vignaux in his memorials fol. 7.

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fifty yeeres, and others aboue a hundred and fifty. But amongſt all the reſt, the conſtancy of one *Catelin Girard* is worthy the remembrance, who being vpon the blocke whereon hee ſhould bee burnt at *Reuel* in the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, he requeſted his executioners, to giue him a coupple of ſtones into his hands, which they refuſed to doe, fearing he had a purpoſe to fling them at ſome one or other, but hee proteſting the contrary, at the laſt they deliuered them vnto him, who hauing them in his hands, ſaid vnto them; when I ſhall haue eaten theſe ſtones, then ſhall ye ſee an end of that religion for which you put me to death, and ſo caſt the ſtones vpon the ground. *Vignaux* in his memorials, fol. 7.

The fires were kindled vntill the yeere one thouſand foure hundred eighty eight, at what time they reſolued to aſſault them by open force, becauſe, beſides that they perceiued that the conſtancy of thoſe whom they did publikely put to death, drew a great number of others to the knowledge of God, they likewiſe found that by this meanes they ſhould neuer come to their purpoſed deſigne. And therefore they leuied men to ioyne with *Albert de Capitaneis*, one put in Commiſſion by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, and *Innocent* the eight. There were eighteene thouſand ſouldiers muſtered, beſides a great number of the Inhabitants of *Piedmont*, who ran to the pillage from all parts. They marched all at once to *Angrongne*, *Lucerne*, *la Perouſe*, *Saint Martin Pauiglerm*, and *Biolet*, which is in the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, as alſo they raiſed troopes in *Vaucluſon* in *Dauphine*, ouerrunning the Valley of *Pragela*; to the end that being bound to their owne defence, they might not be able to fauour their neighbours, the *Waldenſian* Churches 1488.

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in *Piedmont*. All this was guided by the ſingular prouidence of God, in that they diuided their troopes by bands, rather out of their pride then for their better expedition. For notwithſtanding they were all imployed in their owne defence, and could not ſuccor one another, yet the enemy by this diuiſion did ſo diminiſh their forces, that they were euery where beaten, but eſpecially in the Valley of *Angrongne*, where they made their moſt violent aſſault. For as this leuy of men could not be raiſed, without ſome aduertiſement that it was againſt themſelues, ſo accordingly they prepared themſelues to receiue them, keeping themſelues to the ſtraight paſſages, where few men were able to make any aſſault, being armed with certaine long targets of wood, that did wholly couer them, and wherein the arrowes of their enemies ſtrooke, without any hurt to themſelues: The formoſt being thus armed and couered, the reſt did good ſeruice, and with good aduantage, with their bowes and croſſebowes vnder the couert of the ſaid targets, and as the enemy thought to draw neere to the paſſages, the women and children being ſpectators, vpon their knees cried out in their owne language, *O Dio aiutaci, &c.* O God helpe vs. Whereat the enemies making themſelues merry, amongſt other one Captaine *Saquet*, counterfeiting the ſaid women, was ſlaine, and caſt headlong from the mountaine into a deepe bottome, which to this day is called the Gulfe of *Saquet*. At the ſame time, a certaine Captaine named *le Noir de Montdeni*, cried out to the women that prayed vnto God, *i miei, i miei faranno la paſſada*, as much to ſay, as the ſouldiers cried out to them to put them to death, was killed with the ſhot of an arrow in the throat; which

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which the ſouldiers perceiuing, and that the rockes, the ſtones and the arrowes couered them, they betooke themſelues all to their heeles, and the greateſt part of them, caſt themſelues downe from the rockes. This people obſerued another effect of the prouidence of God, and that is, that the enemies approaching to the ſtrongeſt place by nature, which is the Valley of *Angrongne*, called *le Pre de la Tour*, where they might haue fortified themſelues, and made themſelues maſters of the ſaid Valley; God ſent ſo thicke a cloud, ſo darke a fogge, that the enemies could hardly ſee one another, inſomuch that they had no leaſure or meanes to know the goodnes of the place, or to ſtay there; whereupon the *VValdenſes* gathering courage, followed the chaſe in ſuch manner, that being all diſperſed, and not ſeeing which way they went, the greateſt part fell headlong downe the mountaines, and put themſelues vnto flight, quitting themſelues of their armes and their booties, which they had gotten at their entrance in the Valley, where they had powred out their wine, their corne, and loaded their ſeruants with their moſt precious moueables.

It pleaſed God to touch the heart of their Prince with ſome compaſſion of this poore people. It was *Philip* the ſeuenth of that name, Duke of *Sauoy*, and Prince of *Piedmont*; who ſaid, that he would not haue that people, that had been alwaies true and moſt faithfull and obedient vnto him, to be rigorouſly handled by way of Armes; being contented that a doſen of the principall amongſt them, ſhould come to *Pignerol*, where hee was, to aske pardon for all the reſt, for that they had taken armes in their defence, which he gaue them to vnderſtand by a certaine Biſhop whom he

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himſelfe into the ſaid Valleys with his troopes of men, which hee ſo readily performed, that before the people were aware of it, hee was entred their Valleys with fiue hundred men, part on foot, and part on horſebacke, ranſaking, pillaging, and waſting whatſoeuer was before them. The people leauing their plough and tillage, put themſelues into their paſſages, and with their ſlings, charged their enemies with ſuch multitudes of ſtones, and that with ſuch violence, that they were conſtrained to flie, and to abandon their prey, many of them remaining dead vpon the ground. This newes came preſently to his Highneſſe, being likewiſe told him, that experience had taught them before, that it was not the way to reclaime and ſubdue theſe people by armes, the places of their habitation being ſo fauourable vnto them, they knowing better the ſtraites and paſſages of the Country, then the aſſailants; and therefore there was nothing to bee gotten, when the skin of one of the *Waldenſes* muſt bee bought with the loſſe of the liues of a doſen of his other Subiects. Hee thought it therefore not good to moleſt them any more by armes; but onely that they ſhould be taken by retaile, one by one, as they came into *Piedmont*, and examplary iuſtice executed vpon them, if they changed not their beliefe, that ſo by little and little they might be deſtroyed, to the aſtoniſhment of all others that dwell in the ſaid Valleys, and ſo their ruine might be procured inſenſibly, and without the danger of any other the Princes Subiects.

All this hindred not, but that they ſtill perſiſted in their reſolution. And to end that all things might bee done in order amongſt them, they aſſembled themſelues together, out of all their Valleys, to *An-*

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1535. *grongne*, in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred thirty fiue, and the twelfth of September; that is to ſay, all the heads of euery families with their Paſtors; where by of them it was certified, that their brethren the *Waldenſes* of *Prouence* and *Dauphine*, had ſent into *Germany* their Paſtors, *George Morell*, and *Peter Maſſon* to confer with *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, and other the ſeruants of God, who there preached the Goſpell, touching the beliefe which they haue had from the father to the ſonne, time out of minde: that they had found that God had been very mercifull and gratious vnto vs, in that he hath preſerued vs vndefiled in the middeſt of ſo many Idolatries and ſuperſtitions, which haue infected all Chriſtendome in the ages paſt, vnder the tyranny of *Antichriſt* of *Rome*. They haue encouraged vs by holy aduertiſements and reaſons giuen, and exhorted vs not to bury thoſe talents which God hath imparted vnto vs: finding it an euill thing, that we haue ſo long delayed the time to make publike profeſſion of adhearing to the Goſpell, and cauſing it to be preached in the eares, and to the knowledge of euery one, leauing the euents vnto God, of whatſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe him ſhall fall vpon vs by procuring his glory, and the aduancement of the Kingdome of his Sonne. And afterwards hauing read the letters of the ſaid *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer*, which were ſent vnto them, as to their Brethren the *Waldenſes* of *Prouence* and *Dauphine*, the Propoſitions or Articles following, were ordered, reade, and approued, ſigned and ſworne to by all the aſſiſtants, with one minde and conſent, to conſerue, obſerue, beleeue, and retaine amongſt them inuiolably, without any contradiction, as being conformable to the doctrine,

This admonition or remonſtrance giuen by *Oecolamp.* and *Bucer* to *George Morrel* and *Pet. Maſſon* is in the Memor. of the ſaid Morel fol. 5.

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ctrine, which hath been taught them from the father to the ſonne for theſe many hundred yeeres, and taken out of the word of God.

ARTICLE I. That Diuine Seruice cannot bee done, but in ſpirit and in truth; For God is a ſpirit, and whoſoeuer will pray vnto him, muſt pray in ſpirit.

II. All that haue been, or ſhall be ſaued, haue been choſen of God before all worlds.

III. They that are ſaued, cannot but be ſaued.

IV. Whoſoeuer holdeth free-Will, denieth wholly the Predeſtination and the grace of God.

V. No worke is called good, but that which is commanded by God; and no worke is euill, but that which is forbidden by God.

VI. A Chriſtian may ſweare by the name of God, not any way contradicting that which is written in the fift Chapter by Saint *Matthew*, prouided, that hee that ſweareth, take not the name of the Lord in vaine. Now that man ſweareth not in vaine, whoſe oath redoundeth to the glory of God, and the good of his neighbour. Alſo, a man may ſweare in iudgement, becauſe he that beares the office of a Magiſtrate, be he Chriſtian or infidell, hath the power of God.

VII. Auricular Confeſſion is not commanded of God, and it is concluded according to the holy Scriptures, that the true confeſſion of a Chriſtian conſiſteth in confeſſinghimſelfe to one onely God, to whom belongs honour and glory. There is another kinde of confeſſion, which is, when as a man reconcileth himſelfe vnto his neighbour, whereof mention is made in the fift of Saint *Matthew*. The third man-

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ner of Confeſſion is, when as man hath ſinned publikly, an all men take notice of it, ſo he confeſſe and acknowledge the fault publikely.

VIII. We muſt ceaſe vpon the Lords day, from all our labours, as being zealous of the honor and glory of God: for the better exerciſe of our charity towards our neighbours, and our better attendance to the hearing of the word of God.

IX. It is not lawfull for a Chriſtian to reuenge himſelfe vpon his enemy, in any manner whatſoeuer.

X. A Chriſtian may exerciſe the office of a Magiſtrate ouer Chriſtians.

XI. There is no certaine time determined for the faſt of a Chriſtian, and it doth appeare in the word of God, that the Lord hath commanded, or appointed certaine daies.

XII. Marriage is not forbidden any man, of what quality or condition ſoeuer he be.

XIII. Whoſoeuer forbiddeth marriage, teacheth a diabolicall doctrine.

XIIII. He that hath not the gift of continency, is bound to marry.

XV. The miniſters of the word of God, ought not to be changed from place to place, except it be for the great benefit of the Church.

XVI. It is not a thing repugnant to the Apoſtolicall communion, that the miniſters ſhould poſſeſſe any thing in particular, to prouide for the maintenance of their families.

XVII. Touching the matter of the Sacraments, it hath been concluded by the holy Scriptures, that we haue but two Sacramental ſignes, the which Chriſt Ieſus

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Ieſus hath left vnto vs; the one is *Baptiſme*, the other the Euchariſt, which wee receiue to ſhew what our perſeuerance in the faith is, as wee haue promiſed when we were baptized, being little infants: As alſo in remembrance of that great benefit, which Ieſus Chriſt hath done vnto vs, when hee died for our redemption, waſhing vs with his moſt pretious bloud.

Theſe Articles being reſolued vpon by them, aſtoniſhed the Prieſts that were amongſt them to gather vp the reuenewes of their Cures, being out of all hope to ſee thoſe people reclaimed, and brought vnto the obedience of the Church of *Rome* by any force, much leſſe of their owne acord; and perceiuing the dore to be ſhut againſt their gaine, they retired themſelues without ſpeaking a word. Vpon this their retrait, the Maſſe vaniſhed of it ſelfe in the Valleys of the ſaid *Waldenſes*; And becauſe they had onely the new Teſtament, and ſome bookes of the old, tranſlated into the *Waldenſian* tongue, they reſolued ſpeedily to ſend to the preſſe the whole Bible, their bookes being onely manuſcripts, and thoſe but a few. They ſent therfore to *Newcaſtle* in *Suitzerland*, where they gaue fifteene hundred crownes of gold to a Printer, who brought to light the firſt impreſſion of the French Bible which was ſeen in *France*: and incontinently in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred thirty ſix, they ſent to *Geneua*, one *Martin Gonin*, to prouide a large ſupply of ſuch bookes which he ſhould ſee to bee fit for the inſtruction of the people: but they were fruſtrated of their intent, becauſe this good man was apprehended for a Spy, paſſing ouer the hill *de Gap* by a certaine Gentleman named *George Martin*,

Suiſſe. See the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory of the Churches of France, pag. 37

1536.

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Lord *de Champolion*, and ſo ſoone as hee was knowne to be a *Waldenſian*, he was ſent to *Grenoble*, and there kept in priſon, and afterwards in the night-time caſt into the Riuer *Lyzere*, for feare leſt hee ſhould ſpeake of his beliefe before the people: for the Monke Inquiſitor, that deliuered him to the ſecular power, told them, that it was not good that the world ſhould hare him, becauſe (ſaith hee) it is to bee feared, that they that heare him, may become worſe then himſelfe.

In the booke of Martyrs of our time, *lib.* 3 *fol.* 111.

There happened warres in *Piedmont*, betweene King *Francis* the firſt of that name, and the Prince of *Piedmont*, which fell out happily for theſe poore people, for ſo long as thoſe confuſions continued, they were at quiet, vntill Pope *Paul* the third of that name, ſollicited the Parliament of *Turin* to take ſome violent courſe againſt them, in doing iuſtice vpon them, as vpon pernicious Heretickes, whenſoeuer they ſhould bee deliuered into their hands by the Inquiſitors. This Parliament cauſed a great number to be burnt at *Turin*, in immitation of other Parliaments in *France*, who burnt in thoſe times, thoſe they called *Lutherans*.

They had recourſe vnto the King, preſenting vnto him their petition, that they might not be perſecuted by the ſaid Parliament for the profeſſion of that Religion, in the which they and their anceſtors had liued for many hundred yeeres, and that by the permiſſion of their Princes. But they made it worſe with them then it was before; for the King enioyned them to liue, according to the laws of the Church of *Rome*, vpon paine to bee chaſtiſed as Heretickes. He likewiſe commanded the Court of Parliament at *Turin*

HAIL & FIRE

Turin, to cauſe all his Subiects within their iuriſdiction, to profeſſe his religion; Adding withall, that he did not burne the *Lutherans* throughout his whole Kingdome of *France*, to make a reſeruation of them among the Alpes.

The Parliament endeuoured ſpeedily to put the commandement of the King in execution, and for that cauſe enioyned them vpon paine of their liues, to quit themſelues preſently of their Miniſters, and to receiue Prieſts to ſing Maſſe, liuing after the manner of other the Kings ſubiects. They anſwered, that they could not obey any ſuch commands againſt the commandement of God, whom in what belonges vnto his ſeruice, they would rather obey then men. But had not the King at that time had other imployments elſewhere, without all doubt this Parliament would haue made them doe that by force, which they would not be brought vnto by ſimple commands. They therefore contented themſelues to proſecute them by the Inquiſition, and to receiue from the Monkes, thoſe they condemned to the fire. But afterwards in the yeere 1555, they increaſed the perſecution. For ha- 1555.
uing condemned to the fire, one *Barthelmew Hector* a Stationer, who was executed at *Turin*, becauſe hee died with admirable conſtancy, inſomuch that hee edified the aſſiſtants and ſtanders by, in ſuch manner, that he drew teares from their eyes, and words of compaſſion from their mouthes, iuſtifying him with a mutuall applauſe, which they gaue of his good ſpeeches and prayers vnto God. The Parliament tooke occaſion herupon, to do their beſt endeauor to ouerthrow this profeſſion in the very ſource, and to vſe the authority

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thority of the King, to enforce this people to liue vnder the lawes of the Church of *Rome*, or miserably to perish. To this end and purpose, the Parliament of *Turin* deputed a certaine President of Saint *Iulian*, and a Collaterall named *de Ecclesia*, to transport themselues vnto those places, and there to put in practice whatsoeuer they thought good, either to reduce or to exterminate the said people, with promise to assist them, with whatsoeuer shall be needfull to this purpose, according to the aduise and counsell they should receiue from them.

In the Booke of the martyrs of our time. *lib.8. fol 122.*

This President with his Collaterall, ttooke their iourney to *Perouse*, and caused Proclamations publikly to be made in the name of the King, that euery one of the Inhabitants was to goe to Masse, vpon paine of his life. Afterwards, they came to *Pignerol*, where they cited many to appeare before them. Amongst others, there appeared a poore simple labouring man, whom the President commanded to cause his child to be re-baptized, which had lately been baptized by the minister of Saint *Iohn* neere *Angrongne*. This poore man requested so much respite, as that he might pray vnto God before hee answered him. Which being granted with some laughter, he fell downe vpon his knees in the presence of all that were there, and his prayer being ended, he said to the President, that hee would cause his childe to be re-baptised, vpon condition, that the said President would discharge him by a bill signed with his owne hand, of the sinne which he should commit in causing it to be re-baptized, and beare one day before God the punishment and condemnation which should befall him, taking this iniquity

HAIL & FIRE

quity vpon him and his. Which the Preſident vnderſtanding, hee commanded him out of his preſence, not preſſing him any farther.

Now hauing framed diuers indictments againſt ſome particular perſons of the ſaid Valleys, and made ſome collections of whatſoeuer the Preſident could imagine might hurt the people, hee aſſayed alſo to winne them by the preachings of the Monkes, whom he brought with him into the Valley of *Angrongne*. Being therefore come vnto the place where their Temple was, he cauſed one of his Monkes to preach in the preſenee of the people, who made vnto them a long exhortation to returne vnto the Church of *Rome*, of which hee reported many things which the people beleeued not. After that the Monke had ſaid as much as he would, and that he held his peace, the greateſt number of the people required, that the Paſtors that were there preſent, or ſome one of them for all, might be permitted, louingly and mildly to anſwer to the diſcourſe that had been made by the Preacher; but the Preſident by no meanes would giue way thereunto, whereupon there followed a certaine rumour or muttering among the people, which ſtrooke the Preſident and his Monkes with an aſtoniſhment, in ſuch ſort, that they could haue been content to haue been elſewhere: but diſſembling their feare, the Preſident retired himſelfe, without a word ſpeaking, to *Turin*, whether being come, hee related to the Parliament what hee had done, and withall ſignified vnto them the difficulties that were, to winne this people by extremities, becauſe if any attempt ſhould bee made to take them by violence, they were reſolued to defend themſelues, and the

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places of their abode being fauourable vnto them, it was to bee feared, it would coſt a great deale of labour, and much blood would bee ſhed, before they could either bee brought into the Church of *Rome*, or out of the world. That is was the worke of a King to roote them out, and a King of *France*; and therefore it was neceſſary to ſend the reports, and to commit vnto his owne will and pleaſure, the iſſue of ſo troubleſome an enterpriſe. This aduice was followed, the indictments and reports were ſent to the King, but as the affaires of the Court cannot be finiſhed but with long time, there paſſed a whole yeere, before there was any other courſe ſpoken of, or taken againſt them, then that of the Inquiſitors, who alwaies deliuered ſome one or other to the ſecular power; but the yeere being expired, there came from the Court expreſſe commands of the King to make them to doe that by force, which they would not be brought vnto by words, or friendly vſage. The Parliament re-ſent the ſaid Preſident of Saint *Iulien*, who ſo ſoone as hee was arriued at *Angrongne*, he commanded them in the name of the King to goe to the Maſſe, vpon paine of Confiſcation of bodies and goods. They demanded a Copy both of his commiſſion and his ſpeech, promiſing to anſwere him in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould haue reaſon to reſt contented: but nothing could giue the Preſident ſatisfaction, who ſtill preſſed vpon them to change their religion, but in vaine. For they anſwered him, that they were not bound to ſuch commands, againſt the commandement of God. Hee commanded that twelue of the pricipalln amongſt them, with all the Miniſters and Schoole-maſters ſhould

ſhould preſently yeeld their bodies to the priſons of *Turin*, there to receiue ſuch ſentence as reaſon ſhall require, and hee enioyned the *Sindics* of the ſaid Valleys to diſmiſſe and ſuffer to depart preſently all ſtrangers, and from thence forward not to receiue any Preachers or Schoole-maſters, but ſuch as ſhall be ſent them by the Dioceſan. They anſwered, that they could not nor would not obey any ſuch commands as were againſt God, and that they would not make their appearance at *Turin*, becauſe they could not doe it without danger of their liues, and to be moleſted for their beleefe.

This Parliament of *Turin* was in ſuch ſort incenſed againſt them, that as many as they could cauſe to be apprehended in *Piedmont*, and the frontiers of the Valleies, ſo many they burnt at *Turin*; among others M. *Ieffrey Varnigle* Miniſter at *Angrongne* was burnt in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred fifty ſeuen, by whoſe death at *Turin* in the place of the Caſtle, the people were much ſtrengthned and edified, there being preſent a great number, that ſaw him to perſiſt in the inuocaton of the name of God vnto his laſt gaſpe. 1557.

During theſe grieuous perſecutions, the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* did intercede for them, beſeeching King *Henry* the ſecond, to ſuffer them to liue in peace, in the profeſſion of that Religion wherein they had liued from the father to the ſonne for ſome ages paſt. The King promiſed to haue regard to this their requeſt, and indeed they continued quiet, vntill the peace was made betweene the King of *France* and of *Spaiue*, and that the Duke of *Sauoy* was

reſtored to his eſtates, that is to ſay, in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred fifty nine.

1560. The yeere after the ſaid reſtitution of the Country, the Popes Nuntio reproued the Duke of *Sauoy*, for that he followed not the ſteps of the Kings of *France* in his zeale, who affecting the Catholike *Romiſh* religion, had with all his power perſecuted the *Waldenſes* and *Lutherans* of the Valleys of *Angrongne*, and other their bordering neighbours; and that if he did not ioyne his forces in what poſſibly hee could to bring them into the boſome of the Church, or to take them out of world, that his Holineſſe ſhould haue great reaſon to ſuſpect him to bee a fauourer of them. The Prince of *Piedmont* promiſed to vſe all the meanes he could, for their reduction or vtter ſubuerſion; in purſuit whereof, hee commanded them to goe to the Maſſe, vpon paine of their liues, and to ſee their Valleys laid open to fire and ſword. To which command they not yeelding obedience, he ſet vpon them by open force, and gaue the charge of this warre, to a gentleman named *le ſieur de la Trinite*; And in the meane while at the ſelfeſame time he cauſed them to be purſued by the Monkes the Inquiſitors, *Iacomel*, and *de Corbis*.

This war is printed in a treatiſe by it ſelfe. And it is likewiſe ſet downe in the 8. booke of the hiſtory the Martyrs of our times. fol. 532.

But foraſmuch as the Hiſtory of this warre, is brought to light elſwhere, we will not enter into any large diſcourſe thereof, onely we may here obſerue, that after *la Trinite* had been well beaten with his troopes, ſeeing that the Lions pawe could ſtand him in no ſteed, he couered himſelfe with the Foxes skin, telling them that what had paſſed, had befallen them for want of parley and communication, rather then

HAIL & FIRE

then for any ill will that his Highneſſe bare vnto them; and that if his ſouldiers had exceeded their bounds, it was becauſe of that reſiſtance which they found, and that hereafter hee would bee an inſtrument for their conſeruation, and as deſirous to procure their peace, as at the beginning he ſhewed himſelfe earneſt to procure their trouble. And therefore he counſelled them to ſend certaine of the principall amongſt them to his Highneſſe, by whom he would ſend his commendatory letters, both to the Prince, and Madame *Margarit* Ducheſſe of *Sauoy*, and only ſiſter to *Heury* King of *France*, and that he did aſſure himſelfe that his Highneſſe would blot out the remembrance of all that was paſt: But yet he thought it neceſſary, that aboue all things they ſhould giue ſome teſtimony of obedience to their Prince; who in other places was enforced by the Pope to eſtabliſh the Maſſe in all his territories, and therefore they ſhould permit that the Maſſe might be ſong in *Angrongne*, which was but a thing indifferent vnto them, ſince he did not require their preſence at it, but onely that hee might write vnto his Highneſſe, that they were his good and obedient Subiects. And moreouer, to the end, that his Highneſſe might not ſtill perſiſt in his opinion, that any ſtrange miniſter did make his abode within his Prouinces, that it was in their power to intreat them, to retire themſelues vnto *Pragela* for ſome few daies, and that afterwards when his Highneſſe ſhould be pacified towards them, they might call them home againe. It coſt him a great deale of labour to gaine thus much of them; for if we intreat our Paſtors to retire themſelues (ſay they) it will be a counſell of the fleſh, and God will not bleſſe it; for our

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enemies when they ſhall haue gotten this aduantage of vs, and that we haue no man left to comfort vs, to counſell vs, to reproue, to exhort vs, they will endeauour no doubt to the vtmoſt of their power, euer to ſhut the gates againſt the returne of our good Paſtors, by woſe miniſtry, we haue been ſo worthily inſtructed, and fortified againſt a world of temptations. And therefore to the end we may not be accuſed as Rebels for recalling them home againe, it ſhall bee better for vs not to depriue our ſelues at all of the fruit of their miniſtry, and from hence forward to be reputed for ſuch in ſeruing of God, as preſerue thoſe whom he hath ſent to preach his word vnto vs. He is as powerfull to preſerue vs, as he hath been heretofore in times paſt, and vngratefull wretches wee are to doubt of his aſſiſtance, and not to thinke that we ſo miſerable a flocke, the dogges being chaſed away, ſhall not bee deuoured by the wolues. Thoſe and diuers the like were the ſpeeches and motions of thoſe that were moſt cleere ſighted, and more zealous then the reſt, but yet this could not hinder others from intreating their Paſtors to retire themſelues for ſome few daies to *Pragela*, a Valley neer vnto theirs, & peopled with their brethren the *Waldenſes* of *Dauphine*. Here a man might perceiue the heauy iuſtice of God pon them, and the beginning of miſery, euery one to melt into teares, the rockes reſounding and calamities, with cryes and lamentations, when euen women and infants, conducted their Paſtors to the high mountaines, to paſſe ouer to the other part of them. And from other parts, when they ſaw the principall amongſt them, to take their iourney to *Turin*, to the middeſt of their enemies, many preſaged the euill

that

that would ouertake them, and it ſeemed vnto them that God had forſaken them, at that time when they had forſaken him in the perſon of his ſeruants. It came to paſſe euen as it had been foretold, by thoſe that could not allow of thoſe counſels of the fleſh. For being arriued at *Turin*, they were preſently lockt vp in ſtrong priſons, their indictments framed as againſt Heretickes, the paſſages garded to hinder any that might giue aduertiſement of the vſage and intertainment they receiued, that were deputed to this ſeruice. And in the meane time, *la Trinite* told them, that he knew that his Highneſſe had agreed to all that they demanded, and that he had written vnto him, that he detained them for no other cauſe, but to aſſure him of their promiſes for time to come, to which purpoſe he likewiſe raiſed a Fort which he built neere to *Angrongne*. Which made them to thinke hardly of their affaires, in that they could heare no newes of their poore priſoners, and much leſſe would *la Trinite* ſuffer them to ſend any thither. In the end, hauing a long time conſulted with themſelues what they ſhould doe, ſeeing a Fort built which might curb and bridle them for euer, if they ſhould ſuffer it to be brought to perfection; and on the other ſide, fearing if they ſhould enterpriſe any thing againſt thoſe that laboured therein, that it ſhould coſt them their liues that they ſent to *Turin*, they were in great and extreme perplexities, not knowing what courſe to take; for they found, that they had been mocked by that Prater *de la Trinite*, and therefore it ſtood them vpon to commit the euent to the prouidence of God, and to reconcile themſelues to him by prayer and faſting, which when they had done, they called home

their

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their Paſtors, implored the aſſiſtance of their neighbours of *Pragela*, who came vnto them with their armes, entred into the Temples, wherein *la Trinite* had cauſed them to build Altars, and to place images, and ouerthrew the Altars, and laid them leuell with the ground, raſed vp the foundations themſelues, brake downe the images, beſieged the Fort and tooke it, killed as many as made reſiſtance, beate the ſuccours that were ſent to the ſaid Fort, put them to flight and ſlew a great number of them. The Prince *Emanuel Philibert* being much offended herewith, would haue reuenged himſelfe vpon thoſe that hee kept in priſon; but Madame *Margarite* interceeding for them, pacified the Prince, ſhewing that is was neceſſary for them to conſult with themſelues touching that vſage and intertainment, his Highneſſe had giuen to thoſe that were deputed, and that ſeeing themſelues in the way to a totall deſtruction, they had taken this oblique meanes to relieue and to helpe themſelues. His Highneſſe therefore by the aduiſe and inſtigation of the Popes Nuntio, had enforced the ſaid deputies to goe to the Maſſe, and there to aske pardon of God, the Pope, and their holy mother the Church of *Rome*, with promiſe to liue according to the Lawes thereof; and afterwards ſent them to priſon, attending the perfection of his Fort. But ſeeing himſelfe fruſtrated of his expectation, he followed the courſe propoſed by Madame *Margarit*, vnder which they haue liued vnto this preſent, which agreement we doe not here inſert, becauſe it is elſwhere ſet downe in their Hiſtory. True it is, that afterwards they ſuffered at ſundry times, ſundry perſecutions, which they bare patiently, and with much zeale.

Among

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Among the reſt, that in the yeere 1570, was very extreame. 1570.
For their Prince being entred into an offenſiue league againſt the Proteſtants, with many other Princes of Europe, he began to trouble and to vexe his ſaid Subiects of the Valleys of the *Waldenſes*: Firſt by forbidding them to haue any commerce with the *Waldenſes* of *Dauphine*, vpon paine of their liues; and ſecondly to aſſemble themſelues in any Synod or Conſultation, but in the preſence of the Gouernour of *Caſtrocaro*; for the fulfilling whereof, he failed not to be preſent at the firſt Synode, which they called at *Bobi*. The Paſtors and Ancients that were there, ſignified to the ſaid Gouernour, that his aſſiſtance in their Synods was no way diſpleaſing vnto them, becauſe the matters that were to be handled, were ſuch, as if the whole world were a witnes vnto them, the more ſhould their piety towards their God appeare, and fidelity to wards their Prince, being to deliberate of nothing, but what might tend to the glory of God, and their obedience to their ſuperiours: And that foraſmuch as his Highneſſe tooke occaſion to diſtruſt them, it muſt needs be the falſe information of ſome of their enemies, and therefore aſſuring themſelues in their owne conſciences, that they had neuer deſerued it, they could not but take this nouelty for a manifeſt breach of the treatie and agreement he had made with them, and and a perſecution ſhaking the free exerciſe of their religion. They intreated therefore the Gouernour of *Caſtrocaro*, to retire himſelfe, and not to moleſt them by any ſuch innouation, and ſwarming from the former treaties, at leaſtwiſe vntill that they hauing iuſtified themſelues before his Highneſſe, it might be otherwiſe ordered and prouided by him. The Gouernour ſtands ſtill reſolued to ſtay there. The Paſtors and

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Ancients declare againſt the ſaid the nouelty; The Gouernour alſo for his part proteſteth, not to enterpriſe any thing herein, but by the expreſſe commandement of his Highneſſe, and that they ſhould be better content, that he had that charge then any other, becauſe he was willing to doe them any good might lye in his hower, made a good interpretation of all their actions, and would not faile to make a true report vnto his Highneſſe of the fidelity he perceiued to be in their cariage.

He was therefore admitted into their Synode, at the end whereof, he vſed this ſubtilty, that is, he attempted to ſow enuy and iealouſie amongſt the Paſtors, giuing good words in generall, that hee had found their order faire and good, and that he neuer had belieued, that they had proceeded with ſuch zeale, order, and charity; but yet there was no reaſon hee ſhould wonder that his Highneſſe had been iealous and diſtruſtfull of ſtrange Miniſters, becauſe he knew very well, that they were more violent in their opinions, then the home-bred of the Country, at leaſtwiſe the greateſt part; for he made exception of Mr. *Steuen Noell*, whom he knew (ſaith he) to be a peaceable man, and more affectionated to the contentment of his Highneſſe; and therefore that ſince his Highneſſe had reſolued not to permit any ſtranger to inhabite within his Lands, hee could not belieue, that Miniſters were more exempted then other men, and therefore to the end he might not be conſtrained to vſe his power and authority, to enforce them to withdraw themſelues out of thoſe Countries, that they ſhould doe well, if of their owne accordes, they departed ſomewhether elſe, which would be far better and

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and more honourable for them, then that they ſhould ſtay, till the Prince ſhould enforce their departure out of his Countries by baniſhmnet. They anſwered, that they could not belieue, that his Highneſſe had any ſuch meaning, as the Gouernour would ſeeme to perſwade them. But that they might bee the better informed of the truth thereof, they would depute ſome amongſt them to go to his Highneſſe.

The Gouernour being much moued, that they would giue no credit to his words, nor doe any thing by his perſwaſions, ſuffered the ſouldiers of *Caſtrocaro*, to compaſſe the temple, at what time the Preacher was in the Pulpit, and to doe diuers inſolencies, ſhooting off their gunnes, and aſtoniſhing thoſe who were diſarmed, and thought themſelues ſurpriſed. Maſter *Steuen Noel* was intreated to write to Madame *Margarite*, which he did: but the Letters by which Madame aſſured them, that the Gouernour had commandement from his Highneſſe to keepe himſelfe within the limits of the treaty paſſed betwixt his Highneſſe and the people, remained ſtill in the hands of the ſaid Gouernour, and in the meane time, whileſt theſe things were afoote, the Maſſacre executed in *France* in the yeere 1572 happened, which in ſuch a manner puffed vp the pride, and increaſed the courage of the ſaid Gouernour, that there was no meanes to ſtay his violences; For the bone-fires of ioy being made throughout all *Piedmont*, becauſe of this effuſion of bloud, this Gouernour perſwaded himſelfe, that he ſhould ſhortly ſee the like perſecution in the ſaid Valleys, and therefore the people hearing the Cannons that were ſhot off, and the great contentment that his Highneſſe tooke, they perſwaded themſelues 1572.

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ſelues that they ſhould not long continue in peace, and therefore they thought their ſureſt courſe was, to conuey thoſe goods that were moſt precious vnto them, vnto the toppe of the Alpes, into the hollow caues whereof, they had been accuſtomed to retire themſelues in troubleſome times. His Highneſſe being aduertiſed, that his people were reſolued, and ready to defend themſelues, thought it not wiſdome to hazard the liues of his other ſubiects, to bring them into obedience, and ſo contented himſelfe, that hee had made them to feare; giuing command in the meane time, that whenſoeuer vpon any occaſion they came into *Piedmont*, they ſhould bee apprehended and executed as Heretickes; whereof the people being aduertiſed, they ſought ſuch commodities as were fit to maintaine life in *Dauphine*, in the Valleys of their brethren of *Pragela* and *Valcluſon*. Afterwards his Highneſſe and Madame *Margarite* being departed this life, *Charles Emanuel* their ſonne and Prince of *Piedmont* hath maintained them in peace, vnder the treaty made with their ſaid Highneſſe, his father and mother. Notwithſtanding the which, the Inquiſitors haue been alwaies watchfull to apprehend one or other, eſpecially to hinder them from ſpeaking of their beliefe, when they came downe into *Piedmont*. For in ſuch a caſe, (prouided that it appeare, that they haue held any diſcourſe) they haue alwaies condemned them for teaching ſtrange doctrines, and ſwaruing from the agreement, whereby it is enioyned, that they broach no new opinions.

The laſt that hath been perſecuted for this cauſe, was a certaine merchant of *Lucerna*, whoſe Hiſtory we

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we will here inſert, becauſe by his conſtancy he did much edifie the people; & that it may appeare vnto the world, that the Popes ceaſe not to ſhew how odious vnto them, the doctrine of the Goſpell is, and that if it were in their power to rule the hearts of the Kings and Princes of Europe at their pleaſure, the fires at this preſent ſhould ſtill be burning in all thoſe places where they haue any power or authority.

It was in the yeere 1601, that *Barthelmew Copin* a *Waldenſian* of the Valley of *Lucerna*, was at *Aſt* in *Piedmont* with his merchandize, at a Faire that ſhould be the next morrow, and being at table in the euening at ſupper, with diuers other Merchants, there was one that began a diſcourſe of the diuerſities of Religions, and ſpake many things tending to the diſhonor of the *Waldenſes* of the Valleys of *Angrongne*, and their bordering neighbours. *Copin* hearing him to ſpeake of his brethren leſſe modeſty then became thoſe that profeſſed themſelues to bee Merchants, and of their Religion, to the diſhonour of God, hee thought it would be a fault in himſelfe, if he ſhould make no reply to thoſe blaſpemies that he heard: He therefore anſwered the party that held this diſcourſe, in fauour of his Religion; And what (ſaith he that had been reprehended by *Copin*) are you a *Waldenſian?* He anſwered, Yea. And doe you not belieue, that God is in the Hoſte? No, ſaith *Copin*. Fie vpon you, replies the other, what a falſe Religion is yours? My Religion (ſaith *Copin*) is as true, as it is true that God is God, and as I am ſure I ſhall die. The next morrow *Copin* was called before the Biſhop of *Aſt*, who told him that he had been aduertiſed of certaine ſcandalous diſcourſes and opinions, which but the day before hee 1601.

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held in the euening at his lodging, and that hee muſt acknowledge the offence, if he would obtaine pardon, otherwiſe he would take order for his puniſhment. *Copin* anſwered, that he had been prouoked thereunto, and howſoeuer, he had ſaid nothing, that he would not maintaine with the danger of his owne life; that hee had ſome goods in the world, and a wife and children; but he had loſt the affection he bare vnto thoſe things, neither were they deare vnto him, to the preiudice of his conſcience: And as touching his behauiour (ſaith he) if it would pleaſe the Biſhop to enquire of the Merchants of *Aſt*, who all knew him, whether he were an honeſt man, they would all witneſſe for him, that he had neuer wronged any man, in that whole time he had traded and conuerſed with them; and that being a Merchant, he was to be diſmiſſed for that cauſe, for which he was then in that place, that is, for trafficke, and therefore not to bee moleſted. That if Iewes and Turkes were permitted to come to Faires, and to trafficke throughout all *Piedmont*, much more ſhould he be permitted who was a Chriſtian, eſpecially, ſince that in that diſcourſe of Religion he did but anſwere to a queſtion moued vnto him, and that it was lawfull for any man to anſwere, and to giue a reaſon of his faith, to whom and in what place ſoeuer, euen by vertue of that treaty and agreement betweene the *Waldenſes* of the Valleys and his Highneſſe, which forbids them to broach new opinions, but takes not from them the liberty to anſwere, to whomſoeuer ſhall aske any queſtions of them.

The Biſhop harkened not at all to theſe allegations, but gaue commandement, that he ſhould bee ſent to priſon. The morrow after, the Biſhops Secretary came

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came to viſit *Copin*, and making great profeſſion of loue towards him, he ſaid vnto him, that hee would haue him know as from his friend, that if he did not acknowledge his fault, he would be in great danger of his life.

Copin anſwered him, that his life was in the hands of God, and he would neuer deſire to preſerue it to the preiudice of his glory, and foraſmuch as he had but two or three paces to walke in his iourney to heauen, his hearty prayer vnto God was, that he would be pleaſed to giue him the grace, not to turne back. Some few daies after, he was examined by a Monke Inquiſitor, in the preſence of the Biſhop, who tormented him a long time with ſweet and gentle perſwaſions, endeauouring to winne him by faire words, to the abiuration of his beliefe: but *Copin* alwaies conuinced him by the word of God, alleadging vnto him, that if he ſhould be aſhamed of Chriſt Ieſus, or deny him before men, Chriſt would be aſhamed of him, and deny him before his Father in heauen. The Monke ended his diſputation with theſe and the like threatning ſpeeches; Goe thou waies thou curſed Lutheran, to all the diuels in hell; and when thou ſhalt be tormented by thoſe vncleane ſpirits, thou wilt remember thoſe good and holy counſels, which we haue giuen thee, to bring thee to ſaluation; but thou haddeſt rather go to hell, then to reconcile thy ſelf to our holy mother the Church. It is long agoe (ſaith *Copin*) that I was reconciled to our mother the Church.

After many violent incounters, they cauſed his wife and a ſonne of his to come vnto him, promiſing him liberty, and to depart with them if hee would amend his fault by confeſſing it. They ſuffered his ſaid

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ſaid wife and ſonne to ſup with him in priſon, which time he ſpent in exhorting them to patience, the wife for that ſhee ſhould want a husband, the childe a father, but yet ſhould aſſure themſelues, that God would be their father, and more then a husband; and for his owne part he was not bound to loue either wife or children more then Chriſt, & that they ſhould hold it to be no ſmall happineſſe, that it hath pleaſed God to do him that honour, as to be a witneſſe vnto his truth, with the loſſe of his life, and that he hoped that God would be ſo fauourable vnto him, as to giue him ſtrength to endure all manner of torments for his glory. He committed to the care and charge of his wife, his ſonne and his daughter which they had in marriage, enioyning her to bring them vp in the feare of God. He commanded his ſonne to obey his mother, for ſo he ſhould drawe downe vpon him the bleſſing of God, he prayed them to pray for him, that God would be pleaſed to ſtrengthen him againſt all temptations, and ſo hauing bleſſed his ſonne, and taken leaue of his wife, they were diſmiſſed out of priſon, and he locked vp where he was before. His wife and child ſhedding fountaines of teares, and crying out in ſuch a lamentable manner, as would haue moued the hardeſt hearts to compaſſion. This good man not being content with what he had ſaid vnto them by word of mouth, writ vnto her this Lettre following, the originall Copy whereof ſhee deliuered vnto vs, written and ſigned with the hand of the ſaid *Copin*, the ſuperſcription whereof was this:

To

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To my louing Companion, *Suſan Copin*. At the Tower of *Lucerna*.

MOſt deare Companion, I haue receiued much comfort by your comming into this place, and ſo much the more, by how much the leſſe I expected it: And I thinke it was ſome comfort to your ſelfe, that you had the meanes to ſup with me, as it came to paſſe but yeſterday being the fifteenth of September, in the yeere 1601, *being Saterday. I know not the cauſe why this was permitted, but all things are in the hand of God, and whatſoeuer were the cauſe; I doe not thinke we ſhall euer eate together againe. And therefore pray vnto God to be your comforter, and put your truſt in him, who hath promiſed neuer to forſake thoſe that truſt in him. You are wiſe, and therefore gouerne our houſe in ſuch ſort, that you keepe our children* Samuell *and* Martha *in obedience, whom I command, by that authority that God hath giuen me, to be faithfull and obedient vnto you, for then God will bleſſe them. For the reſt, be not grieued concerning my ſelfe, for if God haue appointed, that I am come to the end of my daies, and that it pleaſeth the Almighty God, that I ſhall render vp my ſoule, which hee*

hath long time lent me, my truſt in him is, that out of his abundant mercy, hee will receiue it into heauen, for the loue of his Sonne Chriſt Iuſus, by whom I beliene, that our ſinnes are blotted out, euen by his precious death and paſſion; And I begge at his mercifull hands, that he will accompany mee vnto the end, by the powerfull aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit. Bee alwaies carefull to pray vnto God, and to ſerue him, for ſo God will bleſſe and ſerue you. Take no care to ſend me any thing for theſe three weekes, and then you may ſend me, if you pleaſe, ſome money to pay the Iaylor, and ſome thing elſe to ſuccour me, if I liue till then. Remember alſo that which I haue often told you, that is, that God prolonged the life of King Ezechias *for fifteene yeeres; but that he had prolonged mine a great deale more, for it is a long time agoe, that you haue ſeen me in a manner dead, and neuertheleſſe I am yet aliue, and I hope and hold for certaine, that hee will ſtill preſerue mee aliue, vntill my death ſhall be better for his glory and mine owne felicity, through his grace and mercy towards me.*

From the Priſon at *Aſt*, Sept. 16. 1601.

The Biſhop of *Aſt* was much troubled, what to determine concerning this poore man: For if he ſhould let him goe, they feared a ſcandall, and that many

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many would gather heart and courage, to ſpeake with a loud voice againſt the Romiſh Religion. On the other ſide, there was a clauſe in the treaty made betweene his Highneſſe and the *Waldenſes*, which cleared him from all offence, in theſe words. *And if any queſtion ſhall bee mooued vnto them, touching their faith, being in Piedmont with other his Highneſſes Subiects, it ſhall be lawfull for them to anſwere, not incurring thereby any puniſhment reall or perſonall.* Now he was asked the queſtion, and therefore to be quit from blame: But the Biſhop would not haue it ſaid, that hee had committed him to priſon vniuſtly. To the end therefore, that his death might not bee imputed vnto him, and it might not be thought, that he ſent him away abſolued, he ſent his indictment to Pope *Clement* the eight, to vnderſtand what courſe hee ſhould take herein. It could neuer be knowne what anſwere the Biſhop had; but ſhortly after hee was found dead in priſon, not without ſome appearance, that he was ſtrangled, for feare leaſt if he ſhould haue been publikely executed, he might edifie and ſtrengthen the people by his confeſſion and conſtancy. After his death he was condemned to be burnt, and ſo being brought out of priſon, his ſentence was read in the ſame place, and caſt into the fire. And this was the laſt of the *Waldenſes*, that is come to our knowledge, that hath been perſecuted to the death for his beliefe.

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CHAP. V.

Of the Waldenſes inhabiting in the Valleys of Meane and Maites, and the Marquiſate of Saluces, and the laſt perſecutions that they ſuffered.

AT what time the *Waldenſes* of *Dauphine* diſperſed themſelues in *Piedmont*, there were ſome that made their abode in the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, in the Valleys *Maties* and *Meane*, and the parts thereabouts. Theſe were not forborne during the grieuous perſecutions which their brethren of the Valleys of *Angrongne*, Saint *Martin*, and others ſuffered. All their refuge was to flie into the ſaid Valleys, namely when the ſaid Gouernours of the ſaid Marquiſate perſecuted them by the commandement of the Kings of *France*, who condemued to death, within their Realmes all ſuch as made profeſſion of the ſame beliefe that they did. Now the deceaſed King of Happy memory *Henry* the Great and fourth of that name, hauing giuen to his Subiects an edict of pacification, the *Waldenſes* that liued in the Marquiſate, inioyed the ſame priuiledges, that the other Subiects did of the ſame Realme; but when afterwards by the treaty with the Duke of *Sauoy*, *la Breſſe* was changed for the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, the poore *Waldenſes* were depriued of the free exerciſes of their Religion, within the iuriſdiction of the ſaid Marquiſate, for at the inſtance of the Nuntio of Pope *Clement* the eight, the free liberty of their Religion was

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not onely interdicted; but by a new edict all they were baniſhed, that within the ſaid Marquiſate, made profeſſion of any other Religion, then that of the Church of *Rome*: and for the better furtherance of their ſpeedy departure, there were ſent to the ſaid Valleys and Marquiſate, a great number of Monkes Inquiſitors, who went from houſe to houſe; examining the conſciences of euery one, by which meanes there were aboue fiue hundred families baniſhed, who retired themſelues into the Realme of *France*, but eſpecially into *Dauphine*. And to the end, that in thoſe places into which they were come, it might not be caſt in their teeth, that they were baniſhed out of their Countries, for ſome wickedneſſe that they had committed, but that it was onely the zeale they bare to their religion, that had made them wanderers in the world, they made this Declaration following, in the yeere 1603. 1603.

The Declaration of the *VValdenſes* of the Valleys *Maties* and *Meane*, and the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, made in the yeere 1603.

FOraſmuch as time out of minde, and from the father vnto the ſonne, our Predeceſſors haue been inſtructed and nouriſhed in the doctrine and Religion whereoffrom our infancy we haue made open profeſſion, and haue inſtructed our families, as we haue learnt of our fore-fathers; As alſo that during

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ring the time, that the King of France *held the Marquiſate of* Saluces, *it was lawfull for vs to make profeſſion, not being diſquieted or moleſted, as our brethren of the Valleys of* Lucerna, la Perouſe *and others; who by an expreſſe treaty and agreement, made with our Soueraign Prince & Lord, haue inioyed vnto this preſent, the free exercise of the reformed religion; but his Highneſſe being perſwaded by euill councell, and ill affected people, rather then his owne will, hath reſolued to moleſt vs, and to that end hath publiſhed an edict: To the end therefore that it may be made known to all men, that it is not for any crime committed, either againſt the perſon of our Prince, or for any rebellion againſt his edicts, or the committing of any murthers or theft, that wee are thus tormented, and ſpoiled of our goods and houſes; Wee declare, that being certainly aſſured and perſwaded, that the doctrine and Religion taught and followed in the reformed Churches, as well of* France, Switſerland, Germany, Geneua, England, Scotland, Denmarke, Suedia, Polonia, *as other Realmes, Countries, and Signories; whereof we haue vnto this preſent time, made open profeſſion, vnder the obedience of our Princes and Soueraigne Lords, is the onely true doctrine, and Chriſtian religion, ordained and approued of God, which onely can make vs agreeable*

vnto

vnto him, and conduct vs to ſaluation: Wee are reſolued to follow it, with the loſſe of our liues, goods and honours, and to continue therein the remainder of our liues. And if any ſhall pretend that we are in an error, we require him to make vs ſee our error, and offer incontinently to abiure, and do likewiſe promiſe, to follow that which ſhall be proued vnto vs to be the better, deſiring nothing ſo much, as with an aſſured and ſafe conſcience, to follow the true and lawfull ſeruice, which we poore creatures owe vnto our Creator, and by that meanes to attaine to the true and eternall felicity. But if any ſhall goe about, by force and conſtraint to cauſe vs to forſake, and abandon the true way of our ſaluation, and to enforce vs to follow the errours and ſuperſtitions, and falſe doctrines inuented by men, wee deſire a great deale rather to abandon our houſes, our goods, and liues too. We therefore humbly beſeech his Highneſſe, whom we acknowledge to bee our lawfull Prince and Lord, not to ſuffer vs to moleſted without cauſe, but rather permit vs to continue ſo long as wee liue, and our children and poſterity after vs, in that obedience and ſeruice, which vnto this day wee haue rendred vnto him, as faithfull and loyall Subiects; and ſo much the rather, becauſe we demand no other thing of him, but that we yeelding faithfully vnto him, that which

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we are bound vnto by the expreſſe commandement of God, it may likewiſe bee lawfull for vs, to render vnto God, that homage and ſeruice, which wee owe vnto him, and he requires at our hands in his holy word.

Beſeeching in the meane time (in the middle of our exile and calamity) the Reformed Churches to hold vs, and acknowledge vs, to bee true members thereof, being willing to ſeale with our blood (if God will haue it ſo) the Confeſſion of faith made and publiſhed by them; which we acknowledge in all things, and throughout, conformable to the doctrine, taught and written by the holy Apoſtles, and therefore truely Apoſtolicall. Wee promiſe to liue and die therein. And if ſo doing, we be afflicted and perſecuted, we yeeld hearty thanks vnto God, who hath done vs that honour to ſuffer for his name; leauing the iſſue of our affaires, and the iuſtice of our cauſe, in the hands of his diuine prouidence, who will deliuer vs, when and by what meanes it pleaſeth him. Humbly beſeeching him, that as he hath the hearts of Kings and Princes in his hands, he will be pleaſed to mollifie the heart of his Highneſſe, to take pitty of thoſe, that haue neuer offended him, or purpoſe to offend him, to the end hee may hold and acknowledge thoſe to be more faithfull, loyall, and obedient to his ſeruice, then they are that prouoke

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prouoke him to ſuch perſecutions. In the the meane time that hee would bee pleaſed to ſupport vs in the middeſt of theſe temptations, and ſtrengthen vs with Patience and Conſtancy, to perſeuere in the profeſſion of the truth vnto the end of our liues, and our poſteriety after vs, Amen.

This perſecution hath cotinued vnto this preſent time, at the inſtance of Pope *Paul* the fift, and his Nuntio, who ſtill troubleth and vexeth this poore people, by his Monkes the Inquiſitors. They haue made ſome to alter their opinions, who had no power to quit themſelues of their goods, but haue accommodated themſelues to the world: but the greateſt number perſiſted conſtant in calling on the name of God, chuſing rather to be baniſhed here on earth, from their natiue countries, then to be depriued of eternall life; hating their Poſſeſſions, their Country, their Houſes, being the places where they could not inhabit, whithout the deniall of Chriſt and his truth.

Chap. VI.

Of the Waldenſes inhabiting in the New Lands, and the perſecutions which they haue ſuffered.

THe *New lands* of which wee are here to ſpeake, are in the Alpes, in the Frontiers of *Piedmont*, *Dauphine*, and *Prouence*, of which the cheefe Citty is *Barcelona* or *Barceloneta*. Within the ſaid Lands, there are certaine

Villages, which haue been peopled by the *Waldenſes* time out of minde, placed in the beſt part of the ſaid Lands amongſt others *Ioſiers*. Theſe places haue continued a long time, the Princes of *Piedmont* nothing regarding the abode of the ſaid peoples within their Prouinces: but the Prieſts made them odious to the world, becauſe they were vnprofitable vnto them, by not liuing after the manner of other people, who contributed vnto them for the liuing and for the dead; in ſuch ſort, that when his Highneſſe perſecuted in his ſtate, thoſe that had quit themſelues of the Lawes of the Romiſh Church, theſe were not forgotten, eſpecially when the Gouernours of the ſaid Valley oppoſed themſelues againſt them. Theſe were therefore of the number of thoſe, that were ſummoned in the yeere 1576, to goe to the Maſſe, or to forſake his
1576. Highneſſe Country; wherein they found not better meanes to helpe themſelues, then to ioyne themſelues vnto others, who being threatned with the ſame baniſhment, had recourſe to the Proteſtant Princes, beſeeching them to intercede for them to their Prince, that he would be pleaſed, not to trouble them in ſuch manner for their beliefe, which they had made profeſſion off, from the father to the ſonne, for many hundred yeeres; during which time, their Princes haue not had any Subiects, that haue yeelded vnto them more faithfull obedience then they, not giuing place vnto any other in their duties, ſubmiſſions, and contributions, which they haue alwaies moſt willingly payed to their Princes, as they were ſtill ready to continue, yeelding obedience to their commands, onely that that they might not be troubled in their conſciences.

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The Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine* delegated to the Prince of *Piedmont* a Counſeller of his State, with certaine other honorable perſonages. Being arriued at *Turin*, they ſaluted his Highneſſe in the name of the ſaid Prince *Palatine*, and deliuered their Letters of Credence. He was heard by the Prince *Emanuel Philibert*, very peaceably. This Councellor gaue him to vnderſtand, that the onely charity of their Maſter towards Chriſtians of the ſame Religion that he profeſſed, had moued him to mediate for them, that his Highneſſe would bee pleaſed to ſuffer them to liue peaceably in the exerciſe of their Religion, not offering any violence to their conſciences: That he would account this benefit as done vnto himſelfe, and hee ſhould oblige vnto him all the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, who likewiſe made the ſelfeſame requeſt by their mouthes. That he ſhould haue God the more fauourable, and his Subiects the more faithfull, if he did not ſhew himſelfe inexorable; That the confuſions that haue happened in all the States of Kings and Princes, that haue indeauoured to raigne and reclaime the ſoules of their Subiects by armes, and to reduce them by violence, may make wiſe all other Princes, which were not yet come to ſuch extremities; That foraſmuch as they that haue not vſed rigorous courſes, haue won the hearts of their people to be more faithfull vnto them, this meanes being in his power, they humbly beſeeched him to imitate herein the moſt debonaire and gentle Princes.

It appeared by his Highneſſe anſwere, that he took but little pleaſure in this interceſſion, but much more by the effects that followed. For hee anſwered, that notwithſtanding that for his part he made no enquiry

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how the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and other Princes of *Germany*, gouerned their Subiects, and being a Soueraigne Prince, he was not to yeeld an account vnto any, of his courſes and reſolutions, yet neuertheleſſe he thanked the ſaid Prince, and all the reſt that were thus charitable towards him, his Eſtate, and his Subiects, as to wiſh their content and peace: but that the miſeries and calamities that haue happened amongſt them, by the diuerſity of Religions, had made him to deſire to haue in his State but onely one, and that muſt be that which he there found, and in which he had been alwaies brought vp, for feare leſt vnder the mantle of Religion, and liberty of conſcience, he muſt diſpute with his ſubiects as a companion, of thoſe things which by iuſt title were in his power to determine as a Maſter; as it had happened to other Princes in Europe, that in this caſe had no power to rule their Subiects as Soueragines. And that in might appeare vnto them, that he loued peace, he had maintained his Subiects the *Waldenſes* dwelling in his State in the Valleys of the Alpes, vnder an edict which he cauſed to be obſerued vnuiolably. That if without the ſaid Valleys he had in his State any itching buſie ſpirits affecting nouelties, thoſe he cauſed to be puniſhed as Rebelles. That he thought, that as the ſaid Princes had compaſſion of his Subiects, that they might enioy the exerciſe of their Religion, ſo he aſſured himſelfe, that they would not take it in ill part, (ſo iuſt and iudicious they were) if he prouided for his ſurety, and preſeruation of his State, by puniſhing the ſeditions, that he would inquire, in conſideration of this their interceſſion, more narrowly into the eſtate of his Subiects, making profeſſion of their Religion,

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ligion, and would giue them ſome refreſhing.

And becauſe they had ſpoken particularly of a certaine Miniſter named *Giles*, whom he detained locked vp in a dungeon, he cauſed him to be brought forth and placed in a chamber, and after inquiry made of what he was accuſed, that is, that he had writ to thoſe of *Geneua* to the preiudice of his ſeruice, he ſet him at liberty. He diſclaimed a certaine captaine of a Caſtle of the Valley *Meane*, for ſome thing he had done againſt the *Waldenſes* of the ſaid Valley, but for the reſt, the Counſellor was hardly gone halfe his way home-ward, but the perſecution grew greater then it was before. Amongſt others, the Gouernour of the New-lands in the end of Nouember following, proclaimed with the ſound of a trumpet, that whoſoeuer would not within the ſpace of a Moneth goe to Maſſe, were to auoide the Lands and Territories of his Highneſſe within that time, vpon paine of confiſcation of body and goods. Theſe poore people of the New lands, they could conuey themſelues to no place without danger of their liues. For in *Prouence* they burnt thoſe whom the Parliament of *Aix* called *Lutherans*. In the Territories of *Honorat* Earle of *Tendes*, they were deliuered into the hands of the Executioners. *Gonſague* Duke of *Neuers*, commanding for the King of *France*, in the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, put them to death. In *Dauphine*, as many as the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* could apprehend, ſo many he cauſed either to rot in the dungeons, or to periſh in the Tower *Brun*, with cold and famine; and out of *Piedmont* they were baniſhed. There remained no other ſuccour but in the dead time of winter, to make their paſſage by night ouer a high mountaine almoſt

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inacceſſible, couered with ice and ſnow, into the Valley of *Fraßiniere*, if poſſibly they could. They therefore betooke themſelues vnto the mountaine, about the feaſt of the Natiuity of our Lord, in the coldeſt time of all the yeere: But before they could come to the height thereof, the greateſt part of the women and children were benummed with cold, and the night ouertaking them, being in the top of the hill, they were inforced to lie vpon the ice, where a great part of them in the morning were found dead. They that eſcaped the danger, retired themſelues into the Valley of *Fraßiniere*. Now after that the houſes of theſe poore people had remained for a time void of Inhabitants, there was no man that would ſeiſe or take poſſion of their Lands, much leſſe till and husband them, and therefore their Gouernours permitted the ſaid *Waldenſes* to continue there, and to tolerate them, making profeſſion of their beliefe; onely they were to depart out of the confines of the State of the Prince, for the exerciſe of their Religion. They haue re-peopled the ſaid Valley. Thus you haue heard as much as is come to our knowledge, touching their ſufferings, howſoeuer they haue been perſecuted from time to time, from the father to the ſonne, as the reſt of the *Waldenſes* in *Dauphine* and *Piedmont*, but their indictments are not come to our hands.

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Chap. VII.

Of the Waldenſes dwelling in Calabria, and the perſecutions which they haue ſuffered.

ABout the yeere of our Lord 1370, the *Waldenſes* of the Valleys of *Pragela* and *Dauphine*, grew to ſo great a number in ſo ſmall a Country, that they were enforced to ſend away a certaine number of their yonger people to ſeeke ſome other Country to inhabite in. In their trauaile they found in *Calabria* certaine waſte and vntilled land, and ill peopled, but yet very fertile, as they might well iudge, by thoſe parts neere adioyning. They therefore finding the Country fit to bring forth corne, wine, oyle of Oliues and cheſtnuts, and that there were hilles fit for the breeding and nouriſhing of cattle, and to furniſh them with fuell and timber fit for building; they came vnto the Lords of thoſe places to treate with them touching their abode in thoſe Countries. The ſaid Lords receiued them louingly, agreed to their lawes and orders, to the gteat aduantage of theſe new Inhabitants, came to an agreement with them, touching their Rentes, Tenthes, Toles, penalties, in caſe there fall out any differences or offences amongſt them; and ſo hauing aſſigned vnto them certaine quarters or parts of the Country, they returned for the moſt part of them, to aduertiſe their parents of the good aduenture, that had happened vnto them, in a rich country, likely to abound in all temporall benedictions. They brought 1370.

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were a kinde of people that contemned the lawes of *Romiſh* Church, they might chance to loſe them, detained their Prieſts from complaining of theſe people, who in euery thing elſe ſhewed themſelues to be honeſt men, ſuch as had enriched the whole Country, yea and the Prieſts themſelues, for the onely tithes which they receiued of that great abundance of fruites, which ariſe from thoſe lands, out of which in former times they receiued no profit at all, were ſuch as might very well giue them reaſon to beare with other matters; That they were come to inhabit in thoſe places from far Countries, where perhaps the people were not ſo much giuen to the ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*; but yet ſince in the principall they were faithfull and honeſt, charitable towards the poore, and ſuch as feared God, they were very willing they might not be moleſted, by any more particular enquiry into their conſciences. Theſe reaſons wrought much with thoſe that bare them ill will. For the Lords of thoſe places, ſtopped the mouthes of their murmuring neighbours, who could by no meanes draw them into any alliance with them, and who ſaw their goods, their cattell, and all that they poſſeſſed bleſt after a more particular manner then other mens, that they were a temperate people, wiſe, not lewd or diſſolute, not giuen to dancing, or haunters of Tauernes, and out of whoſe mouthes, there did neuer proceed any blaſphemy; and to be briefe, liuing in a Country where the Inhabitants were giuen to all manner of wickedneſſe; they were as precious ſtones in a common ſinke, and therefore both enuied and admired, but yet alwaies maintained by their Lords, who comparing theſe ſubiects and vaſſals with others

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that they had, could not ſatiate themſelues with their praiſes. Thus were they maintained by their Lords againſt all enuy, and that maugre the Prieſts, vntill
1560. the yeere 1560, at what time they could no longer defend them againſt the Popes thunderbolts.

The occaſion was, becauſe they then vnderſtood, that in their Valleys of *Pragela* and *Piedmont*, there were Paſtors, that with a loud voyce did preach the Goſpell: For they had ſent to *Geneua* to be furniſhed with teachers, and they ſent them two, that is to ſay, *Steuen Negrin*, and *Lewis Paſchal*, who at their arriuall, did their beſt endeauours to eſtabliſh the exerciſe of their Religion. Pope *Pius* the fourth of that name, being aduertiſed hereof, the Colledge of Cardinals was aſſembled, and preſently concluded and reſolued vpon the vtter ruine and ex irpation of this people, who ſo neere the Popes Seate, durſt to plant the Religion of the *Lutherans*.

The charge of this perſecution was giuen to Cardinall *Alexandrin*, a violent man, if there were euer any amongſt the Cardinals. Hee choſe two Monkes of his owne humour, to be his Informers, that is to ſay, one *Valerio Maluicino*, and a Dominican Monke, named *Alphonſus Vrbin*, who began with the Inhabitants of Saint *Xiſt*. Being in the place, they aſſembled the people, giuing them good ſpeeches, and proteſting that their comming thither, was not any way to moleſt them, but onely louingly to aduertiſe them, that they were not to heare any other Doctours and teachers, then thoſe which ſhould be giuen vnto them by the Prelats of their Dioceſſe. That they knew well, that they had receiued teachers from *Geneua*, but by quitting themſelues of them, and

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and liuing hereafter according to the lawes of the Church of *Rome*, they ſhould haue no cauſe to feare any thing: but if they preſumed to keepe their ſaid teachers amongſt them, they did put themſelues in danger to loſe their liues, their goods and honours, becauſe they were to be condemned for Heretickes. And that they might the better know who they were, that had wholly forſaken the lawes of the Church of *Rome*, they cauſed a bell to be rung to Maſſe, inuiting the people to goe thither; but in ſteed of going to the Maſſe, they quit themſelues of their houſes, and with their wiues and children that could follow them, they did flie into the woods, leauing onely within the Citty ſome few decrepit men and women, and little children. The Monkes diſſembled this flight, that they might the better intrap them all at once. They went to *la Garde*, not threatning any one of thoſe that ſtayed in Saint *Xiſt*. Being there, they cauſed the gates of the Towne to be locked, and the people to be aſſembled. They told them, that they of Saint *Xiſt* had abiured their Religion, and being gone to the Maſſe, had asked pardon at Gods hands, promiſing them, if they would doe the like, that no man ſhould offer the leaſt hurt that might be. Theſe poore people thinking the Monkes had ſpoken a truth vnto them, they were content to yeeld to whatſoeuer they would haue them doe: But when they had vnderſtood, that their brethren of Saint *Xiſt* had refuſed to goe to Maſſe, and that they were fled into the woods, they were aſhamed of their weakneſſe, and much diſpleaſed with their reuolt, and therefore inſtantly reſolued with themſelues, to goe with their wiues and children, to their bretheren of

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Saint *Xiſt* : but the Lord of the place *Saluator Spinello* would not ſuffer them to retire themſelues in ſo miſerable a manner, promiſing to defend them againſt whomſoeuer; prouided (ſaith he) that they caried themſelues like good *Romiſh* Catholikes. In the meane time the Monkes ſent after thoſe of Saint *Xiſt* two Companies of foote-men, who ran after theſe poore people, as after wild beaſts, crying out, *Amaſſa, amaſſa*, that is, kill, kill. They ſlew diuers of them. But they that could get to the top of the mountaine, being on the hight of the rockes, intreated they might be heard; which being granted, they beſeeched them to haue pitty vpon them, and vpon their wiues and children; that they would call to minde, that they had inhabited in thoſe Countries, from the father to the ſonne for ſome ages, and that in all that time, there was not any that could complaine of their conuerſation; and yet neuertheleſſe, if they could not continue in their houſes, in that beliefe wherein they had liued to this preſent, if they might be permitted to betake themſelues, either by ſea or by land, to the protection of God, with their onely perſons, and ſome few commodities, and ſo retire themſelues whether it ſhould pleaſe the Lord to conduct them, they would very willingly forſake all their goods, rather then to fall into any idolatry, promiſing both for themſelues and all theirs, neuer to returne to their houſes againe. They beſeeched them euen for Gods cauſe, not to driue them to ſuch neceſſities, as that they muſt be enforced to defend themſelues, for if they ſhould be once out of all hope of mercy, it would be dangerous for themſelues, who had driuen them to theſe extremities. The ſouldiers were the more

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ſtirred vp againſt them, and preſently made a violent aſſault vpon them, which bound theſe poore people to a iuſt defence, and ſo being aſſiſted by God, they ſlew the greateſt part of the Souldiers that purſued them, and put the reſt to flight. The Monkes the Inquiſitors, writ to the Vice-roy of *Naples*, that he ſhould ſpeedily ſend ſome companies of Souldiers, to apprehend certaine Heretickes of Saint *Xiſt*, and *la Garde*, who were fled into the woods, and that in ſo doing, he ſhould doe that which was pleaſing to the Pope, and meritorious to himſelfe, if he ſhall deliuer the Church from ſuch contagion. The Vice-roy came himſelfe with his troupes. Being arriued at Saint *Xiſt*, he cauſed to be proclaimed by the ſound of a trumpet, that the place was condemned to be expoſed to fire and ſword. But in the meane time before his arriuall, the women had leaſure to returne to Saint *Xiſt*, whether they ran together, to ſeeke for victuall to feede their husbands and children, which were in the wood. The Viceroy cauſed it to be proclaimed throughout the Realme of *Naples*, that all baniſhed people that would come to the warres againſt the Heretickes of Saint *Xiſt*, ſhould be pardoned all their offences formerly committed; whereupon great numbers gathered themſelues together, and were conducted to the woods, where the fugitiues of Saint *Xiſt* were, and they gaue them the chaſe in ſo rigorous a manner, that in the end, after the ſlaughter of diuers of theſe poore people, the reſt of them being ſore wounded, retired themſelues into the caues vpon the high rockes, where the greateſt part of them died with famine. The Monkes Inquiſitors made ſhew of much diſcontent, and that they were much

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diſpleaſed with that which had happened, and being retired to *Coſſence*, where the *Sindic* of Saint *Xiſt* appeared before them, they wiſhed him ſpeedily to withdraw himſelfe, for feare leſt the Viceroy ſhould know of his being there, and ſo apprehend him. This brought thoſe of *la Garde* a ſleepe, who being cited by a publike proclamation to appeare before the ſaid Inquiſitors at *Coſſence*, or before the Viceroy at *Folcade*, they were eaſily perſwaded to beleeue the promiſes and faire ſpeeches of the ſaid Inquiſitors. For being arriued at *Folcade*, there were ſeuenty of them apprehended, and being bound, were brought to *Montaud* before the Inquiſitor *Panza*, who put them all to the racke. Amongſt others, he tormented one *Steuen Charlin* with ſuch violence, that his bowels brake out of his belly, and all to extort from him, this confeſſion and impoſture, that is, that they ſometimes aſſembled themſelues by night to commit whoredomes, and damnable inceſtes, the candles being put out. But notwithſtanding his extreame torture, they could neuer get from him the confeſſion of ſo great a wickedneſſe.

There was another called *Verminel*, who with the extreame paine he endured vpon the racke, promiſed to goe to Maſſe; The Inquiſitor thinking, that ſince the torment of the racke, had enforced him to forſake his Religion, that redoubling the violence thereof, he might draw from this feeble and tired perſon, the confeſſion of the former impoſture. And ſo cauſed him to be tormented in ſuch a manner, that many times he left him eight houres together vpon the racke, but yet could neuer get from his mouth ſo horrible a calumnie.

Another

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Another named *Marcon*, being ſtript ſtarke naked, was beaten with rods of iron, afterwards drawen through the ſtreets, and burnt with fire-brands. One of his ſonnes was killed with kniues, the other was brought to a high tower, where there was offered vnto him a Crucifix, with promiſe that if he would kiſſe it, his life ſhould be ſaued. He anſwered, that hee would rather die, then commit idolatry, and though he were caſt headlong from that tower, as he was threatned, yet he had rather his body ſhould be broken to peeces here on earth, then by denying Chriſt and his truth, his ſoule ſhould be caſt into hell. The Inquiſitor being much enraged with this anſwere, commanded him to be caſt from the tower, to the end (ſaith he) we may ſee whether his God will protect him. *Bernard Conte* was condemned to be burnt aliue, and as he was led to the fire, he caſt to the earth a certaine Crucifix, which the Executioner had faſtened to his hands. The Inquiſitor hereupon commanded him to be ſent backe to priſon, to the end his paine might be aggrauated, and ſo ſent him to *Coſſence*, where he cauſed him to be couered with pitch, and ſo burnt. Beſides, this Inquiſitor *Panza*, cut the throats of foureſcore, as a butcher doth his muttons; afterwards he cauſed them to be diuided into foure quarters, and commanded that the high waies from *Montald* to *Chaſteau Vilar* ſhould be ſet with ſtakes for the ſpace of thirty miles, and cauſed a quarter to be faſtened to euery ſtake; and in a place called *Moran*, he cauſed to be hanged and ſtrangled, foure of the principall men of *la Garde*, that is to ſay, *Iames Ferner*, *Anthony Palomb*, *Peter Iacio*, and *Iohn Morglia*, who died very conſtantly. A certaine yong man named *Samſon*, defen-

HAIL & FIRE

defended himſelf a long time againſt thoſe, that would haue apprehended him; but in the end being wounded, he was taken and led to a high tower, where he was willed to confeſſe himſelfe to a Prieſt that was there preſent, before he ſhould be caſt from the tower, which he refuſed to doe, ſaying, that he had confeſſed himſelfe to God. So the Inquiſitor commanded him to be caſt ouer. The next day the Viceroy paſſing below by the tower, he found this poore man languiſhing, hauing his bones broken, and imploring the mercy of God, to whom he gaue a kicke on the head with his foote, ſaying, *Is this dogge yet aliue, caſt him out to the hogges.*

Threeſcore women of Saint *Xiſt* were brought to the racke, and vſed with ſuch violence, that the cordes pierced into their armes and legges; in ſuch ſort, that in their wounds there were ingendred a great quantity of wormes, which fed vpon them being aliue, they not knowing how to remedy it, vntill ſome one or other hauing compaſſion on them, gaue them ſecretly lyme, which cauſed them to fall from them. They died almoſt all miſerably in priſon. Nine of the chiefe and hanſomeſt amongſt them were loſt, and it was neuer knowne what became of them, after they were deliuered to the Fathers of the Inquiſition.

This Inquiſitor retired himſelfe to Saint *Agathe*, where hee deliuered a great number to the ſecular power; and if any man offered to intercede for them, he cauſed him to be put to the racke, as a fauourer of Heretickes; in ſuch ſort, that in the end there was not any that durſt to open his mouth in their behalfe.

Pope *Pius* the fourth of that name, ſent for their vtter

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deſtruction, the Marquis of *Butiane*, with promiſe that if he would doe that good office to the holy Sea, as to cleere *Calabria* of thoſe *Waldenſes* that had there taken footing, he would giue vnto his ſonne a Cardinals hat. The Marquis tooke no great paines to execute his Commiſſion, for the Monkes the Inquiſitors, and the Viceroy of *Naples* had almoſt put all to death that they could apprehend, hauing ſent to the Galleys of *Spaine* the ſtrongeſt of them, and condemned to perpetuall baniſhment the fugitiues, ſold and killed woman and children.

As touching their Miniſters, *Steuen Negrin* was ſent to priſon at *Coſſence*, were he died with famine: *Lewis Paſchal* was carried to *Rome*, where he was condemned to be burnt aliue. Pope *Pius* the fourth, would needs feede his eye with this laſt puniſhment of him, that had maintained him to be Antichriſt, being preſent at his death with many of his Cardinals. But the Pope could haue wiſhed himſelfe elſwere, or that *Paſchal* had been mute, or the people deafe. For he ſpake many things againſt the Pope out of the word of God, which gaue him a great deale of diſcontent. Thus did this good man die, calling vpon God with an ardent zeale, that he much moued the ſtanders by, and made the Pope and his Cardinals to gnaſh their teeth for anger. Thus haue you ſeen the end of the *Waldenſes* of *Calabria*, who were wholly exterminated; For if any of the fugitiues be returned, it is vpon condition that they liue according the lawes of the Church of *Rome*.

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the Waldenſes inhabiting in Prouence, and the perſecutions which they haue ſuffered.

THe *Waldenſes* inhabiting in *Prouence*, in the parts of *Cabrieres Merindol*, *la Coſte*, and other places neere adioyning, haue been held for the originall of-ſpring of the *Waldenſes* inhabiting in *Dauphine* and *Piedmont*, as it may very well appeare by the families of the ſame name; as alſo there are amongſt them, that can proue their progeny or of-ſpring. And vpon this occaſion it was, that they of *Calabria* ſoiourned in in *Prouence*, that is, to disburden their Valleys of the great multitudes of people that were there. And though in the beginning of their arriuall in *Prouence*, the Country where they made their abode was a deſart, yet they made it in few yeeres fertile and fit (by the bleſſing of God) to yeeld Corne, Wine, oyle, of Oliues, Cheſtnuts, and other fruits, and that in great aboundance.

The firſt perſecutions which they ſuffered, are not come to our knowledge, notwithſtanding we finde euen at this day, the Commiſſions that haue been giuen by the Popes and Anti-popes reſiding in *Auignon*, very neere to the place of their abiding, againſt the *Waldenſes* inhabiting in *Prouence*; as that of the Arch-deacon of *Cremona*, *Albert de Capitaneis*, and of the Monke frier Minor *Francis Borelli*, hauing Commiſſion againſt them, in the yeer 1380, to make inqui

See before in the 3. Chap.
1380.

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inquiry of the *Waldenſes* in the Dioceſſe of *Aix* in *Prouence*, *Arles*, and *Selon*. As alſo when they were retired into the ſaid Prouince in the yeere 1228, when the Arch-biſhop of *Aix*, *Arles*, and of *Narbonne* were aſſembled at *Auignon* to giue aduice to the Inquiſitors touching the *Waldenſes*, who then ſaid (as you haue heard before) that the Inquiſitors had apprehended ſo great a number, that there was not onely a want of victuall to feed them, but of lyme and ſtone to build their priſons. It is moſt certaine, that then the *Waldenſes* of *Prouence*, dwelling as it were, in the very gates of the Popes Palace, and about their Earledome of *Auignon* were not forgotten: But foraſmuch as we haue no Copies of inſtruments, that may make good the ſaid perſecutions, we will inſert into this diſcourſe nothing but what we ſhall be able ſufficiently to proue. 1228. See Chap. 2.

The firſt perſecution is that, whereof we haue the Hiſtory in the time of King *Lewis* the twelfth, about the yeere 1506, That is, that this good King being informed, that there were in *Prouence* a certaine kind of people, that liued not according to the lawes of the Church of *Rome*, but were an accurſed people, committing all manner of wickedneſſe and villanies, euen ſuch, as the very memory of them ſtrooke a horrour into mens hearts, and the Chriſtians in the primitiue Church had been vpbraided with; he gaue Commiſſion to his Court of Parliament in *Prouence* to take knowledge thereof, and to chaſtiſe them according to their merit. Whereunto the ſaid Court hauing diligently attended, ſo ſoone as the King vnderſtood, that diuers innocent perſons were put to death, he limited the authority of the ſaid Court, and would 1560.

not ſuffer them to continue their executions, vntill he were truely informed, what kind of people they were, that to him had been reported to be ſo wicked. To this purpoſe he ſent Maſter *Adam Fumee*, his Maſter of requeſts, who told him at his returne, that what had been giuen him to vnderſtand, touching the *Waldenſes* of *Prouence*, was very vntrue; for they were not any way tainted, either with ſorcery, or whoredome, but that they liued like honeſt men, doing hurt to no man: they cauſed their children to be baptized, taught them the Articles of their beliefe, and the Commandements of God, they carefully kept the Lords day, and the word of God was purely expounded vnto them. A certaine Iacobin Monke, named *Parui*, confeſſor to the King, witneſſed as much, who by the King was ioyned in Commiſſion with the ſaid Maſter of Requeſts. Which the King hauing vnderſtood, he ſaid, and bound it with an oath, that they were honeſter men then himſelfe, or the reſt of his Catholike people. This perſecution being ſtaied by King *Lewis* the twelfth, they continued in peace vnto the raigne of King *Francis* the firſt of that name, and at what time there was ſome ſpeech in *France* of a reformation of Religion, they ſent two of their Paſtors, that is to ſay, *George Morel* of *Fraſſinieres* in *Dauphine*, and *Peter Maſſon* of *Burgundy*, to *Oecolampadius* Miniſter at *Baſle*; to *Capito*, and *Martin Bucer* at *Straſbourg*, and to *Berthand Haller* at *Berne*, to conferre with them about matters touching their Religion, and to haue their aduice and counſell about many points wherein they deſired to be better ſatisfied. The Letters which *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer* ſent vnto them, are ſet downe at length in the firſt booke

Veſembecius in Oratione de Waldenſibus.

Veſembecius in Orotione de Waldenſibus. His auditis Rex iureiurando addito me, inquit, & cætero populo meo Catholico meliores illi viri ſunt.

Booke of this Hiſtory, the Sixt Chapter, where I endeauoured to make it appeare vnto the world, that many great perſonages amongſt them, that made profeſſion of reformation, haue giuen teſtimony of their piety and probity; which is the reaſon why we inſert them not againe in this diſcourſe, onely we will produce thoſe of the *Waldenſes* in their own language, and afterwards in Engliſh.

Salut a Monſeignor Oecolampadio.

CAr moti racontant, aſona a noſtras oreillas, que aquel que po totas coſas, &c.

The Letter of the VValdenſes of Prouence to Mr. Oecolampadius.

Health to Maſter Oecolampadius.

FOraſmuch as diuers haue giuen vs to vnderſtand, and the report is come vnto our eares, that he that is able to doe all things, hath repleniſhed you with the bleſſings of his holy Spirit, as it well appeares by the fruites, we who liue farre diſtant from you, haue thought good to haue recourſe vnto you, and with ioyfull hearts we hope and truſt, that the holy Ghoſt will illuminate vs by your meanes, and will ſatisfie vs, concerning many things, whereof we are now in doubt, and are hidden from vs, becauſe of our ignorance, and negligence, and as it is to be feared to our great hinderance, and the people whom

HAIL & FIRE

we teach with great infufficiency. For that you may know at once how matters ſtand; Wee, ſuch as we are, weake inſtructers of this little flocke, haue remained for aboue foure hundred yeeres in the middeſt of ſharpe and cruell thornes, and yet in the meane time, not without the great fauour of Chriſt, as all the faithfull can eaſily teſtifie; for this people hath many times been deliuered by the fauour and mercy of God, being gored and tormented by the ſaid thornes. And therefore we come vnto you to be counſelled and confirmed in our weakneſſe.

They writ another Letter to the ſame purpoſe, to *Martin Bucer*, the which for breuities ſake we omit, wherein they relate, that they had addreſſed themſelues for the ſelfeſame cauſe to their brethren of *Newcaſtle*, *Morat*, and *Berne*, which ſhewes how carefull the *Waldenſes* were, to ſeeke out all manner of meanes, that their vnderſtandings might be enlightned in the myſteries of piety for the ſaluation of their ſoules, eſpecially ſeeing, that then they ſought the meanes to aduance and order their Church in the open view of the world, when the fires were kindled throughout all *France*, againſt thoſe of the ſame Religion that they were, who in thoſe times were called *Lutherans*: The greater therefore that their zeale was, the more they ſtirred vp their enemies againſt them, and plunged themſelues into the greater dangers. But as all are not victorious by faith, but there are alwaies ſome weake, who take counſell of the fleſh, and perſwade themſelues without reaſon, that they can crooch and bow themſelues, in thoſe places where God is offended by idolatry, and yet keepe the heart pure and neate

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neate vnto God; *Oecolampadius* from thence takes occaſion, to write that which followeth, to be deliuered to thoſe diſſemblers, which walke not with an vpright foote before God.

The Letter of Oecolampadius, written to the VValdenſes of Prouence, who thought they could ſerue God, by proſtituting their bodies before Popiſh Idols. Written in the yeere 1530.

Oecolampadius deſires the grace of God the Father, by his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, and his holy Spirit, to his well-beloued Brethren in Chriſt, who are called VValdenſes.

WEe vnderſtand, that the feare of perſecution hath made you to diſſemble in your faith, and that you hide it. Now we beleeue with the heart to righteouſneſſe, and confeſſe with the mouth to ſaluation; but they that feare to confeſſe Chriſt before the world, ſhall not bee receiued by God the Father. For our God is truth, without any diſſimulation, and as he is a iealous God, he cannot endure that they that are his, ſhould ioyne together vnder the yoake of Antichriſt; for there is no communiõ of Chriſt with Belial: And if you communicate

HAIL & FIRE

nicate with the infidels, in going to their abominable Maſſes, you cannot but perceiue their blaſphemies againſt the death and paſſion of Chriſt: For when they glory in themſelues, that by the meanes of ſuch ſacrifice, they ſatisfie God, for the ſinnes of the liuing and the dead, what can follow, but that Ieſus Chriſt hath not ſufficiently ſatisfied, by the ſacrifice of his death and paſſion, and conſequently that Chriſt is not Ieſus, that is, a Sauiour, and that he died for you in vaine. If then we haue communion at this impure table, we declare our ſelues to be one body with the wicked, how irkeſome ſo euer it be vnto vs. And when we ſay Amen to their prayers, doe we not deny Chriſt? What death ſhould we not rather chuſe? What paine and torment ſhould we not rather ſuffer? Nay, into what hell ought we not rather to plunge our ſelues, then to witneſſe by our preſence, that we conſent vnto the blaſphemies of the wicked. I know that your weakneſſe is great, but it is neceſſary, that they that haue learned that they are bought by the blood of Chriſt, ſhould be more couragious, and alwaies feare him, that can caſt both body and ſoule into hell. And what ſhall it ſuffice vs, to haue a care of this life onely? ſhall that be more precious vnto vs, then that of Chriſt? And are we contented to haue taſted the delights of this world onely? Crownes are prepared for vs, and ſhall we turne backe againe? And who will beleeue, that our faith hath been true, if it faile and faint in the heat of perſecution? Let vs therefore pray vnto God to increaſe our faith. For certainly it ſhall be better for vs to die, then to be ouercome by temptations. And therefore brethren, we exhort you to diue into the bottome of this buſineſſe.

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For if it ~~ve~~ be lawfull to hide our faith vnder Antichriſt, it ſhall be likewiſe lawfull to hide it vnder the Empire of the Turke, and with *Diocleſian* to adore *Iupiter* and *Venus*, nay, it had been lawfull for *Tobit* to adore the calfe in *Bethel*. And what then ſhall our faith towards God be? If we honour not God as we ſhould, and if our life be nothing but Hipocricy and diſſimulation, he will ſpew vs out of his mouth, as being neither hot nor cold. And how doe we glorifie our Lord in the middeſt of our tribulations, if we deny him? Brethren it is not lawfull for vs to looke backe when our hand is at the plough, neither is it lawfull to giue eare to our wiues entiſing vs to euill, that is to ſay, to our fleſh, which notwithſtanding it indure many things in this world, yet in the hauen it ſuffereth ſhipwracke.

Theſe godly admonitions preuailed much for the confirmation of the more weake, and they came in very good time for thoſe who preſently after were ſifted with many tempeſtuous outrages, and euen one of thoſe that brought the Letters made good vſe of them, that is to ſay, *Peter Maſſon*, who was apprehended at *Dijon* where he was condemned to death for a *Lutheran*. *George Morel* ſaued himſelfe with his letters and papers, and came ſound and ſafe into *Prouence*, where he beſtowed much paines, and with happy ſucceſſe, in the eſtabliſhing of the Churches of the *Waldenſes*; of which the Court of Parliament at *Aix* did euery day apprehend one faithfull member or other, whom they either condemned to the fire, or ſent to the gibbet, or diſmiſſed with *markes in their foreheads*; vntill in the yeere 1540, the Inha- 1540.

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bitants of *Merindol* were ſummoned, in the perſon of fiue or ſix of the principall, at the earneſt importunity of the Kings Atturney in the Parliament of *Aix*, and the ſollicitation of the Arch-biſhop of *Arles*, the Biſhop of *Aix* other Eccleſiaſticall perſons. A ſentence was giuen againſt them, the moſt exorbitant, cruell, and inhumane, that euer was in any Parliament, like in all things, to that edict of King *Aſſuerus*, granted at the inſtance of *Aman*, againſt the people of God, as it is written in the Hiſtory of *Heſter*. For beſides that, the men and women that were ſummoned for contumacy, were condemned to be burnt aliue, by the ſaid ſentence, their children and families outlawed, it was decreed that the place of *Merindol* ſhould be altogether made vnhabitable, the woods cut downe, two hundred paces round about it, and all this without any audience or leaue granted to any to ſpeake a word.

The King being informed of the rigour of this Edict, ſent into *Prouence* the Lord *du Langeai* to enforme him of the manners and beleefe of the ſaid *Waldenſes*, and vnderſtanding that many things were laid to the charge of this people, which they were not guilty of, King *Francis* the firſt of that name, ſent Lettes of grace and fauour, not onely in behalfe of thoſe that had offended by contumacy, but all the reſt of the Country of *Prouence*, expreſly commanding the Parliament from thence forward, not in that caſe to proceed ſo rigerouſly, as they had done in times paſt. Theſe Letters were ſuppreſt. They that were perſonally ſummoned made requeſt, that it might bee lawfull for them to anſwere by a Proctor.

Francis

HAIL & FIRE

Francis Chai, and *William Armand* appeared for all the reſt, requeſting in their names, that it might be made to appeare vnto them in what they had erred, and that by the word of God, being ready to abiure all hereſie, if once they might know that they were fallen into any. And for this cauſe they deliuered vnto them in writing, a confeſſion of their faith, to the end if they found any thing worthy reprehenſion by the holy Scriptures, they might be inſtructed concerning that which they were to recant; or if they found nothing that they could reprehend, that they might be no more moleſted by ſo many and ſo grieuous perſecutions; for feare leſt thinking they made warre onely againſt men, it ſhould appeare that they made it againſt God and his truth, and thoſe that maintained it.

All their petitions ſerued to no other end, then to prouoke them the more; for the Iudges being poſſeſſed with an opinion, that they were Heretikes, refuſing to take the paynes to know and examine the truth, they made all their Acts in fauour of the Prieſts that accuſed them. In ſuch ſort that when the Cardinall of *Tournon* had obtained at a high price Letters from the King for the execution of the aforeſaid Decree, notwithſtanding the pardon and reuocation before obtained, it was executed.

This was in the yeere 1545, that the Preſident of *Opede*, Gouernour of *Prouence* in the abſence of the Earle of *Grignan*, deputed for Commiſſioners, the Preſident *Francis de la Fon*, *Honoré de Tributiis*, and *Bernard Badet* Counſeller, and the Aduocate *Guerin* in the abſence of the Procurator Generall. He diſpatched ſundry Commiſſions, and proclaimed the 1545.

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HAIL & FIRE

warre with ſound of trumpet, both at *Aix*, and at *Marſeilles*. So the troopes being leuied, and the fiue enſignes of the old bands of *Piedmont* ioyned with them, the army marched to *Pertuis*, and the next day being the fourteenth of Aprill, they went to *Cadenet*, and the ſixteenth, they began to ſet fire to the Villages of *Cabrieres*, *Pepin*, *la Mothe*, and Saint *Martin*, belonging to the Lord of *Sental*, then vnder age. There the poore labourers without any reſiſtance were ſlaine, women and their daughters rauiſhed, ſome great with childe murdered, without any mercy; The breaſts of many women were cut off, after whoſe deaths the poor infants died with famine, *d'Opede* hauing cauſed Proclamation to be made vpon paine of the with, that no man ſhould giue any reliefe or ſuſtenance to any of them. All things were ranſaked, burnt, pilled, and there were none ſaued aliue, but thoſe that were reſerued for the Galleys. The ſeuenteent day, *Opede* commanded the old bands of *Piedmont* to draw neere, and the day following hee burnt the Villages of *Lormarin*, *Ville Laure*, and *Trezemines*, and at the ſame time on the other ſide of *Durance*, *le Bieus de la Rocque*, and others of the Towne of *Arles* burnt *Genſſon* and *la Roque*, *Opede* being come to *Merindol*, he found not any there, but onely a yong lad called *Moriſi Blanc*, a very ſimple fellow, who yeelded himſelfe priſoner to a Souldier, with promiſe of two crownes for his ranſome; *d'Opede* finding none other vpon whom he might wreake his anger, payed the two crownes to the Souldier, and ſo commanding him to be bound to a tree, cauſed him to be ſlaine with the hargubuſe ſhot: Afterwards he commanded the ſaid Towne to be pilled, ſacked, and vtterly

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vtterly razed and laid leuell with the ground, where there were aboue two hundred houſes.

There remained the Towne of *Cabrieres* compaſſed with walles, which were beaten with the Cannon; Theſe poore people being ſicke within, who were about ſome threeſcore boorſe or Peſants of the Country, called vnto them, that they needed not to ſpend ſo much powder and paines to batter the Walles, becauſe they were ready to open the gates vnto them, and to quit themſelues of the place and Country, and to depart to *Geneua*, or into *Germany* with their wiues and children, leauing all their goods behind them, onely that their paſſage might be free.

The Lord of *Cabrieres* treated for them, that their cauſe might be determined by iuſtice, without force or violence: But *Opede* being within the Town, he commanded the men to be brought into a field, and to be cut in peeces with ſwords, the valiant executioners ſtriuing who could ſhew the beſt manhood in cutting off heads, armes, and legges. He cauſed the women to be locked vp in a barne full of ſtraw, and ſo put fire vnto it, where were burnt many women great with childe. Wherewith a Souldier being moued to compaſſion, hauing made an ouerture for them, they were beaten backe into the fire with pikes and holberds. The reſt of theſe men, that were found hidden in the caues, were brought into the Hall of the Caſtle, where they were horribly maſſacred in the preſence of the ſaid *Opede*. As for the women and children, that were found in the Temple, they were expoſed to the chiefe Bands and Ruffians of *Auignon*, who ſlew about eight hundred perſons, without diſtinction of age or ſexe. About the end of this exe-

HAIL & FIRE

cution *le Sieur de la Coſte*, kinſman to *Opede*, came thither, who intreated him to ſend him ſome men of warre, offering to bring all his ſouldiers into *Aix*, and to make as many breaches in the wall as hee would; which was granted by word of mouth, but not wholly performed. For three Enſignes of foot-men were ſent thither, who pillaged whatſoeuer ſeemed good vnto them, burnt a part of the Towne, rauiſhed women and their daughters, and killed ſome Boores, not finding any reſiſtance. In this meane time the reſt of thoſe of *Merindol* and other places, were in great extremities in the mountaines and rockes, perſecuted by *Opede* and his army. They intreated him, that hee would permit them to retire themſelues to Geneua, with the reſt of their wiues and children, promiſing to leaue behind them all their goods. Hee anſwered, that hee would ſend them all to dwell in the Country of hell, with all the diuels, them, their wiues and children, in ſuch a manner, that there ſhould be no memory left of them.

King *Francis* being aduertiſed of thoſe cruelties that were executed in purſuit of the ſaid arreſt, was much diſpleaſed therewith, in ſuch ſort, that at the very point of death, being wounded with ſome remorſe of conſcience, principally becauſe it had all paſſed vnder his name and authority, being ſorry becauſe hee could inflict no puniſhment vpon them before his death, that had ſhed ſo much innocent blood, hee gaue in charge to his ſonne *Henry* to bee reuenged on them, in proſecution whereof, after the deceaſe of his father, hee ſent out his Letters Patents in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred forty nine,

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nine, by which hee tooke vnto himſelfe and into his owne hands, the cauſe of the ſaid *Waldenſes* of *Prouence*: but there was none but the Aduocate *Guerin* that was hanged, becauſe hee had falſly informed the King, when hee kept backe the reuocation of the firſt retention of the cauſe of thoſe of *Merindoll*, whereupon preſently followed the execution of the Arreſt of the Court of Parliament of *Aix*. And all the reſt that were faulty, eſcaped vpon this conſideration, that it was to no purpoſe to attempt any more againſt the *Lutherans* at that time.

Touching the reſt that eſcaped this maſſacre, ſome there were that retired themſelues to *Geneua*, others into *Switzerland*, others into *Germany*, and others continued neere thereabouts, tilling their land by ſtealth; and ſo by little and little, returned home to their old habitations, which they built and repaired at ſuch times as they could by the benefit of the aforeſaid Edicts; and were afterwards the ſeed of many goodly Churches, which at this day are gathered together, flouriſhing in all piety and zeale, as other Churches in the Kingdome of *France*.

CHAP.

HAIL & FIRE

CHAP. IX.

Of the Waldenſes that did flie into Bohemia, and thoſe perſecutions which they ſuffred, that haue come to our knowledge.

Albertus de Capitaneis lib. de origine Waldenſium. Thuanus in hiſtoria ſui temporis, pa. 457. Petrus Valdus eorum Anteſignanus, patria relicta in Belgium venit, atq; in Picardiam quam hodie vocant, multos ſectatores nactus cum inde in Germaniam tranſiſſet per Vandalicas ciuitates diu diuerſatus eſt, ac poſtremo in Bohemia conſedit. See what is ſaid of theſe two Barbes before in the firſt booke Chap. 9.

DIuers haue written, that *Waldo* at his departure from *Lion*, came into *Dauphine*, and from thence (hauing erected and ordered ſome Churches, and laid the foundations of them, which haue been miraculouſly preſerued vnto this preſent time) he went into *Languedoc*, and there he left excellent Paſtors, who ordered and inſtructed thoſe Churches, that afterwards coſt the Pope and his Clergy ſo much to deſtroy, and from thence he went into *Picardy*, from whence being chaſed, he tooke his iourney into *Germany*, and from *Germany* he retired himſelfe into *Bohemia*, where (according to the opinion of ſome) he ended his dayes. The *Waldenſes* inhabiting in *Dauphine*, *Piedmont*, and *Prouence*, haue had communion and incelligence with their Brethren retired into *Bohemia*, for proofe whereof we haue the meſſage of *Daniel de Valence*, and *Iohn de Molin* Paſtors in *Bohemia*, who did much hurt to the Churches of that Country, by reuealing vnto the aduerſaries thoſe flockes or companies, which before were hidden and vnknowne, becauſe of the great and grieuous perſecutions that them were.

Vineaux in his memor. fol. 15

We haue alſo a certaine Apology of the *Waldenſes* of *Bohemia* in the *Waldenſian* tongue, in the forme of a Letter,

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Letter, which they wirt to King *Ladiſlaus*, wherof the Inſcription is.

Al Sereniſsimo Princi Rey Lancelao. A li Duc Barons, & a li plus veil del Regne. Lo petit tropel de li Chriſtians appella per falce nom ſalſament Pauuers o Valdes. Gratia ſia en Dio lo Paire & en Ieſus lo Filli de luy.

This Letter makes proofe of the Communion which the *Waldenſes* of *Dauphine* haue had with thoſe of *Bohemia*, in that they haue had in their language this Letter, which containes a iuſt Apology againſt thoſe impoſtures, and other faults which in former times haue been imputed to the one and to the other, and haue been common with the Chriſtians of the primitiue Church. We haue alſo in the ſame volume a treatiſe, the inſcription whereof is this. *Aico es la cauſa del noſtre deſpartiment de la Gleiſa Romana.* That is to ſay; This is the cauſe of our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome*. Cauſes which haue been common with all thoſe, that haue withdrawen themſelues from that Church, for feare of participating of her plagues.

The Author of the Catalogue of witneſſes of the truth, makes mention of a certaine forme of Inquiſition, which was practiſed againſt the *Waldenſes* of *Bohemia* vnder King *Iohn*, which was about the yeere 1330. As alſo in another Inquiſition this is noted, that the *Waldenſes* of *Bohemia* ſent into *Lombardy* to the *Waldenſian* Doctors, thoſe whom they would haue trained vp in the profeſſion of Diuinity. *Flac. Illir. in cat. teſt. verit. p. 116.*

In the treatiſe of the beginning of the Churches of *Bohemia*, at what time the doctrine of *Iohn Hus* was there receiued, the Paſtors, Ancients, and faithfull of *Bohemia* ſay, that the *Waldenſian* Churches of *Bohemia*, had been oppreſſed by the tyranny of the Pope, in ſuch manner, that they had no more aſſemblies, and that there were no more of their writings to be found in *Bohemia*.

Lib. de origine Eccleſiarũ Bohemiæ. pa. 273. Sed cum oppreſſæ tyrannide Pontificia conuentus publicos nullos haberent neq; ſcripta horum extarent vlla, ignotæ noſtris prorſus fuere.

Eſrom Rudiger in his treatiſe of the Churches of *Bohemia*, ſaith, that the *Waldenſes* haue had their Churches, at the leaſt two hundred and forty yeeres before thoſe of the *Huſsites*, and though he confeſſe that their beliefe was one and the ſame, yet he affirmeth that there was not in their times any memory of their Churches, but onely of thoſe that were in *France* at *Merindoll*, and the places neere adioyning. And that when they ſent to *Bohemia* to ioyne themſelues vnto them in the confeſſion of their faith, they enquired of them, whether they made any publike profeſſion of the truth: and when they had vnderſtood, that there were ſome amongſt them, that ſometimes frequented Papiſticall Churches, and were preſent at thoſe idolatries that were there committed, they did bitterly reprehend them for it.

Eſrom Rudiger in narratiuncula de Eccleſijs fratrum in Bohemia Waldenſes ad minimum CCXL. annis originem noſtram antecedunt.

And therefore they that haue anſwered vnder the name of the *Waldenſes*, and haue brought vnto light their confeſſion, which at this day is to be found in the Catalogue of things to be deſired, are not any of the *Waldenſes*, but one of thoſe that by way of reproach were afterwards ſo called, and they haue not been aſhamed of that name, aſſuring themſelues of the purity of their doctrine. And this notwithſtanding, they reuiue againe this common opinion when they affirme

See the Confeſſion of the *Waldenſes* in the Catalogue *rerum expetendarum.*

Lib. de orig. & confeſſ. Eccl. Bohem. Scimus quod multi boni viri, & veritatis E-

affirme that they know well, that there are many good men, that follow and loue the truth of the Goſpell, who being deceiued by falſe markes and notes, whereby they haue deſcribed vs (ſay they) haue held vs for *Waldenſes*.

And euen there to, they giue this teſtimony of the *Waldenſes*; that there is in them much light and knowledge, and that they haue well vnderſtood and purely taught many things, yea and that they haue ſuffered much for the truth, eſpecially in *France*; And ſo they deſired to be diſtinguiſhed from them, to the end that if it were obſerued, that the *Waldenſes* had done much for the eſtabliſhment of the truth in their times, that it might likewiſe be knowne, that the *Huſſites* haue not done little in their time.

Æneas Syluius reporteth of one *Iames de Miſne*, and *Peter de Dreze* diſciples of the *Waldenſes*, that they went into *Bohemia* in the time of *Iohn Hus*, and that hauing conferred with him, he made profeſſion of their doctrine, and they themſelues deny it not: for thy ſay that *Wicklif* was aſſiſted to ſhake off the yoke of the Pope, by example of the *Waldenſes*, and that *Wicklif* was the inſtrument which God had vſed for the inſtruction of *Iohn Hus*, who taught in *Bohemia*, and that therefore they haue thought themſelues much bound to the Churches of the *Waldenſes*, becauſe whatſoeuer good there hath been in the ſaid Churches, they ſay, was tranſported vnto theirs; and ſo haue they been in ſome ſort, the beginning of theirs.

uangelica inſtaurata cultores & ſectatores pij ſeducti & indicationibus falſis & criminationibus aduerſariorum, pro Valdenſibus habeant. *Ibid.*

Hoc quidem conſtat, multum in ipſis lucis fuiſſe & de plerisq; eos rectè ſenſiſſe & docuiſſe, & propter veritatem grauiſſima perpeſſo. in Gallia in primis. Æneas Siluius in his hiſtory of the Taborites.

HAIL & FIRE

Chap. X.

Of the Waldenſes inhabiting in Auſtria, and the perſecutions which they ſuffered.

THe number of the *Waldenſes* that inhabited in *Auſtria* was very great, who were there grieuouſly perſecuted, as may appeare if we had no other proofe then the Chronicle *Hirſauge*; where it is obſerued that about the yeere one thouſand foure hundred, there were burnt a great number in the Citty of *Creme*, which is in the ſaid Dukedome of *Auſtria*. But more then that, that which troubled the heads of the perſecuters a great deale more, was the ſpeech of one of them, who being executed at *Vienna*, the principall Citty in *Auſtria*, ſaid at his execution, that there were in that Country, of the ſame beliefe that he profeſſed, aboue foureſcore thouſand.

See the Chronicle of Hirſauge.

1467. About the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand foure hundred ſixty ſeuen, the *Huſſites* reforming their Churches, and ſeparating them from the Church of *Rome*, they vnderſtood, that there were in *Auſtria* Churches of the ancient *Waldenſes*, vpon the frontiers of *Bohemia*, in the which there were great and learned men appointed for Paſtors, & that the doctrine of the Goſpell flouriſhed amongſt them. That they might know the truth thereof, they deputed two of their Brethren, amongſt their Paſtors, and two Ancients, with charge to enquire and know, what thoſe flockes or cõgregations were, for what cauſe they had for-

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forſaken the Church of *Rome*, their principles and progreſſion, that they ſhould make knowne vnto them the beginnings of their carriage, or demeanor in *Bohemia*, and giue a reaſon why they were ſeperated from the Romiſh Church.

Ioachimus Cam: in hiſt. de Eccleſiis Fratrum in Bohemia & Moravia. p. 104.

Theſe men being come thither, and hauing carefully inquired into the ſtate of thoſe Churches of the *Waldenſes*, and hauing found them, they told them, that they did nothing but what was ordeined by our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and taught by his Apoſtles, holding themſelues wholly to the inſtitution of the Sonne of God in the matter of Sacraments.

It contented the *Waldenſes* very much, to vnderſtand that there were in *Bohemia* a number of people, that had giuen vnto God the glory, and remoued from them the abuſe and idolatries of the Church of *Rome*, exhorting them in the name of God, to continue in that which they had ſo wel begun, for the knowledge and maintenance of the truth, and for the eſtabiſhment of a good diſcipline; and in witneſſe of the great ioy they receiued, and that holy Society and Communion, that they deſired to haue with them, they bleſſed them in praying for them, and laying their hands vpon them.

Afterwards the ſaid *Waldenſes* related vnto them, how God had miraculouſly preſerued them, for theſe many hundred yeers, notwithſtanding the diuers great and continuall perſecutions which they had endured; And ſo they louingly and gently tooke their leaue of their ſaid brethren, and at their returne related whatſoeuer they had ſeen or done in that their voyage, from whence they receiued vnſpeakable contentment, and from that time forward, there continued

HAIL & FIRE

a holy affection and deſire to communicate together as oft as they could, for their common edification. In proſecution whereof, the brethren of *Bohemia* viſited by Letters the *Waldenſes* of *Auſtria*, giuing them to vnderſtand, that they had receiued great comfort by their laſt communication they had with them; but yet as they deſired not to be flattered in any defect or fault whatſoeuer, ſo they could not diſſemble without ſome defect of charity, what they had found in them, worthy reprehenſion; And that was, that they yeelded to much to their infirmities, ſince that hauing once knowne the truth, they neuertheleſſe frequented Papiſticall Churches, being preſent at thoſe idolatries, which they condemned, baſely prophaning and polluting themſelues, that wee are not onely certainly to beleeue with the heart, but wee muſt likewiſe make confeſſion with our mouth to ſaluation. Moreouer they told them of another fault, which they had taken notice of, and that was, that they were too carefull in heaping vp gold and ſiluer, for though the end were good, that is, to helpe and comfort them in time of perſecution; yet foraſmuch as euery day brought with it affliction enough, and that ſuch cares are not befitting thoſe that are to looke only before them, and to lay vp a treaſure in heauen, they condemned that which was ſuperabundant in them, and which in the end they would principally rely vpon.

Joachim. Cam. in Hiſt. de Eccleſijs fratrum in Bohemia & Morauia p. 105

The *Waldenſes* of *Auſtria* did heartly thanke them, intreating them to continue this holy affection towards them, and for their part to doe their beſt endeauour to further their communion, and to appoint a day

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day and place of meeting and conference: for they hauing a long time knowne thoſe their defects, which they had taken notice of, as yet they had not power to prouide conuenient remedies for the ſame, but their hope was, that being altogether, they ſhould be able better to reſolue with themſelues, as alſo touching many other points of greateſt moment. Now when it was euen vpon the point to ſend to the place where they had agreed to meete and to aſſemble themſelues, they began to doubt that the buſineſſe might be diſcouered, and it might be dangerous to all of them. And beſides that, they conſidered with themſelues that they had been ſupported, notwithſtanding their aſſemblies and beliefe were ſufficiently knowne, and therefore they ſhould put themſelues into extreame danger, if they ſhould ioyne themſelues with other people. Theſe conſiderations made their former deſignes and purpoſes of their mutuall communications to vaniſh away; as alſo in the yeere following, that is, in the yeere one thouſand foure hundred ſiixty eight, the perſecution increaſed againſt the ſaid *Waldenſes* of *Auſtria*, for there were burnt a great number at *Vienna*. Among others, the Hiſtory makes mention of one *Steuen* an ancient man, who being there burnt, confirmed many with his conſtancy. They that would eſcape this perſecution, retired themſelues into the coaſt of *Brandebourg*, where they ſtayed not long, being alſo there expoſed to fire and ſword: Amongſt thoſe, there was one named *Tertor*, that retired himſelfe into *Bohemia* where hee ioined himſelfe to the Churches of the *Huſſites*, and finding that a man might there remaine in peace both of

1468.

Ioach. Cam. in hiſt. de Eccleſijs fratrum in Bohemia & Moravia. p. 117.

of body and ſoule, he returned into his Country, and perſwaded many to goe to *Bohemia*, and to inhabit there, who were louingly entertained; and after that time there haue been no aſſemblies of the *Waldenſes* in particular, but they haue ioyned themſelues vnto the Churches of the *Huſſites*.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Waldenſes inhabiting in Germany, and the perſecutions that there they ſuffered, whereof we haue the proofes.

NOtwithſtanding that incontinently after that *Peter Waldo* with thoſe that followed him, came into *Germany*, there was ſo great a perſecution along vpon the *Rhine* by the incitement and inſtigation of the Archbiſhops of *Mayence* and *Strasbourg*, that there were burnt in one day & in one fire, to the number of eighteene, yet wee find that in the time of the Emperor *Frederic* the ſecond, about the yeere one thouſand two hundred and thirteene, *Germany*, and eſpecially *Alſatia* was full of the *Waldenſes*. The ſearchers were ſo diligent and exact, that they were inforced to diſperſe themſelues into other places to auoide the perſecution. This flight turned to the great benefit of the Church, becauſe hereby many learned Teachers were ſcattered here and there, to make knowne vnto the world the purity of their Religion.

Dubranius in the hiſtory of Bohemia.

Coiſtans vpon the Reuel.

In the yeere one thouſand two hundred thirty, a cer-

1230.

certaine Inquiſitor named *Conrad de Marpurg*, was ordained by the Pope, Superintendent of the Inquiſition. He exerciſed this charge with extreame cruelty, againſt all ſorts of perſons, without any reſpect euen of the Prieſts themſelues, whoſe bodies and goods he confiſcated. He tried men with a hot iron, ſaying, that they that could hold an iron red hot in their hands and not be burnt, were good Chriſtians; but on the contrary, if they felt the fire, he deliuered them to the ſecular power. In theſe times the *Waldenſes* had in the Dioceſſe of *Treues* many Schooles, wherein they cauſed their children to be inſtructed in their beliefe, and notwithſtanding all the Inquiſitions & perſecutions executed vpon their flockes, yet they aduentured to preach, calling their aſſemblies by the ſound of a bell, maintaining in *publica ſtatione* (ſaith the Hiſtoriographer) publikly that the Pope was an hereticke; his Prelates Simonaicall and ſeducers of the people. That the truth was not preached but amongſt them: and that had not they come amongſt them to teach, God before he would haue ſuffered their faith to periſh, would haue raiſed others, euen the ſtones themſelues, to enlighten his Church by the preaching of the word. Vntill theſe times (ſay they) our Preachers haue buried the truth, and preached lyes: we on the contrary preach the truth, and bury falſhood and lyes; and laſtly we offer not a feined remiſſion, inuented by the Pope, but by God alone, and according to our vocation.

Vigilius in the 1. part of his Bibli. Hiſtoriale.

Trithem. in Chron. Hirſaugienſi. Godefridus Monachus Annal. lib.

Krantz in Metropol. l. 8. §. 18. & in Saxonia l. 8. c. 16.

Mathew Paris an Engliſh writer obſerueth, that about the yeere 1220, there were a great number in a part of *Germany*, that tooke armes, where the *Waldenſes*

1220.

Math. Paris in Henry 3. anno 1220.

denſes were cut in peeces, being ſurpriſed in a place of great diſaduantage, hauing on the one ſide a mariſh ground, and on the other the ſea, in ſuch ſort that it was impoſſible for them to eſcape.

1330. About the yeer 1330, they were ſtrangely vexed in many parts of *Germanie*, by a certaine Iacobin Monke Inquiſitor, named *Echard*: but after many cruelties executed vpon them, as hee preſſed the *Waldenſes* to diſcouer vnto him the reaſons for which they were ſeperated from the Church of *Rome*, being vanquiſhed in his owne conſcience, and acknowledging thoſe defects and corruptions which they alleaged to be in the Church of *Rome* to bee true, and not being able to diſproue the points of their beliefe by the word of God, he gaue glory vnto God, and confeſſing that the truth had ouercome him, hee became a member of that Church which hee had a long time before perſecuted to the death. The other Inquiſitors being aduertiſed of this alteration, were much diſpleaſed, and they ſent preſently ſo many after him, that in the end hee was apprehended, and brought to *Heidelberg*, where he was burnt, maintaining that it was iniuſtice and wrong to condemne ſo many good men to death for the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt, againſt the inuentions of Antichriſt.

Vignier in his third part of his Hiſtoricall Biblio. in the yeere 1330.

1391. In the yeere 1391, the Monkes Inquiſitors tooke in *Soxony* and *Pomerania* foure hundred forty three *VValdenſes*, who all confeſſed, that they had been inſtructed in that beliefe for a long time by their anceſtors, and that their teachers came from *Bohemia*.

Krautz in Metrop. l. 8. p. 18. & in Sax. l. 8. cap. 16.

1457. In the yeere one thouſand foure fifty ſeuen the Monkes Inquiſitors of the Dioceſſe of *Eiſten* in *Germany*

HAIL & FIRE

many diſcouered many *VValdenſes*, which they put to death. They had amongſt them twelue Paſtors that inſtructed them.

We muſt not ouerpaſſe the thirty fiue Burgeſſes of *Mayence*, that were burned in the Towne of *Bingue*, becauſe they were knowne to be of the beliefe of the *VValdenſes*; nor the foureſcore which the Biſhop of *Strasbourg* cauſed to be burnt in one fire; nor that which *Trithemius* recounts, that they confeſſed in in thoſe times, that the number of *VValdenſes* was ſo great, that they could goe from *Cologne* to *Milan*, and lodge themſelues with hoſtes of their owne profeſſion, and that they had ſignes vpon their houſes and gates, whereby the might know them.

But the moſt excellent inſtrument amongſt them, that God imployed in his ſeruice, was one *Raynard Lollard*, who at the firſt was a *Franciſcan* Monke, and an enemy of the *VValdenſes*, but yet a man carried with a ſanctified deſire to finde the way of ſaluation, wherein he had ſo profited, that his aduerſaries themſelues were conſtrained to commend him. For *Iohn le Maire* puts him in the ranke of thoſe holy men, that haue foretold by diuine reuellation, many things that haue come to paſſe in his time. This worthy man taught the doctrine of the *VValdenſes*, was apprehended in *Germany* by the Monkes Inquiſitors, and being deliuered to the ſecular power, was burnt at *Cologne*.

Iohn le Maire in the 3. part of the diff. of Schiſmes in the 24. ſciſme.

This man hath writ a Commentary vpon the Apocalipſe, where hee hath ſet downe many things that are ſpoken of the Romane Antichriſt. This was he of whom the faithfull in *England* were called *Lollards*, where he taught; witneſſe that Towre in *Lon-*

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don which at this preſent is called by his name *Lollards* Tower, where the fatihfull that profeſſed his Religion were impriſoned.

CHAP. XII.

Of the VValdenſes that haue been perſecuted in England.

England hath been one of the firſt places that hath been honoured for receiuing the Goſpell, for not long after that *VValdo* departed from *Lion*, there were many condemned to death as *VValdenſes*, that is to ſay, eleuen yeeres after the diſperſion of the *VValdenſes* of the Citty of *Lion*. For *Waldo* departed out of *Lion*, in the yeere one thouſand one hundred ſixty three, and *Mathew Paris* reports, that the Monkes Inquiſitors cauſed ſome of the *Waldenſes* to be burnt in *England*, in the yeere 1174. And *Iohn Bale* makes mention of a certaine man that was burnt at *London*, in the yeere 1210, that was charged with no other matter, then that hee profeſſed the Religion of the *Waldenſes*. *Thomas Walden* an *Engliſh* man hath writ, that in the time of *Henry* the ſecond the *Waldenſes* were grieuouſly perſecuted, and that they were called Publicans: And as for thoſe in whom they found not cauſe enough to condemne vnto death, they marked them in forhead with a burning key, to the end they might be knowne of euery man. This beliefe of the *Waldenſes* was better known in the time of the wars againſt the *Albingenſes*, inſomuch that (as *le Sieur de la Popeliniere*

1163. *Math. Paris* in his Hiſtory of England, the ſaid yeere.

1174.

1210. *Iohn Baſil* in the Chronicles of London.

Thomas Walden in his ſixt volume of things ſacramentall tit. 12. chap. 10

Popeliniere hath well obſerued) the proximity of the lands and poſſeſſions of the Earle *Remod* of *Tholouze*, with *Guienne*, then poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, and the aliance of the King of *England*, brother in law of the ſaid *Remond*, made the way more eaſie to the Engliſh, not onely to ſuccour one another in their wars; but alſo to take knowledge of the beliefe of the ſaid *Albingenſes*, which was no other but that of the *Waldenſes*, to the end that they might ſupport them, though the violence were vniuſt and extreame againſt thoſe whom the Engliſh were many times conſtrained to defend againſt thoſe who vnder the pretence of Religion, inuaded his lands. Frier *Rainard Lollard* was then the moſt powerfull inſtrument, which God vſed by exhortations, and ſound reaſons, to giue knowledge to the Engliſh of the doctrine, for which the *VValdenſes* were deliuered to death. This doctrine was receiued by *Wicklif*, as it is noted in the Booke of the Beginning and confeſſion of the Churches of *Bohemia*, who thereby obtained much helpe for the increaſe of his knowledge in the truth. He was a renowned Theologian in the Vniuerſity of *Oxford*, and parſon of the pariſh of *Luterworth*, in the Dioceſſe of *Lincolne*; an eloquent man, and profound Scholler. He won the hearts of many Engliſh, euen of moſt honorable of the land, as the Duke of *Lancaſter* vncle to King *Richard*, *Henry Percy*, *Lewes Gifford*, and the Chancellor the *Earle* of *Salisbury*. By the fauour of of theſe great perſonages, the doctrine of the *VValdenſes*, or of *Wicklif* tooke footing, and had free paſſage in *England*, vntill *Gregory* the eleuenth perſecuted thoſe that receiued it with allowance, by meanes of

La Popliniere in his Hiſtory of France l. 1.

HAIL & FIRE

his Monkes the Inquiſitors; the fiers being kindled in *England* for many yeeres, to ſtay the courſe thereof: but it was all in vaine, for it hath been maintained there maugre Antichriſt, vntill his yoke was wholly ſhaken off. True it is, that the bones of *Wicklif* were diſ-interred aboue thirty yeeres after his death, and condemned to be burnt, with ſuch bookes as his aduerſaries could recouer; but he had before enlightned ſo great a number, that it was beyond the power of his enemies altogether to depriue the Church of them. For by how much the more they indeauoured to hinder the reading and knowledge of them by horrible threats, and death it ſelfe, the more were the affections of many ſharpned to reade them with greater ardency: It is likewiſe ſaid, that a certaine Scholler hauing carried into *Bohemia* one of the books of the ſaid *Wicklif*, intituled His Vniuerſals, and deliuering it to *Iohn Hus*, he gathered that knowledge from it, that made him admirable in *Bohemia*, and edified all thoſe, who together with him, did very willingly free themſelues from the ſeruile yoke of the Church of *Rome*. From hence it was ſaid to the *Huſites*, that *Wicklif* had awakened their *Iohn Hus*. This *Wicklif* writ aboue a hundred volumes againſt Antichriſt or the Church of *Rome*, the Catalogue whereof is in the booke of the Images of famous men, that haue combated with Antichriſt.

Lib. de Origine & Confeſ. Eccl. Bohemiæ. Wicleſus à Waldenſibus adiutus Huſſium noſtrum excitauit. pa. 264.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XIV.

Of the VValdenſes that were perſecuted in Poland.

1330. ABout the yeere of our Lord 1330, there were many that made profeſſion of the Religion of the *Waldenſes* in the Kingdom of *Poland*. The Biſhops had recourſe to the meanes eſtabliſhed by the Pope, that is to ſay, the Inquiſition, whereby they deliuer many of them into the hands of the executioner. The Author of the Catalogue of the witneſſes of the truth hath written, that he hath lying by him, the forme of the Inquiſition, which the Inquiſitors made vſe off in this perſecution.

Flac. Illy. in his Catal. of the wit. pa. 539.

Vignier ſaith, that at their departure out of *Picardy*, many of them that were perſecuted there, retired themſelues into *Poland*.

Vignier in his Biblio. pa. 130. In his Hiſtory lib. 1.

Le Sieur de Popeliniere hath ſet downe in his Hiſtory, that the Religion of the *Waldenſes* hath ſpred it ſelfe almoſt into all parts of *Europe*, euen amongſt the *Polonians*, and *Lutherans*; and that after the yeer one thouſand one hundred, they haue alwayes ſowed their doctrine, little differing from that of the moderne Proteſtants, and maugre all the powers and Potentates that haue oppoſed themſelues againſt them, they haue defended it to this day.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XV.

That many Waldenſes haue been perſecuted at Paris.

IN the yeer 1210, foure and twenty *VValdenſes* were apprehended at *Paris*, whereof ſome were impriſoned & ſome burnt. It happened alſo, that during the one & twentieth ſchiſme, and during the time of Pope *Iohn*, the one and twentieth of that name, the perſecution was great throughout all *France*, againſt the *VValdenſes*, but eſpecially at *Paris*. 1210. The hiſtory of Languedoc. 1. *Forier.tol.7.*

Againe in the yeere 1304, the Monkes Inquiſitors, appointed for the ſearch of the *VValdenſes*, apprehended at *Paris* a hundred and fourteene, who were burnt aliue, and endured the fire with admirable conſtancy. 1304. 1. Tab. pa. 152.

We find alſo in the Sea of Hiſtories, that in the yeere 1378, the perſecution continuing againſt the *VValdenſes*, there were burnt at *Paris* in the place *de Greue* a very great number 1378 The Sea of hiſtories in the yeere 1378.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Waldenſes inhabiting in Italy, and the perſecutions which we can proue, they haue there ſuffered.

IN the yeere 1229 the *Waldenſes* were ſpread abroad in great numbers throughout *Italy*. *Valcamonica* onely they had Schooles, and from all parts of their abode they ſent money into *Lombardy* for the maintenance of the ſaid 1229 *Sigonius de regno Italico lib.17.*

Vignier in the 3 part of his Bibl. hist. *Rain. in summa fol.* 18.

Schooles. *Rainerius* saith, that about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand two hundred fifty, the *Waldenses* had Churches in *Albania*, *Lombardy*, *Milan*, and in *Romagina*; as also at *Vincence*, *Florence*, and *Val Spoletine*. In the yeere of our Lord 1280, there were many *Waldenses* in *Sicile*, as *le Sieur de Haillan* obserueth in his History.

2250

1280

Le Sieur de Hail. in the life of Phil. 3.

In the yeere 1492, *Albert de Capitaneis* Inquisitor and Arch-deacon of *Cremona*, apprehended one of the Pastors of the *Waldenses*, named *Peter de Iacob*, passing ouer a mountaine in *Dauphine* called *le Col de Costeplane*, as he was going to *Pragela* in the Valley of *Fraßinieres*. Being asked from whence he came, he answered, that he came from the Churches of the *Waldenses* in *Italy*, where he had been to performe his duty to his charge, and that he had passed by *Gennes*, where he told them, that the *Waldensian* Pastors had a house of their owne, which agreeth with that which *Vignaux* noteth in his Memorials. That is, that a certaine Pastor, named *John* of the Valley of *Lucerna*, was suspended from the office of a Pastor, for the space of seuen yeeres, for some fault he had committed, and that during the said time, he remained at *Gennes*, where (saith he) the Pastors had a house, as also they had a faire one in *Florence*. Besides all these testimonies of the abode of the *Waldenses* in *Italy*, we haue those of *Calabria*, of whom there was question before. The persecutions that they haue suffered in *Italy* were continuall, vntill they were wholly rooted out. The Emperour *Frederic* the second of that name, did grieuously persecute them by Edicts, by the Inquisition, by constitutions, especially by that which condemneth *Gazaros*, *Patarenos*, *Leonistas*, *Speronistas*, *Arnoldistas*,

It appeares by the Inditemēt of the said Pastor, the original whereof is in our hands

Genes.

Vignaux in his memorials fol. 15.

Chap. 7.

In the cōstitutiō which begins *Inconsutilem tunicam.*

ſtas, &c. where hee bewailes the ſimplicity of thoſe whom he calleth *Patareniens*, as if he ſhould ſay, expoſed to paſſions and ſuffrings, in that they prodigally yeelded their liues to contempt, affecting martirdome; whereas if they would peaceably maintaine the faith of the Church of *Rome*, they might (ſaith he) liue peaceably amongſt other men, who acknowledge her to be their mother, and the head of all the Churches in the world. It was his pleaſure that they ſhould be ſeuerely and ſpeedily puniſhed, for feare leſt they ſhould farther ſpread themſelues, ſeeing alſo that they had begun to inhabit in *Lombardie*, and within his Realme of *Sicile*, where he commanded they ſhould be perſecuted with all rigour, to the end they might be driuen out from thence, and the whole world together.

Roger King of *Sicile*, made alſo conſtitutions againſt them, and cauſed them to be perſecuted.

Pope *Gregory* the 9. did grieuouſly perſecute them. A Legat of his, baniſhed them out of all *Italy* Citties, and Countries, and gaue command that their houſes ſhould be razed. He appointed in the Citty of *Milan* two Preachers, who by the authority of the Arch-biſhop, made a ſtrict enquiry of the *Waldenſes*, and where they could apprehend any, they cauſed them to be brought by the Pretor, to the place where the Arch-biſhop had appointed, and that at the publike charge. *Sigonius de regno Italiæ li. 17.*

Pope *Honorius* cauſed them to be grieuouſly perſecuted vnder the name of *Fraticelli*, that is to ſay, ſhifting companions: for ſome doe hold, that as many as were ſo called in *Italy*, were no other but *Waldenſes*. In the time of *Boniface* 8, they were charged with the

ſame calumnies, as the *Waldenſes* of *Dauphine*, and the Chriſtians of the primitiue Church. The Monkes Inquiſitors haue alwaies made in *Italy* an exact ſearch, that they might deliuer them to the ſecular power; and not being content to condemne the liuing, they framed indictments againſt the dead, diſ-interred their bodies, burnt their bones, and confiſcated their goods.

Paul. Æmil in Charles the faire.

Paulus Æmilius ſpeakes thus of theſe ſhifting fellowes. In the time of *Charles le Bel* (ſaith he) there were many great ſpirits and men very learned. That age flouriſhed in learning, and ſome there were that were truely holy; others who endeauouring vnſeaſonably, and without meaſure to out-ſtrip others, became wicked; others whoſe manners and inſtitutions were doubtfull; as for the beſt and holieſt, the wicked of thoſe times bare them a grudge, afflicting them, not ſpeaking a word, or telling them wherefore: And as for thoſe whom they called *Fraterculos*, Shifters, the Preachers condemned them, both by word and writing, *ceſt eſcarlotte, ces biens, ceſte domination*, and taught, that they agreed not with the Religion of Chriſt. They were ſaid to be of the ſame beliefe with the *Waldenſes*, becauſe ſuch was their doctrine.

I vnderſtand the words but not the ſenee.

One amongſt the reſt, named *Herman*, being buried at *Ferrara*, was condemned twenty yeeres after his death to bee diſ-interred, and his bones to be burnt, notwithſtanding that whileſt hee liued, hee were accounted a holy man. Alſo there was another named *Andrew*, and his wife *Guillaume*, that were diſ-interred, and their bones burnt.

See the Sea of hiſtories in the yeer 1300.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

That ſome of the Waldenſes did flie into Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclauonia, Conſtantinople, Grecia, Philadelphia, Digonicia, Liuonia, Sarmatia, Bulgaria, and were there perſecuted.

THe Monke *Rainerius* in his booke of the forme of proceeding againſt the Heretickes, in that Catalogue that he made of the Churches of the *Waldenſes*, or poore people of *Lion*, notes that there were in his time, that is to ſay, in the yeere 1250, Churches in *Conſtantinople*, *Philadelphia*, *Sclauonia*, *Bulgaria* and *Digonicia*. *Rain. de forma hæreticãdi. fol. 10.* 1250.

Vignier ſaith, that after the perſecution of *Picardie*, were diſperſed abroad in *Liuonia* and *Sarmatia*. *Vignier in his 3 part of his hiſtoriall Bib. pa. 130.*

Math. Paris ſaith, that long ſince they were gone as far as *Croatia*, and *Dalmatia*, and that they had there taken ſuch footing, that they had won vnto them diuers Biſhops: He ſaith moreouer, that there was one *Barthelmew*, who came from *Carcaſſonne*, vnto whom they all yeelded obedience. And that he ſtiled himſelfe in his Letters, *Barthelmew*, the ſeruant of the ſeruants of the holy faith, and that he created Biſhops, and ordained Churches. Here may be ſome impoſture, in that he attributeth to his owne perſon, that which is attributeth to the Pope, that is, that he called himſelfe the ſeruant of the ſeruants, and yet neuertheleſſe had taken vpon him a kind of Soueraingty, contrary to the order enioyned by the Sonne of God, and followed, and practiſed *Math. Paris in the life of Hen. 6 king of England.*

ctiſed by his Apoſtles. As alſo in that *Albertus de Capitaneis* ſaith, that the *Waldenſes* had their great Maſter in the Citty of *Aquillia* in the Realme of *Naples*, vpon whom they abſolutely depended. For there is not one word in all their writings, that aimes at that end: Only we alleage the ſaying of this Hiſtoriographer, to proue the extent of thoſe places, where the *Waldenſes* exiled themſelues, to auoid the perſecution.

Albert. de Cap. lib. de origine Waldenſium. p. 1.

Antonin relateth, that the *Waldenſes* called in *Italy Fratecelli*, were in his time burnt in diuers parts of the world, inſomuch that many of them forſaking *Italy*, retired themſelues into *Greece*, eſpecially one amongſt them of principall note, named *Lewis de Baniere*, and that two Monkes or grey Friers were burnt for adhearing vnto them, that is to ſay, *Iohn Chaſtillon*, and *Francis de Hercatura*.

Antonin. part. 3 Tit. 2.

Chap. XVIII.

Of the Waldenſes inhabiting in Spaine, and that they were there perſecuted.

IN the time of the warres againſt the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, and the Earle *de Foix*, and comming when the *Waldenſes* were perſecuted by the Popes Legates, many of them went into *Catalogne*, and the Realm of *Aragon*. This is that which *Math. Paris* ſets down, ſaying, that the time of Pope *Gregory* the 9, there were a great number of *Waldenſes* in *Spaine*, & about the yeer 1214. in the time of *Alexander* the fourth, who complained in one of his Bulles, that they had bin ſuffered to take ſuch footing

Math. Paris in the raigne of *Henry* 3. 1214.

HAIL & FIRE

ting, & that they ſhould haue ſo much leaſure as to multiply as they had done. For in the time of *Gregory* the 9. they ſo far forth increaſed in number and credit, that they ordained Biſhops ouer their flockes, to preach their doctrine, which the other Biſhops taking notice off, there followed a grieuous perſecution.

Chap. XIX.

The Concluſion of the Hiſtory of the Waldenſes.

BY that which is contained in this firſt and ſecond Booke, it appeareth that the Chriſtians called *Waldenſes*, haue oppoſed themſelues againſt the abuſes of the Church of *Rome*, and for theſe foure hundred and fifty yeeres and vpward, they haue been perſecuted, not by the ſword of the word of God, but by all kind of violence and cruelties, beſides many calumnies and falſe accuſations. Which inforced them to diſperſe themſelues here and there, where they could haue any abiding, wandring through deſert places; and yet neuertheles, the Lord hath in ſuch ſort preſerued the remainder of them, that notwithſtanding the rage of Satan, they haue continued inuincible againſt Antichriſt, to whom they haue offered a ſpirituall combat, deſtroying him by the blaſt of the ſpirit of God. Crying with a loud voice, not onely throughout all *Europe*, but in many other parts of the earth, that it was time to depart out of *Babylon*, leſt wee participate of her plagues. This is the people that haue enforced themſelues

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ſelues to re-eſtabliſh the true and pure ſeruice of God, by the power of his word, a contemptible people, euen as the filth of the world, by whom neuertheleſſe the eternall God, hath wrought wonderfull things, reſtoring and re-eſtabliſhing by them his Church: Firſt in *France*, afterwards, as it were from a new *Sion*, cauſing the riuers of his holy Law, and pure doctrine to diſtill and drop downe vpon the reſt of the world, gathering together his elect, by the preaching of his holy Goſpell. And that which is moſt admirable in this ſo great a worke is, that the doctrine which they haue beleeued and preached, hath been likewiſe miraculouſly preſerued amongſt them, in the middle of all their grieuous and continuall perſecutions, which they haue ſuffered for righteouſneſſe ſake: As it is alſo worthy admiration, that their aduerſaries haue kept a regiſter of the euils, which they haue cauſed them vniuſtly to ſuffer. It hath been their glory that they haue ſhed that blood, that crieth for vengeance; exiled the Church for a limitted time in the wilderneſſe, and made knowne by their Hiſtories, that the Dragon hath done but that which was granted vnto him, that is, to make warre againſt the Saints: but being deliuered from their great tribulation, and their robes whitned in the blood of the Lamb, they haue been conducted to the liuing fountaines of water, and God hath wiped all teares from their eies.

LAVS DEO.

Reuelation 21. 7.

He that ouercommeth, ſhall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſonne.

FINIS.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF THE ALBINGENSES.

CHAP. I.

Who the Albingenſes *were, what their beleefe, who were comprehended vnder the name of* Albingenſes, *at what time and by whom they haue beene inſtructed, in what eſteeme their Paſtors haue beene, by whom and in what Councell condemned, how they haue increaſed, what Cities and great Lords haue taken their part: For what doctrine the Papiſts haue hated them and perſecuted them to the death.*

THe *Albingenſes*, which we are to ſpeake of in this Hiſtory, differ nothing at all from the *Waldenſes*, in their beleefe: but they are onely ſo called of the Countrey of *Albi*, where they dwelt, and had their firſt beginning. The Popes haue condemned them as *Waldenſes*; the Legates haue made warre

warre againſt them, as profeſſing the beleefe of the *Waldenſes*; the Monkes Inquiſitors, haue formed their Proces and Indictments as againſt *Waldenſes*: The people haue perſecuted them, as being ſuch, and themſelues haue thought themſelues honored by that title, vpon the aſſured knowledge that they had of the puritie of their doctrine, being the ſelfeſame with the *Waldenſes*: In reſpect whereof, many Hiſtoriographers call them *Waldenſes*. Wee therefore will diſtinguiſh them, not by their beleefe, but by the places of their abode, and by the particular warres which they haue endured for the ſpace of aboue fiftie yeeres. Vnder this name, wee comprehend all the ſubiects of the Earles *Remonds* of *Toulouze*, father and ſonne, and the ſubiects of the Earles of *Foix* and *Commingе*, and all thoſe that haue taken part with them, that haue fought for their Religion, and ſuffered the ſelfeſame perſecutions.

Iaques de Riberia, *in Collectaneis vrbis Tolozæ.*

They receiued the beleefe of the *Waldenſes*, a little after the departure of *Waldo* from *Lion*: The inſtruments that were imployed in this worke, were *Peter Bruis*, one *Henry*, one *Ioſeph*, one *Eſperon* and *Arnold Hott*; of whom they were afterward called *Pierrebruiſiens*, or *Petrobruſiens*, *Henriciens*, *Ioſephiſts*, *Eſperoniſts*, and *Arnoldiſts*: but aboue all the reſt, *Henry* and *Arnold* trauelled in the Countrey of *Albi*, and that with ſo good ſucceſſe, that in a ſhort time there were found but a few, and in ſome places not any, that would goe any more to Maſſe, affirming that the ſacrifice of the Maſſe was onely inuented to enrich the Prieſts, and to make them to be more eſteemed in the world, as making the Body of Chriſt by their words, and ſacrificing him to God the Father for the ſinnes of the liuing and

and of the dead; which was an impietie, deſtroying the ſacrifice of the Sonne of God, and annihilating the merit of his death and paſſion. There were many that gaue eare to their reaſons in the dioceſe of *Rhodes*, *Cahors*, *Agen*, *Toulouze* and *Narbonne*, becauſe the Doctors that taught amongſt the *Waldenſes* were learned men, conuerſant in the reading of the holy Scriptures, whereas on the other ſide the Prieſts, who ſtudied nothing more than the ſacrifices of the Maſſe, and how to receiue their oblations for the dead, were altogether ignorant, and therefore contemned of the people.

Iaques de Riberia in his collections of the Citie of Toulouze.

Pope *Alexander* the third, being much mooued with anger becauſe he ſaw many great Prouinces to ſhake off the yoke of the Romiſh Church, and to diſpence with their obedience, condemned them for Heretikes in the Councell of *Latran*.

Claud. de Rubis in his Hiſtory of the Citie of Lion. *Lib.* 3. *pa.* 269.

Neuertheleſſe, they were in ſuch a manner multiplied, that in the yeere 1200. they poſſeſſed the Cities of *Toulouze*, *Apamies*, *Montauban*, *Villemur*, *Saint Antonin*, *Puech Laurence*, *Caſtres*, *Lambes*, *Carcaſſonne*, *Beziers*, *Narbonne*, *Beaucaire*, *Auignon*, *Taraſcon*, the Count *Venecin*; and in *Dauphine Creſt Arnaud* and *Monteil-Amar*. 1200.

Hologaray in his Hiſtory of Foix.

And which is more, they had many great Lords, who tooke part with them, that is to ſay, the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, *Remond* Earle of *Foix*, the Vicount of *Beziers*, *Gaſton* Lord of *Bearne*, the Earle of *Carmain*, the Earle of *Bigorre*, the Lady of *Lauaur*, and diuers others, of whom we ſhall make mention in their due place. And beſides all theſe, the Kings of *Aragon* and of *England*, haue many times defended their caſe, by reaſon of that alliance that they had with the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*.

The doctrines that they maintained againſt the Church of *Rome*, were theſe:

1 That the Romiſh Church is not the holy Church and Spouſe of Chriſt, but a Church watered with the Doctrine of Deuils; That *Babylon* which Saint *Iohn* hath deſcribed in the Apocalypſe, the mother of fornications and abominations, couered with the bloud of Saints.

2 That the Maſſe was not inſtituted by Chriſt, nor by his Apoſtles, but that it is the inuention of men.

3 That the prayers of the liuing profit not the dead.

4 That Purgatorie maintained in the Church of *Rome*, was a humane inuention, to glut and ſatisfie the couetouſneſſe of the Prieſts.

5 That Saints are not to be praied vnto.

6 That Tranſubſtantiation is the inuention of men, and an erroneous doctrine: And that the adoration of the Bread is a manifeſt Idolatry.

And that therefore they were to forſake the Church of *Rome*, wherein the contrary was affirmed and taught, becauſe a man may not bee preſent at the Maſſes, where Idolatry is practiſed, nor attaine ſaluation by any other meanes, than by Ieſus Chriſt, nor transferre vnto the creatures the honor that is due to the Creator, nor ſay of the Bread, that it is God, and adore it, as being God, without the incurring of eternall damnation, for Idolaters ſhall not inherit the Kingdome of Heauen.

For all theſe things affirmed by them, they haue beene hated and perſecuted to the death.

CHAP.

Chap. II.

Pope Innocent *the third of that name, made ſhew of a deſire to winne the* Albingenſes *to the Church of* Rome, *by preaching and conference. A famous diſputation at* Montreal. *To what end the Pope permitted diſputation in matter of Religion.*

POpe *Innocent* the third of that name, ſeemed to be carried with a deſire to reduce the *Albingenſes* vnto the Church of *Rome*, by preachings and reaſons, or to oppreſſe them and vtterly root them out, by violence of armes, and by crueltie of puniſhments.

But before he would come to extremities, he thought it neceſſary, for the better iuſtification of his proceedings, to begin with words, and afterwards to come to blowes. Hee ſent therefore amongſt them certaine Preachers, who endeuoured to draw them by gentle perſwaſions.

The Comp. of the Treaſure of Hiſtories in the yeere 1206.

See here how the Compiler of the treaſure of Hiſto- " ries ſpeakes of thoſe times. When there came " newes (ſaith he) to Pope *Innocent* the third, that in " his Prouince of *Narbonne*, the traiterous Hereſie was " ſpread abroad, not onely amongſt the poore, but " Earles, Barons and Knights; he ſent the Abbot of " *Ciſteaux*, and two Monkes with him, to preach a- " gainſt thoſe diſloyall buggerers. When they had " trauelled ſome little way, preaching throughout the " Countrey, they came to *Mompelier*, where they met " with a worthy man that was Biſhop of *Ceſtre*. This " honeſt man, asked the Abbot of *Ciſteaux*, what hee

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" did there. He anſwered that the Pope had ſent him
" thither, againſt thoſe Sodomites, but that he could
" not conuert them. This good man was nothing a-
" ſtonied at it, but he ſtill maintained the worke of the
" Lord valiantly, and went on foot to giue good ex-
" ample to others, and they ſtayed and went on foot
" with him. Afterwards the Abbot returned to the
" Chapter, or generall aſſembly, but the Biſhop and
" the two Monkes, paſſing a long time through the
" Countrey and preaching, they conuerted many of
" the meaner ſort of people, but of the great ones and
" richer ſort, there were few or none, that returned to
" the true faith.

" The Abbot came backe into the Countrey, and
" brought with him another Abbot, and diuers
" Monkes, and came all on foot; whereupon the Bi-
" ſhop of *Ceſtre* began to thinke with himſelfe how to
" returne into his Countrey, but dyed by the way.

" The Monkes who preached throughout the
" Countrey, found the Princes ſo obdurate in their
" malice, that they reſolued to ſtay no longer there,
" but returned into their Countries, except one good
" man, who was called Frier *Peter* of *Chaſteauneuf*,
" who continued preaching with one of his com-
" panions.

When the *Albingenſes* knew the intention of the Pope, which was, to pretend that he was not the cauſe, why they whom he iudged to be wanderers, did not returne to the boſome of the Church of *Rome* by gentle meanes, and force of reaſon, they began to thinke that it ſtood them vpon to maintaine their beleefe by ſuch conference, otherwiſe they ſhould giue occaſion to the aduerſaries to thinke, that there was in their Religion

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ligion ſome weakneſſe, if there were not any Paſtor that would take vpon him the defence thereof. It was therefore concluded amongſt the *Albingenſes*, to giue the Biſhops to vnderſtand, that their Paſtors, or any one of them for the reſt, were ready to maintaine their beleefe by the word of God, prouided that the conference were well ordered and moderated; that is to ſay, that there may be moderators, that are men of authoritie, both on the one ſide and the other, that may haue wherewithall to hinder all tumult and ſedition. Prouided alſo, that it be in a place, vnto which there may be free acceſſe, and the place ſecured for all perſons that may aſſiſt, or be preſent at the ſaid conference. Moreouer, that there bee ſome matter or ſubiect choſen by common conſent, not to bee giuen ouer before it be determined; and that he that cannot defend it by the word of God, is to bee reputed and held to be vanquiſhed.

The Biſhops and Monkes did all allow of the ſaid conditions. The place was *Montreal*, neere *Carcaſonne*, the time, in the yeere one thouſand two hundred and ſix. The Arbitrators agreed vpon by the one part and the other, B. *de Villeneufue*, and B. *Auxerre* for the Biſhops: and for the *Albingenſes*, *R. de Bot*, and *Antony Riuiere.*

This diſputation was the moſt famous, that hath bin betweene the Albingenſes, & the Biſhops and Prieſts.

Arnold Hott was the Paſtor for the *Albingenſes*, accompanied with thoſe that were accounted fit for ſuch an action: He was the firſt that arriued at the place and day aſſigned: Afterwards came the Biſhop *Euſus*, and the Monke *Dominique* a *Spaniard*, with two of the Popes Legats, that is to ſay, *Peter Chaſtel* and *Racul de Iuſt*, Abbot of *Candets*, *P. Bertrand* Prior *d'Auteriue*: as alſo the Prior *de Palats*, and diuers other Prieſts and Monkes.

Chaſſagnon maketh mention in his firſt booke of the Hiſtory of the Albingenſes *pag.* 72.

Alſo *Iaques de Riberia* in his collect of the Citie of Toulouze.

The

This diſputation was ſent me from the Albingéſes, by Mr. *Raſin* Paſtor of the Church of Realmont in old Manuſcripts.

The Theſes or generall queſtions propoſed by *Arnold*, were theſe: That the Maſſe, with the Tranſubſtantiation, was the inuention of men, not the ordinance of Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles.

That the Romiſh Church is not the Spouſe of Chriſt, but the Church of tumult and moleſtation, made drunken with the bloud of Martyrs.

That the policie of the Church of *Rome*, is neither good, nor holy, nor eſtabliſhed by Ieſus Chriſt.

Arnold ſent theſe Propoſitions to the Biſhop, who demanded a reſpit of fifteene dayes to anſwer, which was granted him. At the day appointed, the Biſhop failed not to appeare, with a long and large writing. *Arnold Hott* deſired to bee heard by word of mouth, ſaying: That he would anſwer to all that was contained in the ſaid writing, intreating his auditorie that it might not be troubleſome vnto them, if he were long in anſwering to ſo long a diſcourſe. It was granted that he ſhould bee heard with attention and patience, and without interruption. He diſcourſed at diuers houres, for foure dayes together, and with ſuch admiration of thoſe that were preſent, and readineſſe for his part, that all the Biſhops, Abbots, Monkes and Prieſts had reaſon to deſire they had beene elſewhere. For he framed his anſwer according to the points ſet downe in the ſaid writing, with ſuch order and plainneſſe, that hee gaue all that were preſent to vnderſtand, that the Biſhop hauing written much, had neuertheleſſe concluded nothing, that might truly turne to the aduantage of the Church of *Rome* againſt his Propoſitions.

Afterwards *Arnold* made a requeſt, that foraſmuch as the Biſhops and himſelfe in the beginning of their conference, were bound to proue whatſoeuer they affir-

affirmed by the onely word of God, it might bee impoſed vpon the Biſhops and Prieſts, to make good their Maſſe, ſuch as they ſing it, part by part, to haue beene inſtituted by the Sonne of God, and ſung in the like manner by his Apoſtles, beginning at the entrance, vnto the *Ite Miſſa eſt*, as they terme it: but the Biſhops were not able to proue, that the Maſſe or any part thereof, was ordained in ſuch an action, either by Ieſus Chriſt, or his Apoſtles. With this the Biſhops were much diſcontented and aſhamed. For *Arnold* had brought them to the onely Canon, which they pretended to be the beſt part of their Maſſe, touching which point he proued, That the holy Supper of our Lord was not the Maſſe. For if the Maſſe were the holy Supper inſtituted by our Sauiour, there would remaine after the Conſecration all that which was in the Supper of the Lord, that is to ſay, Bread: but in the Maſſe there is no bread; for by Tranſubſtantiation the bread is vaniſhed away; therefore the Maſſe (ſaith he) without bread, is not the holy Supper of the Lord, for there is bread.

Ieſus Chriſt brake bread, } The Prieſt breakes the body
S^t. *Paul* brake the bread, } not the bread.

Therefore the Prieſt doth not that which Chriſt Ieſus hath done, and S^t. *Paul*.

Vpon theſe Antitheſes which *Arnold* made touching the Supper of the Lord, and the Maſſe, to proue that it came not from Chriſt nor his Apoſtles, the Monkes, Biſhops, Legats and Prieſts retired themſelues, not being willing to heare any more, and fearing leſt they ſhould worke ſuch an impreſſion in thoſe that were preſent, as might ſhake their beleefe touching the Maſſe.

The Monke of the Valley Seruay, in his Hiſt. of the Albing. *chap. 5.*

The Monke of the Valley *Seruay*, endeuoureth to bring this action into ſuſpition, affirming that at what time the Hereticall Iudges exceeded in number, ſeeing the badneſſe of their cauſe, and the wretchedneſſe of their diſputation, they would not (ſaith hee) giue any iudgement thereof, nor deliuer their writings to their aduerſaries, for feare leſt they ſhould come to light, and render to the Heretikes their owne. But how ſhould two Legats of the Pope, the Biſhops, Abbots, Monkes and Prieſts, put themſelues into any ſuch place, where they could bee thus ouercharged with number? This Monke ſaith in the ſame place, that the principall Arch-heretikes came to the Catholikes at the Caſtle of *Montreal*, to diſpute with them. So that they held then the Caſtle, and therefore there was no occaſion of doubt, or any ſuch violence. And furthermore, how could it be that the Biſhops ſhould requeſt the moderators to giue iudgement in a point of diſputation, when they hold that there needs no other ſentence than the Popes, who cannot erre? Againe, how did the Monke know that the *Albingenſes* were ouercome, if there were no iudgement or ſentence giuen againſt them? There were, about the ſame time, many other diſputations, as at *Serignan*, *Pannies*, but this was onely to delay the *Albingenſes* from further proceeding. For in the meane time whileſt the Biſhop of *Toulouze*, and the Biſhop of *Onezimonde* diſputed at *Pamies*, and the Popes two Legats, with *Arnold* at *Montreal*, B. of *Villeneufue*, Arbitrator and Moderator for the Biſhops, ſignified, That there could bee nothing determined or agreed vpon, by reaſon of the comming of thoſe Armies that were to fight vnder the badge of the Croſſe. This was the ſubtiltie of the Pope

Pope, to entertaine them in conferences touching matter of Religion, that in the meane time he might prepare great Armies, to roote out (if hee could) both themſelues and their Religion.

Hilarey in his Hiſt. of Foix, *pa.* 126.

Chap. III.

The end of the diſputation touching Religion, it was not long continued by the Pope and his Legats. The preſence of the Pope to publiſh the expedition againſt the Albingenſes. *The Earle* Remond *humbleth himſelfe before the Popes Legat, he is whipped by the Legat, and depriued of his Earledome of Veneſſin by the Pope, hee is made chiefe Leader of the Armie of thoſe that fought vnder the badge of the Croſſe, at the ſiege of* Beziers.

NOw when Pope *Innocent* had prepared his Armies of the *Croſſe*, and had diſperſed them here and there about the Countries of the *Albingenſes*, there were no longer any diſputations, except it were with Fire and Faggots, the chiefe diſputers being the Executioners, and the Monkes Inquiſitors, the Harpies or rauenous birds, which the Pope made vſe of, for the extirpation of the *Albingenſes*. The pretence of this ſo famous an expedition was made againſt the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, about the death of a certaine *Iacobin* Monke, who was ſlaine by the *Albingenſes*: For the Pope tooke from thence occaſion to ſend throughout all *Europe* Preachers to aſſemble men together, to take vengeance of the innocent bloud of Frier *Peter de Caſteauneuf*, who had beene ſlaine by the Heretikes, promiſing Paradice to whomſoeuer would

So tearmed becauſe euery one that vndertaketh the iourney, weares on his Caſſocke or Coate-armour, the badge of the Croſſe.

come to this warre and beare armes for fortie daies. This warre he called the holy warre, and for which he gaue the ſelfe-ſame Pardons, the ſelfe-ſame Indulgences, as he did vnto thoſe who went to the warres of the holy Land, for the conqueſt thereof. He likewiſe termed it, the warre for the Crucifixe, and the Army of the Church. And as for the Earle *Remond*, heare with what termes he thundered againſt him in his Bull. We ordaine (ſaith hee) that all Archbiſhops and Biſhops, are to denounce, throughout all their Dioceſes, the Earle *Remond* accurſed and excommunicated, as being murderer of a good ſeruant of God, and that with the ſound of the Bell, and the extinction of Candles, euery Sunday and Feſtiuall daies. Wee promiſe moreouer to all thoſe that ſhall take armes, to reuenge the ſaid murder, forgiueneſſe of their ſinnes, ſeeing that theſe peſtilent *Long Slops* ſeeke nothing elſe but to take away our liues. And foraſmuch as according to the Law of the holy Canons, faith is not to be kept to him that keepes not his faith to God, we would haue all to vnderſtand, that euery man that is bound to the ſaid Earle by oath of fidelitie, ſocietie, alliance, or otherwaies, by the Apoſtolicall authoritie, is abſolued from any ſuch bands; and it ſhal bee lawfull for euery Catholike man, not onely to purſue the perſon of the ſaid Earle, but alſo to hold and poſſeſſe his land, &c.

A Bull giuen at Latran in the yeer 1208.

And as touching the Albingenſes, *ſee how hee handleth them.*

Wee therefore admoniſh you more carefully, and exhort you more ſpeedily, as being a matter of great neceſſitie, &c. That yee endeuour to vnderſtand by all the meanes that God ſhall reueale vnto you, and ſtudie to

to aboliſh the Hereticall prauitie and theſe Sectaries, and that more ſeuerely then the *Saraſines*, impugning them with a ſtrong hand, and a ſtretched-out arme, as being worſe than they, &c. Driuing them out of the field of the Lord, taking from them their lands and liuings, in which (the Heretikes being baniſhed) let Catholike inhabitants be ſubſtituted in their roome.

The Pope writ to all Chriſtian Princes to frame themſelues for the obtaining of that pardon againſt the *Albingenſes*, that they obtained, if they paſſed beyond the Seas againſt the *Turkes*; and particularly the author of the Treaſure of Hiſtories ſaith, That the Pope intreated King *Philip* and diuers Barons, that they would vndertake with him that enterpriſe againſt the Heretikes, and get their pardons: And that the King anſwered that hee was to bee excuſed, by reaſon of his warres with the Emperour *Otho*, and King *Iohn* of *England*. Of the Barons (ſaith hee) there were many that yeelded to the enterpriſe, for their pardon.

The Earle *Remond*, being aduertiſed what was plotted againſt him in *Europe*, at the inſtance of the Pope, ſent vnto him, humbly beſeeching him not to condemne him, before he had heard him ſpeake, aſſuring him that he was no way culpable of the death of Frier *Peter de Caſteauneuf*, and that it was ſufficiently verified that the murderer was fled to *Beaucaire*: hee complained of the malice of his enemies, who had made falſe informations againſt him, touching the ſaid murder: But all was in vaine, for before his excuſes came to *Rome*, the troopes of the *Croiſes*, that is, thoſe that beare the badge of the Croſſe vpon their coat-armour, were come to powre downe their vengeance vpon him and his lands, that is to ſay, the Duke of *Burgundy*,

Earle of *Enneuers*, the Earle of S^t. *Paul*, the Earle of *Auxerre*, the Earle of *Geneua*, the Earle of *Poitiers*, the Earle of *Foreſts*, and the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*. The Lord of *Bar*, *Ginchard* of *Beauieu*, and *Ganchier* of *Ioigui*. As alſo the Eccleſiaſticall perſons, who had leuied in their Dioceſe a number of Pilgrims and wandering people; they were the Archbiſhop of *Seus*, the Archbiſhop of *Rouan*, the Biſhop of *Clermond*, the Biſhop of *Enneuers*, the Biſhop of *Lizieux*, the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and the Biſhop of *Chartres*, with diuers o-
Pelerins. thers; euery Biſhop with the *Pilgrims* of his iuriſdiction, to whom the Pope promiſed Paradice in Heauen, but gaue them not one peny vpon earth, onely hee did let them know, that in ſuch a warre there were more blowes than pardons. This Leuy of Pilgrims or wan-
1209. dering perſons, was in the yeere 1209. There was now a neceſſitie either of oppoſing violence againſt violence, or to come to ſubmiſſions. The latter was thought the more eaſie, but yet dangerous. For to yeeld himſelfe to the diſcretion of his enemies, was to bring himſelfe into the danger of his owne ruine. The Count *Remond* therefore came to *Valence*, before the Popes Legat named *Milo*.

Being entred the toile, he began to excuſe himſelfe, ſaying: That it ſeemed ſtrange vnto him, that ſo great a number of men ſhould come in armes againſt him, that vſed no other armes to defend himſelfe, than his owne innocencie; that hee was much wronged by thoſe that perſwaded the people that hee was guiltie of the death of the Monke Frier *Peter* of *Caſteauneuf*; that before they had thus moued Heauen and Earth, as it were, they ſhould haue enquired of the truth of the fact, and not condemne any before he were heard:

That

That he had there many witneſſes of the death of the ſaid Monke, ſlaine at S^t. *Giles*, by a certaine Gentleman, whom the ſaid Monke purſued, who preſently retired himſelfe to his friends at *Beaucaire*: That this murder was very diſpleaſing vnto him, and therefore he had done what lay in his power, to apprehend him, and to chaſtiſe him, but that hee eſcaped his hands: That had it beene true which they laid to his charge, that hee had embrewed his hands in that bloud, yet the ordinary courſes of iuſtice were to be taken againſt him, and not to haue wrecked their anger vpon his ſubiects that were innocent in this caſe. And therefore (ſaith he) to the ſaid Legat, foraſmuch as vpon an aſſured truſt and confidence, armed onely with the teſtimonie of a good Conſcience, I am come to yeeld my ſelfe vnto your hands, what need is there any more of the imployment of theſe Pilgrims or wandering people, againſt him whom they had in their owne power? That it was promiſed him, that when his honeſtie ſhould bee knowne, they that were in armes to fight againſt him, would defend him: And therefore he humbly intreated the ſaid Legat, to ſend a Countermand to his Souldiers before they approched any further into his lands and territories, promiſing to iuſtifie himſelfe of whatſoeuer was laid to his charge, in ſuch a manner, that the Pope and the Church ſhould reſt contented: That his owne perſon might ſerue for a ſufficient pledge for the performance of theſe his promiſes.

The Legat anſwered that the Earle *Remond* had done well in preſenting himſelfe before him, and informing him of his innocencie, whereof he would aduertiſe his Holineſſe, and become an Interceſſor for him; but yet the buſineſſe was of ſuch an importance, that he

HAIL & FIRE

he durſt not rely onely vpon his owne knowledge, much leſſe ſend backe his Souldiers of the Croſſe, that had coſt ſo much labour, and loſt the gathering together, except hee would giue ſuch aſſurances of his words, as might take away from the Pope and the Church, all ſhew or ſhadow that hee may hereafter deale falſely with them that put their truſt in him. And therefore hee ſhould not thinke it a difficult matter to deliuer into his hands, ſeuen of the beſt Caſtles he had in *Prouence* (that is to ſay, in the Count *Veneſſin*, which was then annexed vnto *Prouence)* which ſhould ſerue for an Hoſtage.

The Earle *Remond* knew well the error he had committed, by putting himſelfe vnder the hatches, but it was too late to bee readuiſed, becauſe the counſels which the Legat gaue him, were as commands. Hee knew himſelfe to be a priſoner, and that hee muſt now receiue the Law of him, into whoſe power he had vnwiſely caſt himſelfe; and therefore he made a ſhew of great willingneſſe to obey to whatſoeuer was preſcribed by the Legat, acknowledging that both his perſon and his proceſſions were at the ſeruice of his holy Father, onely beſeeching the Legat, that his ſubiects might receiue no more damage by the Souldiers. The Legat promiſed all the fauour that hee deſired in this regard, and preſently ſent to the Countie *Veneſſin*, Maſter *Theod.* Canon of *Gennes*, to put a Gariſon into the Caſtles and places of importance in the ſaid Countie, and to giue commandement to all the Conſuls of the Cities thereof, to make their repaire preſently to the ſaid Legat; before whom being come, they were giuen to vnderſtand, that the Earle *Remond* had deliuered vp his Caſtles to the guard and power of the Pope,

The Monke of the Valley Seruay in his Hiſtory of the Albin. *cap.* 11. *fol.* 23.

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Pope, for proofe of his fidelitie to the Church, whereof they were to be aduertiſed, to the end likewiſe that they from thence forward, ſhould acknowledge themſelues to bee the lawfull ſubiects of his Holineſſe, in caſe the ſaid Earle *Remond* ſhould doe any thing againſt the oath of obedience which hee had made to the Pope and to the Church of *Rome*, in which caſe, as already in thoſe times they were diſcharged of all oaths of fidelitie giuen in times paſt to the ſaid Earle, and his lands were confiſcated to the Pope. The Conſuls being much aſtoniſhed to ſee their Lord thus ſtript of all his lands and poſſeſſions, could not refuſe in the preſence of himſelfe, to doe whatſoeuer the ſaid Legat required at their hands. But that which did afflict them moſt, was, that they ſaw the Earle *Remond* conducted to S^t^. *Giles*, where he was reconciled to the Pope, and to the Church, with theſe ceremonies that follow. Firſt, the Legat commanded the ſaid Earle *Remond* to ſtrip himſelfe ſtarke naked, without the Church of S^t^. *Giles*, hauing onely to couer his nakedneſſe, a cloſe paire of linnen breeches, the reſt was all bare, head, feet, and ſhoulders. Then he put a Stole (which Prieſts weare about their necks) vpon his necke, and leading him by the ſaid Stole, hee made him to goe nine times about the graue of the deceaſed Frier *Peter de Chateauneuf*, who had beene buried in the ſaid Church, ſcourging him with rods, which the Legat had in his hand, as long as hee went about the ſaid Sepulcher. The Earle *Remond* demanded ſatisfaction for this extraordinary penance, for a ſinne which he had not committed, for he had not killed the Monke: The Legat anſwered him, That notwithſtanding hee had not killed him, nor cauſed him to be killed, yet foraſmuch as this

HAIL & FIRE

murder was committed, within his territories, and hee had made no purſuit after the murderer, this murder was deſeruedly imputed vnto him, and therefore that hee was to ſatisfie the Pope and the Church by this his humble repentance, if hee deſired to be reconciled to the one and to the other. It was therefore neceſſary he ſhould likewiſe bee ſcourged in the preſence of the Earles, Barons, Marquiſes, Prelates, and all the people: He made him to ſweare vpon the *Corpus Domini*, (as they call it) and certaine other reliques, which were brought thither for that purpoſe, that he ſhould all his life time, bee obedient in all things to the Pope and the Church of *Rome*; and that he ſhould make perpetuall, mortall and vnreconcileable warre againſt the *Albingenſes*, vntill they were either vtterly exterminated, or brought to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, which to performe, hee hauing ſolemnly and perforce ſworne, the Legat to honor him the more, and to bind him to doe what he had ſworne, made him Captaine and Leader of the Souldiers of the Croſſe, for the ſiege of *Beziers*: Which he did, to the end hee might driue the *Albingenſes* into deſpaire, euer to be defended by him, who hauing abiured their Religion, had now power and charge to perſecute them.

Hilagarey in his Hiſtory of Foix.

CHAP.

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Chap. IIII.

The perplexitie the Earle Remond *was in, after his reconciliation: The ſiege of* Beziers: *The interceſsion of the Earle of* Beziers *for his Citie: The interceſsion of the Biſhop auaileth nothing: The taking of* Beziers, *what, and with what crueltie.*

THe Earle *Remond* was much perplexed about that charge that was giuen him for the conducting of the Armie of the Souldiers of the Croſſe before *Beziers*. For to carry himſelfe as an enemie againſt the *Albingenſes*, was to doe againſt his conſcience, and to fight againſt thoſe whoſe part hee had taken vntill then, as a principall motiue and Captaine. This was to binde himſelfe to the perpetuall ſeruitude of the Pope and his Legats. On the other ſide, if hee ſhould goe about to flye, and to forſake the Armie, this were to furniſh them with new matter of perſecution; for in ſuch a caſe they might iuſtly purſue him, as a perfidious, relapſed and periured perſon, and that if hee ſhould bee apprehended, hee ſhould bee in danger of looſing his life, goods and friends altogether: And yet doing that which the charge the Legat laid vpon him, bound him vnto, he muſt be an inſtrument of the loſſe of *Beziers*, and the totall deſtruction of the ſubiects of his Nephew the Earle of *Beziers*, and his Nephew himſelfe. In this extremitie and anguiſh of ſpirit, hee choſe rather to ſtay in the Armie for certaine daies, and afterward tooke his leaue of the Legat, and went to *Rome*, to humble himſelfe before the Pope, which could not bee denied him. In the meane time they

made an approch to the Citie of *Beziers*, the Rammes, Slings, Frames, Shedbords, and other engines of warre were prouided to giue a generall eſcalado, ſetting to the walls of the Citie ſo great a number of Ladders, that it was impoſſible to reſiſt the furious aſſault which the *Pelerins* made with all the force and power that they had.

The Earle of *Beziers* went forth of the Citie, and caſt himſelfe downe at the feet of the Legat *Milon*, craning mercie for his Citie of *Beziers*, and humbly beſeeching him not to inflict the ſame puniſhment vpon the innocent and the nocent, which without all doubt muſt needes come to paſſe, if *Beziers* ſhould be taken by force (which was eaſie to be done by ſo great, and ſo puiſſant an Armie, ſuch as was then ready to ſcale the walles in euery part of the ſaid Citie) that there would be great effuſion of bloud on both ſides, which might be auoided: That there were within *Beziers* a great number of good Romiſh Catholikes that would be ſubiect to the ſame ruine, contrary to the intention of the Pope, whoſe deſire was onely to chaſtiſe the *Albingenſes:* That if it pleaſed him not to ſpare his ſubiects for the loue of themſelues, that he would yet haue regard vnto him, to his age and profeſſion, ſince the loſſe would light vpon himſelfe, being in his minoritie, and a moſt obedient ſeruant to the Pope, as hauing beene brought vp in the Romiſh Church, and in which he would both liue and die. And if hee tooke it ill that ſuch perſons as were enemies to the Pope, had beene tolerated within his territories, it ought not to be imputed vnto him, becauſe hee had no other ſubiects but thoſe which his deceaſed father had left vnto him; and that in his minoritie, and afterwards in that little time wherein

wherein he had beene maſter of his owne goods, hee could not as yet, by reaſon of his incapacitie know this euill, nor miniſter the remedy, though it were his purpoſe ſo to doe; but yet his hope was in time to come, to giue all contentment that might be, both to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, as an obedient ſonne both of the one and of the other.

The anſwer of the Legat was, That all his excuſes preuailed nothing, and that he muſt doe as he may.

Chaſſ. in his Hiſtory of the Albingen. *pag.* 107.

The Earle of *Beziers* returned into the Citie, and aſſembled the people together, giuing them to vnderſtand, that after he had ſubmitted himſelfe to the Legat, hee mediated for them, not being able to obtaine any other thing at his hands, but pardon, vpon condition that they that made profeſſion of the beleefe of the *Albingenſes*, ſhould come and abiure their Religion, and promiſe to liue according to the Lawes of the Church of *Rome*.

The Romiſh Catholikes intreated them to yeeld to this ſo great a violence, and not to be the cauſe of their death, ſince the Legat was reſolued not to pardon any, if they liued not all vnder one and the ſame Law.

The *Albingenſes* anſwered, That they would not forſake their Religion for the baſe price of this fraile life; That they knew well that God was able to defend them, if it pleaſed him, and that if he would bee glorified by the confeſſion of their faith, it ſhould bee a great honour to them to die for righteouſneſſe ſake; That they had rather diſpleaſe the Pope, who could deſtroy their bodies onely, than God who could caſt both body and ſoule into Hell fire: That they would neuer be aſhamed, or deny that Religion, by which they haue beene taught to know Chriſt and his righte-

HAIL & FIRE

ouſneſſe, or with the danger of an eternall death, profeſſe a Religion which doth annihillate the merit of Chriſt, and burieth his righteouſneſſe; and that therefore they would couenant for themſelues as they could, and promiſe nothing contrary to the duty of true Chriſtians.

This being vnderſtood, the Romiſh Catholikes ſent their Biſhop to the Legat, humbly to intreat him, that he would not include in this chaſtiſement of the *Albingenſes*, thoſe that were alwayes obedient to the Church of *Rome*, of whom he that was their Biſhop had certaine knowledge, being likewiſe aſſured that the reſt were not altogether paſt hope of repentance, but that they might be wonne by gentle meanes, beſt befitting the Church, which tooke no pleaſure in the effuſion of bloud.

The Legat herewith grew into extreme choller and paſſion, ſwearing and proteſting with horrible threats, that if all they that were in the Citie did not acknowledge their fault, and ſubmit themſelues to the Church of *Rome*, they ſhould all taſte of one cup, and without reſpect of Catholike, ſex, or age, they ſhould all be expoſed to fire and ſword. And incontinently he commanded that the Citie ſhould bee ſummoned to yeeld it ſelfe to his diſcretion; which they refuſing to doe, hee cauſed all his engins of warre to play, and commanded an aſſault and generall eſcalado to bee made. Now it was impoſſible for thoſe that were within, to reſiſt ſo great a violence, in ſuch ſort, that being thus aſſaulted, by aboue a hundred thouſand *Pelerins*, in the end (ſaith the Compiler of the Treaſure of Hiſtories) they within vere vanquiſhed, and the enemie being entred ſlew a great multitude, and afterwards

The Treaſure of Hiſt. in the taking of Beziers. *Paul Æmil. pag.* 317.

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ſet fire to the Citie, and burnt it to duſt.

The Citie being taken, the Prieſts, Monkes, and Clerkes came forth of the great Church of *Beziers*, called S^t^. *Nazari*, with the Banner, the Croſſes, their holy-water, bare headed, attired with the ornaments of the Church, and ſinging, *Te Deum laudamus*, as a ſigne of ioy that the Towne was taken, and purged of the *Albingenſes*. The Souldiers who had receiued command from the Legat to kill all, ranne in vpon them, brake the order of their proceſſion, made the heads and armes of the Prieſts to flie about, ſtriuing who ſhould doe beſt, in ſuch a manner, that they were all cut in pieces. To excuſe this crueltie, diſallowed by ſome of thoſe that were ſpectators, they haue inſerted into the Hiſtorie theſe reports; that is to ſay, That the *Pelerins* were incenſed againſt the inhabitants of *Beziers*, becauſe they had caſt ouer the walls of the Citie, the booke of the Goſpels, crying vnto them, See there the Law of your God; whereupon the Souldiers grew to this reſolution, to kill all thoſe they ſhould find within the circuit of *Beziers*, that ſo they might be ſure not to ſpare thoſe that had thus blaſphemed. But how could the *Albingenſes* doe any ſuch thing ſo impious againſt the Goſpell of our bleſſed Sauiour, conſidering that one of the principall cauſes for which they had forſaken the Church of *Rome*, was becauſe the Goſpel of Chriſt Ieſus, was, as it were buried amongſt them, & the people forbid to reade it. And beſides one of the great crimes, which they laid to the charge of the Earle *Remond*, was, becauſe hee carried alwayes about him the New Teſtament. To this they added a miracle, and that was, that *Beziers* was taken vpon the day of *Marie Magdalen*, becauſe (ſay they)

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HAIL & FIRE

The Treaſure of hiſt. in the taking of Beziers. In the hiſt. of the Monke Pet. of the Valleis Seruey, of the Albing. *ch.* 18.

heretikes ſpeake ill of *Magdalin* in their law: Thus ſpeakes the compiler of the Treaſure. Now this impoſture is ſo deuilliſh, that I hardly durſt commit it to paper, and yet notwithſtanding the Monke of the *Valleis Seruay*, ſets it downe at large without doubts or ſcruples, though the very thought thereof would make the haire of any man that hath but the leaſt ſparke of pietie to ſtand on end.

Now the citie being burnt, razed and ranſacked, the Pilgrims who thought they merited Paradiſe by this ſacceige and effuſion of bloud, were ſpeedily conducted to *Carcaſſonne*, before the forty daies of fight, which they had vowed to the Church of Rome, were expired, becauſe then they were permitted euery man to depart to his owne home.

Chap. V.

The Siege of Carcaſſonne, *the taking of the towne or Borough of* Carcaſſonne: *An aſſault and generall* Eſcalado *giuen to the citie: A great number of the ſoldiers of the Croſſe ſlaine: The Interceſſion of the King of* Aragon *for the Earle of* Beziers, *to no purpoſe: A ſtratagem for the taking of the Earle of* Beziers: *The flight of the people of* Carcaſſonne, *by what meanes: The taking of* Carcaſſonne.

THe Earle of *Beziers*, when he ſaw that he could obtaine nothing of the Legat in fauour of the city of *Beziers*, hauing left this charge to the Biſhop, to make triall whether he by any meanes could obtaine pardon for thoſe poore inhabitants, and in the meane time

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time, becauſe he knew very well that hauing taken *Beziers*, he would not ſuffer the city of *Carcaſſonne*, to continue in peace, becauſe being ſtrong by nature, the Legat knew there was no ſtore-houſe for the warre, nor better place of repoſe for the Soldiers than that was; he was counſelled to retire himſelfe thither, and ſpeedily to cauſe it to be furniſhed, with whatſoeuer was fit to maintaine a long ſiege. He put himſelfe therfore into *Carcaſſonne*, being accompanied with his moſt faithfull attendants.

He was followed, as it were, foot by foot, by the Legats armie, vnto which there came new Croiſes or ſoldiers of the Croſſe; that is to ſay, the Biſhop of *Agenois*, the Biſhop of *Limoges*, of *Bazades*, of *Cohors*, and the Archbiſhop of *Burdeaux*, euery one, with the Pilgrims of their owne Dioceſſe. There likewiſe arriued the Earle of *Turaine*, *Bertrand de Cardaillac*, and the Lord of *Baſtlenau*, of *Montratier*, who conducted the troopes of *Querci*, and of all theſe troopes the chiefe Leader was the Earle of *Dunoy*: There came alſo a great number of *Prouenceaux*, *Lombardes*, and *Germaines*, and that in ſo great a number, that the army of the Legat *Milon*, roſe to the number of three hundred thouſand fighting men, when he came before *Carcaſſonne*.

Chaſſagnon in his hiſt. of the Albing. *lib.* 1. *pag.* 112.

The ſituation of *Carcaſſonne* is in this manner. There is a city, and a Bourrough or towne. The city is ſeated vpon a little hill, enuironed with a double wall: the towne is in the plaine, diſtant from the citie about two miles. At that time the city was accounted a place of great ſtrength; and in this city there dwelt a great number of *Albingenſes*. The Pilgrims thought to haue taken it at the firſt ſight, for they ran with

great violence vpon the firſt Rampier, and filled the ditch with fagots; but they were beaten backe with ſuch courage and reſolution, that the ground was couered with the dead bodies of Pilgrims, round about the citie.

The young Earle of *Beziers*, Lord of *Carcaſſonne*, wonne great honour in this firſt daies encounter, encouraging his ſubiects and telling them, that they muſt remember the vſage of thoſe of *Beziers*; that they were to deale with the ſame enemies, who had changed the ſiege not the humour, nor the will to extirminate them if they could; That it was farre better for them to die fighting, than to fall into the hands of ſo cruell and mercileſſe enemies. That for his owne part, he made profeſſion of the Romiſh Religion, but yet he ſaw very well, that this warre was not for Religion, but a certaine robbery agreed vpon, to inuade the goods and lands of the Earle *Remond* and all his; That they had greater cauſe to defend themſelues than he, who could looſe no more but his goods and his life, without change of his religion, but they might looſe that, and beſides the exerciſe of their religion too; That he would neuer abandon them in ſo honourable an action, which was to defend themſelues againſt the inuaſions of their common enemies, masked with an outward appearance of pietie, and in effect true theeues.

The *Albingenſes* being much animated by the ſpeech of this young Lord, ſwore vnto him, that they would ſpend their goods and their liues, for the preſeruation of the citie of *Carcaſſonne*, and whatſoeuer did concerne the ſaid Lord. The next morrow the Legat commanded an aſſault, and generall eſcalado

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to bee made vpon the Borough of *Carcaſſonne*. The people that were within, very valiantly defended themſelues; but the ladders were ſo charged with men, and ſo neere the one to the other that they touched one another, inſomuch that they forced thoſe within from the walls, and ſo entred the towne, carying themſelues towards the inhabitants thereof, after the ſame manner as they had done before to thoſe of *Beziers*; for they put them all to the ſword and fire.

Whileſt thoſe things were in doing, the king of *Aragon* arriued at the army of the Legat; and went firſt to the tent of the Earle *Remond*, who was conſtrained to giue his aſſiſtance at this ſiege againſt his owne Nephew. From thence he went to the Legat, and told him that hauing vnderſtood, that his kinſman the Earle of *Beziers* was beſieged within *Carcaſſonne*, hee was come vnto him to doe his beſt endeuour, to make the ſaid Earle to vnderſtand, what his duty was towards the Pope and the Church, which hee preſumed hee ſhould the more eaſily doe, becauſe hee knew well, that the ſaid Earle, had alwaies made profeſſion of the Romiſh religion.

The Legat gaue him leaue, to vndertake what hee had ſaid. The king of *Aragon*, made his approach to the Rampiers. The Earle of *Beziers* came to parley with him. The king of *Aragon* deſired to know of him, what had moued him to ſhut vp himſelfe within the citie of *Carcaſſonne* againſt ſo great an Army of *Pelerins*. The Earle anſwered, that it greatly ſtood him vpon, hauing ſo neceſſary and ſo iuſt cauſe, to defend his life, his goods, and his ſubiects; That hee knew well that vnder the pretence of religion, the Pope had a purpoſe

HAIL & FIRE

vtterly to ouerthrow the Earle *Remond* his vncle, and himſelfe; That he found by that mediation which he had made for his ſubiects of *Beziers*, the Romiſh Catholikes whereof he would not receiue into grace and fauour, neither had ſpared the Prieſts themſelues, who were all cut in peeces euen adorned with their Prieſtly ornaments, and vnder the banner of the Croſſe: That this example of cruell impietie, added vnto that which had paſſed in the towne of *Carcaſſonne*, where they were all expoſed to fire and ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex, had taught him not to looke for any mercy either at the hands of the Legat or his *Pelerins*: And that therefore he choſe rather to die with his ſubiects defending himſelfe, than to bee expoſed to the mercy of ſo inexorable an enemy as the Legat was; And that notwithſtanding there were within the city of *Carcaſſonne* diuers of his ſubiects that were of a contrary religion to that of the Church of *Rome*, yet they were ſuch a kinde of people as had neuer wronged any, that they were come to ſuccor him at his greateſt extremity, and for this their good ſeruice, he was reſolued not to abandon them, as they had promiſed for their part to expoſe their liues and goods for his defence to all hazard and danger whatſoeuer: That his truſt was in God (who is the defender of the oppreſſed) that he would bee pleaſed to aſſiſt them, againſt that world of men ill-aduiſed, who vnder the colour of meriting heauen, haue forſaken their houſes, to burne and pill and ſacke and ranſacke, and kill in the houſes of other men, without either reaſon, iudgement or mercy.

The King of *Aragon* returned to the Legat, who aſſembled together diuers of his great Lords and Prelates

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lates, to heare and vnderſtand what the King of *Aragon* would relate vnto him, who told him that hee found the Earle of *Beziers* his kinſman much diſcontented with the former proceedings againſt his ſubiects of *Beziers*, and the Towne of *Carcaſſonne*, which gaue him reaſon to beleeue, that foraſmuch as they had not ſpared the Romiſh Catholikes, nor the Prieſts, that it was not a warre vndertaken for the cauſe of Religion; but vnder the colour of Religion, a kind of theeuery; that his hope was, that God would giue him the grace to make him know his innocencie, and the iuſt occaſion he had to defend himſelfe; that they ſhould no longer hope they would yeeld themſelues to their diſcretion, becauſe they ſaw their diſcretion was no other, but to kill as many as ſhould yeeld themſelues thereunto; And that therefore if it would pleaſe the Legat, to grant vnto the Earle of *Beziers* and his ſubiects ſome tollerable compoſition, that gentlenеſſe and mercy would ſooner ioyne the *Albingenſes* to the Church of *Rome*, than extreme crueltie; and that aboue all, they ſhould remember that the Earle of *Beziers* was young, and a Romiſh Catholike, who might doe good ſeruice for the reducing of thoſe that did any way relie or put their truſt in him.

The Legat anſwered the King of *Aragon*, that if hee would retire himſelfe a little, they would conſult together of that which ſhould be fitteſt to be done.

The King being recalled, the Legat gaue him to vnderſtand, that for his ſake, and in conſideration of his interceſſion, he would receiue the Earle of *Beziers* vnto mercie, and with him ſome dozen might likewiſe come forth with their bag and baggage, if hee thought good; but for the people that were within the Citie of

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their tearme of fortie daies, during the which they had gained Paradice, and refuſing to conquer any more, after ſo faire a purchaſe, for feare they ſhould change their former felicitie for blowes.

The Legat being much troubled to ſee his company reduced to ſo ſmall a number, and being without hope to take that place ſo important to harbour him, that hereafter ſhould haue the conduct of the Armie of the Church; he bethought himſelfe of a ſtratagem, which he effected, and it was this: He ſent for a certaine Gentleman well-ſpoken, that was in the Armie, telling him that it was in his power to doe a notable peece of ſeruice to the Church, whereby beſides the reward hee ſhould receiue in Heauen, he ſhould in this life bee recompenced according to his merit. And ſo hee told him that he was to approch as neere as he could to the rampiers of the Citie of *Carcaſſonne*, and there make ſome ſigne to thoſe that were beſieged, that he deſired to haue ſome parley with them, and to ſpeake with the Earle of *Beziers*, as his kinſman and ſeruant, to whom hee had ſome thing to ſay, that might redound to his great honour and benefit, and all that were within *Carcaſſonne*, & that then he ſhould ſtraine his wits, and doe his beſt endeuour to put him into feares, and to perſwade him to haue recourſe vnto his mercy, and withall, to worke him by perſwaſions, promiſes and oathes, with execrations (of which he being the Popes Legat had power alwaies to acquit and diſcharge him) to bee content to bee conducted by him to the Legat, with aſſurance to bring him backe againe ſafe and ſound into *Carcaſſonne*.

This Gentleman played his part ſo well, that hee brought with him the ſaid Earle of *Beziers*, to ſpeake with

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with the Legat, where the young Earle told him, that if hee would bee pleaſed to carry himſelfe with greater mildneſſe towards his ſubiects, hee might eaſily reclaime them as he would himſelfe, and winne the *Albingenſes* to the Church; that the compoſition which was offered them, was diſhonorable, and ill-befitting thoſe that were to haue their eyes as chaſte as their thoughts, and that his people would rather chooſe to dye, than to be brought to ſo great a ſhame; and therefore hee humbly intreated him to bee more mercifull vnto them, promiſing to perſwade his ſubiects to accept of any other condition more tollerable.

The anſwer of the Legat was: That they of *Carcaſſonne* might determine with themſelues, as they thought beſt, and that he in the meane time ſhould take no care for them, for hee was now his priſoner vntill *Carcaſſonne* were taken, and his ſubiects had better learnt their duty.

The Earle being much aſtoniſhed hereat, proteſted and auerred that he was betrayed, and faith was violated, and that hee was come thither vpon the word of a Gentleman, giuen with oathes & execrations, that he would conduct him backe ſafe and ſound into the City of *Carcaſſonne*, But being demanded who and where that Gentleman was, this yong Earle was taught that it was no wiſedome to leaue his Citie, vpon the warrant of ſimple words onely. Hee was committed to the guard and cuſtodie of the Duke of *Burgongne*.

The inhabitants of *Carcaſſonne* hauing vnderſtood of the impriſonment of their Lord, brake out into teares, and were ſtrucken with ſtrange aſtoniſhments, inſomuch that they now thought of nothing ſo much, as how to eſcape the danger they were in; but all meanes of

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of eſcape (to the outward appearance) were taken away, for they were ſhut vp on all ſides, and the trenches full of men. But one among the reſt told them, that he did remember, that he had heard ſome ancient men of the Citie ſay, that there was in *Carcaſſonne* a certaine vaut or channell vnder the ground, great and capable, inſomuch that men might walke in it vpright, & many together, which continued to the Caſtle of *Cameret*, in *Cabiaret*, about three leagues from *Carcaſſonne*, and that if the entry thereof might be found, God had prouided for them a miraculous deliuerance. Hereupon all the Citizens were imployed about this ſearch of the vaut, except the guard, which were vpon the Rampiers. At the laſt, the mouth or entrance thereof being found, they all began this iourney through it, about the beginning of the night, with their wiues and children, carrying only with them, ſome victuals for a few dayes. This remoue and departure accompanied with outcries and gronings, and ſorrow to leaue their houſes and moueables, furniſhed with al manner of goods and furniture, to betake themſelues to an vncertaine courſe to ſaue themſelues by flight, leading with them their infants, & old decrepit people, with the pittifull skreechings and outcries of women, was a moſt heauy and lamentable ſpectacle. They arriued the next morrow at the ſaid Caſtle, and from thence they diſperſed themſelues here and there, ſome to *Aragon*, others to *Catalongue*, others to *Toulouze*, and other Townes that tooke part with them, whither it pleaſed God to conduct them. *Chaſſ. lib. 2. chap. 14. pag. 121.*

The morrow after in the morning the *Pelerins* were all ſtrangely aſtoniſhed, for that they had heard no noiſe all that night, but much more becauſe they ſaw

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no man ſtirring that day. They came neere to the walls, but yet with ſome doubt, fearing leſt it ſhould be a baite to draw them within the toyle, but yet neuertheleſſe finding nothing that might make them any way diſtruſtfull, they mounted the breach, entred the Citie, and cryed out to the Armie, that the *Albingenſes* were fled. The Legat ſpeedily ſent to make publike Proclamations, that no man ſhould ceaze vpon any body in his owne right, but that all ſhould bee carryed to the great Church of *Carcaſſonne*, from whence afterwards all things ſhould be brought and ſold for the benefit of the *Pelerins*, rewarding euery one according to his merit. And ſo it was done, and the Earle of *Beziers* committed to priſon in one of the ſtrongeſt Towers of *Carcaſſonne*.

Chap. VI.

The Legat Milon *eſtabliſheth a Captaine of warre for the Church; the Earle Simon of* Montfort *accepteth the charge: The Earle* Remond *is abſolued by the Pope: The Earle of* Beziers *dieth: The King of* Aragon *diſpleaſed with the Earle* Simon: *Diuers reuolt from his obedience: He demandeth of the Prelats a new ſupply of the Souldiers of the Croſſe.*

THe Citie of *Carcaſſonne* being in the poſſeſſion of the Legat, hee reſolued with himſelfe to make it a Towne of warre, an Arcenall againſt the *Albingenſes*, and preſently hee aſſembled all the Prelats and great Lords which were yet in his Armie, to take counſell how hee might make it a place fit to maintaine

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a warre of long continuance in time to come. Beſides, he gaue them to vnderſtand, that notwithſtanding hee thought it very neceſſary, that there ſhould bee alwaies in the Armies of the Church, a Legat of his Holineſſe, to giue authoritie to whatſoeuer ſhould paſſe, yet neuertheleſſe it was likewiſe neceſſary that there ſhould be a ſecular Captaine of the warre, one that was puiſſant, wiſe, valiant and fearefull, abſolutely to command all occurrences, and to expedite all affaires concerning the warre, by his prudent guide and gouernment, it not belonging to the capacitie of Eccleſiaſticall perſons to leade Armies, or to make warre; and that therefore they ſhould conſult with themſelues, to caſt their eyes vpon ſome one of the Lords of the Croſſe, to whom the conquered Countries might be committed, and the care for the direction of this holy warre, vntill it might be otherwiſe determined by the Pope.

This charge was firſt offered to the Duke of *Burgongue*, afterwards to the Earle of *Enneuers*, and to the Earle of S^t^. *Paul*, who did all refuſe it. Which the Legat ſeeing and perceiuing it would be a difficult matter to agree in the nomination of a Captaine, with one mutuall conſent they named two Biſhops, with the Abbot of *Ciſteaux*, Legat of the Apoſtolike Sea, and foure men of Armes, to whom they gaue power to chooſe him, that hereafter ſhould leade the Armie of the Church.

They named the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* neere *Paris*, notice whereof being giuen vnto him, hee excuſed himſelfe, alledging his incapacitie and vnhabilities; but in the end he accepted of it, after that the Abbot of *Ciſteaux* had laid his commandement vpon him, enioyning him by vertue of obedience, to accept of the

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ſaid nomination, whereupon hee promiſed (ſaith the Compiler of the Treaſure of Hiſtories) to doe his beſt endeauour to vex the enemies of our Lord, for ſo they tearme the *Albingenſes*.

The Treaſure of Hiſtories in the Treat. of Albingenſes.

The Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*, being Generall of the Armie of the Church, made his abode at *Carcaſſonne*, with foure thouſand of his *Pelerins*, which as yet remained of that great Leuy of three hundred thouſand men. *Montreal*, *Fauiaux* and *Limons*, contributed great ſummes of money for the Garriſon. For they were not to harbour thoſe Pilgrims that were not bound to any ſeruice, their time of fortie daies being expired; but ſuch Souldiers as were well affected for the guard of that place.

In this meane time, the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, went to King *Phillip Dieu-donne*, to get his letters of Commendation to the Pope, to the end he might bee fully cleered and iuſtified touching the death of the Monke, Frier *Peter de Chaſteauneuf*, of the which hee was iniuſtly forced to confeſſe himſelfe guilty, onely becauſe the murder was committed within his territories, for which the Legat *Milon* had impoſed an vniuſt penance vpon. From the Court of the King of *France*, he trauelled to *Rome*, where he did immediatly receiue his abſolution of Pope *Innocent* the third, as if it had beene ready and prouided for him. The Pope receiued him with all the curteſie that might be, giuing him for a preſent, a rich Cloke, and a Ring of great price, and granting vnto him full remiſſion and abſolution touching the ſaid murder, and declaring that he held him in this regard ſufficiently iuſtified.

The Earle of *Beziers* being priſoner at *Carcaſſonne*, dyed ſhortly after, the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* was put

put in poſſeſſion of his Lands, not without great ſuſpition of poiſon. The Earle *Simon* made ſhew to be much grieued therewith, and cauſed him to be interred in the great Church of *Carcaſſonne*, with great pompe, and with his face vncouered, to the end that none of his Subiects might afterwards doubt of his death. Preſently after he made challenge to the inheritance and whole eſtate of the ſaid Earle, by vertue of thoſe donations which the Legat of the Pope had conferred vpon him, and that charge that was laid vpon him for the Church.

In purſuit whereof, hee demanded of the King of *Aragon*, the inueſtiture of the Earledome of *Beziers*, and the Citie of *Carcaſſonne*. The King of *Aragon* would not yeeld thereunto, bewraying much diſcontent, to ſee this houſe ouerthrowne vnder a pretence of Religion. The like diſcontent did the Duke of *Bourgongne* ſhew, at what time the charge of the Generall was offered vnto him, ſaying, *That hee had Lands and Lordſhips enough without the accepting of thoſe of the Earle of Beziers, and the ſpoiling him of his goods, adding therewithall, that he had alreadie ſuffered wrong enough.* Chaſſag. pag. 126.

All the bordering neighbours of the Earle *Simon*, began to feare him, vpon a report which he gaue forth, that at the ſpring following, he would haue a great Armie of *Pelerins* at his command, and that then hee would chaſtiſe thoſe, which had not acknowledged the authoritie wherein the Church had placed him. *Caſtres* ſent vnto him the Keyes of their Citie, by ſome of their Bourgeſſes. The Caſtle of *Pamies* was yeelded vnto him, euery one ſubmitted themſelues to his command, round about *Carcaſſonne*, and the Vi-

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countie of *Beziers*. But he receiued a back-blow in the middeſt of his proſperitie, which was a preſage vnto him of ſome euill. For the King of *Aragon*, keeking ſecretly the Gentlemen of the Vicountie of *Beziers*, in breath, encouraged them to bring vnto equall termes this petty-tyrant, who was brought in for the good of another, ſaying, That if he were not conſtrained to haue alwaies a world of Pilgrims for his conqueſts, he would abuſe this his reſt, to take heart to inuade the goods of all thoſe that are neere adioyning, vnder a pretence of that charge hee hath from the Pope: but if he once knew how dangerous, it would be for him, to want his Souldiers of the *Croſſe*, hee would be better aduiſed, conſidering that it is not poſſible, that he ſhould alwaies haue ſo great a number of Pilgrims, that ſhould alwaies make him fearefull; for there muſt be time for the leuying of them, time for the conducting of them from farre Countries, and if he ſhould make no vſe of them within fortie daies of their arriuall, hee would be more weake than before, after the expiration of their Pilgrimage: That to hurt and hinder him, there can be no better courſe taken than to keepe themſelues locked vp in their Garriſons at the comming of the Pilgrims, and at their departure when they were weake, to ſet vpon him on euery part; that at the laſt he will be ſo weary of his great trauels, that he will thinke he hath bought at a deare rate, the good which he beleeued he had gotten by the title of a Donation of thoſe that had nothing to giue. The King of *Aragon* added hereunto that he had neuer heard of any ſo vniuſt a vſurpation, for if this war were made to take away the goods and liues of the *Albingenſens*, by what title had the Legat confiſcated the goods

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goods of the Earle of *Beziers*, who had alwaies liued, and alſo died in the beleefe of the Church of *Rome?* That he therefore perceiued, that the greateſt crime they could finde in the ſaid Earle, was, that they found him to be young, and no way powerfull. That if God gaue him life, he would make it appeare, that he loued the Earle of *Beziers*, and that he was his Kinſman, and would likewiſe ſhew himſelfe a true friend, to thoſe that had any feeling of thoſe wrongs and outrages that were offered him. Thoſe hopes to be ſuccoured by the King of *Aragon*, gaue heart and courage vnto thoſe, that with great impatiency bare the dominion and power of the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*, in ſuch ſort, that the ſaid Earle being one day, gone from *Carcaſſonne* to *Montpelier*, he found at his returne, that diuers had taken Armes, to ſhake off their yoake, hauing beſieged certaine of his Souldiers in a Tower neere to *Carcaſſonne*. He ſpeedily made his returne to ſuccour them, but too late, for not being able to paſſe a Riuer called *Saraſſe*, and being gone to *Carcaſſonne* to paſſe by the bridge, the Tower was taken before hee came. This ſmall affront brought him into ſome contempt, and gaue heart to others, to offer the like. About this time, Captaine *Boucard* for the ſaid Earle *Simon* at the Caſtle of *Seiſſac*, attempted the ſurpriſe of the ſtrong Caſtle of *Cabaret*, whereof mention hath beene made heretofore; for this end and purpoſe, he made his approach vnto the ſaid Caſtle, as cloſely as he could. Captaine *Roger*, who was within the ſaid Caſtle, for the Earle *Remond* was come forth with foureſcore horſe, to forrage and ſeeke for bootie: *Boucard* vpon the ſudden, and vnlooked for, charged him, and had well-neere diſcomfited him; but *Roger* hauing taken

The Monke of the Valley *Sernay. Chap.* 33.

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taken knowledge of the enemy, doubled the charge vpon him in ſo furious a manner, that he ouercame the troops of *Boucard*, and brought him Priſoner to that Caſtle, which he ſaid he came to ſurpriſe.

At this very time, *Gerard* of *Pepios*, tooke part with the *Albingenſes*, and ſeized vpon *Puiſorignier*, and the Caſtle of *Menerbe*. Now the warre began to grow very cruell, for (if it be true that the Monke of the Vallies *Sernay* hath written) *Gerard* cauſed the eyes of all the Souldiers of the Earle *Simon*, which he could take to be pluckt out, and cut off their eares and their noſes with their vpper lip, & ſent them all naked to the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*, leauing one for a guide vnto the other, with one eye. On the other part, whenſoeuer the Earle *Simon* was victorer in any place, he cauſed a great fire to bee made, and caſt into it as many of the *Albingenſes* as he could take. All they of the Romiſh Church did as much, that bare Armes for the *Albingenſes*; for *William* of *Rochford*, Biſhop of *Carcaſſonne*, cauſed the Abbot of *Ciſteaux* to be ſlaine, meeting him neere vnto *Carcaſſonne*, his body being found murdered with ſix and thirtie wounds, and the Monke which accompanied him, with foure and twentie.

Then the Citie of *Carcaſſonne* (ſaith the Monke) and the Souldiers that were in it, were ſtricken with ſuch feare, *That they had little hope to defend themſelues but by flight, for they ſaw themſelues* (ſaith he) *enuironed on all ſides with infinite enemies*. From theſe miſeries, which did much moue the patience of the Earle *Simon*, hee tooke occaſion to write, to all the Prelats throughout *Europe*, that if in the Spring following, he were not aſſiſted with new ſuccours of Pilgrims, it was impoſſible for him to hold out, for his enemies finding

finding his weakneſſe, tooke the aduantage thereof: witneſſe that after the laſt departure of the Pilgrims, he had loſt aboue forty townes & Caſtles, of which the people had before brought him the keyes, and were now all reuolted from him and the Church, being beyond his power to remedy it for want of men. Hee therefore intreated them in the name of God, to giue their helping hand, otherwiſe he muſt be enforced to yeeld vp the rights of the Church and the Countrey altogether.

Now matters thus ſtanding, the Earle *Simon* attending new ſuccours, tooke the Caſtle of *Beron* neare *Montreal*, where he cauſed the eies of aboue a hundred *Albingenſes* to bee pulled out, and cut off their noſes, leauing onely one with one eye to bee a guide to the reſt, and to conduct them to *Cabaret*. This ſtirred vp the *Albingenſes* in ſuch ſort, that had not ſuccours inſtantly come, they had ſhut him vp on euery ſide. *Chaſſ. pag. 136.*

Chap. VII.

New ſuccours of Pilgrimes come to the Earle Simon, *conducted from* France *by his Wife*; *The Earle* Simon *by them recouereth the Caſtles of* Menerbe *and* Termes, *and the Towne* De la Vaur: *The Earle* Remond *is cited before the Legat*; *He refuſeth to appeare:* Folquet *the Biſhop of* Toulouze *ouer-reacheth him*; *cauſeth him to loſe the Caſtle* Narbonnes: *The Legat* Milon *dieth.*

IN the yeare one thouſand two hundred and ten, the Earle *Simon* being ſhut vp (ſaith the Treaſure of Hiſtories) within *Carcaſſonne*, for want of Pilgrims, he vnderſtood 1210.

HAIL & FIRE

that the Counteſſe his Wife, came from *France*, and brought with her a great number of *Pelerins*, which gaue him great comfort, and he went out to meet her.

A pleaſant warre it was, wherein Prieſts leuied the Souldiers, and a woman conducted them to the warres.

The *Pelerins* were imployed in the recouerie of the Caſtle of *Menerbe*, a place very ſtrong by nature, vpon the Frontiers of *Spaine*. This ſiege was procured by the intreatie of *Ameri*, Lord of *Narbonne*, and the Inhabitants thereof, who complained that alwaies in former times this place had beene as a thorne in their feet: They yeelded themſelues for want of water, to the diſcretion of the Legat, who cauſed the Pilgrims to enter the place with the Croſſe and the Banner, and ſinging *Te Deum laudamus*. The Abbot of *Vaux* would needs preach to thoſe that were within the Caſtle, and to exhort them to acknowledge the Pope, and to ſticke to the Romiſh Church; but they not ſtaying till he had ended his Diſcourſe, they all of them cryed out, ſaying, *We will not forſake our faith, we reiect the Romiſh, you labour but in vaine, for neither life nor death ſhall make vs to abandon our beleefe.* Vpon this anſwer, the Earle *Simon* and the Legat, commanded a great fire to bee made, and caſt into it a hundred and fortie perſons, as well women as men, who went into it with ioy, giuing thankes vnto God for that it pleaſed him to doe them the honour, to ſuffer and to dye for his names ſake. Thus did theſe true Martirs of Chriſt Ieſus finiſh their fraile liues in the midſt of the flames, to liue eternally in heauen; And thus did they triumph ouer the Legat of the Pope, reſiſting him to his face, and threatning the iuſt iudgement of God vpon the

The Monk of the Vallies of Sernay, *chap.* 47. *Chaſſ. lib. 3. chap.* 7.

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HAIL & FIRE

the Earle *Simon*, and that one day hee would pay dearely for his cruelties, howſoeuer he ſeemed now to commit them ſcotfree, yet he would pay for all when the bookes ſhould be opened. There were a number of Prieſts and Monkes, that did exhort them to take pitty on themſelues, promiſing them their liues, if they would liue according to the beleefe of the Church of *Rome:* There were only three women that accepted of the condition, that is to ſay, to liue by abiuring their religion; all the reſt died conſtantly, but they were vanquiſhed by the allurements of the mother of *Richard de Marſiac.*

After this expedition, the Earle *Simon* beſieged the Caſtle of *Termes* in the ſame territorie of *Narbonne*, a place that ſeemed impregnable by any force of man. It was taken for want of water, not by any capitulation: but becauſe hauing had along time a great want of water, it rained and they dranke of the water which fell into their Ciſternes, not ſufficiently purified, whereupon they fell into diuers diſeaſes. Seeing therefore themſelues brought to ſuch an eſtate, that if they had beene driuen to fight, they had had no power to make reſiſtance; they reſolued one night to quit the place; which they did not being deſcried by any: The ſouldiers of the Biſhop of *Chartres* made entrie as ſoone as they perceiued they were all departed, and there ſet vp the enſigne of their Biſhop.

Termes. The Lord of Tholo in the hiſt. of his times *pa.* 459.

Amongſt other reaſons which the Earle *Simon* vſed, to animate his *Pilgrims*, this was the moſt pregnant, that this place was the moſt execrable of all the reſt, becauſe there had beene no Maſſe ſung there ſince the yeare 1180. that is to ſay for the ſpace of thirty yeeres.

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay *ch.* 52. and ſo forward.

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La Vaur.

The Caſtle *Vetuille de la Vaur*, much troubled the Earle *Simon*. It was beſieged with new troopes of *Pilgrims*, which a little before came from France, whileſt the ſiege was at *Termes*, that is to ſay, the Biſhop of *Chartres*, of *Beauuais*, the Earle of *Dreux*, and the Earle of *Pontieure*. This place was vpon the riuer of *Agotte*, about fiue leagues from *Carcaſſonne*, towards *Toulouze*, whereof the ſiſter of *Aimeri*, Lord of *Montreal* whoſe name was *Gerande*, was Lady. The Legat had taken from the ſaid Lord of *Montreal* all his places, which was the cauſe why he put himſelfe into the city *de la Vaur* to defend his Siſter. There were within this place many honeſt men: There came *Pilgrims* from all parts to the Legat: From *Normandie* the troopes being conducted by their Biſhops, eſpecially by him of *Liſieux*; and there came alſo vnto him ſix thouſand *Alemans*. The Earle of *Foix* being aduertiſed which way they came, went and lay in ambuſcado for them, where he ouerthrew them all, not any eſcaping, but a certain Earle, who at the firſt encounter, ran away to carry newes to the Earle *Simon*, who purſued the Earle of *Foix* with foureteene thouſand men, but in vaine, for he had before retired himſelfe to *Mongiſcard*.

Chaſſ. lib. 3. pa. 141. Ologarei in hiſt. of Foix. pag. 129.

After ſix moneths ſiege, the city *de la Vaur* was taken by aſſault, where all were put to the ſword, except foureſcore gentlemen, whom the Earle *Simon* cauſed to bee hanged and ſtrangled, and *Aimeri* was hanged vpon a gibbet, higher than all the reſt; and the Lady of *Lauar*, was caſt aliue into a ditch, and therein couered with ſtones. One onely act of humanity wee reade was done by the troopes of the Earle *Simon*; and that is, that a gentleman vnderſtanding that there were in a houſe diuers women and children ſicke, hee begged them

Chaſſ. lib. 3. pag. 150.

them of the Generall, and they were granted vnto him; who conducted them ſafe and ſound out of the citie, not being offered by any man the leaſt indignitie that may be.

Theſe were the principall places that the Legat tooke in the yeere one thouſand two hundred and ten. 1210.

We muſt now returne to the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, who at his returne from *Rome* with letters of fauour from the Pope, gaue the Legat *Milon* to vnderſtand, that he was reconciled vnto the Pope, and had receiued from him his full abſolution, and that he had beſtowed vpon him ſome preſents. In the meane time the matter is otherwiſe ſet downe in the Treaſure of hiſtories, for there it is ſaid, *That the Pope writ to the Biſhop of* Rhodois, *to Maſter* Miles, *and Maſter* Theodoſius, *that if the Earle could purge himſelfe ſufficiently before them, of the death of Frier* Peter, *and the hereſie for which he was ſuſpected, that they ſhould giue him his purgation.*

The Treatiſe of hiſt. in the treat. of the Albing.

This clauſe gaue authority againe to the Legats, to heare the ſaid Earle, touching the aforeſaid buſineſſe, which was to bring him backe againe to the beginning of all his miſery. The Earle *Simon* preſſed the Legat to proceed in the fact of the Earle *Remond*, either to abſolue, or to condemne him, to the end he might know, whether he ſhould hold him for a friend or for an enemie of the Pope and of the Church, to be at peace with him, or to make war againſt him.

The Legat *Milon* commanded him to appeare in his owne perſon, becauſe he would know once for all, how he and his ſubiects liued with them, that is to ſay, with the Earle *Simon* and the Church.

Chaſſ. lib. 3. pag. 129.

The Earle *Remond* anſwered, that neither he nor his

HAIL & FIRE

Subiects had any thing to doe with them, that he had made his agreement and reconciliation with the Pope, which the Legat could not be ignorant of, to whom he had ſhewed the *Bulles*, and therefore hee intreated them to forbeare any farther to diſquiet him, The Earle *Simon* and the Legat writ vnto him againe, that it was very neceſſary, that he ſhould make repaire vnto him to fulfill the contents of the *Bulles*. He anſwered that he had rather take the paines to goe to king *Philip* of France, and to the Emperor, yea to *Rome*, to the Pope himſelfe, to complaine of the wronges they did vnto him, than to put himſelfe any more into their hands.

When the Legat ſaw that he could not winne him by Letters, he reſolued to play the fox and to winne him by ſubtleties. They ſent vnto him *Folquet* Biſhop of *Toulouze*, and inſtructed him how hee ſhould cary himſelfe to deceiue him: This was a capable inſtrument for the premeditated treaſon. He went therefore to the Earle *Remond*, inſinuated himſelfe into his fauour, with fained proteſtations of his deſire to ſerue him, and his great griefe to ſee ſo little loue betwixt the Legat and himſelfe, wiſhing that it were in his power to ſtand him in any ſteed therein, though with the loſſe of his owne bloud, and offering vnto him all loue and aſſiſtance: That he had far greater reaſon to procure the preſeruation of his good, than any other perſon whatſoeuer: That he would aduiſe him as a friend, to take from the Legat all pretence of ſuſpition: That when he had once ſhewed himſelfe confident of him, they would no longer doubt of his fidelitie; and that euen now a faire occaſion was offered, to binde the Legat and the Earle *Simon* vnto him, and

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and that was, that whereas he knew they were ſhortly to come to *Toulouze*, if he would offer vnto them his Caſtle *Narbonnes* to lodge in, it would be an excellent teſtimony of that confidence hee had in them and binde them to loue him. The Earle *Remond* being thus gulled by this Biſhop, offered them his caſtle: They accepted thereof, and preſently placed therein a great garriſon. The word was no ſooner ſlipt the Earles mouth, but he was ſure he ſhould repent it, but it was now too late to recall it. He curſed his owne imprudency, and his friends and ſubiects, his too great facility; for he ſaw them incontinently to fortifie his Caſtle, that it might ſerue them for a caneſſon and bridle for his owne ſubiects: As alſo from the time of their entrance into that place, he found that they grew bold to ſpeake all the ill they could of the Earle *Remond*, and that with open mouth; ſaying that he had mocked the Pope, giuing him to vnderſtand that which was falſe, and promiſing that which he would neuer performe, inſomuch that he was as great an heretike as he was before his abiuration.

That in the ruine and puniſhment of the Earle *Remond*, the deſtruction of the *Albingenſes* did conſiſt: but on the contrary, though the ground were couered with the dead bodies of the *Albingenſes*, if the Earle *Remond* ſhould remaine, they would alwaies bud and ſpring vp againe, and therefore it was reſolued to exterminate and vtterly to deſtroy the houſe of *Remond* from the bottome to the top. But when men purpoſe that which God hath otherwiſe diſpoſed, they come many times ſhort; So it was with the Earle *Simon*, who was fruſtrated of this hope, by the ſudden vnexpected death of the Legat *Milon*, which changed the face of the

HAIL & FIRE

the affaires of the ſaid Earle *Milon*: for he was faine to ſpend many yeares in the ruinating of that houſe of the Earle *Remond* and his adherents, which hee had promiſed to doe in a few daies.

Chap. VIII.

Theodoſius *ſucceedeth the Legat* Milon: *proceedeth againſt the Earle* Remond, *excommunicateth him, and frames very violent articles againſt him: The Earle* Remond *retireth himſelfe from* S^t^. Giles *and* Arles *with the king of* Aragon, *leſt they ſhould be apprehended by the Legat*: Simon *beſiegeth* Montferrand: Baudoin *reuolteth*: *The king of* Aragon *allieth himſelfe with the Earle* Simon.

1211. IN the yeere of our Lord 1211. *Thodize* gaue the Earle *Remond* to vnderſtand, that he ſhould haue what was iuſt and right touching his affaires, and with faire words perſwaded him to come to S^t^. *Giles*. Being there he ript vp the buſineſſe touching the murder of the Monke Frier *Peter de Chaſteauneuf* from the beginning, without conſideration of any precedent iuſtification, and excommunicated the ſaid Earle *Remond*, not as being guilty of the death of the ſaid Monke, but becauſe he had not driuen the *Albingenſes* out of his countrey as he was bound by promiſe. The Earle *Remond* hauing felt the blaſt of the ſaid excommunication, retired himſelfe to *Toulouze*, not ſpeaking a word, before the Legat had meanes to publiſh the ſentence.

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The Biſhop of *Toulouze* knowing hee was excommunicated, ſent one to certifie vnto him, that hee was to depart out of the citie of *Toulouze*, ſo long as the Maſſe was ſinging, becauſe he might not ſay Maſſe, there being an excommunicated perſon within the citie. The Earle *Remond* being much moued with the audacious boldneſſe of the Biſhop, ſent a Gentleman, one of his followers to tell him, that hee was to depart and that ſpeedily out of his territories, vpon paine of his life. The Biſhop departed and ſent to the Prouoſt of the Cathedrall Church, and to the Canons, that they were to depart with them, and that with the Croſſe, and the Banner, and the Hoaſt, and for the greater deuotion, they ſhould goe barefoot and in proceſſion. In this equipage they arriued at the Armie of the Legat, where they were receiued as Martyrs perſecuted for the Maſſe, euen with teares of the Pilgrims, and the generall applauſe of euery one.

The Legat thought now that he had ſufficient cauſe to proſecute the Earle *Remond*, as a relapſe and impenitent man, but yet he deſired much to get hold of him, becauſe if he could once apprehend him, hee would quickly make him to conclude that buſineſſe as the Earle of *Beziers* did. To this purpoſe, hee flattered him by Letters, full of teſtimonies of his great loue towards him, & by this meanes drew him once againe to *Arles*. The Earle entreated the King of *Aragon* that he would be there to hinder (if need ſhould be) any foule play that might bee offered. Being come to the place, the Legat commanded the King of *Aragon*, and the ſaid Earle *Remond*, that they ſhould not depart the city, without his leaue vpon paine of indignation, and

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HAIL & FIRE

to be proſecuted as rebells to the Church. Some friend of the Earles vſed the meanes, to giue him a ſight of the Articles of the Sentence, which the Legat had a purpoſe to publiſh againſt the ſaid Earle *Remond*, which were theſe that follow.

That the Earle of *Toulouze* ſhall incontinently diſmiſſe and caſheere all his men of Armes, not retaining any one of them.

That he ſhal be obedient, and ſubiect to the Church, of which he ſhall repaire the damages, and ſatisfie all coſts and charges.

That throughout all his lands, no man ſhall eat more than two ſorts of fleſh.

That he ſhall expell out of his countries and territories, all the heretikes and their allies.

That he ſhall deliuer into the hands of the Legat, and the Earle of *Montford*, all thoſe that ſhall bee named vnto him, to doe with them as they pleaſe, and that within one yeare.

That no man within his lands, noble or ignoble, ſhall weare any apparell of great price, but blacke and courſe clokes.

That all the ſtrong places and caſtles of defence, belonging vnto him, ſhall be ouerthrowne and laid euen with the ground.

That no Gentleman of his ſhall remaine or dwell in any City or Caſtle, but ſhall make his abode, in the fields and countrey houſes, as a villager.

That he ſhall not leuy in his lands any tolles, but thoſe that haue beene of old time impoſed.

That euery maſter of an houſe, ſhall pay yearely to the Legat foure *Toulouzian* pence.

That when the Earle of *Montford*, or any of his people

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people ſhall paſſe through his countries, they ſhall pay nothing for any thing they take or ſpend.

That hauing performed all things, as aboue, he ſhall trauell beyond the Seas, to make warre againſt the *Turkes*, neuer returning againe into theſe parts, but by the commandement of the Legat.

That after all theſe things, the Legat and the Earle of *Montfort* ſhould reſtore vnto him, all his Lands and Signories, when it ſhould pleaſe them.

Theſe Articles being communicated to the King of *Aragon*, he found them ſo vniuſt, that he would ſtay no longer in that place, but counſelled the Earle of *Toulouze* preſently to mount on horſe-backe, for feare leſt they ſhould ceaze vpon his perſon, euen to the full execution of thoſe Articles, who it ſhould ſeeme went about to enrich themſelues by his ſpoyles. And foraſmuch as the ſaid King of *Aragon* had perſwaded the ſaid Earle that hee ſhould put no more confidence in the Legat and Earle *Simon*, hee caſt in his teeth his too great facillitie, ſaying vnto him in *Gaſcongne* tongue: *Pla bous an pagat*, that is to ſay, *They haue well payed you.*

The Legat and the Earle *Simon* being much diſcontented that this prey had eſcaped their hands, and knowing that he would no more ſuffer himſelfe to bee abuſed and ouer-reached by words, they endeuored to get that by force, which either by faire words or foule they could not. Whereupon they went preſently and beſieged the Caſtle of *Montferrand*, into which the Earle *Remond* had put the Earle *Baudoni* his brother, with the Vicount of *Montelar*, *Remond* of *Pierregourde*, and *Pons Roux* of *Toulouze*, and diuers other valiant men to defend that place, which he knew to be of great

HAIL & FIRE

importance. After ſome breach and aſſaults, the Earle *Simon* being out of all hope to winne this place by force of Armes, deſired to ſpeake with the Earle *Baudoni*, which hauing obtained, he told him that his brother made it appeare vnto the world, that he had deſire to vndoe him, in that hee had ſhut him vp in ſo paltrie a place, which he very well ſaw hee could not long defend, for that at the arriuall of that world of Pilgrims, which were now marching towards him, hee would quickly know, how great an ouerſight it was to locke vp himſelfe within ſo weake a hold: That if he did attend any violent aſſault of theſe Pilgrims, there would be no more place for mercie. That if he would yeeld himſelfe and the place, hee would leaue it to his guard for the Church, and beſides, he would make him, for the time to come, a partner of his conqueſts, with ſuch aduantage, that hee ſhould ſhortly bee a greater man, and in greater authoritie than his brother, who had procured vnto himſelfe, by his rebellion, his vtter ouerthrow. That hee could neuer haue power ſufficient to reſiſt the force of ſo many Kings, Princes and Potentates, who ſent their people to this warre, rewarded by their owne zeale, without any charge of the Church. That euery man would commend and admire this his retreat, beſides that happineſſe he ſhould gaine vnto himſelfe, by conſecrating himſelfe to the ſeruice of God and his Church, and acquitting himſelfe of that people amongſt whom there was not any that was not iudged by the Church worthy to be condemned to the fire. The Earle *Baudoni* ſuffered himſelfe to bee carryed by the promiſes and faire ſpeeches of the Earle *Simon*, and ſo deliuered vp the place, and put himſelfe into *Bruniquel*, a place very ſtrong which belonged

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HAIL & FIRE

belonged to the Earle *Remond*, and promiſed neuer to beare Armes, but in defence of the Church. Theſe two places drew with them, to the Earle *Simons* part, the places of *Rabaſteins*, *Gaillac*, *Montague*, *La Guarda*, *Pech*, *Selſas*, *La Guipia*, S^t^. *Antonin*, with other places neere adioyning.

The Earle *Remond* being much aſtoniſhed to ſee himſelfe betrayed, and abandoned by his owne brother, bewayled his misfortunes at *Toulouze*, where from day to day hee attended to bee inueſted; when vpon the ſurcharge of theſe euils, hee vnderſtood that the Legat and the Earle *Simon*, had wonne vnto them the King of *Aragon*, his one and only prop vpon earth, vnder God. The meane to worke it was this: The Legat writ vnto him, that he ſhould winne great commendation, and doe greater ſeruice to the Pope and to the Church, if he would once againe become a mediator for the peace of the Church. And to that end they entreated him to come to *Narbonne*, where they hoped to lay a good foundation. Hee tooke his iourney thither, where the firſt thing they propoſed, was, to make ſome agreement betwixt the Earle of *Foix*, and the Church, and the Earle *Simon*. A premeditated deſigne againe to ſpoyle the Earle *Remond* of his ſuccours. Afterwards they gaue him to vnderſtand, that the Earle *Simon* deſired to liue with him, as with his beſt kinſman and friend that he had in the world, and for this cauſe he was very willing to ioyne in alliance with him, if he would be pleaſed to accept of a daughter of the Earle *Simons*, to marry with his eldeſt ſonne. And ſuch conditions they propoſed vnto him, that he was content that his ſonne ſhould marry the daughter of the ſaid Earle *Simon*; in regard of which alliance, the King of

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Aragon, gaue to the Earle *Simon* the inueſtiture of the Earledome of *Beziers*, which before hee would neuer agree vnto, nor to that of *Carcaſſonne*, which he likewiſe at the ſame time obtained. But that which did moſt hurt the Earles of *Toulouze*, and of *Foix*, was, that they cauſed the King of *Aragon* to ſweare, that he would no more fauour the *Albingenſes*, but carry himſelfe as a Neuter in this warre betwixt the Church and them.

The Earle *Simon* hauing gotten that which he deſired, that is, to alienate the King of *Aragon* from the Earles of *Toulouze*, and of *Foix*, hee tooke his time to bend his forces both againſt the one and the other.

Chap. IX.

The Earle Simon *beſiegeth* Toulouze, *makes a ſpoile and is beaten, he raiſeth the ſiege:* Aimeri *is taken priſoner: The Earle of* Toulouze *is ſuccored, and by whom: The Earle* Simon *makes warre with the Earle of* Foix, *who goes in perſon to ſpeake with the Legat, but obtaines nothing: The King of* Aragon *animateth the Earle of* Foix, *and his ſonne* Roger, *and intercedeth for them in vaine.*

THe firſt attempt that the Earle *Simon* made, after his alliance with the King of *Aragon*, was the ſiege of *Toulouze*, being ſtrengthned with a great multitude of Pilgrims, which the Biſhop of *Toulouze* went to leuy in *France*, whileſt the Legat *Thedize*, and the Earle *Simon* did delay the Earle *Remond*, vnder the ſhadow of a treaty of peace with him. Being arriued at *Montandran*,

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dran, vpon the borders of *Garonne*, neere to *Toulouze*, the Earle *Remond* made a ſallie out of *Toulouze*, with fiue hundred horſe, and footmen a great number, and came as farre as the bridge, in hope to gaine it, or to breake it downe. *Chaſt. lib. 3. ch. 14 pa. 162.*

There was at that bridge a great fight, and many there died both on the one ſide and the other. In the end, the Earle *Remend* ſounded a retreat, whereupon the enemie tooke heart, paſſed the bridge, and purſued the Earle *Remond*, euen to the gates of *Toulouze:* The Earle *Remond* made ſo ſudden and ſo furious a reincounter vpon them, that he beat backe his enemy vnto the bridge, which was not large inough to receiue them, ſo that they were almoſt all ſlaine before they were at the foot thereof. *Aimeri* the ſonne of the ſaid *Simon* of *Montfort*, was taken priſoner.

The Earle *Simon* ſeeing this loſſe, and his ſonne taken priſoner, animated his Pilgrims to the combat. They endeuoring to be reuenged of this ouerthrow, ranne into the ditches, ſet vp their ladders, but they were valiantly repulſed. The ditches were filled with the dead bodies of the Pilgrims, and the Earle *Simon* was beaten from his horſe. In the middeſt of this conflict, arriued the Earle of *Champagne*, with a great number of Pilgrims, and he came in good time to bee well beaten. The Earle *Simon* commanded them all to goe to the ſpoile, whereupon the Pilgrims ranne into the Vineyards, Orchards and Gardens, cut downe all trees that bare fruit, plucked vp the Vines by the roots; at what time the Preſident of *Agenes* came forth of *Toulouze*, with a great number of the inhabitants thereof, who ſeeing them to ſpoile their poſſeſſions, ranne vpon the Pilgrims with violence, ſcattered here and there

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there through the fields, and ſlew a great number of them. On the other ſide the Earle of *Foix* conducting ſome troopes of horſe and foot, ſlew as many as hee met with. The Earle of *Bar* held his troopes in better order, and ſeeing the diſorder eſpecially of thoſe that were flying away, hee cryed out, a *Bar*, a *Bar*; which the inhabitants of *Toulouze* vnderſtanding, charged them ſo brauely, before any of them could gather themſelues vnto him, that he was diſcomfited with the reſt. The Earle *Remond* retired his troopes into *Toulouze*, and commanded ſolemne thankes to bee giuen vnto God, for ſo admirable a victorie ouer his enemies.

The fame of the Earle *Remonds* victories being ſpread abroad, there came vnto him diuers ſuccours, from all the parts round about him, for they were all weary of the troopes of the Pilgrims, and willingly offered both their goods and their liues to driue them out of the Countrey. The Earle *Simon* being in ſome ſcarſitie of victuall, becauſe the wayes whereby they ſhould be releeued, were ſtopt, was conſtrained to raiſe his ſiege. And beſides the Earle of *Chalons*, the Earle of *Bar*, and certaine other *Germaine* Earles, retired themſelues, their quarantaines or fortie daies being expired; but yet he would not bee altogether idle that Autumne: Hee therefore marched into the Countries of the Earle of *Foix*, to refreſh the reſt of his Armie, and to poſſeſſe himſelfe of ſome places. Hee went as farre as the Towne of *Foix*, made ſpoyle of all that was about it, and then ſet fire to the Towne. Being at *Panies*, the Legat tooke the one halfe of the Armie to accompanie him to *Roquemaure*, where hee went to paſſe the winter, and in his way being in the Earledome

chaſſ. lib. 3. chap. 14. pag. 169.

The Monke of the Valley Sernay. *Chap. 79.*

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dome of S^r. *Felix* of *Caraman*, he tooke the Tower of *Caſſas*, and about one hundred men therein, and cauſed them all to be burnt aliue, and laid the place leuell with the ground. In the meane time the Earle *Simon* ruinated the Countries of the Earle of *Foix*, as long as the ſaid Earle kept his bed, being viſited with a grieuous ſickneſſe, during the which, his ſeruants that were about him, durſt not tell him of his loſſes; that is to ſay, of *Pamies*, *Sauerdun*, *Mirepoix* and *Priſſant*, which had beene likewiſe battered, a place very ſtrong neere *Carcaſſonne*. Being recouered of his ſickneſſe, and vnderſtanding what hauocke the Earle *Simon* had made of his houſes, and what ruine his poore ſubiects had endured, he went to the Armie, and deſired to ſpeake with the Generall, and thus hee deliuered his minde vnto him.

" The inconſtancie of tottering fortune (my ma- " ſters and moſt renowned Lords) is the cauſe why I " am not aſtoniſhed to ſee my ſelfe thus infinitely af- " flicted by this cruell Step-mother. I haue heretofore " braued mine enemies, fought in the field amongſt " thoſe that would reſiſt my power, entertained the " great and mightie Monarches as my friends: None " haue threatned me, much leſſe offended me, neither " could my ſword euer beare it. I haue beene imploy- " ed in publike negotiations, which carry with them, " as their attendants, infinite diſcommodities, neither " haue I gotten any diſhonor thereby, and I ſhould " haue held my labor ill imployed, if they had not bin " vpon worthy occaſions, neuer hauing deſired to bee " accounted an honeſt man, by thoſe vnworthy and " vniuſt meanes that ſome men purpoſe vnto them- " ſelues. For he that is not an honeſt man, but becauſe

Hologoray in his Hiſt. of Foix. *pag.* 133.

HAIL & FIRE

" other men ſhould know him to bee ſo, and that hee
" might be the better eſteemed after knowledge taken
" thereof: he that will not doe good, but vpon conditi-
" on that his vertue may be knowne by other men, he
" is not the perſon from whom any great ſeruice can
" be expected. Wee muſt (ſaith the Maxime) goe to
" war out of dutie, and attend the reward which is ne-
" uer wanting to all honorable actions, be they neuer
" ſo ſecret; yea, euen our vertuous cogitations, being
" the onely contentment which a conſcience well or-
" dered receiueth in it ſelfe for well doing. Hauing
" therefore (my maſters and friends) my courage ſtill
" lodged in a firme and aſſured place, againſt all the
" aſſaults of Fortune, & my conſcience cleere in this,
" that I neuer gaue you any occaſion to riſe vp againſt
" me, I haue made no doubt to appeare before you in
" this aſſembly, and to bring with me my head, not
" my treaſures, to expoſe them to the mercy of the
" Souldier, or my commodities, to plant them as Bar-
" riers about my lands and territories, which you haue
" begunne without reaſon to bring into a lamentable
" eſtate, to be iudged by your Counſell, and according
" thereunto, to condeſcend to that which ſhall be de-
" termined. For I had rather neuer to haue beene
" borne, than to ſuruiue my reputation, neither can I
" ſuffer that honor and glory, which in my yonger
" yeeres I haue iuſtly wonne, to be extinguiſhed. Haue
" you euer knowne me to be an enemie to the Realme
" of *France?* If it be ſo, let me loſe both life and ho-
" nour, with ſhame and diſhonour. And who dares
" ſpeake it to my face? Haue I conſpired againſt the
" Church? What haue I done, that any man ſhould
" haue that conceit of me? And doe you thinke, that
" for

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" for the poore remainder of this fantaſticall imagina-
" ry life which I haue to liue, I will loſe the eſſentiall
" life, and purchaſe to my ſelfe, to pleaſe any mans ap-
" petite, an eternall death? The wiſe men of the world
" haue propoſed to themſelues a more honourable
" and iuſt end, to ſo important an enterprize. There
" is no man of honour that chooſeth not rather to loſe
" his honour than his conſcience. It is that which I
" hold to bee the deareſt Iewell within my Cabinet.
" Keepe me I pray you in that range which the Kings
" of *France* haue giuen mee, that is, to bee thought
" faithfull, as they haue heretofore cenſured me, when
" they haue had occaſion to deale in the affaires of my
" Houſe, to the end (ſaith he) that being offended, I
" be not conſtrained to defend my ſelfe, and to offend
" you, which ſhall bee much againſt mine owne will
" and intention. And this by oath I vow vnto you.

Roger the ſonne of the Earle of *Foix* was much af-
flicted with the ſubmiſſion of his father, as being an
action too baſe for the greatneſſe of their houſe. The
King of *Aragon* did likewiſe diſtaſte it. For notwith-
ſtanding he were allied to the Earle *Simon*, yet hee did
not feare to let him vnderſtand, that he could not ap-
proue of his vſurpations vnder the pretence of religion.

The Earle *Simon* on the other ſide, ſaid with a loud voice. *Holag. pag. 133.*

" That the conqueſts were iuſt and lawfull: that he
" had his right from the Pope: that there was no o-
" ther purchaſe, but that which hee wonne with the
" ſword: that hee had an Armie to anſwer whomſoe-
" uer ſhould oppoſe himſelfe againſt it, were it the
" King of *Aragon*, and of ſtrength ſufficient to defend
" himſelfe againſt whomſoeuer.

HAIL & FIRE

The King of *Aragon* writ to the Earle of *Foix*, that foraſmuch as the Legat, and the Earle *Simon* had deceiued him, in not reſtoring thoſe lands and places, which they had promiſed him to reſtore, that hee ſhould no longer put any truſt in them, ſince the intent of the Earle *Simon* was too well knowne. That is, that hee endeuored to make himſelfe great and rich with the goods of another, vnder a pretence of Religion, if his ambition and auarice were not ſtaied, by the common armes and intelligence of thoſe, whom hee had already ſpoyled of their goods, and of all others that doe but vnderſtand, that hauing begunne with their neighbours, hee will likewiſe deſire to folllow that courſe without end, the couetous deſires of men being endleſſe. That he knew very well that hee did not ſeeke his alliance, out of any deſire hee had to be honoured thereby, but onely to hinder him from ſuccoring thoſe whom he deſired to ſtrip out of all they had. He likewiſe exhorted by letters, *Roger* the ſonne of the Earle of *Foix*, to fortifie himſelfe againſt the vniuſt vſurpations of *Montfort*, otherwiſe euery man would laugh at him; that the Earle *Somon* was but weake, accompanied with a few Pilgrims, ready out of diſcontents to retire themſelues: that he ſhould therefore enter the field, and hee ſhould quickly finde who would aſſiſt him.

The Earle *Remond* being much afflicted with the alienation of the King of *Aragon*, by the marriage of his ſonne with the daughter of *Simon* of *Montfort*, thought it neceſſarie to doe his beſt endeuour to regaine him, by another mariage. He offered therefore his only ſon and heire in marriage to a daughter of his; vnto which motion, the King of *Aragon* yeelded his conſent.

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conſent. The Earle *Simon* was much diſpleaſed herewith. The Monk ſaith, *That this marriage made the King of* Aragon *very infamous, and much ſuſpected, conſidering that the Earle of* Toulouze, *was a manifeſt perſecuter of the Church.*

The Monke of the Valley Sernay, *Chap.* 67.

the Monk

The King of *Aragon* knowing the murmurings of the Earle *Simon*, did not feare with open mouth, to publiſh his purpoſe and intent to defend the Earle of *Toulouze*, and of *Foix*. That the one was his Brother in Law, the other his Subiect. That he did aſſure himſelfe of a day, that God would giue them, to make him repent his vniuſt conqueſts.

The Earle *Simon* being aduertized of the threats of the King of *Aragon*, intreated him to blot out thoſe bad impreſſions, which he had conceiued of him, and that he would make him the iudge, and ſtickler of the difference that was betwixt him and the Earle of *Foix*: The Earle of *Foix* on the other ſide, intreated the King of *Aragon* to yeeld thereunto; who obtained of the Earle *Simon* the reſtitution of all his Lands and Territories, except *Pamies*. Which exception, when his ſonne *Roger* vnderſtood, he preſently ſaid hée would none of that; but he knew very well how to recouer that with his ſword, which very vniuſtly he had taken from him by foule play, and falſe pretences. Whereupon he entred the field, foraged, tooke his occaſions ſeaſonably, and beſtowed his time with ſuch incredible diligence, in all his exploits, that he made the Armie of the *Croſſe* to feele the bloudy effects of his valour. On the other ſide, the Earle of *Toulouze* tooke the aduantage of the time, nouriſheth thoſe ſparkles of diuiſion, ſeekes to win the loue of the Earle of *Foix*, and they make betweene them and their allies, a league

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where hee framed many fabricks. In the meane time the enemy ſallied forth of the Cittie, and put themſelues very rudely and reſolutely vpon an Army of the Vauntguard, but they were with ſuch courage repulſed, that diuers remaining dead within the trenches, the reſt retired to bethinke themſelues of a better courſe. The Subburbs were taken by the beſiegers. The Earle *Roger* was there wounded with a ſtone, caſt from the Citie by one of their Engines. The Earle of *Toulouze* incamped himſelfe vpon a little hill, right ouer againſt the Caſtle, intrenching and enuironing himſelfe with railes and barriers. The Prince of *Bearn* lay on the other ſide of the Citie. The Armie of the *Albingenſes* increaſed daily, vpon a report giuen forth that the Earle *Simon* was there ſhut vp, ſo great a deſire had euery one to ſee his ruine. And becauſe there were too many of the *Albingenſes* at this ſiege, it was thought good that the Earle *Remond* ſhould take a part of the Army to ſurprize certaine ſmall holds and Caſtles, which were ſomewhat diſaduantagious to the Army. He tooke *Puylaurens*, *Albi*, *Rabaſteins*, *Gaillac*, *Montagut*, and *Sauerdun*.

The Earle *Simon* began to ſee his ouer-ſight, to ſuffer himſelfe to be incloſed within *Caſtlenau d' Arri*, and that inaſmuch as hee was the Generall, it was fit hee ſhould be at libertie, to prouide for all other places depending vpon his authoritie. He left within the place, *Guy de Leuis*, called the Marſhall of Faith, and to the end he might ſlip out the better, he cauſed a ſally to be made vpon the beſiegers, ingaging certaine troops, whilſt he in the meane time might make his eſcape.

The Earle *Remond* being aduertiſed of the departure of the Earle *Simon*, was much offended therewith,

HAIL & FIRE

with, more for ſhame, than for any ill hee conceiued thereof: becauſe the report had beene euery where ſpread abroad that the Generall was in the Cage, and that he ſhould not come forth but bare-headed, the halter about his neck, and begging mercy. They complained one of another. The Earle of *Foix*, that they had left him without ſuccour in ſo dangerous a flight. The Earle *Remond*, that he would put himſelfe into ſo great danger, without knowledge giuen vnto any.

In the end they reſolued to raiſe the ſiege, becauſe of Winter, and a great leuy of Pilgrims marching towards them, whoſe liues the Earle *Simon* did not greatly tender, becauſe hee had the Popes Bull, that whoſoeuer ſhould loſe his life in that warre, ſhould goe preſently to Paradice, as neat from all ſinne, as a Hen-rooſt from ordure. The Earle *Simon* was ſtrangely puſt vp with pride, making himſelfe merry with that great preparation of warre, altogether vnprofitable to the *Albingenſes*, eſpecially that they had ſuffered him to make an eſcape, being twelue to one. Vpon this retrait, they in *Caſtlenau* would needs follow the Armie; but it coſt them deare. For *Roger* made a furious returne vpon them, killing many of them, and beating them backe euen to the gates of the Citie.

The Monke of the Valley *Sernay* tells this Fable; That notwithſtanding there were a hundred thouſand fighting men in the Armie of the *Albingenſes*, yet they of *Caſtlenau d'Arri* went forth to their Vintage, and gathered their Grapes as if there had beene no enemy before the Citie, and that their ſeruants went to water their Horſes, halfe a league from the Citie, the *Albingenſes* not daring to charge them. See here the truth of a Monkiſh Hiſtoriographer. So likewiſe when

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when he falls into outrages, they are without meaſure or end. In this Diſcourſe he growes very chollerick, againſt one *Sauari* of *Mauleon*, Preſident to the King of *England* at *Guienne*, who had conducted ſome troops before *Caſtlenau d'Arri*, in fauour of the *Albingenſes*, he cals him Infidell, Expugner of the Church, a dangerous poyſon, a wicked forlorne perſon, enemy to God, the Prince of Apoſtacy, artificiall in cruelties, the author of all peruerſeneſſe, a diabolicall man, nay the Deuill himſelfe. Doubtleſſe he had either giuen him a hard chaſe, or his ſtile is very Monkiſh.

After this retreat, all the Lords of the *Albingenſes* retired themſelues into their quarters. The Earle of *Foix* vnderſtanding that the Earle *Simon* was gone to *Pamies*, where he much troubled his Subiects, he departed from *Toulouze* with two thouſand men, and came to the gates of *Pamies*, offering battell to the Earle *Simon*, but he would by no meanes harken thereunto, finding his Pilgrims too weake. And doubting that at the Spring following the *Albingenſes* would take the field; the Earle *Simon* all the Winter thought of nothing ſo much, as to ſtrengthen the places which he held, to maintaine the ſieges. Among the reſt being deſirous to prouide for *Fauiaux*, a place of great importance; *Roger* perceiuing it, lay in Ambuſh in ſuch manner, and to ſuch purpoſe, that he diſcomfited all thoſe that brought either victuals or munitions.

In the meane time, the Earle *Simon*, who doubted nothing ſo much as the King of *Aragon*, cauſed the Legat to write vnto him, that he ſhould no more meddle with the affaires of the *Albingenſes*, except he would intangle himſelfe in the ſame miſeries with them, and include himſelfe in the ſame excommunication. He

likewiſe cauſed *Philip* King of *France* to write vnto him, intreating him not to fauour thoſe that were enemies to the Pope and to the Church: The Legat likewiſe cauſed him to write to the Pope, touching the ſame matter.

Theſe intreaties of the Pope, and the *French* King, were vnto him as expreſſe Commands, and therefore when the Earle of *Foix*, *Toulouze* and *Comminge*, preſſed him to aſſiſt them, he told them he would doe it; but it was fit hee ſhould firſt doe his endeuour to obtaine that by gentle and peaceable meanes, which by warre could not be obtained without danger. That the Legat was in counſell with all thoſe of his part, that he would write vnto them, and that if hee could not obtaine what he deſired by Letters, he would enforce them to do him reaſon by Armes. He writ therefore to the ſaid Councell, beſeeching them to end theſe deadly warres, enterpriſed vnder a pretence of Religion, offering for the Earles, their obedience to the Pope and the Church of *Rome*, but yet that they ſhould neuer promiſe any peace before reſtitution was made vnto the ſaid Earles, of all their lands and goods. The Councell *de la Vaur* returned this anſwer.

The Monke of the Valley Sernay, *fol.* 113.

"We haue vnderſtood the requeſts that heretofore "you haue made in the behalfe of the Earle of *Tou-*"*louze*, his ſon & his Counſel, the Earle of *Foix*, and of "*Comminge*, & the Lord of *Bearne*, wherein you name "your ſelfe the humble & deuoted ſon of the church; "for which wee giue thankes to our Lord God, and "to your Highneſſe. Aſſure your ſelfe, that in reſpect "of that loue you beare to the Church, wee giue our "beſt attention vnto them with our eares, and receiue "them with gladneſſe from our hearts; but touching "the

" the anſwer we are to make to your Greatneſſe, and
" the requeſt made by the Earle of *Tolouze*, his Coun-
" ſell and his ſonne, we certifie you that the cauſe and
" denotation thereof belongs to our Soueraigne Fa-
" ther, hauing reſerued it to his Holineſſe. You may
" call to minde if you pleaſe, the infinite offers,
" grants and graces, which our holy Father the Pope
" hath offered vnto him, after innumerable cruelties
" and horrible outrages. You may likewiſe remember
" the kinde entertainment, which hee found in the
" Archbiſhoprick of *Nerbonne*, by the Abbot of *Ciſte-*
" *aux*, & Legat at *Montpelier* two years ſince; as alſo the
" offers which were made vnto him, which he would
" not accept of: Which grace and fauour he ſo much
" ſcorned, that he made it appeare confidently, and
" with all oft, that he was not only enemy to God, but
" to his Church, for which cauſe he hath deſerued to
" be baniſhed for euer from God, his Grace, and his
" Church. Touching the requeſts of the Earle of
" *Foix*, *Comminge*, and Lord of *Bearne*; they haue in-
" fringed the oathes giuen by them, and in ſtead of ac-
" commodating themſelues to that kinde and courte-
" ous admoniſhment, they are filled with that abomi-
" nable hereſie, for which to their great ſhame and ig-
" nomie, they were excommunicated. And this is
" all the anſwer wee can giue to the demand of your
" Greatneſſe. Giuen at *La Vaur* 15. Kalend. Febr.
" 1212.

1212.

The King of *Aragon* being much moued with this anſwer, ſent againe to the Counſell, demanding truce for the ſaid Earles, vntill they had receiued an anſwer from the Pope, but it was denied.

The Earle of *Foix* was well contented, that the

HAIL & FIRE

Councell had yeelded nothing to the requeſts of the King of *Aragon*, becauſe he muſt haue beene engaged by promiſe for him, that he ſhould acknowledge his tenure of the Pope and the Church of *Rome*; And which was more, ſeeing that the King perſiſted in this opinion, that ſuch promiſes were to bee made, to reobtaine their goods, to the end they might neuer engage themſelues for that they could not performe, knowing that the King of *Aragon*, the Earle of *Toulouze*, and *Comminge*, were aſſembled at *Toulouze* to prouide for their affaires, he came thither; and thus he ſpake vnto them.

Holingſhed in his hiſt. of *Foix*

" Sir, and you my Maſters & Friends; Foraſmuch as " ambition can teach men both valour and temperancy, and auarice can plant in the heart, of a Shop-" boy brought vp in the ſhade and in idleneſſe, an aſſurance to depart from his houſhold harth, and to " commit himſelfe to the billowes of the Sea, and the " mercy of angry *Neptune* in a ſmall and fraile veſſell, " it ſhall be great weakneſſe, and litherly negligence in " vs, who by the renowned Acts of our Trophees are " knowne euen to the Confines of *Arabia*, if we ſhall " now come by a ſeruile and treacherous acknowledgement to ouerthrow the Tables and Regiſters " of our valours ſo highly eleuated. No, no, mine " arme ſhall neuer conſent thereunto, we are not now " in bondage. I and my ſonne chuſe rather to make " triall of the inconſtant hazzard of warre, than to " bring vpon vs and ours ſo great and ſo notable an " infamy. And therefore, for the honour of God quit " vs of that ſhame, that men take no notice of our lamentable eſtate, mourning & ſighing after our loſſes, " like Diſtaffe-bearers. If we muſt needs bow, let it be

" when

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HAIL & FIRE

" when we haue firſt done the parts of good and braue
" Captaines. It is an aduenturous and high enterpriſe,
" (you will ſay) but it was reſolued vpon by your
" ſelues, *Que ie voy maintenant les reſſors qui lui donnent*
" *le branle de ſa cheute.* Fare ye well. Sir, We yeeld
" not our conſent in any thing; Come what come
" may.

The King of *Aragon* was much moued with this diſcourſe of the Earle of *Foix*, wherein hee layeth an imputation vpon him, that hee was the cauſe of their ruine, becauſe he had animated them againſt the Legat and the Earle *Simon*, and that now hee left them as a prey, by procuring a peace worſe than a bloudy warre. You haue Sir (ſaith hee) opened a doore to our enemies, to tyrannize ouer vs, if they had accepted of it, and to a glorie more great, than they could hope to attaine by Armes, for we had beene all their Subiects, without any other charge, than your owne inſtant requeſt. As for my ſelfe (ſaith he) I had rather haue giuen my ſelfe the ſtab, than to haue drunke of that cup. And after many examples produced by him of thoſe that haue changed a miſerable life for a preſent death, killing themſelues before they would ſerue for Trophees to their enemies, he continued his diſcourſe as followeth.

For mine owne part, I had rather follow theſe great Spirits, than hauing ſo often giuen teſtimony of my valour for another, preferre life before honour by being lazie and negligent in a buſineſſe that concernes my ſelfe. And though Fortune deny me all meanes, to make oppoſition againſt that wrong that another ſhall offer mee, yet my courage will neuer giue way, that I ſhould make my ſelfe the ſpeech of the people,

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HAIL & FIRE

or a triumph for men more vnworthy than my ſelfe. This their dẽniall of what you demanded, doth comfort me, and it vpholds our honor, for we muſt either haue broken our faith, or played the Cowards like needy beggers, and liued a life more cruell, more intollerable, than any torment of *Phalaris*; like miſerable men yeelding our neckes to the yoake of the enemie, and confeſſing our ſelues beaten, ſell our owne libertie, and our childrens after vs, and that for euer. Good God what a blow were this Sir? For aſmuch therefore as the tempeſt is growen ſo great, and wee are driuen to ſo extreme a neceſſitie, imbrace vs in your armes, be our head, ſeruing vs for an example, a watch-tower, a conduct: So ſhall we engage our wills and our liues, to ſhew our ſelues your moſt humble ſeruants in time of need, and valorous Souldiers when occaſion ſhall be offered. And though I be now worne with yeares, yet neuer had I greater courage or better reſolution.

The Earle *Remond* on the other ſide, intreated the King of *Aragon* not to abandon their cauſe, offering vnto him both his goods and his life, to fight vnder his authoritie.

The King of *Aragon* being ouercome with theſe intreaties, and moued with compaſſion towards the afflicted, in the end tooke armes, and ſent this ticket of defiance, to the Earle *Simon* by two Trumpetters. Indeuour without delay to execute the will of the Pope, or to fight with your Lord, and if you fall into my hands, you ſhall pay for it. It is your dutie, and I will haue it ſo, and I rather deſire it, than to put my ſelfe to the charge of a great Army for your ruine.

The Earle *Simon* made good vſe of this Letter of defiance,

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defiance, for hee ſent it into diuers parts of Europe, ſhewing by the Biſhops and Monkes that preached the Croiſade, that the care was not now for the Earle of *Toulouze*, *Foix*, *Comminge*, or the Prince of *Bearne*, but for a puiſſant King, who had made himſelfe the Generall of the *Albingenſes*, and that if he were not aſſiſted extraordinarily, the cauſe of the Church was at an end; and therefore he entreated all good Chriſtians, eſpecially the King of *France*, to giue his beſt aſſiſtance in theſe holy warres, and extreme neceſſitie.

On the other ſide, the King of *Aragon* writ to the King of *France*, that the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* had a ſpirit puffed vp with high conceits, farre exceeding both the capacitie of his vnderſtanding, and his forces; That al his intentions were no other than plaiſterings, vnder the pretence of Religion, and in the meane time he intended nothing ſo much as to bee a King in deed, and *Simon* by name. He beſeecheth the King by Letters and by his Agents, that hee would not interpoſe himſelfe in this warre, neither on the one part, nor the other. Which he obtained of the King, inſomuch that it troubled him to ſee his Subiects continually drawne to the ſhambles of this warre of the *Albingenſes*, vnder a pretence of the Popes pardon, and to ſee ſo many of his great Lords his Kinſmen ſo vexed by the Earle *Simon*. When the Earle *Simon* vnderſtood, that the King of *France* was made a Neuter, he was much afflicted therewith, hauing now no other recourſe but to the threats of the Legat to excommunicate him, if he ſhould proceed any farther. The Legat ſent him an Ambaſſage and Letters. The King of *Aragon* returned this anſwer; Goe ſpeedily and tell your Maſter that I will come and ſee him, and giue him

HAIL & FIRE

him an anſwer with ten thouſand fighting men, and will him to defend himſelfe, for I will teach him to play with his Peere.

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay. *Chap.* 89.

Euery one makes preparation. The Earle *Simon* ſent into *France*, to the Archdeacon of *Paris*, and Maſter *Iaques de Vitri*, to preach the Croiſade. The King *Phillip Anguſte* would not haue this Leuy to bee made in his Realme: but yet neuertheleſſe, there went a great number from *Auuergne*, *Normandie*, and about *Lion*. The Pilgrims arriued before the King of *Aragon* had prepared his Armie, which gaue great aduantage to the Earle *Simon*, for hee tooke in the meane time *Graue*, came into the Earledome of *Foix*, tooke *Tudelle* of the *Albingenſes*, and ſlew all that hee found in it, without diſtinction of age or ſex, beſieged S^t^. *Antonin*, and tooke it, and cauſed thirtie of the principall of that place to bee hanged and ſtrangled, and that in cold bloud, and after he had granted them their liues, and permitted the Conuent of Monkes that was in that place, to be ſacked and ranſacked. He beſieged *Penes*, and receiued it by compoſition, as he did likewiſe *Marmande*: He ceaſed vpon the Caſtle of *Biron* neere the Sea. The Earle *Simon* cauſed *Martin Alquay* to bee tyed to the taile of a horſe, and to be dragged through his Armie, and afterwards hanged him, becauſe he had before deliuered vp the place to the Earle *Remond*. Moreouer, the Caſtle *Sarrazin* and *Agen* were yeelded to the Earle. *Moiſſac* opened the gates to the Souldiers of the Croſſe, and all this did the Earle *Simon*, before the King of *Aragon* or his Armie did appeare.

Chaſſ. chap. 17. *pag.* 177.

CHAP.

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HAIL & FIRE

Chap. XI.

The exploits of the Earle Simon *before the King of* Aragon *had prepared his Armie: The King of* Aragon *would come to no compoſition with the Earle* Simon, *being weakned: The Citie of* Muret *taken by the King of* Aragon: *Battell giuen: The King of* Aragon *is ſlaine, and his Armie diſſipated.*

IN the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand two hundred and thirteene, and the thirteenth of September, the King of *Aragon* with the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, *Remond* Earle of *Foix*, and the Earle of *Comminge*, and Prince of *Bearne*, appeared in the field with their Armie, compoſed of ſeuen thouſand horſes, and thirtie thouſand foot. They tooke *Muret* a little Citie vpon the borders of the Earledome of *Foix*, ſeated vpon *Garonne*, but they tooke not the Caſtle. The Earle *Simon* was of opinion, that that was the place where the Armie of his enemies ſhould waſte and ſpend it ſelfe, becauſe the Caſtle was good and ſtrong, and that if he made reſiſtance for ſome time, it would of it ſelfe bee ſcattered and ouerthrowne. Hee therefore put himſelfe into that Caſtle, with ſome ſmall number of his moſt expert and valorous Souldiers, and furniſhed it with munition, and gaue by his preſence ſuch aſſurance vnto the beſieged, that they thought themſelues inuincible, of ſuch power is the good opinion that the Souldiers haue of their Captaine, to confirme thoſe that are moſt weake.

There were ſome that began to enter into conſide-

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ration of the proceedings of the King of *Aragon*, in that he would not accept of a compoſition ſo aduantagious for himſelfe and the Lords of the *Albingenſes*, as the Earle *Simon* had offered him, when hee ſaw the inequalitie of their forces. For the Earle *Simon* had not aboue ſeuen hundred men on foot, and fiue hundred horſe. It is not good to aſſault a man, that hath no hope to eſcape but by armes, for there is not a more violent Schoole-miſtris than neceſſitie. But the King of *Aragon* thought it no time to ſmoothe and to flatter, after ſo many inſolent brauados againſt his Lord, of which the Monke hath noted ſome; as where hee ſaith, that hee writ certaine letters vnto him, without any ſalutation, containing theſe tearmes, that if hee continued in his obſtinate defiance, hee returned the defiance vpon himſelfe, and that from thence forward he held not himſelfe bound to doe him any ſeruice, and that hee doubted not, by the helpe of God, to defend himſelfe againſt him and his confederates.

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay. *Chap.* 126.

The King of *Aragon* hauing theſe inſolent ſpeeches engrauen in his memorie, thought him vnworthy of any grace or fauour in this his weakneſſe, eſpecially imagining that this his ſubmiſſion might onely bee to auoid this dangerous ſhocke, and to attend his Pilgrims, that hee might afterwards be more inſolent than before: that at other times when the Earle *Simon* was in his greateſt height, followed with a hundred thouſand men, it was his manner alwayes to ſcoffe at the ſubmiſſions of the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, and of *Foix*, and that it were therefore great weakneſſe not to returne like for like: that he would afterwards mocke them, if they ſhould haue compaſſion of him that neuer had pitty of any: that ſince hee had ſo long time taken

HAIL & FIRE

taken his pleaſure to prouoke the Lords to bee his enemies, hee ſhould haue furniſhed himſelfe with greater numbers of Souldiers, and ſuch as might haue more ſollid pay than the Popes pardons, that might not leaue him at his greateſt need, nor bee perſwaded like Pilgrims, that there was nothing more to bee gained: for hee that hath gotten Paradice (as the Pope would make men beleeue in his Bulls) hath nothing elſe to get but blowes if he deſire any thing more, as they vſe to doe who continue in this warre after their quarantaines, their fortie dayes are ſpent.

The King of *Aragon* therefore thought it was fit he ſhould take his aduantages againſt a man ſo malicious and ſo inſolent. But none can promiſe himſelfe the victorie, but the eternall, who is the God of warre, for neither the number of men, nor the equipage or furniture can giue the victories, but onely God, who many times maketh his power to appeare in the weakneſſe of men.

Their Armies were ranged in this manner. The Earle of *Foix*, and his ſonne *Roger*, lead the Vauntgard of the Armie of the King of *Aragon*, conſiſting of three thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot, bowmen, and Pikemen, which were the ſureſt armes in thoſe times. The Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze* commanded the battell, aſſiſted by the Earle of *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, wherein there were aboue foure thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot, without any reereward.

The Vauntgard of the Earle *Simon* was conducted by *Guy de Leuis* Marſhall of the Faith, conſiſting of fiue hundred horſe, and three hundred foot. The Earle was in the battell with a thouſand horſe, and foure hun-

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dred men on foot, almoſt all French, without any reereward.

The King of *Aragon* made his turnes and returnes in the head of his Armie; which was thought to bee a great ouerſight, becauſe the Generall of an Armie muſt not carry himſelfe like a Captaine of Arquebuziers, nor runne his Curuets to be ſeene, becauſe in the loſſe of him, conſiſts the loſſe of the battell, and the Countrey which he defends; but hee is to keepe himſelfe in the heart of the Armie, to direct by his iudgement, as occaſions fall out, the whole body of the Armie, which is not to ſtirre but by his command and direction. The Earle *Simon* quite contrary, came downe from the Caſtle of *Muret* with a ſlow pace, ſhut vp (as it were) and in good order: The King of *Aragon* ſeeing him, thought hee came rather to caſt himſelfe downe at his feet, than to fight. The King of *Aragon* had lodged his Armie in a place very aduantagious, and fauourable. They ioyne battell, and preſently the Vantgard of the Earle *Simon* was almoſt cut in peeces, and it went ſo ill with him and his, that it ſeemed vnto him that that was the place whither God had called him, to pay with vſurie, for all his fore-paſſed cruelties and inſolencies, to his owne ſhame; when the King of *Aragon* in the head of his Vauntgard approched for his totall ruine and deſtruction; for being come neere to an ambuſh of foure hundred Harquebuſiers which the Earle *Simon* had placed in certaine old decayed houſes, he was wounded to death, and fell from his horſe. Whereupon they fell preſently into ſuch a diſorder and aſtoniſhment, that doe what the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, of *Foix* and *Comminge*, what they could to ſtay this cowardly Armie, they could

could preuaile nothing with them, but were enforced themſelues to follow the trace, and to commit themſelues to the hazard and euent of this ſhamefull retreat, flying directly to *Toulouze*. The Earle *Simon* taking the aduantage of his victory, and following the chaſe, euen to the gates of *Toulouze*, ſlew ſo many men in this dayes fight, that himſelfe was moued with compaſſion, grieuing for the hard hap of his Lord the King of *Aragon*, and cauſing a ſearch to bee made among the dead, commanded him to be interred, not in the ground which they call holy, becauſe hee was excommunicated, but in a field nere to S^t. *Granier*.

The Biſhops, Prieſts and Monkes, which were within the Caſtle of *Muret*, from whence they might behold from farre the euent of this daies iourney, haue had a Monke that giues them the whole commendations of this ſo renowned a victory, affirming that it was obtained by the benediction which the Biſhop of *Comminge* gaue to the Army with the Croſſe, promiſing to the Pilgrims Paradice, without any paine of Purgatory, and that if they died in that fight, they ſhould all be receiued into heauen as Martyrs. As alſo hee ſaith, that all the Eccleſiaſticall perſons that were within the place, retired themſelues to a Church all the time of the Combat, and that they praied with ſuch ardency, that they ſeemed by their crie rather to houle than to pray.

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay, *chap.* 127.

He that writes the Hiſtory of *Languedoc* ſaith, that they got the aduantage becauſe they had receiued the benediction from the Biſhops, and had adored the wood of the true Croſſe in the hands of the Biſhop of *Toulouze*.

The Hiſtory *de Lang. fol.* 12.

On the other ſide, the *Albingenſes* acknowledged

that they ſaw herein an extraordinary proofe of the iudgement of God, in that the king of *Aragon*, attributed at that time, more to his owne power and prouidence, than the helpe and ſuccours of the eternall God. But yet for all this, they loſt not their courage, though they had loſt in this iourney, fifteene thouſand fighting men, neither did they diſpaire of the iuſtice and goodneſſe of their cauſe, it not being the firſt armie that hath beene diſcomfited in a iuſt quarrell, nor the firſt bad cauſe, that hath beene maintained with victory. So foure hundred thouſand men of Iſrael, were beaten by twenty ſix thouſand of the children of *Beniamin*, who maintained a bad cauſe, and ſlew in two battells two and forty thouſand men.

Iudge 20. So the *Philiſtins* being vncircumciſed Idolaters, got the better in two battells againſt the Iſraelites, and ſlew of them, thirty foure thouſand men, and tooke the Arke of God. So *Ionathan* was ſlaine by the *Philiſtins*. So *Ioſiah* who was zealous of the ſeruice of God, receiued his deadly blow fighting againſt the king of *Egipt* at *Megiddo*. So king *Iohn* hauing an armie of ſixty thouſand men, was diſcomfited and taken priſoner by the Prince of *Wales*, who had not aboue eight thouſand men, notwithſtanding the cauſe of the king of *France* were very iuſt, defending himſelfe againſt his enemie, who aſſaulted him in his owne countrey.

Iudge 20.
1 *Sam.* 4.

2 *King.* 23

The warre of the *Albingenſes* encreaſed; for the Earle *Simon* thought it was neceſſary hee ſhould purſue his enemies being halfe dead and ouerthrowne, and the *Albingenſes* for their part, knew that they muſt of neceſſitie defend themſelues, or bee vanquiſhed and brought into thraldome.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Pope Innocent *the third, ſent againſt the* Albingenſes *a new Legat named* Bonauenture. *Prince* Lewis *the ſonne of* Philip *tooke on him the Croſſe, and cauſed* Toulouze *and* Narbonne *to be diſmantled, and the walles laid euen with the ground.*

THE Earle *Simon* being puffed vp with this victorie, ſent one to ſummon the Earle of *Toulouze*, *Foix*, and *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, to deliuer vnto him, the keis of thoſe cities and caſtles that they poſſeſſed, and that they ſhould ſubſcribe to what it pleaſed the Legat, or reſolue miſerably to periſh.

He receiued no anſwer, but euery one betooke himſelfe to his owne territories, there to prouide the beſt they could poſſibly for their affaires. The Earle *Remond* retired himſelfe to *Montauban*, and writ to thoſe of *Toulouze*, from whence he was but then departed, that he vnderſtood that *Rodolph* the Biſhop of *Arras* was comming with a great number of Pilgrims, and therefore, foraſmuch as he ſaw, that they had no meanes to defend their city, againſt ſo great a force, that they ſhould treat and grow to ſome compoſition with the Earle *Simon*, reſeruing only their hearts vnto himſelfe, vntill God ſhould giue meanes, to free them from thoſe miſeries wherein they were plunged, by the inſatiable auarice of their common enemie. In the meane time, he, the Earle of *Foix*, *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, did their endeuours to trouble and to inſeſt the enemies Armies, with all the power they could

could for their common good. The citie of *Toulouze* deputed ſix of the principall men of the city, to offer to the Earle *Simon*, the keies of *Toulouze*. He receiued them honourably and commanded them not to depart from him without his permiſſion. In the meane time, he writ to *Lewis* the ſonne of king *Philip*, that ſince the battle of *Muret*, they of *Toulouze* offered to yeeld themſelues vnto him, but his deſire was that he ſhould haue the praiſe of that conqueſt being onely worthy of himſelfe. King *Philip* his father would not heretofore permit, that he ſhould war againſt the *Albingenſes*, becauſe he had promiſed the King of *Aragon*, to carry himſelfe as a neuter betwixt both, but now hearing of the death of the ſaid King of *Aragon*, he ſuffered him to goe. The Prince being at *Toulouze*, the citie was deliuered into his hands, and preſently, the Legat, hauing aſſembled the Biſhops of his ranke, it was concluded that the pillage ſhould be granted to the Pilgrims, and that the city ſhould be diſmantled, the Caſtle of *Narbonne* excepted; which was incontinently executed, contrary to the promiſe which had beene giuen them, that nothing ſhould be altered within the citie. This good vſe did the Earle *Simon* make of the preſence and forces of Prince *Lewis*, for otherwiſe, he durſt not haue enterpriſed the ſaccage and diſmantling of this goodly and great citie, without the endangering of his fortunes, were his forces neuer ſo great.

At this very time arriued *Bonauenture* the Popes new Legat, and of thoſe that tooke on them the Croſſe the Biſhop of *Beauuois*, the Earle of Saint *Paul*, the Earle of *Sauoy*, the Earle of *Alençon*, the Vicount of *Melun*, *Mathew de Montmorenci*, and other great Lords that

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Here endeth the good fortune of the Earle *Simon*, for in the end of this leuy of Pilgrims which Prince *Lewis* brought with him, he had enough to doe to defend himſelfe from blowes; notwithſtanding the *Albingenſes* were alſo wearied with continuall warres, and viſited from time to time with new expeditions, inſomuch that they ſunke vnder the burthen of them. Now foraſmuch as this warre changeth countenance in the perſon of the chiefe Leaders, and that from hence forward we ſhall ſpeake more of the ſonne of the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze* another *Remond*, and of *Roger* the ſonne of the Earle of *Foix*, then of the old Earles: We here make a ſecond booke of the actions of the children ſucceeding their fathers miſerably afflicted only for that they had; for in effect there was not any of theſe great Lords, that was deſeruedly aſſaulted for Religion, for many times they had their recourſe to the Pope, as to the fountaine of all their euills, and in all reſpects to a poore remedy, neuer bringing with them from *Rome*, other thing than good words, with very dangerous effects.

The end of the firſt booke.

THE

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THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF the WALDENSES, called ALBINGENSES, containing the warres *which they maintained after the yeare* one thousand two hundred and thirteene, vntill they were vtterly exterminated.

CHAP. I.

The warre is renewed against the Earle of Foix: *the* Aragonians *make hostile incursions vpon the Lands of the Earle* Simon: *he is discomfited by the Earle of* Foix: Simon *is called into* Dauphine: *The Legat* Bonauenture *perswades the Earle of* Foix *and of* Toulouze *to goe to* Rome: *they further their cause nothing at all: the sonne of the Earle* Remond *came from* England *thither, but in vaine.*

THE Prince *Lewis* sonne of *Philip* King of *France*, his quarantine or fortie daies being expired, retired himselfe, not without much discontent, to see, in those warres against the *Albingenses*, so much tyranny. The Earle *Simon* endeuored to get a pardon 1213.

for thoſe laſt Pilgrims come from *France* againſt the Earle of *Foix*. Hee beſieged the Caſtle of *Foix*, but with his great loſſe; for there died before it many gallant men. Hauing laine before the Citie ten daies, hee raiſed his ſiege, finding to his great coſt that the place was inexpugnable. The Earle *Simon* his Brother kept his quarter at *Varilles*: the Earle of *Foix* vnlodged him, ſlew with his Lance the ſaid Brother of the Earle *Simon*, and put to flight his whole troope. This was a counterpoiſe to *Monfort* his proſperitie, which had made him ouer-inſolent. And as one vnhappy chance comes ſeldome alone, euen then when he did grinde his teeth againſt the Earle of *Foix*, ſwearing that hee would make him flie ouer the *Pereney* mountaines; a meſſenger brought him tidings of the arriuall in the Earledome of *Beziers*, and about *Carcaſſonne*, of diuers troopes of *Arragonians*, and *Catalans*, who put all they met to ſword and fire, ſaying, That they would reuenge the death of their good King *Alphonſus*: Hee was therefore aduertiſed, that if hee did not ſpeedily ſuccour them, the whole Country would be loſt. He departed therefore from *Foix* with great diligence. The Earle of *Foix*, who better knew the ſtreights and by-waies of his Country than he, ſtopped his paſſage, and lay in ambuſh for him in a place ſo fitting for his ouerthrow, that he ſlew a great part of his troopes, without any *Alarum*. Hee ſaued himſelfe with a few of his people. Being come to *Carcaſſonne*, it was well for him, that he found not a man to ſpeake a word vnto, for the *Arragonians* had retired themſelues; Whereas had they attended his comming, they might eaſily haue diſcomfited him, conſidering the ſmall number that were with him. At this very time, other Letters were

Hologaray in his Hiſt. of Foix, *pag.* 157.

Idem. fol. 158.

were brought vnto him, whereby he was called into *Dauphine*, where there was one *Ademar* of *Poitiers*, and one *Ponce* of *Monlaur*, who hindred the paſſage of the Pilgrims, who came downe by the Riuer *Rhoſne*, and were conducted by the Archbiſhops of *Lion*, and *Vienne*. There were likewiſe the Cities of *Monteil-Aimar* and *Creſt Arnaud*, who tooke part with the *Albingenſes*, who were a great hindrance to the Pilgrims. *Simon* came to treatie and compoſition with *Ademar* of *Poitiers* and *Monlaur*, not hauing power to encounter ſo many enemies.

Againe, he was giuen to vnderſtand, that the *Arragonians* were returned about *Carcaſſonne*; and thither he came and was well beaten, inſomuch that he was conſtrained to ſhut vp himſelfe within *Carcaſſonne*, hauing not wherewithall to keepe the field, before hee had new ſupply of Pilgrims to ſuccour him. Seeing at the laſt that he got nothing of the Earle of *Foix* by armes, he had recourſe to his ordinary wiles and ſubtilties, hoping to worke his ruine, vnder a pretence of amitie. He cauſed therefore the Legat *Bonauenture* to write vnto him, that he had compaſſion on him, for that he was ſo obſtinate in ſo great a warre, to his great charge, and the loſſe of the bloud of his Subiects, which if he would he might end in a ſhort time, by taking his iourny to *Rome*, & declaring his innocency to the Pope; that he would giue him his beſt aſſiſtance as far forth as poſſibly he could, to procure the reſtitution of all his Lands. But yet it was very neceſſarie that the Church ſhould haue ſome gages of his fidelitie, that is, that he ſhould deliuer into his hands the Caſtle of *Foix*, the one & onely meanes to take away all ſhadow and ſhew of falſe play, and that incontinently after his re-

HAIL & FIRE

turne it ſhould be reſtored vnto him with the reſt of his houſes.

He ſuffered himſelfe to be cheated and gulled by theſe promiſes, deliuered vnto him the Caſtle of *Foix*, and tooke his iourney to *Rome*: but if he went a foole thither, a foole he returned. For the Legat had written to *Rome*, to the Conclaue and to the Pope, that the Earle of *Foix* was one of the moſt dangerous Heretiques that was amongſt the *Albingenſes*, a man of great courage and valiant, and moſt to be feared: that if he were ſubdued, the Earle of *Toulouze* would be much weakned; that he had gotten from him the meanes to doe any hurt, by obtaining by faire words thoſe places, which the Church would neuer haue gotten by armes, namely the Caſtle of *Foix*, and that they were to take heed that they made no reſtitution of his lands, which if they did, it would bee impoſſible that the Church ſhould euer bring the *Albingenſes* to their vtter ruine. The Pope was willing enough to ioyne in his ouerthrow, but becauſe hee came vnto him with ſubmiſſions, he feared leaſt it might bee a meanes to hinder others from euer putting any confidence in the Pope. He was prodigall of his Croſſes, his Bulls, and his Words, but in effect he commanded his Legat, that he ſhould not reſtore vnto him thoſe places, vntill hee had giuen good proofes of his obedience and iuſtification. Preſently vpon his returne hee addreſſed himſelfe to the Legat, to enioy the effect of his faire promiſes. The Legat gaue him to vnderſtand, that his hands were bound by the Pope, becauſe there were ſome clauſes in his Bulls that did binde him to a new proceeding, and to know in good earneſt what his innocency was; but yet he ſhould aſſure himſelfe of his affecti-

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ſaires with the Pope more peaceably, than with the Earle *Simon*, eſpecially becauſe he was charged with the death of his owne Brother, the Earle *Baudoin*, taken in the Caſtle *d'Olme*, in the Country of *Cahors*, becauſe he had there borne Armes againſt him; an action that had made him odious both to God and men, and which his enemies did exaggerate, to the end they might ſtirre vp the Pilgrims, to take vengeance on him, ſaying, That at the very point of death they had denied him a Confeſſor, and that the ſaid *Bodoin* prayed vnto God that he would raiſe vp ſome good Chriſtians to reuenge the wrong done vnto him by his brother, as by another *Caine*.

The Monke of the Valley Sernay. *Chap.* 133.

The ſon of the Earle of *Toulouze*, named alſo *Remond*, vnderſtanding that his Father was to take his iourney to *Rome*, he went with letters from his Vncle, the King of *England*, to the Pope, intreating him to doe iuſtice to his brother in Law. The young Lord had beene brought vp vntill then in *England*, where he could no longer ſpend time, ſeeing his Father oppreſſed with warres and continuall trauels, he therefore reſolued to vſe his beſt endeuours for his deliuerance, either by compoſition or by armes. The cauſe of the Earle *Remond* was debated before the Pope. There was a Cardinall that maintained, that great wrong had beene offered thoſe Lords, who had many times giuen of their beſt lands to the Church, to witneſſe their obedience. The Abbot of S^t^. *Yberi* alſo tooke their part, with great courage and reſolution. The Earle *Remond* likewiſe defended his owne cauſe, charging the Biſhop of *Toulouze*, with many outrages, and that if hee had beene conſtrained to defend himſelfe, he muſt accuſe thoſe that had driuen him to that

Idem. chap. 152.

that neceſſitie, for had he not made reſiſtance, he had long agoe beene vtterly ouerthrowne. That the Biſhop of *Toulouze* had many times caught vnto him the faireſt of his reuenewes, and being neuer ſatisfied, did ſtill continue to vex him, parting his goods with the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*; and that their onely auarice had beene the cauſe of the death of ten thouſand men of *Toulouze*, and of the pillage of that faire and great Citie, a loſſe which could neuer be repaired. The Charterie of *Lion* did alſo ſhew vnto the Pope, that the Biſhop of *Toulouze* had alwaies kindled the fire, and warmed himſelfe at the flame.

Arnaud de Villemur did alſo preſent himſelfe before the Pope, demanding Iuſtice, for that the Legat and the Earle *Simon* had inuaded his lands, he knew not wherefore, ſince he had neuer bin but obedient to the Church of *Rome*, relating at large the euils, murders, ſaccages, robberies, burnings, which the ſaid Legat and Earle, vnder the cloake of the ſeruice of the Pope and the Church, had done; and therefore it was neceſſarie that that maske ſhould be taken away, which would otherwiſe turne to the diſhonour of the Pope and the Church, and ſome ſpeedy courſe ſhould be taken, for the eſtabliſhing of peace, and procuring the good of the Church.

Remond of *Roquefeuil* of the Country of *Querci*, related alſo many villanies committed by the ſaid Earle of *Montfort*, beginning with that which had beene done againſt the Earle of *Bezziers*, whom he cauſed miſerably to die in priſon, inuaded his Lands, and ruinated his Subiects, and ſo proceeded to all that had paſſed againſt the other Lords, who were conſtrained to defend themſelues againſt his violences. *Chaſſ. lib. 4. ibid.*

The Pope was much moued with theſe outrages and would willingly haue done ſome iuſtice, but that it was told him, that if hee ſhould cauſe the Earle of *Montfort*, to make reſtitution of that which was taken for the ſeruice of the Church, that he ſhould not from hence-forward, finde any that would fight either for the Pope or the Church: As alſo, that if hee ſhould determine the reſtitution, yet the Earle *Simon* had reaſon, not to giue ouer his hold, vntill hee were fully ſatisfied for his trauels and expences.

The Pope returned theſe affaires to the Legat, commanding him in generall termes, to reſtore the Lands to all thoſe that ſhewed themſelues faithfull to the Church, and as touching the ſonne of the Earle *Remond*, his pleaſure was, that that Land that the Earle *Remond* had in *Prouence*, that is to ſay, The Earldome of *Veniſſe* ſhould be reſerued either in part or all for the maintenance of his ſonne, prouided that he gaue good and aſſured teſtimonies of his loyaltie and good conuerſation, ſhewing himſelfe worthy of diuine mercy.

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay, *Chap.* 152.

They being returned, demanded of the Legat the execution of their Bulls, requiring the reſtitution of their Lands. The Legat anſwered, that he had certaine reſtraints, for the determining whereof there needed ſome time; that therefore they ſhould in the meane time ſhew fruits worthy their amendment, and that then they ſhould receiue what the Pope had decreed, otherwiſe not.

When the Earles ſaw how they were deluded, they reſolued to come to blowes.

CHAP.

HAIL & FIRE

Chap. II.

Remond *the ſonne of the Earle* Remond *tooke* Beaucaire: *The Biſhop of* Tholouze *betrayeth the Citizens of* Thoulouze: *The Earle* Simon *vſeth the Inhabitants of* Tholouze *very ill: They defend themſelues to his confuſion: A new expedition:* Remond *taketh* Thoulouze: Simon *of* Montfort *comes thither, and after many combats, he is in the end ſlaine with a ſtone caſt by a woman: His armie is put to flight.*

THe firſt exploit of warre of *Remond*, the the ſonne of the Earle *Remond*, was the taking of *Beaucaire*, where hee made himſelfe Maſter of the Citie: afterwards hauing almoſt famiſhed thoſe in the Caſtle, the Earle *Simon* being no way able to ſuccour them, made a compoſition for thoſe that were within it, that is, that they ſhould depart, onely carrying with them their baggage and neceſſary furniture. The Earle *Simon* loſt at that place a hundred Gentlemen, which he laid in ambuſh, neere the Citie, which they within perceiuing, made a ſalley forth, and cut them in peeces. The young Earle *Remond* wonne great renowne at this ſiege, and gaue the Earle *Simon* to vnderſtand, that his ſonne *Aimeri* ſhould haue in this young Lord, a thorne in his foot, that ſhould make him ſmart as much, as in his time he had giuen cauſe of trouble and vexation to his father. The Earle *Montfort* went from hence to rauage and make ſpoile at *Thoulouze*. The Biſhop was gone thither before, and told the Conſuls and Principall of the Citie, that they were to make their appearance before the Earle *Simon*. They went vnto him,

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but to their great loſſe, for they were no ſooner come before the Earle, but hee commanded them all to bee bound with cords; whereof ſome taking notice, that had meanes to eſcape to the Citie, an alarme was giuen within the Citie, ſo hot, that before his arriuall all the people were in armes: but being entred by the Caſtle *Narbonne*, they recouered certaine Towers which were yet remaining, and put themſelues into certaine places, and hauing already begun to pillage neere the Caſtle *Narbonne*, the people fortified themſelues, and gaue the chaſe with ſuch violence to thoſe Boothaylers and Fire-houſes, who had already ſet fire on ſome houſes, that they draue them to the Caſtle of *Narbonne*. The Earle *Guy* came vpon the very inſtant of this combat, to the ſuccour of his brother the Earle *Simon*, but after he had fought a while, hee was faine in the end to flye to his brother. A great part of the people of the Earle *Simon* were enforced to retire themſelues to S^t. *Stcuens*, and the Tower of *Maſcaro*, and the Biſhops houſe, where a great number were ſlaine. The Biſhop, who knew that he had beene the cauſe of this misfortune, hauing counſelled the Citizens to make their appearance before the Earle *Simon*, and the Earle *Simon* to ceaſe vpon them, ſtill continuing his treaſons, went forth of the Caſtle *Narbonnes*, ranne into the ſtreets, crying out vnto the people to pacifie themſelues, for the Earle determined to end theſe differences with mildneſſe and gentleneſſe, and that they ſhould not refuſe the wayes of peace. He alleadged ſo many matters vnto them, that in the end they gaue eare vnto him, and were willing to hearken to a reconciliation, ſeeing themſelues diſmantled and brought vnder the ſubiection of a Caſtle & ſtrong garriſon, and know-

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knowing too well, that at the firſt ſuccours of the Pilgrims, their Citie would be expoſed to pillage. When they were to know the conditions of their peace, the firſt Article was: That the Earle *Simon* would yeeld to nothing, before all the Inhabitants had carryed their armes to the Towne-houſe. This point was hardly obtained, but at the laſt they yeelded vnto it: which being done, the Earle *Simon* cauſed his people to make their approch, and ſo being ſeazed on the Towne-houſe againſt a people diſarmed, and hauing conuayed their Armour to the Caſtle *Narbonnes*, hee impriſoned the principall men of the Citie, and cauſed them to bee ſent out of *Thoulouze* whither hee thought good, being ſo vnciuilly vſed, and with ſuch inhumane cruelties, that a great number died by the way. Thus was *Toulouze* diſpeopled of it principall Inhabitants, and the reſt put to their ranſome, whereby the Earle *Simon* did greatly inrich himſelfe. And ſhortly after returning from the Countrie *Bigorre*, where hee could not take the Caſtle of *Lourde*, he diſcharged his choller vpon this poore Citie, permitting it to be pillaged by his Pilgrims, and then cauſed the reſt of the Towers that were yet about the Citie to be beaten downe.

In this meane time, the poore Earle of *Toulouze* was at *Mountauban*, who vnderſtanding of the bad vſage of his miſerable ſubiects, for certaine moneths could not but bewaile their lamentable eſtate with ſighs and teares.

At this time, that is to ſay, in the yeere one thouſand, two hundred and fourteene, the Legat held a Councell at *Montpelier*, for the renewing of the Armie of the Church, and to confirme the authoritie of the Earle *Simon*. The Monke of *Sernay* ſaith, that he was there declared 1214. See *Paulus Æmil.* in the life of *Philip Aug.*

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declared Prince of all the conquered Countries of the *Albingenſes*, and that by a common conſent, they ſent *Barnard* Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* to the Pope, to petition his Holineſſe, in the name of the Prelats who were preſent at that Councell, that the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* might by him be pronounced Lord and Monarch of all the conquered Countries of the *Albingenſes*, which was done.

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay, *chap.* 146.

The Councell ſent vnto him to come and receiue this dignitie of Prince and Monarch. He entred into the Citie, and being in the Church of our Lady *des Tables*, where the Prelats of the ſaid Councell were to pronounce their ſentence in fauour of the ſaid *Montfort*, they heard a rumor in the Citie. They ſent to know what the matter was: It was told them, that the people had vnderſtood, that the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* was within the Citie, and that thereupon they betooke themſelues to their armes, purpoſing to kill him, as being their capitall enemie. He was aduiſed to ſteale away along by the walls of the Citie, and to ſaue himſelfe, for feare leſt the whole Councell ſuffered with him. He went therefore on foot, without companie, leſt he ſhould haue beene knowne at the Gate, and ſo he eſcaped this great danger. So that he ſaw himſelfe in one houre honored almoſt as a God, choſen and ſaluted Prince and Monarch, and to flie diſguiſed, and to hide himſelfe like a baſe ſcundrell, for feare of the raſcall people.

In regard of the reſolution of this Councell, the Pope euer writ vnto him, as to a Monarch, ſtiling him, *The actiue dexterious Souldier of Ieſus Chriſt. The inuincible defender of the Catholike faith.* And in the yeere one thouſand two hundred and fifteene, he ſent him

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay, *chap.* 148.

1215.

him a Bull, dated the fourth of the Nones of Aprill, by which hee giues him authoritie to keepe all thoſe lands hee had gotten vnder his power, granting vnto him the reuenues, profits and power to adminiſter iuſtice, conſidering (ſaith the Pope) that you neither can, nor ought to make warre at your owne charge. This the Popes bountie of another mans purſe, in a buſineſſe where he had nothing to giue, made him to goe to the King of *France*, to bee inueſted into the Dukedome of *Narbonnes*, the Earledome of *Toulouze*, together with all the lands, which the Souldiers of the Croſſe had conquered and taken from thoſe they call Heretikes, or the Protectors of them, which he obtained of the King to hold in fee. The Monke ſaith, it was not poſſible for him to relate the honor which was donne vnto him vpon his way going to *France*, there being neither Citie nor Towne through which he paſſed, where the Clergie and people came not to ſee him, crying out, Bleſſed is hee that comes in the name of God. For ſuch and ſo great (ſaith he) was the deuout Religion of the people towards him, that there was not any that thought not himſelfe happy to touch the hem of his garments.

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay, *Chap.* 153.

1216.

In the yeere one thouſand, two hundred and ſixteene, hee returned from *France* with an hundred Biſhops, who had cauſed this expedition of the Croſſe to bee preached in their Biſhoprikes, being reſolued with this great Armie to make himſelfe Maſter, Prince and Monarch, of all thoſe lands which the Pope had giuen him. And to make it apparant that he had not treated or made any agreement with *Girard Adememar*, or *Guitaud* Lord of *Monteil-Aimar*, nor with *Aimar* of *Poitiers*, but vntill ſuch time as hee had power

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay, *Chap.* 161.

to

HAIL & FIRE

to deuoure them, he paſſed the *Rhoſne* at *Viuiers*, and beſieged *Monteil-Aimar*. *Guitaud* or *Girard* made great reſiſtance; but when the Inhabitants ſaw the great Armie of Pilgrims, they entreated their Lord to come to compoſition, for feare leſt the Citie ſhould be pillaged. Which hee did, though it were with the loſſe of his Caſtle. From thence he went and beſieged the Tower of *Creſt-Arnaud*, belonging to *Aimar* of *Poitiers*. He that commanded within, did yeeld it vp out of cowardlineſſe, for otherwiſe it had beene impoſſible the Pilgrims ſhould haue taken it. Afterwards the Earle *Simon* gaue a daughter of his to a ſonne of the ſaid *Poitiers*, and there was peace concluded betwixt the ſaid *Poitiers* and the Biſhop of *Valence*, againſt whom hee had a long time before made cruell warre. A little before, the Earle *Simon* had married one of his ſonnes to the daughter of *Dauphin* of *Viennois*, and another to the Counteſſe of *Bigorre*. All which alliances did fortifie him much againſt his enemies. All men trembled before him, and with this great Armie of Pilgrims that followed him, he tooke *Peſquieres* neere to *Nyſmes*, and *Bezonce*, and put all to the ſword hee found within, not ſparing the women. Hee tooke his way to *Toulouze*, to pillage and to raze it, and to ſeeke the Earle of *Toulouze*, euen to the center of the Earth, if he were there to be found; at which time hee receiued letters from his wife, aduertiſing him that hee ſhould ſpeedily come to deliuer her from the hands of the Earle of *Toulouze*, who had beſieged her in the Caſtle *Narbonnes*, that hee was very ſtrong and had all the people at his deuotion, who had receiued him with great applauſe, crying out with a loude voice, Long liue the Earle of *Toulouze*. That he was accompanied with

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with his Nephew, the Earle of *Comminge*, *Gaſpar de la Barre*, *Bertrand de Iorda*, *Engarrand* of *Gordo*, Lord of *Caraman*, *Armand de Montagu*, and *Eſtephe de la Valette*, all braue and valiant men and well accompanied.

This was about the end of the yeere one thouſand two hundred ſeuenteene, that the Earle *Remond* entred into *Toulouze*, the Drumme beaten, the Enſignes diſplayed, and the Trumpets ſounding. The people preſſing to caſt themſelues downe at his feet, to embrace his legges, and to kiſſe the hem of his garment, and killing as many as they found in the Citie, that tooke part with the Earle of *Montfort*. Whereas, had the Earle *Simon* come directly to *Montauban*, at his returne from *France*, the Earle *Remond* could not haue told what to haue done, but he ſtayed at *Monteil-Aimar* and *Creſt Arnaud*, and *Beſince*, and *Paſquieres*, and made delaies about the mariages ſo long, that the Earle had time to gather his troopes together, and to prepare himſelfe for a ſtrong aſſault. In ſuch ſort, that when hee was aduertiſed that hee was at *Toulouze*, the greater part of his Pilgrims were returned into *France*. But yet it was neceſſary hee ſhould goe to *Toulouze* with thoſe forces that he had: for his wife was in danger to be loſt. And hee that had beene the death of ſo many women and children, was doubtfull what would become of his, falling into the hands of his enemies. 1217.

The Earle *Remond* created an officer, which they called *Vignier*, or *Prouoſt*, to whom all were bound to obey, vpon paine of death. This was the firſt *Vignier* that was eſtabliſhed at *Toulouze*. His charge was to prouide for the defence of the Citie, to keepe the Moates or Ditches cleane, to repaire the breaches, to

appoint to euery one his quarter, and his Captaine, eſpecially in times of combat. There came from all parts, troopes of ſuccours to the Earle *Remond* of thoſe that deſired conſideration for the violencies of the Earle *Simon*.

The Earle *Guy* was one of the firſt in the combat, for his brother the Earle *Simon*, but he was beaten and put to flight: The Archbiſhop of *Aix*, and of *Armagnac*, with their Pilgrims retired themſelues without fight. The Earle *Simon* being come, made ſhew to beſiege *Toulouze*: but the frequent iſſues of thoſe that were within, gaue him to vnderſtand, that it was not for his good. He aſſembled therefore the Prelats and Lords, to take aduiſe of what was to bee done. The Legat perceiuing the Earle *Simon* ſomewhat aſtoniſhed, ſaid vnto him. Feare nothing, for in a ſhort time wee ſhall recouer the Citie, and put to death, and deſtroy all the Inhabitants; and if any of the Souldiers of the Croſſe ſhall die in this purſuit, they ſhall paſſe to Paradice as Martyrs, and hereof they ſhall aſſure themſelues. To whom one of the great Captaines anſwered, Monſieur Cardinall, you talke with great aſſurance, but if the Earle beleeue you, it will be little for his profit. For you and all the other Prelats, and men of the Church, haue beene the cauſe of all this euill and ruine, and will bee yet more if he beleeue you.

It was no time for Monſieur the Cardinall to bee offended with this audacious reply, but he muſt needs ſup vp this cenſure. The reſolution was, that there ſhould be no more any aſſault giuen, but that the Citie ſhould bee beſieged on the ſide of *Gaſcongne*. For which cauſe the Earle of *Montfort* cauſed one part of his

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his Armie, to paſſe the Riuer *Garonne*, towards S^t. *Soubra*, now they within the Citie made ſo blunt a ſalley, and to ſuch purpoſe, that they put their enemies to flight. During this combat, came the Earle of *Foix* with his freſh troopes, as well of his ſubiects, as *Nauarreans* and *Catalans*, who violently ſet vpon the Earle *Montfort*, purſuing him euen to the brinke of *Garonne*, where with affrightment and precipitation, they caſt themſelues in heapes into their Boats, and many were drowned in the Riuer. The Earle *Simon* alſo fell in, all armed, with his horſe, and hardly eſcaped.

The Earle *Remond* cauſed a generall aſſembly to bee made at S^t. *Saornin*, wherein hee exhorted the people to giue thankes vnto God for this happy beginning of victorie, which they had obtained againſt their enemies, which was a teſtimonie of Gods loue, and that they ſhould hope for better: hee exhorted euery one to giue their helping hands to build and to prepare, and to cauſe their warlike engins to play againſt the Caſtle *Narbonnes*, becauſe this place being laſt by the enemie, their totall ruine muſt needes follow, and being once recouered by them, they ſhould be in ſafetie. In a very ſhort time were their woodden engins to caſt ſtones, their Slings, their Mangonnels to dart their Arrowes, their Fowlers, Croſſebowes and other Inſtruments which were in vſe in thoſe times prepared, and all of them mounted againſt the Caſtle *Narbonnes*; which made thoſe to tremble that were within.

The Earle *Montfort* being at *Montolieu*, tooke counſell how to carry himſelfe in this tedious ſiege, and againſt enemies ſo animated. The Biſhop of *Thoulouze* ſaid vnto him, to comfort him, that hee was to take a

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good heart vnto him, for Monſieur the Cardinall had ſent letters and meſſengers throughout the world, to giue him ſuccours, and that ſhortly he ſhould haue ſo many people, that hee ſhould not want power to doe what he would. The abouenamed *Robert de Pequigni* anſwered him, that hee ſpake his pleaſure, and that if the Earle of *Montfort* had not beleeued him nor any ſuch, hee had not beene in thoſe troubles that now hee was, but hee had beene at peace within *Toulouze*, and that hee was the cauſe of that danger they now were in, and of the death of ſo many people as were continually ſlaine by the wicked counſell that hee had giuen.

After many combats, the winter grew on, and ſtayed the courſe of the beſiegers, who withdrawing themſelues to couert where they could about *Toulouze*, expected with good denotation, and much impatiencie, new ſuccours of Pilgrims. The Earle *Remond* on the other ſide, incloſed the Citie with a Rampier, and fortified himſelfe againſt the Caſtle *Narbonnes*, and prepared to receiue the Pilgrims whenſoeuer they ſhould preſent themſelues vnto them. In this meane time hee ſent his ſonne to ſeeke for ſuccours. In the
1218. end, about the Spring time, in the yeere one thouſand two hundred and eighteene, there came to the Earle *Simon*, an hundred thouſand Souldiers of the Croſſe, and to the Earle *Remond*, great ſuccours from *Gaſcongne*, conducted by *Narcis de Monteſquiou*. As alſo the young *Remond* of *Toulouze*, and *Arnaud de Villemur* brought vnto him goodly troopes. This great multitude of Pilgrims being come, the Legat and the Earle *Simon* thought good they ſhould earne their pardon, knowing that at the end of fortie daies, this great

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great cloude of Pilgrims would vaniſh. They therefore commanded them, inſtantly to giue a generall ſcalado, which was deferred to the next morning, by which time they had other worke to doe; for the very firſt night of their arriuall, putting their confidence in their great multitude, they kept no good guard. Which the Earle of *Toulouze* perceiuing, made a ſalley out vpon them, and that with ſo good ſucceſſe, that the next morning all the field was couered with dead bodies. The *Toulouzains* being wearie with killing, returned to giue thankes vnto God for his aſſiſtance.

The Earle *Simon* entred the Caſtle *Narbonnez*, to deſcrie whether from thence there were any way to inuade the Citie, but finding none, it much troubled him, whereupon two of his Lords of the Croſſe, gaue him aduice to come to ſome honourable agreement. The Cardinall *Bertrand* told them, there needed no ſpeech of that, and that the Church could ſaue them in deſpite of them, if they ſpake any thing to the aduantage of the *Albingenſes*. One amongſt them anſwered: *And where finde you (Monſieur Cardinall) that without cauſe and reaſon, you ſhould take from the Earle* Remond *and his ſonne, that which belongs vnto them.* If I had vnderſtood as much as I now know (ſaith he) I had neuer made this voyage.

The whole Countrie was enemie to the Earle *Simon*, which was the cauſe of the famine in his Armie; but on the contrary, there was within *Toulouze* all plenty and abundance. Tpon S^t. *Iohn the Baptiſts* Eue, betimes in the morning, the troopes of the Earle *Remond* went forth of *Toulouze*, crying out *Auignon*, *Beaucaire*, *Murets* and *Toulouze*, killing as many as they encountred. A Souldier ranne to the Earle *Simon* and told

him that the enemie was come forth; to whom he anſwered, that he would firſt ſee his Redeemer, and then ſee his enemie. Diuers others came vnto him, crying out, Wee are vndone, if no man will come out and command the Armie which did flie before the *Toulouzains*. He againe anſwered, that he would not ſtirre a foot from the Maſſe, though he were there to die, before hee had ſeene his Maker; inſomuch, that had not the Prieſt that ſung the Maſſe clipt and curtolled it a little, for feare leſt his eares ſhould haue beene clipt, he had beene taken or ſlaine before the Altar. Heare what *Noguiers* ſaith: At this ſo violent a ſhocke, the Earle *Simon* being mounted his horſe, his horſe was wounded in the middle of his head with an Arrow, which the horſe feeling, got preſently the bit betweene his teeth, in ſuch ſort, that *Montfort* could neuer ſtay him, but hee carryed him here and there in diſpite of himſelfe, which a Souldier of the Citie ſeeing, aſſuring himſelfe of him, ſhot him with his Croſſe-bow through the thigh, with which wound *Montfort* loſt great ſtore of bloud, and finding himſelfe much payned therewith, entreated the Earle *Guy* his brother, to leade him forth of the preſſe, to ſtench his bloud. In the time whileſt hee was talking with his brother, a ſtone out of a ſling or engine, whereout ſtones or arrowes were darted, which a woman (thinking nothing let flie) hit *Montfort*, yet talking with his brother, and parted his head from his ſhoulders, ſo that his body fell dead to the ground. It was (ſaith he) a wonderfull thing, and thereby may his ſucceſſors conſider, that they maintained an vniuſt quarrell, not to puniſh thoſe that were wandred from the faith, for that had beene a thing very commendable and commodious; but to oppreſſe

Noguiers in his Heſtory of Toulouze. *lib.3.chap.10.*

oppreſſe his owne vaſſals, heaping on them miſeries vpon miſeries, to rauiſh women and their daughters, to the end they might vtterly ruine and confound them all, eſpecially doing the duty of vaſſals, and to retaine the goods of another, who though hee were an Heretike, as *Montfort* ſuppoſed, yet neuertheleſſe in the twinckling of an eye, he might be better aduiſed, and amend his life. But as I thinke (ſaith hee) a couetous deſire to raigne blinded him, which wee may eaſily iudge, by the bad vſage, oppreſſions and extortions which he executed againſt the innocent people of *Toulouze*, who honored him, cheriſhed, and wiſhed him proſperitie, as to their Lord. This skirmiſh and diſcomfiture was in Iune, the day after the feaſt of S^t. *Iohn the Baptiſt*, in the yeere 1218. 1218.

Thus you ſee how *Nogniers*, the Hiſtoriographer of thoſe times hath ſpoken of this man, as of one that was caried with paſſion and vnſatiable couetouſneſſe: But that which was worthy the obſeruation, is, that he was not ouerthrowne, but at that very inſtant, when by three diuers Councels, he had beene proclaimed the Monarch of his conqueſts, the Captaine of the Armies of the Church, the ſonne, the ſeruant, the fauorite thereof, the defender of the faith. Adored of the people, feared of the great, the terror of Kings. Thus you ſee, that as that ambitious Paracide *Abimelech* was ſlaine with a peece of a Mill-ſtone which a woman caſt from a Tower, which brake his skull; ſo this deſtroyer of the people, ruiner of Cities, deuourer of the ſtates of other men, was ſlaine with a ſtone from a ſling, flung by a woman, as ſome Hiſtoriographers haue obſerued. *Iudges 9.* *Chaſſ. lib. 4 c. 11.*

On the the other ſide the Monke cryes out in this man-

The Monke of the Valleis Sernay. *Chap.* 165.

manner: who is hee that can write or heare (ſaith hee) that which followeth? that can recite it without griefe? that can lend his eares without ſighs and gronings? who, I ſay, will not diſſolue and conſume away to nothing, ſeeing the life of the poore to be taken away? he, who being laid in the duſt, all things are trampled vnder-foot? and by the death of whom all is dead? Was he not the comfort of the ſorrowfull, the ſtrength of the weake, a refreſhing to the afflicted, a refuge to the miſerable? He had ſome reaſon to ſpeake thus; for he being dead, all his Armie was diſſolued and ſcattered abroad. The Legat *Bonauenture* had onely leaſure to tell *Aimeri* of *Montfort*, that hee was named by him and the Biſhops that were preſent, Succeſſor of the conqueſts and charges of his father the Earle *Simon*, and inſtantly they betooke them to their heeles, flying with all the Biſhops of the Croſſe to *Carcaſſonne*, not ſtaying in any place, ſo great was their aſtoniſhment, fearing to bee purſued. The Pilgrims disbanded themſelues, ſaying they were no longer bound to any ſight, their fortie daies being almoſt expired. In the time of this confuſion, the Earle *Remond* ſallied out of *Toulouze*, and gaue ſo furious a charge vpon the Enemie, that he made them to forſake their trenches, and ſlew a great number of Pilgrims, who were without conduct, and without courage, inſomuch that they killed and cut in pieces all that were in the Campe of *Montelieu*, and did a great deale of hurt and hinderance to thoſe that were incamped at S^t. *Sobra*: There remained the Caſtle *Narbonnes*, which as yet held for the Legat. *Aimeri* of *Montfort* as ſpeedily as he could gather as many of his troopes together as he was able, in this ſo great a rupture and confuſion, and making

making haſte to the Caſtle, got out the Garriſon by a falſe doore, and ſo fled after the Legat, carrying the body of his father with great ſpeed to *Carcaſſenne*. And it was well for him, that the Earle *Remond* purſued him not, for the feare thereof was ſufficient to kill the Pilgrims that accompanied him. But the Earle *Remond* retired himſelfe with his troopes, to prouide for the preſeruation of the Citie and the Caſtle *Narbonne*, vnto which the enemie had ſet fire when they left it. Moreouer, he cauſed the Bell to bee tolled, to gather the people together, to giue thankes vnto God in their Temple, for the happy and miraculous victorie which they had obtained, for that this audacious Cyclops was ouerthrowne, that had expoſed them many times to pillage, razed their walls, beaten downe their rampiers, deſtroyed their Towers, violated their wiues and daughters, killed their Citizens, cut downe their trees, ſpoyled their land, and brought their whole Countrey to extreme deſolation.

chaſſ. lib. 4. c. 11. pag. 222.

Chap. III.

The Earle Remond *recouereth all that the Earle* Simon *had taken from him in* Agenois : *The Earle of* Foix *takes* Mirepoix *from* Roger de Leni : *The Earle of* Comminge *his lands, which one named* Ioris, *detained from him : An aduantagious encounter for the* Albingenſes *in* Lauragues : *Expeditions of ſmall effect after the death of the Earle* Simon. *The Prince* Lewis *tooke* Marmande, *and returned into* France, *hauing ſummoned* Toulouze *to yeeld it ſelfe.*

HAIL & FIRE

THe Earle *Remond* followed the victory, making himſelfe Maſter of the Caſtle of *Narbonnes*, and fortifying it againſt the Pilgrims, which hee knew very well would come the yeere following, in the meane time hee ſent his ſonne into *Agenois*, who brought vnto the obedience of his father *Condoſt*, *Marmande*, *Aguillon*, and other places adioyning. On the other ſide, the Earle of *Foix* beſieged *Mirepoix*, ſummoned *Roger de Leni* to reſtore it vnto him, telling him that hee was not now to hope any longer in the Earle *Simon*, for he was dead: that it muſt content him that he had now long enough and vniuſtly kept that which was his. That if he changed his patience into furie, he would loſe both his life and *Mirepoix* altogether. It troubled much the Marſhall of the Faith (for that was the vaine title which the Legats had giuen him) to yeeld vp this place; but in the end he deliuered it into the hands of the Earle of *Foix*.

Holagaray in his hiſtory of *Foix*. 162.

The Earle of *Comminge* had alſo his right of one *Ioris*, to whom the Legats had giuen all that the Souldiers of the Croſſe had taken in his Countries; for he tooke them all from him, yea, life and all.

1219. At the ſpring of the yeere following, 1219. *Almaric* or *Aimeri* of *Montfort*, came into *Agenois*, with ſome troopes of Souldiers of the Croſſe, to recouer that which his father had there poſſeſſed, and for this cauſe hee beſieged *Marmande*. The young Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, went to ſuccour the beſieged, when the Earle of *Foix* writ vnto him that hee had gotten a great bootie in *Lauragues*, both of people and beaſts, but he feared hee ſhould not bring it to *Toulouze*, and not

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not be fought withall by the way, by the Garriſon of *Carcaſſone*, and therefore hee entreated him to ſuccour him. Young *Remond* tooke his iourney towards him, and came in ſo good an houre to the Earle *Foix*, that being vpon the point of loſing his booty, being followed by the Vicount of *Lautrec*, and the Captaines *Faucant* and *Valas*. Being come to the combat, the ſaid *Foucant* and *Valas* encouraged with a loud voice their Pilgrims, ſaying, that they fought for Heauen and for the Church: The young Earle *Remond* hearing it, cryed vnto his as loud as he: Courage my friends, for we fight for our Religion, and againſt theeues and robbers, vnder the name of the Church: They haue robbed enough, let vs make them vomit it vp againe, and pay the arrerages of their thefts, which they haue heretofore freely committed. And hereupon they gaue the Charge. The Vicount of *Lautrec* fled, *Foucant* was taken priſoner, and all their troopes cut in peeces. *Seguret* a Captaine and profeſſed robber was taken and hanged in the field vpon a tree. Thus victorious, and laden with bootie, they came to *Toulouze* with their priſoners and cattell. The ſiege of *Marmande* continued, but vnprofitably, and without any aduantage. For *Almaric* hauing cauſed a generall aſſault to be made, the inhabitants defended themſelues with ſuch valour and reſolution, that the ditches were full of the dead bodies of the Pilgrims. This was at that time when the great expedition of Prince *Lewis* arriued, who brought with him thirtie Earles. An expedition for the leuying whereof, the Legat *Bertrand* " writ in theſe termes to King *Philip*: Faile you not to " be in the quarters of *Toulouze* for the whole moneth " of May, in the yeere 1219. with all your forces and

Chaſſ. lib. 4. chap. 13.

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" powers, to reuenge the death of the Earle *Montfort*;
" and I will procure that the Pope ſhall publiſh and
" preach the Croiſade, or expedition of Chriſtians,
" throughout the world, for your better aid and ſuc-
" cours. Thus you ſee how the Legat commands the King of *France*. His ſonne arriued at *Marmande*, and ſummoned thoſe within to yeeld. They compound with him, and he promiſeth them their liues. *Almaric* complaines thereof, ſaying, That they were not worthy of life, that tooke away his Fathers. He aſſembleth the Prelats, declareth vnto them the diſcontent which he receiued by this compoſition, in that life was granted vnto thoſe, who were the murderers of his Father. The Prelats were all of opinion, that notwithſtanding the word giuen, they ſhould all die. Prince *Lewis* his will was, that the compoſition ſhould hold. *Almaric* neuertheleſſe, cauſed his troopes to ſlip into the Citie, with charge to kill all, men, women and children. They doe it, whereat the Prince being offended, departed from the Legat and *Almaric*, and paſſing along ſummoned thoſe of *Toulouze* to yeeld. They defend themſelues againſt him. Hee receiueth newes of the death of his father, which cauſed him to retire. Thus you ſee all the effects of this great expedition, which ſhould haue buried all the *Albingenſes* aliue, and vaniſhed without any aſſault giuen.

CHAP.

Chap. IIII.

The warre of the Albingenſes *changeth countenance, becauſe of the death of Pope* Innocent *the third; of the change of the Legat; the death of the Earle* Remond *of* Toulouze; *of the diſeaſe of* Remond *Earle of* Foix, *and the Lady* Philippe de Moncade, *mother to the Earle of* Foix, *and of the Monke* Dominick.

THe Legat *Bertrand Bonauenture*, being weary of the long labours of this warre, and perceiuing that therein the danger was greater, than either the pleaſure or the profit, tooke occaſion vnder a pretence of his decrepit age, to retire himſelfe to *Rome*; euen at that time, when Pope *Innocent* the third being departed, Pope *Honorius* his ſucceſſour, who had not managed this warre by his authoritie, from the beginning thereof, knew neither the importance thereof, nor what direction to giue, and therefore had need to be enformed by his Legat, touching the meanes of the continuance thereof, and the commoditie that might ariſe vnto his Seat. *Bonauenture* entreated him to depute another Legat, and told him, that the neceſſitie of this warre was ſuch, that it concerned not onely the loſſe of all thoſe Lands of the *Albingenſes*, which were conquered, becauſe they might be eaſily recouered by them, if no oppoſition were made, but alſo the ruine of the Church of *Rome*, becauſe the Doctrine of the *Waldenſes* and *Albingenſes*, did directly ſhake the authoritie of the Popes, and ouerthrow the Statutes of the Church:

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That this warre had beene very chargeable, and coſt them deere, for within the ſpace of fifteene yeares and leſſe, there had died aboue three hundred thouſand ſouldiers of the *Croſſe*, that at diuers times had come to end their liues in *Languedoc*, as if there were not enough elſe-where to burie them, or as if there were a neceſſitie in thoſe times, to be borne in *France*, and to dye encountring the *Albingenſes*. That all this would be loſt, if they continued not to ſpend and weaken them, vntill they were vtterly deſtroyed. The Pope delegated one named *Contat*, who went thither.

Now albeit *Almeric* were very valiant, yet he had not gotten that authoritie which his Father had, who had made himſelfe, at the charges of the *Albingenſes*, a great Captaine, loued of the Souldier, of an admirable valour, patient in affliction, inuincible in his trauels, diligent in his enterpriſes, fore-ſeeing and prouiding, for the neceſſities of an Armie, affable; but of an vnreconcileable enmitie againſt his enemies, becauſe he hated them onely to haue their goods, and that he could not haue but after their death, which he procured and haſtned as much as he could, and that vnder the mantell of a plauſible pretence of religion. His ſonne was a true inheritor of the hatred of his father; but ſlow and ſluggiſh, louing his eaſe, and no way fit for an action of great importance. Beſides, he was depriued of the Monke *Dominique*, of whom his Father had made very profitable vſe: for lodging him in the conquered Cities, he gaue him in charge to finiſh that deſtruction by his inquiſition, which he could not doe by warres. He died in the yeare 1220. the ſixt of Auguſt, ſo rich that notwithſtanding he were the author of an order mendicant, that is to ſay, of *Iacobin*

1220.

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cobin Monkes, or *Iacobins*, yet he made it knowne before his death, that a ſcrip well ordered was better than a rent ill aſſigned; for hee left many houſes and much goods, ſhewing thereby that he vſed his ſcrip but for a ſhew and outward appearance of pouertie; but in effect he thought it good, to haue wherewithall to liue elſe-where, witneſſe the Protection which the Earle *Simon* gaue him a little before his death, whereof this is the tenure.

Simon *by the Grace and prouidence of God, Duke of* Narbonnes, *Earle of* Toulouze, *Vicount of* Liceſtre, Beziers, *and* Carcaſſonne, *wiſheth health and dilection. We will and command you to haue a ſpeciall care to keepe and defend the houſes and goods of our moſt deare brother* Dominick, *as our owne. Giuen at the ſiege of* Toulouze, *Decemb.* 13.

After the Hiſtorie of the Monke of the valley Sernay.

The death of this Monke was a great comfort to the *Albingenſes*, who had perſecuted them with ſuch violence, but yet they were more weakned by the death of the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, the Earle *Remond* of *Foix*, and the Ladie *Philippe* of *Moncade*, Wife to *Remond* Earle of *Foix*.

The Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze* died of a ſickneſſe, much lamented of his Subiects, if euer man were. He was iuſt, gentle, valiant and couragious, but yet too eaſie to giue eare vnto thoſe that gaue him counſell for his ruine. Hee was carried at the firſt by a true loue and charitie onely towards thoſe his Subiects, that made profeſſion of the Religion of the *Albingenſes*, but afterwards hauing beene baſely and diſhonorably handled by the Legats of the Pope, he knew both the crueltie of the Prieſts, and the falſhood of their doctrine, by thoſe conferences that had beene in his preſence

ſence with the Paſtors of the *Albingenſes*. His Epitaph was written in two *Gaſcon* verſes.

Non y a home ſur terre, per grand Segnor que ſous,
Qu'em iettes de ma terre, ſi Gleiſa non ſous.

He that writes the Hiſtorie of *Languedoc*, ſaith, That he died a ſudden death, and that hee was carried into the houſe of the Friers of the Hoſpital S. *Iohn*, and that he was not buried, becauſe he died an excommunicate perſon. There was ſhewed not long ſince at *Toulouze* a head, which ſome did beleeue was the head of the Earle *Remond*, which was ſaid to be alwaies without a ſepulture; but there is no likelihood that he that died amongſt his owne, and being Ruler ouer them, ſhould not haue ſo much credit after his death, as to bee put into a Sepulcher: that he that by his valour had reſtored all his Subiects to their houſes, and their Citie to it former greatneſſe, he whoſe death they lamented as a Father, ſhould be caſt out like a Dogge. It is neither true nor hath it any reſemblance of truth, that they ſhould deny him this laſt office of charitie, which they haue not refuſed to beſtow vpon their greateſt enemies, for it was neuer heard of that the *Albingenſes* haue denied ſepulture vnto any.

Holaga pag. 164

As touching the Earle of *Foix*, *Remond*, he was a Prince of whom the Hiſtorie giues this teſtimony, that he was a Patron of Iuſtice, clemency, prudence, valour, magnanimitie, patience and continency; a good Warriour, a good Huſband, a good Father, a good Houſe-keeper, a good Iuſticer, worthy to haue his name honoured, and his vertues remembred throughout all generations. When this good Prince ſaw that he was to change the earth for heauen, he defied death with

an aſſured conſtant carriage, and tooke comfort in forſaking the world, and the vanities thereof, and calling his ſonne *Roger* vnto him, hee exhorted him to ſerue God, to liue vertuouſly, to gouerne his people like a Father, vnder the obedience of his Lawes, and ſo gaue vp the ghoſt. His Wife the Lady *Philippe* of *Moncade*, followed him ſhortly after, not without ſuſpition of poyſon, by ſome domeſticall enemy of the *Albingenſes*, whoſe religion ſhe profeſſed with all deuotion. A Princeſſe of a great and admirable prouidence, faith, conſtancy, and loyaltie. She vttered before her death many excellent ſentences, full of edification, as well in the *Caſtilian* tongue, as the *French*, in contempt of death, which ſhe receiued with a maruellous grace, fortifying her ſpeeches with moſt Chriſtian conſolations, to the great comfort and edification of all that were preſent, and in this eſtate ſhe changed her life.

All theſe deaths made a great alteration in the wars of the *Albingenſes*, both on the one ſide and the other.

Chap. V.

Almaric *of* Montfort *reſtored to King* Lewis *the eight, the conquered Countries of the* Albingenſes: *the ſiege of* Auignon: *the King appointeth a Gouernor in* Languedoc. *The warre continues againſt the* Albingenſes: Toulouze *is beſieged: a treatie of peace with the Earle* Remond *and the* Toulouzains.

ALmaric of *Montfort* had not the fortune of his Father in the warres of the *Albingenſes*. For he had neither King *Philip Auguſte*, who permitted the leuie of the Pilgrims, nor Pope *Innocent*

the third to appoint them. Moreouer, there was neither Citie nor Village in *France*, where there were not widowes and fatherleſſe children, by reaſon of the paſſed warres of the *Albingenſes*. And beſides all this, the Prelats were many times put into great feares, by thoſe cruell combats that were ordinarily made, and many of them left behinde them their Miters, and ſome Abbots their Croſſes. The ſpeech of the expeditions of the Croſſe was not ſo common. This was the cauſe why *Almaric* did not long enioy his conquered Countries, wherewith being much afflicted, hee went into *France*, and deliuered vp vnto *Lewis* the eight of that name, King of *France*, all the right that he had to the ſaid Countries, which the Pope, the Councels of *Vaur*, *Montpelier*, and *Lotran* had granted vnto him: and in recompence thereof, King *Lewis* created him Conſtable of *France*, in the yeare 1224.

Inuentary of *Serres*, in the life of *Lewis* the eight.

1224.

To put himſelfe into poſſeſſion, King *Lewis* the eight came into *Languedoc*, and comming to the gates of *Auignon*, he was denied entrance, becauſe profeſſing the Religion of the *Albingenſes*, they had beene excommunicated, and giuen by the Pope to the firſt Conquerour: for then *Auignon* was no chiefe Citie of the Earldome of *Veneſſin*, as at this preſent, but belonged to the King of *Naples* and *Sicily*. The King being much moued with this deniall, reſolued to beſiege it, which continued for the ſpace of eight moneths, in the end whereof they yeelded themſelues about Whitſontide, in the yeare 1225.

1225.

During this ſiege, almoſt all the cities of *Languedoc*, acknowledged the king of *France*, by the mediation of M^r. *Amelin*, Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*. The King eſtabliſhed for Gouernour in *Languedoc*, *Imbert* de

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de Beauieu, and tooke his way to *France*: but hee died by the way at *Montpenſier* in September, in the yeare 1226.

The young *Remond*, Earle of *Toulouze*, was bound by promiſe to the king, to goe to receiue his abſolution of Pope *Honorius*, and afterwards he ſhould giue him peaceable poſſeſſion of all his lands: but the death of the king in the meane time happening, he ſaw the Realme of *France* in the hands of king *Lewis*, a childe and in his minority, and the regency in the power and gouernment of his mother. Hee thought that hauing to deale with an infant king, and a woman regent, he might retouer by force that which he had quit himſelfe of by agreement. He therefore reſolued to take armes, being encouraged thereunto, by the ſuccours of the *Albingenſes* his ſubiects, who were in great hope to maintaine their part in ſtrength and vigor, during the Non-age of the King of *France*, but they were deceiued in their proiect. For though *Lewis* the ninth were in his minoritie, yet he was ſo happie as to haue a wiſe and a prudent mother, if euer there were any. For King *Lewis* the eighth, before his death, had appointed her the Tutrix or Gardianeſſe of his ſonne, and Regent of the Realme, knowing very well her great capacity and ſufficiency. Beſides *Imbert de Beauieu* maintained the authority of the king in *Languedoc*, tooke armes, and made oppoſition againſt the Earle *Remond*, and the *Albingenſes*. The Queene ſent him diuers troopes, by the helpe whereof he recouered the Caſtle *de Bonteque*, neare to *Toulouze*, which was a great hinderance to *Imbert* and his portizans. All the *Albingenſes* that were found within the Caſtle were put to death; and a certaine Deacon, with others that

The Hiſtory of *Languedoc*, *fol.* 31.

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would not abiure their Religion, by the commandement of the ſaid *Imbert*, *Amel* the Popes Legat, and the aduiſe of *Guyon* Biſhop of *Carcaſſonne*, they were
1227. burnt aliue, in the yeare 1227. ſuffring death with admirable conſtancy.

The more the perſecution increaſed, the more the number of the *Albingenſes* multiplied, which *Imbert* of *Beauieu* perceiuing, he went to the Court to let them vnderſtand, that without ſuccours, he could no longer defend the countrey, and the places newly annexed to the Crowne and patrimony of *France*, againſt the *Albingenſes* and the Earle *Remond*. In the meane time whileſt he was abſent, the Earle *Remond* tooke the Caſtle *Sarrazin*, one of the ſtrongeſt places that *Imbert* had in his keeping, and holding the field did much hurt to his enemies.

1228. *Imbert* came from *France*, at the ſpring of the yeare one thouſand two hundred twenty eight, accompanied with a great Armie of the Croſſe, in which there was the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, the Archbiſhop of *Aouch* and of *Burdeaux*, euery one with the Pilgrims of their iuriſdiction.

The Earle *Remond* retired himſelfe into *Toulouze* where he was preſently ſhut vp, and all the country round about, euen harueſt and all ſpoiled and waſted.
Hiſt. of Lang. fol. 33. Being brought to this extremitie, the Abbot of *Grandſelue*, named *Elias Garin*, came from *Amelin* the Popes Legat, to offer peace to the Earle *Remond* and the *Toulouzains*. He was receiued with great ioy, offering peace and plenty to thoſe that were almoſt famiſhed, and wearied with warre. Neuertheleſſe the wiſeſt amongſt them, who better foreſaw the euent of things, knew well enough that ſo ſoone as they had gotten the

the Earle *Remond* into their hands, they would make vſe of him to perſecute them, that they would eſtabliſh the inquiſition and kindle their fires againe, and ſo vtterly deſtroy them both bodies and ſoules : but the reaſons of theſe men were ouercome by the importunate cries of the common people almoſt famiſhed, who could not ſee the time wherein they were fettered with the halter, that ſhould ſtrangle them. Beſides the enemie wanted not people in *Toulouze*, that were willing to terrifie the Earle *Remond* ſaying, that he was not now to deale with *Americ* of *Montfort*, but with a king of *France*, who had power ſufficient to ouerthrow him : that continuall feuers kill men, and long warres would at the laſt burie them all. The Earle *Remond* paſſed his word to the Abbot to be at a certaine day at *Vaſieges*, there to reſolue vpon that which was to bee done, to bring the peace to a perfection. In the meane time a truſe was agreed vpon with the *Toulouzains*, for certaine daies. The Earle *Remond* came at the day to the place appointed, and ſo did the Abbot of *Grandſelue*. After much diſcourſe and communication touching a peace, the Abbot made him beleeue, that it would be for his greater aduantage to bee in *France*, than in that place; and that foraſmuch as the buſineſſe concerned the King, that it was neceſſary that the Queene-mother being Tutrix vnto him, and Regent of *France*, ſhould be preſent, and that more would be done in a few daies, than in a whole yeare, the buſineſſe requiring ſo many iournies and goings and commings, which peraduenture would bee long and vnprofitable : and ſo pawned his faith that hereby he ſhould receiue all contentment. Being vanquiſhed by theſe promiſes, he conſented to come into

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France, whatſoeuer the Queene-mother ſhould appoint. *Meaux* was the place ſhe made choiſe of, and his time was appointed. He came thither, but he was no ſooner arriued, but he repented, and acknowledged his great ouerſight, in that he had giuen credit to the words of a Prieſt, eſpecially knowing that his deceaſed father, had alwaies ſped ſo ill by truſting to thoſe that hold this for a maxime, that *Faith is not to be kept with Heretikes, or their fauourers.* That he being held for ſuch a one, had no reaſon to looke for better ſucceſſe.

There was therefore now no more queſtion of treaties or communications, but of ſubmiſſion to whatſoeuer ſhould be enioyned him. He had now no longer freedome of ſpeech, but he was carefully guarded, for feare leaſt he ſhould fly to the *Albingenſes*. The Hiſtoriographer of *Languedoc*, though in other matters much animated againſt the *Albingenſes*, yet hee could not write of this without commiſeration, ſo lamentable was the condition of this Lord. Theſe are his words.

The Hiſt. of *Lang. fol.* 34.

"It was a lamentable thing (ſaith hee) to ſee ſo "braue a man, that was able, for ſo long a time, to "make reſiſtance againſt ſo many people, to come in "his ſhirt and his linnen breeches, bare foot to the "Altar, in the preſence of two Cardinalls of the "Church of *Rome*, the one the Legat in *France*, the "other the Legat in *England*. But this is not all the "ignominious puniſhment that was inflicted, but he "notes beſides, that of ſo many conditions of that "peace, euery one of them (ſaith he) had beene ſuf-"ficient for the price of his ranſome, if the king "had beene in the field making warre againſt him.

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Chap. VI.

The Articles of the treatie of the Earle Remond *of* Toulouze, *with the Popes Legat,* Amelin, *and the Queene mother of* Lewis *the ninth, King of* France.

IT was an eaſie matter to finiſh this treatie, becauſe the Articles were propoſed to the Earle *Remond*, with this condition, that they ſhould be ſigned by himſelfe without reply.

These articles are to be foũd in the Bibli-oth of *Peres*, *Tom.* 7.

Article 1. That after the Earle *Remond*, ſhall haue asked pardon, according to the order appointed, that is to ſay, bareheaded, barefoot, in his ſhirt, with a torch in his hand, for all that he had done againſt the Church; he ſhall promiſe to defend the faith, and driue away all Heretikes, out of his lands and territories.

Article 2. That hee ſhould pay to the Church as long as he liueth, euery yeare three Markes of Siluer.

3. That he ſhould giue once and incontinently the ſumme of ſix thouſand Marks of Siluer for the reparations of the Cities, Caſtles and houſes, that had beene either by himſelfe or his father deſtroyed and ruinated during the warres paſt.

4. That he ſhould giue for the reparation of *Mouſtier* and the maintenance and nouriſhment of the Monkes of *Ciſteaux*, two thouſand Markes of Siluer.

5. For the Monkes of *Cleruaux*, fiue hundred Markes of Siluer.

6. For thoſe of *Grand Selue*, and the reparation of their *Mouſtier*, a thouſand Markes of Siluer.

7. For

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7. For the Church of *Belle Perche*, three hundred Markes of Siluer.

8. For the reparation of the Caſtle *Narbonnes*, ſix thouſand markes of Siluer, and that the Legat ſhould keepe it for ten yeares in the name of the Church.

9. For the maintenance of foure Maſters in diuinitie, two Doctors of the Canon Law, two Maſters of Art, and two Maſters Gramarians, who ſhould reade euery one in his quality, euery day, to ſuch ſchollers as ſhould come to *Toulouze*, the ſumme of foure thouſand markes of Siluer, whereof euery Maſter in Diuinitie ſhould haue twenty fiue Markes of Siluer by the yeare, for the terme of ten yeares, the Doctor of the Law ſhould haue fifteene Markes by the yeare, during the ſpace of ten yeares : The Maſter of Artes, ten Markes.

10. That he ſhould take the Croſſe, at the hands of the Legat, to goe beyond the ſeas, to make warre againſt the *Turkes* and *Sarazins*, and ſhould goe to *Rhodes*, where hee ſhould ſtay for the ſpace of fiue yeares, from whence he ſhould bring a certificat from the great Maſter of *Rhodes*.

11. That from thenceforward, hee ſhould enterpriſe nothing againſt the Church.

12. That he ſhould make warre againſt the Earle of *Foix* and his allies, neuer making peace with them but by the leaue of the Legat.

13. That he ſhould ouerthrow and demolliſh, all the walles, towers and fortreſſes of *Toulouze*, as the Legat ſhall ordaine and appoint.

14. That he ſhould vtterly ſubuert and pull downe from the bottome to the top, thirty fiue cities or Caſtles, of which theſe that follow ſhould bee of the number

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number, that is to ſay, *Fauiaux, Caſtelnau d'Arri, la Baſtide, Auignonnet, Pech Laurence, Saint Paul, La Vaur, Rsbaſteins, Guaillac, Montagut, Hautpec, Verdun, Caſtel Sarrazin, Montauban, Agen, Sauerdun, Condon, Auterine*, and others that ſhall be named vnto him by the Legat, which hereafter he ſhall not reedifie without his leaue.

15. That if any of his, hold any fortreſſe, he ſhall cauſe him to raze it, or otherwiſe make warre againſt him at his owne proper coſts and charges.

16. That he ſhall deliuer into the hands of the Legat, *Penne d'Agenes*, and all the other places before mentioned, for the terme of ten yeeres, which if hee cannot recouer and enioy, he ſhall winne by warre. And if within the ſpace of two yeares he cannot make himſelfe Maſter thereof, he ſhall make his voyage beyond the ſeas, as hath beene ſaid before, and yeeld his right of the ſaid *Penne* to the Templers, procuring them to come ouer to conquer it; which if they will not vndertake, it is the Legats pleaſure, that the king of *France* doe conquer it; And if he will not hold it, hauing taken it, that he cauſe it to be vtterly razed and ouerthrowne, in ſuch ſort, that it bee impoſſible euer hereafter to reedifie it.

17. That for the accompliſhment of all this, he is to yeeld himſelfe priſoner at the *Lonure* in *Paris*, into the hands of the king, from whence he ſhall not depart, vntill he haue firſt cauſed a daughter of his, to be brought to *Carcaſſonne*, and committed to the cuſtody of the king, in the hands of ſuch as ſhall be deputed thereunto.

18. That he ſhall likewiſe deliuer to the ſaid Legat, the Caſtle *Narbonnes*, and *Penne d'Agenes*, and the other

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places. That he ſhall cauſe the walles of the citie, that are ouer againſt the Caſtle *Narbonnes* to be demoliſhed and beaten downe, and the ditches that were betwixt them to be filled vp, to the end that a man may paſſe and repaſſe freely without feare of any thing; and that all this ſhould be done, before hee went out of priſon. All which being performed, the Legat gaue him his abſolution and deliuered it in writing.

Thus you ſee the conditions of the treatie of the Earle *Remond*, with the Popes Legat. The Reader may iudge, what, and how great the troubles and afflictions of this Prince were: but this was but the beginning of miſeries to the poore *Albingenſes*, for from hence did the great perſecution proceede, whereby they were vtterly rooted out, as it will appeare hereafter.

Chap. VII.

Pecuniary penalties laid vpon the Albingenſes: *The Earle* Remond *conſtrained to make ſtatutes againſt the* Albingenſes: *A Councell at* Toulouze *againſt the* Albingenſes, *wherein they were forbidden the reading of the Scriptures: Other conſtitutions againſt them: The Earle* Remonds *daughter brought to* Paris.

THe ſubiects of the Earle *Remond*, being aduertiſed of this diſhonourable and diſaduantagious treatie of their Lord, were much diſpleaſed and grieued therewith, to ſee themſelues vpon the very brinke of their totall deſtruction; becauſe that thereby their owne Lord was bound to doe his beſt endeuours

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endeuours for their extirpation; and they ſaw beſides that a new heire, their ſworne enemie.

"First, for the more eaſie payment of thoſe ſummes, "which he was bound to pay to the Conuents, and o- "thers, they cauſe him to ordaine, that euery one of "his ſubiects, that make profeſſion of the beleefe of "the *Albingenſes*, ſhall furniſh him with a Marke of "ſiluer. Which was to perſwade him, that he ſhould "not thinke this impoſition to be ſtrange, becauſe the "*Albingenſes* onely were to pay the ſaid ſummes: As "alſo by this meanes they made proofe of all his ſub- "iects; for as ſoone as they found any that refuſed to "pay the ſaid Marke, it was a kinde of inquiſition, "whereby to take notice of all thoſe that afterwards "were to be perſecuted. And that they that perſiſted "in their Religion, ſhould bee puniſhed and condem- "ned to death, their goods confiſcated, their laſt "wills and teſtaments to be of no force, ſo that their "children nor any of the kindred ſhould euer recouer "their inheritances.

"That their houſes ſhould bee vtterly razed and "deſtroyed.

"Item, hee ordaineth that all they that ſhall denie "the Inquiſitors their houſes, granges and woods, "or ſhall defend the Heretikes, deliuer them when "they ſhould apprehend them, and refuſe to giue aid "and aſſiſtance to the Inquiſitors, or to defend them "when they ſhall require it, or ſhall not vſe their beſt "endeuours to keepe thoſe that are taken by the ſaid "Inquiſitors, ſhall be corporally puniſhed, and their "goods confiſcate.

"Item, that they that are ſuſpected of Hereſie, "ſhall ſweare to liue in the Catholike faith, and abiure

The ſeſtatutes of the Earle *Remond* are to be found in the booke of *Ramerius, De modo examinandi Hereticos. fol.* 130.

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" their Hereſie, and if they ſhall refuſe to doe it, they
" are to endure the ſame puniſhment that the Here-
" tikes doe. That if after the oath taken, it doe ap-
" peare, that they haue receiued, fauored, or counſel-
" led any Heretike, they ſhall vndergoe the puniſh-
" ment that the Councell hath ordained.

" Item, we ordaine (ſaith he) that if it ſhall appeare
" that any that hath offended, ſhall die an Heretike,
" and that it ſhall bee lawfully proued before the Bi-
" ſhop; that all his goods be confiſcated, and that the
" houſes wherein they ſhall inhabit, after the treatie of
" peace made at *Paris*, or ſhall dwell in hereafter, ſhall
" be vtterly razed.

Thus you ſee what they cauſed the Earle *Remond* to ordaine, and to ſeale vnto, and at the ſame time they began to deſtroy and ouerthrow by peecemeale, thoſe they could neuer make to ſtaggar in groſſe, being vnited together.

" Moreouer, to giue the better authority to the In-
" quiſition, they called a councell at *Toulouze* in the
1229. " yeare 1229. whereat the Archbiſhop of *Narbonnes*,
" *Bourdeaux*, *Auch*, and diuers other Biſhops and Pre-
" lates were preſent, wherein amongſt other Articles
" that were concluded vpon, this one ſhewes by what
" Spirit, theſe Prelates were led.

The ſeuenth Article of the Councell of Toulouze.

" *We forbid (ſay they) the permiſſion of the bookes of*
" *the old and new Teſtament to all Lay-people, except per-*
" *aduenture they will haue the Pſalter or ſome Breuiarie*
" *for the Diuine office, or the Prayer booke of the bleſſed*
" *Virgin* Marie *for deuotion. Forbidding expreſly that*
" *they haue not the ſaid bookes turned into the vulgar*
" *tongue,*

Pope *Gregory* the ninth did alſo make conſtitutions, at

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at the ſame time againſt the *Albingenſes*; and eſpecially becauſe he would ſtop the mouthes, of the Paſtors of the *Albingenſes*, who diſcredited their humane inuentions. He ordained *that all and euery one of the Laypeople, of what quality or office ſoeuer ſhould be interdicted from preaching.*

King *Lewis* the ninth, made alſo ſtatutes, conformable to thoſe of the Earle *Remond*, as alſo the Emperor *Frederick* which we produce not, that we may not weary the reader, and ſo much the rather becauſe all of them proceeding from one ſource, hee that hath ſeene the one, hath ſeene al: for they al tend to no other end, but to make the Kings, Princes, Emperours and Potentates of the world, to ſeale and ſet to their hands to whatſoeuer they found fitting, to perſecute thoſe that reſiſted the ordinances of the Popes, neither did they dare to refuſe to doe it, vpon paine that the ſelfeſame conſtitutions ſhould be executed againſt them.

Now after the treatie made with the Earle *Remond*, hee remained a priſoner vntill the payment of the ſummes ſpecified therein; and in the meane time, Maſter *Peter de Colmieu* Vice-Legat, tooke his iourney to *Toulouze*, to bring the Citie vnder the obedience of the King, and cauſed the Walls to be razed, and the Towers to bee beaten downe, to the end they might haue no more meanes to rebell againſt the King. He brought likewiſe to the Queene-mother *Ioan* the only daughter of the Earle *Remond*, being of the age of nine yeeres, to the end ſhe might bee brought vp with her, vntill ſhe were of yeeres ſufficient to marry *Alphonſus*, brother to King *Lewis*. The remouall of this young Princeſſe did much afflict the ſubiects of the Earle *Remond*, for ſeeing that this change of do-

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mination would bring with it an alteration of their peace, as it came to paſſe.

Chap. VIII.

The Earle Remond *of* Toulouze *ſolliciteth the Earle of* Foix, *to range himſelfe vnder the obedience of the Pope: What practiſes he vſeth to make him forſake the part of the* Albingenſes, *and hee ſuffereth himſelfe to be handled by the Popes Legat.*

THe Earle of *Foix*, of *Comminges*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, were yet to be conquered, or wonne by practiſes. The Legat *Colmieu* thought the Earle *Remond* a fit inſtrument to worke the latter of the two, and therefore he commandeth him to write to the Earle of *Foix*, *That he ſhould follow his example, or reſolue miſerably to periſh.* Hee writ vnto him in louing termes: *That the vnion that had alwaies beene betwixt their houſes, did binde him to procure their good as his owne, that if he did not yeeld himſelfe into the boſome of the Church of* Rome, *hee ſaw ſuch a tempeſt like to fall vpon him, that it muſt needs ouerwhelme him: That hauing ſo great an enemie as a King of* France, *hee could not poſſibly ſtand out: Hee therefore entreated him to receiue his counſell, and withall, the gift that hee beſtowed on him, for a farther proofe of his loue, that is, if hee would conforme himſelfe to this ſubmiſsion, to the Pope and the Church of* Rome, *hee would hold him from this day forward, quit of that homage which hee anciently did vnto him for the Earledome of* Foix. Hee likewiſe entreated him to procure the like ſubmiſſion from the Earle of *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne*.

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ioyned together in humble ſupplication to their Lord, at the inſtant reaſons and perſwaſions of the ſaid Earle of *Toulouze*. They obtained by their requeſts and teares, that which the Earle of *Toulouze* could not by threats, prayers nor promiſes: for hee promiſed them, that hee would treat with the Legat for their peace, and would accept thereof for their good and contentment.

The Pope was aduertiſed of the intention of the Earle of *Foix*, and therefore hee ioyned with the firſt Legat in the Earledome of *Foix* another, that is to ſay, the Cardinall of S^t^. *Ange*, accompanied by the Archbiſhop of *Narbonnes*, *de Fola*, *Guillaume de Torrution*, Biſhop of *Couſerans*, *Bernard de la grace*, *Peter* Abbot of *Bolbonne*, *Iohn* Abbot of *Comelonge*, *William* Abbot of *Foix*, *Peter de Thalames*, the Legats Lieutenant, *Lambert de la Tour*, and diuers others. Being arriued at S^t^. *Iohn de Berges*, in the Earledome of *Foix*, there appeared alſo the Earle of *Foix*, with the Nobilitie and principall men of the Land.

Holagaray in the life of *Roger* Earle of Foix.

The Legat related to the Earle of *Foix*, the great contentment that the Pope had, to heare that after ſo many combats and bloudy warres, there was hope to finiſh them in peace: that he was come to conclude that, and to bring it to effect, that was begunne in behalfe of the Pope: that there remained nothing but to know what his reſolution was, and to receiue from him the promiſes and oathes of fidelitie to the Church, which are requiſite in ſuch a caſe.

The Earle *Roger* replyed to the Legat and the reſt that were preſent, as followeth.

Meſſieurs, I haue long ſince bid Rhetorick a dieu, hauing made profeſſion to pleade my cauſe, and to make

HAIL & FIRE

make my entries with engins and ſpeares, which muſt be my excuſe, if like a Souldier I vtter my intentions. My Couzen, the Earle of *Toulouze*, hath procured (for which I thanke him) that my enemies will now be pleaſed with reaſon, to heare the cauſes of our leuies, and why wee haue taken Armes, which to this preſent would neuer be granted; as alſo hee deſireth that we ſhould giue ouer the purſuit of thoſe that deſire to wrong vs, vpon an aſſurance (ſaith he) that the King of *France* ſhall maintaine euery one with Iuſtice and Equitie. Truly, I confeſſe, that I neuer deſired any thing more than to maintaine my libertie, being as yet (as it were) in the ſwadling clouts of my freedome. Our Country owes onely one ſimple homage to the Earle of *Toulouze*, for raiſing it to an Earldome, but it acknowledgeth no other Maſter but my ſelfe: and as for the Pope, I neuer offended him; for he hath neuer demanded any thing at my hands, as a Prince, in which I haue not obeyed him. Hee is not to intermeddle with my Religion, ſince euery man is to haue it free. My Father hath alwaies recommended vnto me this libertie, to the end that being ſetled therein, though the heauens ſhake I might looke vpon them with a conſtant and aſſured countenance, and a perſwaſion that they could neuer hurt me. Nothing troubles me but this: For in conſideration that the Earle of *Toulouze* holds mee diſcharged of that homage, which he pretends to belong vnto him, I am ready louingly to imbrace the King, and to doe him ſeruice in the ſame condition, vnder the dependance of my other rights, which maintaine me in Regall authoritie in that Country. It is not feare that makes me ſtagger or yeeld to your deſires, and that conſtraines me to

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humble my will and deſires to the earth, or dunghill-like to ſubmit my ſelfe to your appetite, but being prouoked by that benigne and generous feare of the miſeries of my Subiects, the ruine of my Countrey, the deſire not to be accounted mutinous, braine-ſicke, and the fire-brand of *France*, I yeeld my ſelfe to this extremitie; otherwiſe I would bee as a wall without breach or eſcalado, againſt the braueſt of mine enemies. I giue you therefore a gage of my affection, for the good of the peace in generall. Take my Caſtles of *Foix*, *Mongaillard*, *Montreal*, *Vicdeſos*, *Lordat*, whileſt that I yeeld him that homage that you demand.

As for the Earle of *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, it was impoſſible they ſhould continue firme in their reſolutions, to make reſiſtance, being deſtitute of theſe two props, the Earles of *Foix* and *Toulouze*: For they were but weake, both in money and men. Behold then the end, to the outward appearance of the
1234. *Albingenſes*, when in the yeare 1234. there aroſe a certaine baſtard of the Earle of *Beziers*, who tooke armes for the *Albingenſes*, or craued their aſſiſtance, to reuenge the death of his deceaſed Father.

CHAP.

HAIL & FIRE

Chap. IX.

The laſt warre of the Albingenſes *by* Trancauel, *Baſtard of the Earle of* Beziers: *The progreſſion thereof: The laſt expedition leuied againſt the* Albingenſes: *A treatie betweene the Legat* Amelin, *and the ſaid* Trancauel: *The end of the warre.*

Matthew Paris an Engliſh Writer ſaith, That in the yeare 1234 the warres began againe againſt the *Albingenſes*, and that there came a great Army of the *Croſſe* againſt them, yea, that they loſt aboue a hundred thouſand men all at once, with all their Biſhops that were in that battell, and that none eſcaped. *Matthew Paris* hiſtory of England, in the yere 1234.

He was no doubt miſ-informed; For the Hiſtoriographer of *Languedoc*, who relateth all that paſſed in thoſe times, hath made no mention thereof, neither is it likely that he would haue forgotten ſo famous a victorie ouer the *Albingenſes*, whom hee hated to the death. True it is, that at what time the Earle of *Toulouze*, of *Foix*, *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne* tooke part with them, and were their Leaders; *Trancauel* the Baſtard of the Earle of *Beziers* deceaſed, did not appeare, but as a priuat man of ſmall importance, but when the *Albingenſes* were deſtitute of all ſupport, there were that awakned this Souldier, and made him to know, that if he would haue any feeling of the outrages done vnto his Father, depriued of his lands vniuſtly, betraied, impriſoned, and poyſoned, that they would giue him the beſt aſſiſtance they could. Whereupon he tooke the field, ſaid, That he would reuenge

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the death of his Father, and win that by the ſword that had beene taken from him by in-iuſtice. Hee was aſſiſted by a number of valiant Captaines; that is to ſay, *Sieur Oliuier de Fumes, Bertrand Hugon de Serrelongue, Bernard de Villeneufue, Iordain de Satiat*, all braue Leaders, who had a number of men at their command; and before the enemy tooke any notice of his deſigne, he ſeaſed vpon the Caſtles of *Montreall, Saixac, Montolieu, Limous*, and others.

Peter Melin the Popes Legat, and Biſhop of *Toulouze*, being much aſtoniſhed to ſee thoſe that tooke part with the *Albingenſes*, whom he thought to bee vtterly buried, to ſpring vp againe, hee had preſently recourſe to the ordinary meanes of the Pope and his Agents, that is, preſently to cauſe the pardon of ſins to be preached, to whomſoeuer would fight vnder the banner of the Croſſe, a kinde of pay of leſſe value, but more common in thoſe times. The Archbiſhop of *Narbonnes* animated alſo the people of his Dioceſſe to goe to make an end of that poore remainder of the *Albingenſes* that were left.

Theſe Prieſts with their troopes, preſented themſelues before the gates of *Carcaſſonne*. The Citie receiued them, but when they came to the Towne the gates were ſhut againſt them. *Amelin* made a ſpeech vnto thoſe that ſhewed themſelues vpon the rampiers, telling them that he was come thither for their preſeruation. They thanked him, but they told him withall, that if he did not inſtantly retire himſelfe, they would giue him the chaſe. Vpon this conference came *Trancauel*, who ſet ſo hotly and valiantly vpon the troope of Pilgrims that accompanied the Legat, that he chaſed them, beating and killing them, till he came to the gates

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gates of the Citie of *Carcaſſonne*, and the Legat had enough to doe to ſaue himſelfe: but that which offended him moſt, was, that the gates of the Towne were opened to *Trancauel*, who lodged therein, and made it his principall retrait, from whence he euery day hurt and hindred the Pilgrims of the Citie, in ſuch ſort, that they hardly durſt come forth of the gates. And whenſoeuer he heard of any troopes of Pilgrims to come, he went to meet them, laying ambuſhes for them, and many times ouerthrew them before they could ioyne themſelues to the Legat.

This man kept the field, vntill the yeare 1242. becauſe when any Pilgrims were required to goe againſt a Baſtard of the diſeaſed Earle of *Beziers*, euery one did beleeue the forces that were leuied within the Principalitie, might ſuffice for the deſtruction of ſo weake an enemie: but *Amelin* writ to the Pope, that if in good earneſt he cauſed not the expedition of the Croſſe to be preached in many places of *Europe*, that the Church was like to receiue a great loſſe by this laſt enemy, who had reuiued the part of the *Albingenſes*, and was more cruell, and more ſubtill, than any other that had maintained them vnto this time. 1242.

Innocent the fourth cauſed the expedition of the Croſſe to be publiſhed in diuers parts of *Europe*. *Trancauel* being aduertiſed, that a very great Army of Pilgrims was prepared to come againſt him, finding himſelfe not ſtrong enough in the Towne of *Carcaſſonne*, retired himſelfe to *Realmont*, whither the Pilgrims followed him and beſieged him. He couragiouſly reſiſted them, and hauing many times diſcomfited the Pilgrims, in the end *Amelin* ſeeing there was nothing to bee gotten of a man, whom when they

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thought him faſt ſhut vp, would be many daies iourney from them, gathering new forces, he entreated the Earle of *Foix* to vſe his beſt endeuours, to bring him to ſome peaceable deſigne, and to treatie with him; which he performed with ſuch ſucceſſe, that he promiſed neuer to beare Armes, either againſt the Legat or the Church of *Rome*. Here you ſee the laſt attempt which wee finde the *Albingenſes* haue made, and the laſt expedition of Pilgrims leuied againſt them. All the purſuit againſt them afterward, was made by the Monkes the Inquiſitors, who kindled their fires more than euer; And ſo taking this poore people diſarmed, and ſingling them out by retaile, it was impoſſible for them any longer to ſubſiſt. And if at any time they hapned to ſet vpon the Inquiſitors, it was but to giue them a more ſenſible apprehenſion of their extreme violencies, whereof we haue a notable example in the Chapter following.

Chap. X.

Many Monkes Inquiſitors, and Officers of the Inquiſition ſlaine, and for what cauſe: Pope Innocent *the fourth vſeth the Earle* Remond *diſgracefully: The Earle* Remond *goes to* Rome, *and why: He takes his iourney to* Rhodes, *dies at* Milan.

1243. IN the yeare one thouſand two hundred fortie three, the Earle *Remond* hauing ſatisfied his pecuniary penalties, and being returned to his Subiects; certaine of the Country complained of the vniuſt proceeding of the Monkes Inquiſitors, who without any difference intangled

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intangled in ſuch ſort all ſorts of people, that there were not almoſt any that they condemned not either for Heretiques, or Fauourers; or Kinsfolke, or allies of Heretiques; not being content to proceede againſt thoſe that made publike profeſſion of the beleefe of the *Albingenſes*, in ſuch ſort, that vnder the cloke of the Inquiſition office, they committed ſtrange theeueries This accuſation againſt the Inquiſitors was before the Earle *Remond*, in the preſence of fiue Inquiſitors, and foure Officers of the Inquiſition, that is to ſay, before *William Arnaldi*, Monke Inquiſitor, and two other *Iacobin* Monkes; Alſo one *Remond de l'Eſcriuain* Archdeacon of the Church of *Toulouze*, and the Prior of *Auignonnet de Cluze*, and *Peter Arnaldi*, Notarie of the Inquiſition, and three other of *Auignonnet*, in the Dioceſſe of *Toulouze*.

The Hiſtory of *Languedoc*, *Chap. 4. fol. 40.*

The Monkes Inquiſitors would reply, and make ſome vſe of that which had beene informed, to frame their inditements againſt thoſe that had thus accuſed them, to the impeachment of their honour, terrifying them with threats, which made thoſe that had thus moued their patience, to enter into conſideration with themſelues, that ſince they muſt fall into the ſnare of the ſaid Inquiſitors, and ſo be vtterly vndone, it was better for them to deliuer themſelues this once, and that they ſhould teach others to carry themſelues more aduiſedly. So growing ſtill more eager and violent in their diſcourſe, they came to blowes. But the Monkes Inquiſitors and their Officers were ouermatched, for there were ſlaine (as the Hiſtoriographer of *Languedoc* reports) nine, that is to ſay, The fiue Monks aboue ſpecified, and the foure Officers. True it is, that this Writer doth aggrauate the Fact, and hee would

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would haue men beleeue, that it was a premeditated treaſon, wherein he ſhewes himſelfe to be partiall and paſſionate.

The Earle *Remond* did very well make it appeare, that he was no way conſenting to this riot, for hee made an exact ſearch and inquirie after the Authors of this ſedition, but yet doe what he could, he could not free himſelfe from ſuſpition. The ſame Hiſtoriographer ſaith, that the atrocitie of the fact, conſtrained the Authors to take Armes, and to beginne againe a kinde of warre; but there is not any Writer that makes mention thereof; and therefore to be conſidered of before it be beleeued. Pope *Innocent* the fourth came to *Lion* about that time. He ſends out his thunder-bolts againſt the murderers, and hee looked not vpon the Earle *Remond* with a good countenance, who was vnciuilly reiected in that requeſt that he made vnto him, touching a diſpenſation for the marriage of his Couſin *Beatrix*, daughter of the Earle *Berenger*, Earle of *Prouence*.

1247. The hiſt. of Languedoc. *fol.* 41.

1249.

The ſame Hiſtoriographer ſaith, that in the yeere 1247. the Earle *Remond* tooke his iourney to *Rome*, that he might bee permitted to burie the bones of his father in holy ground, and that it was denied him, becauſe he died an excommunicate perſon. He likewiſe ſaith, that in the yeere one thouſand two hundred fortie nine, when the Earle *Remond* purpoſed to take his voyage to *Rhodes*, hee died at *Milan* of a continuall feuer.

CHAP.

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Chap. XI.

Alphonſus *brother to the king* S^t. Lewis *taketh poſſeſſion of the goods of the laſt Earle* Remond *of* Toulouze: *The perſecution continueth againſt the* Albingenſes, *vnto the time that the Goſpell was receiued in* France, *and then the greateſt part of thoſe places where the* Albingenſes *inhabited preſently receiued the reformation.*

THe change of their Lord altered the condition of the *Albingenſes*, for the Earle *Remond* being departed this life, *Alphonſus* brother to the king S^t. *Lewis*, tooke poſſeſſion of all the lands, goods and reuenues of the ſaid Earle, and conſequently all the ill will that the Pope and other eccleſiaſticall perſons bare to the houſe of the Earle of *Toulouze* did ceaſe. And as touching the places which he was to yeeld vp contained in the treatie, there needed no farther ſpeech of that, becauſe *Alphonſus* being free from all ſuſpition of falſhood to the Pope or the Church, he peaceably enioyed whatſoeuer belonged vnto him. But one hand waſheth another; and therefore as by thoſe warrs that the Church vndertooke againſt the Earle of *Toulouze*, *Alphonſus* was become Maſter of the goods of the Earle *Remond*, ſo was he bound, to doe his beſt endeuours, that the Pope might be honoured in his countries. For this cauſe hee ſtrengthned the Inquiſition, witneſſe the Monke *Rainerius*, who was Inquiſitor in the yeare 1250. who hath left vs in writing the whole forme of their proceeding, where- 1250.

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In this hiſt. of the Waldenſes. *ch. 2. lib. 2.*

of we haue the tranſcript in the ſecond booke of the hiſtory of the *Waldenſes*. Pope *Alexander* the fourth authorized the ſaid Inquiſition by letters which wee haue in our hands.

The continuance of this perſecution, by the ſaid
1264. Inquiſition is proued in the yeare 1264. by the conſtitutions of Pope *Clement* the fourth. Alſo in the
1276. yeare 1276. vnder *Iohn* the two and twentieth; they were perſecuted with all manner of rigour, witneſſe the letters of the ſaid Pope againſt them. And by this record that followeth, it appeareth that in the yeere
1281. 1281. vnder *Martin* the fourth, there was a perſecution moued in the quarters of *Albi*, and that there were at that time a great number that made profeſſion of the Religion of the *Albingenſes*.

AN EXTRACT OF THE Priuiledges of the Citie of *Realmont*.

To the honour of God the Father, the Sonne and the Holy Ghoſt, creator of all things, viſible and inuiſible, and of the glorious mother of God, who only hath deſtroied all hereſies.

WEE *William de Gourdon*, Captaine, and
" Preſident of *Carcaſſonne* and *Beziers*,
" doe make knowne vnto all men, that
" we command in the name of our moſt
" excellent Lord *Philip* by the grace of God, king of
" *France*; neere the Caſtle of *Lombes* in the Dioceſſe
" of *Albi*, called *Realmont*, for the exaltation of the Ca-
" tholike

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" tholike faith, and the extirpation of all wicked he-
" reſies, and the benefit of our Lord the King, and
" his ſubiects, that the dens and lurking corners of all
" that either ioyne in beleefe with Heretikes, or fa-
" uour them to bee quite rooted out by this Colo-
" nie all and at once, and that by the command and
" authoritie of the King.

" And as for the innumerable numbers of children
" of Heretikes and fugitiues, becauſe the peruerſitie
" of Heretikes is ſo damnable, that we are not onely
" to puniſh themſelues but their poſteritie; Wee or-
" daine that the children of Heretikes which of their
" owne will and good motion ſhall not bee reduced
" (forſaking their errors) to the purity of the Catho-
" like faith, and the vnitie of the Church, ſhall not be
" admitted to the citie of *Realmont* or the territorie
" thereof in any ſort whatſoeuer, to any place of ho-
" nour or publike office. Which ſhall likewiſe be ob-
" ſerued againſt the fugitiues for hereſie, who before
" their departure ſhall not of their owne accord wil-
" lingly be reclaimed. Alſo they that ſhall giue cre-
" dit vnto Heretikes, concealing them or fauouring
" them, after they are made knowne and declared to
" be ſuch by the Church, ſhall be baniſhed for euer
" from the citie of *Realmont*, and all their goods con-
" fiſcated, and their children wholly excluded from
" all honours and publike dignities, except ſome one
" amongſt them doe make knowne ſuch Heretikes,
" and doe ioyne in the ſearch and inquiſition of them.

Thus you ſee the very laſt inſtrument which hath come to our hands for the proofe of the perſecution againſt the *Albingenſes*. Though it be very certaine that they haue beene continually perſecuted by the

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Inquiſition, though their enemies could neuer preuaile ſo farre againſt them, but that they ſtill lay hid like ſparkles vnder the aſhes, deſiring once againe to ſee that which their poſteritie hath enioyed, that is the liberty to call vpon God in puritie of conſcience, without any conſtraint to yeeld to any ſuperſtition or Idolatry, and ſo ſecretly inſtructing their children in the ſeruice of God, the fruit of their pietie, tooke life againe, when it pleaſed the Lord that the light of his Goſpell ſhould appeare amongſt the palpable darkneſſe of Antichriſt, for then many of thoſe places that had made profeſſion to receiue the faith of the *Albingenſes*, haue receiued with greedineſſe the doctrine of the Goſpell, and namely the city of *Realmont*, where the precedent thunderbolts were darted, and notwithſtanding that great diſtance of time, during the which they appeared not, yet the eternall God hath not giuen ouer his worke, and to make manifeſt that he can preſerue his faithfull, euen in the middeſt of the confuſion of Babylon as Diamonds in a dunghill, wheat amongſt the ſtraw, gold in the middeſt of the fire. And notwithſtanding the enſtruction haue not paſſed from the father to the ſonne, vntill the time of the reſtauration, yet the goodneſſe of God ceaſeth not to be wonderfull, in that many of thoſe places where this firſt dew of Gods grace hath fallen, haue beene abundantly enriched with his heauenly benedictions in theſe latter times; An excellent prouocation doubly to obliege them to loue the truth which hath bin freely manifeſted vnto them, and to bring forth fruits worthy thereof. As it ſhould be an extreme griefe to thoſe places that haue neglected and reiected it, that God hath abandoned them and left them to their owne

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owne ſence, euen in that darkeneſſe which they loued, reuenging the contempt of his word, by the ignorance thereof, and ſuffering thoſe to periſh in their error, that haue preferred it before the truth.

Chap. XII.

The concluſion of this Hiſtory of the Albingenſes.

IT is an eaſie matter to gather by the contents of this Hiſtory of the *Albingenſes*, that the people inhabiting in the Countrey of *Albi*, *Languedoc*, and diuers other places neere adioyning, haue made profeſſion of the ſelfe-ſame Religion, that they haue that elſewhere were called *Waldenſes*, and the rather becauſe their aduerſaries themſelues haue affirmed, that they haue perſecuted them as *Waldenſes*. As alſo that the greateſt troubles that haue lighted vpon them, haue beene procured by the Prieſts, whoſe corruptions they haue deſcryed and diſcouered their abuſes, maintaining againſt the Church of *Rome*, the Goſpell of Chriſt Ieſus in it puritie, refuſing to yeeld to thoſe Idolatries that bare ſway in thoſe times; but aboue all, deteſting the Maſſe, and the inuention of Tranſubſtantiation, ſhaking the authoritie of the Popes dominion, as being abuſiue and tyrannicall, hauing no reſemblance of the well-befitting humilitie of the true Paſtors of the Church, or conformitie to the doctrine and vocation of the Apoſtles, but rather an exceſſe and ryot, befitting thoſe that loue the world and periſh with the world. By which libertie which they tooke vnto themſelues

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ſelues to reprehend thoſe that beleeued the right of all redargution to belong onely to themſelues, they haue beene charged with diuers faults, and condemned for raſh inconſiderate people, prophane ſecular perſons, who had thruſt themſelues into the office of teaching, when with ſilence they ſhould rather learne. And the Popes not being able to winne them to the obedience of their commands, nor to conuince them of error by the word of God, they haue perſecuted them by their Monkes Inquiſitors, who haue deliuered to the ſecular Magiſtrate, as many as the ſaid Monkes could apprehend, and foraſmuch as this way was ſomewhat too ſlow to cut them off, and to ſee the end of them, the Popes haue drawne their ſwords againſt them, haue armed their Cardinals and Legats, and driuen to theſe bloudy warres the Kings and Princes of the earth, giuing Paradice for a recompence to whomſoeuer would beare armes againſt them, and aduenture his life for the extirpation of them for fortie daies together. Many great Lords haue beene deſirous to know the cauſe of that vnreconcilable enmitie of the Pope, againſt their ſubiects, and hauing perceiued that paſſion carried thoſe that were offended for the truth, they haue maintained their cauſe, being grounded vpon this reaſon, That when they ſhould bee conuinced of this errror by the word of God, they would giue the glory vnto God. From hence haue proceeded thoſe cruell warres wherein a million of men haue loſt their liues. In the meane time, euen then when it ſeemed that all truth was buried in the ground, and that the Dragon had ouercome, God raiſed in diuers of thoſe places, where this grace had beene knowne and receiued, many goodly Churches wherein his name is pure-

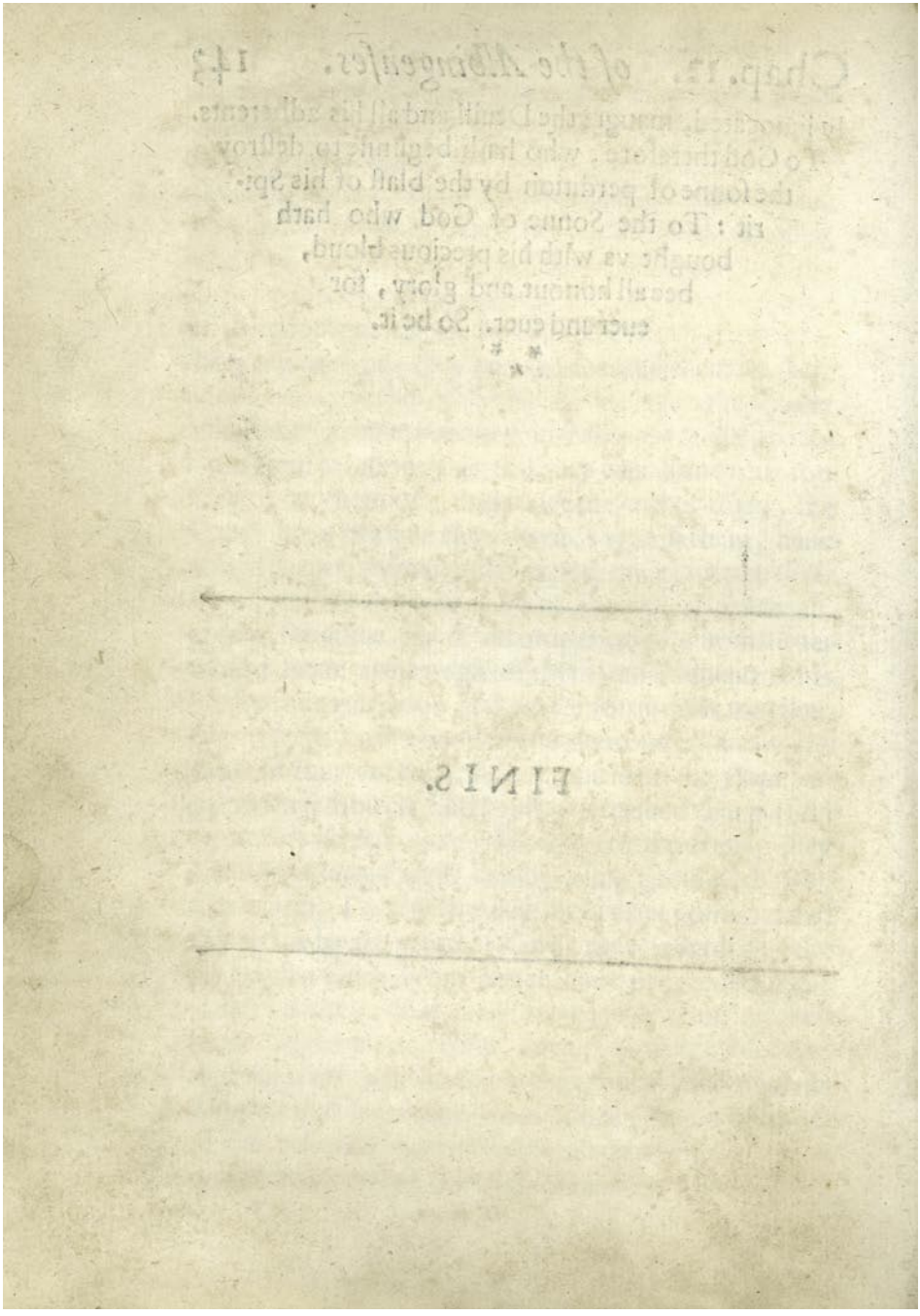
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ly inuocated, maugre the Deuill and all his adherents. To God therefore, who hath begunne to deſtroy the ſonne of perdition by the blaſt of his Spirit: To the Sonne of God who hath bought vs with his precious bloud, bee all honour and glory, for euer and euer. So be it.

* * *

FINIS.



THE THIRD PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WALDENSES AND ALBINGENSES.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Containing the Doctrine and Discipline that hath beene common amongst them.

The Catechisme or manner of instructing their Children, which the Waldenses *and* Albingenses *haue vsed, in manner of a Dialogue, where the Pastor asketh the question, and the Childe answereth; set down iointly in their owne proper Language, in the French Copy, for the more Authority.*

CHAPTER I.

Lo. Barba. *Si tu fosses demanda qui sies tu. Respond.*
L'Enfant. Creatura de dio rational & mortal, &c.

The learned Reader desirous to see the Originall, may haue recourse to the French Booke, where it is faithfully set forth in their owne old Language.

The Pastor.

Question. *WHat art thou?*

Answer. A creature of God, reasonable, and mortall.

Q. *Why hath God created thee?*

A. To the end I ſhould know and ſerue him, and that I might be ſaued by his grace.

Q. *In what doth thy ſaluation conſiſt?*

A. In three eſſentiall vertues, which doe neceſſarily belong to ſaluation.

Q. *Which be they?*

A. Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Q. *How doſt thou proue it?*

A. The Apoſtle ſaith in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 13. 13. Theſe three things remaine, Faith, Hope, and Charity,

Q. *What is Faith?*

A. According to the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 11. 1. It is the ſubſtance of things hoped for, the euidence of things not ſeene.

Q. *How many kindes of Faith are there?*

A. There are two ſorts of Faith, that is, a liuely, and a dead Faith.

Q. *What is a liuely Faith?*

A. That which worketh by Charity.

Q. *What is a dead Faith?*

A. According to Saint *Iames*, That Faith which is without workes, is dead. Againe, Faith is nothing without workes: Or, a dead faith, is to beleeue there is a God, and to beleeue thoſe things concerning God, and not to beleeue in God.

Q. *What is thy Faith?*

A. The true Catholike and Apoſtolike Faith.

Q. *What is that?*

A. It is that which in the Apoſtles Symbole is diuided into twelue Articles.

Q. *What is that Symbole?*

A. I beleeue in God the Father Almighty, &c.

Q. *By*

Q. *By what meanes canſt thou know that thou beleeueſt in God?*

A. By this. Becauſe I know that I haue giuen my ſelfe to the obſeruation of the Commandements of God.

Q. *How many Commandements of God are there?*

A. Ten, as it appeareth in *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*.

Q. *Which are they?*

A. Hearken O Iſrael, I am the Lord thy God. Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods but me. Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any grauen Image, nor the likeneſſe of any thing that is in Heauen, &c.

Q. *Vpon what doe all theſe Commandements depend?*

A. Vpon the two great Commandements, that is to ſay; Thou ſhalt loue God aboue all things, and thy Neighbour as thy ſelfe.

Q. *What is the foundation of theſe Commandements, by which euery one ought to enter into life, without which foundation no man can worthily fulfill the Commandements?*

A. Our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, of whom the Apoſtle ſaith, in the firſt to the *Corinthians*, None can lay any other foundation but that which is laid, euen Ieſus Chriſt.

Q. *By what meanes may a man attaine to this foundation?*

A. By Faith: So ſaith Saint *Peter*, 1 Epiſt. 2. 6. Behold, I lay in Sion a chiefe corner ſtone, elect, precious, and he that beleeueth in him, ſhall not be confounded. And our Sauiour ſaith; Hee that beleeueth in me ſhall haue eternall life.

Q. *How doeſt thou know that thou beleeueſt?*

A. Becauſe I know him to bee true God, and true man, who was borne, & ſuffered, &c. for my redempti-

on, and Iuſtification; and that I loue him, and deſire to fulfill his Commandements.

Q. *By what meanes may a man attaine to the Eſſentiall vertues, that is to ſay, Faith, Hope, and Charity?*

A. By the gifts of the holy Ghoſt.

Q. *Doeſt thou beleeue in the holy Ghoſt?*

A. I doe beleeue: For the holy Ghoſt proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne, and is a perſon of the Trinity, and according to the Diuinity, is equall with the Father and the Sonne.

Q. *Doeſt thou beleeue God the Father, God the Sonne, God the holy Ghoſt, to be three Perſons: Then there are three Gods.*

A. No, there are not three.

Q. *But yet thou haſt named three?*

A. That was by reaſon of the difference of the Perſons, not of the Eſſence of the Diuinity: For though there be three Perſons, yet there is but one Eſſence.

Q. *After what manner doeſt thou adore, and ſerue that God, in whom thou beleeueſt?*

A. I adore him by an exterior and interior adoration: Exterior, by the bowing of the knees, the lifting vp of the hands, the inclination of the body, with hymnes and ſpirituall ſongs, faſting, inuocation: but inwardly by a holy affection, a will ready to doe what hee pleaſeth, and I ſerue him by Faith, Hope, Charity, in his Commandements.

Q. *Doeſt thou adore and ſerue any other thing as God?*

A. No.

Q. *Wherefore?*

A. Becauſe of his Commandement, whereby hee hath ſtraightly commanded, ſaying; Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue.

As

As alſo, I will not giue my glory to another. Againe, I liue ſaith the Lord: Euery knee ſhall bow vnto me. And Chriſt Ieſus ſaith: There ſhall be true worſhippers, who ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and truth: and the Angell would not be adored by Saint *Iohn*, nor Saint *Peter* by *Cornelius*.

Q. *After what manner doeſt thou pray?*

A. I pray according to that Prayer that was taught vs by the Sonne of God, *Our Father which art in Heauen, &c.*

Q. *Which is the other ſubſtantiall vertue belonging of neceſsity to ſaluation?*

A. It is Charity.

Q. *What is Charity?*

A. It is a gift of the holy Ghoſt, whereby the ſoule is reformed in will, illuminated by Faith, whereby I beleeue all that I ought to beleeue, and hope whatſoeuer I ought to hope.

Q. *Doeſt thou beleeue in the holy Church?*

A. No, for that is a creature: but I beleeue there is a Church.

Q. *What is that thou beleeueſt touching the holy Church?*

A. I ſay that the Church is conſidered after a two-fold manner; the one in it ſubſtance, the other in it Miniſtery: Conſidered in it ſubſtance, by the Church we vnderſtand, the holy Catholike Church, which containeth all the Elect of God, from the beginning of the World to the end, in the grace of God, by the merit of Chriſt, aſſembled by the holy Ghoſt, ordained from the beginning to eternall life, the names and number of whom is known onely to God, who hath elected them; And laſtly, in this Church there remaineth no excommunicated perſon: But the Church conſidered accor-

ding to the veritie of the Miniſtery, are the Miniſters of Chriſt, with the people ſubiect vnto them, or committed to their charge, vſing their Miniſtery by Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Q. *By what markes doeſt thou know the Church of Chriſt?*

A. By fit and conuenient Miniſters, and by the people who participate in the trueth of that Miniſterie.

Q. *How doeſt thou know the Miniſters?*

A. By the true apprehenſion of faith, by ſound doctrine, by the life of good example, the preaching of the Goſpell, and the due adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

Q. *By what markes doeſt thou know the falſe Miniſters?*

A. By their fruits; by their blindneſſe, by their wicked workes, by their peruerſe doctrine, and by their vnfit diſorderly adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

Q. *How may we know their blindneſſe?*

A. When they, not knowing that truth which belongeth of neceſſity to ſaluation, they obſerue humane inuentions, as the Commandements of God, of whom that is verified that the Prophet *Eſay* ſpeaketh, and that hath beene alledged by our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus, *Mat.* 15. *This people honour mee with their lips, but their heart is farre from me; but they ſerue me for nothing, teaching the doctrine and commandements of men.*

Q. *By what meanes or markes are wicked workes made knowne?*

A. By thoſe manifeſt ſinnes of which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, Rom. 1. ſaying, that they that doe ſuch things ſhall

ſhall not inherit the kingdome of God.

Q. *By what markes is falſe doctrine knowne?*

A. When men teach againſt Faith and Hope, as diuers kinds of Idolatries, worſhipping the reaſonable, ſenſible, viſible, or inuiſible creature: for it is the Father onely, with his Sonne and the holy Ghoſt, that muſt be ſerued, and no other creature. But contrarily we attribute to man, and to the worke of his hands, or to his words, or to his authority, in ſuch manner, that men being blinded, thinke that God is a debtour vnto them for their falſe religion, and couetous Simony of Prieſts.

Q. *By what markes is the diſorderly adminiſtration of the Sacraments knowne?*

A. When the Prieſts know not the intention of Chriſt in the Sacraments, and teach that all grace and truth is included in them, by the onely outward ceremonies, and leade men to the participation of the Sacraments, without the truth of Faith, Hope, and Charitie. It is the will of the Lord, that all his ſhould take heed of falſe prophets, ſaying, *Beware of falſe prophets.* And againe, *Beware of the Phariſes*, that is to ſay, of their leuen and falſe doctrine. And againe, *Beleeue them not, follow not after them. Dauid* hateth all ſuch perſons, and therefore he ſaith, *I hate the congregation of the wicked.* And the Lord commandeth vs to withdraw our ſelues from among ſuch people, Numbers 16. 26. *Depart from the tents of theſe wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, leſt you be conſumed in all their ſinnes.* And the Apoſtle, 2.Cor.6.14. *Be ye not vnequally yoked together with vnbeleeuers, for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſſe with vnrighteouſneſſe, and what communion hath light with darkeneſſe? what concord hath Chriſt with Belial, or what part*

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part hath he that beleeueth with an Infidell. And, *What agreement hath the Temple of God with Idoles? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye ſeparated, ſaith the Lord, and touch not the vncleane thing, and I will receiue you.* Againe, in the 2. Theſ. 3. 12. *We command and exhort you, by our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that ye withdraw your ſelues from euery brother that walketh diſorderly.* And in the 18. of the Reuel. 4. *Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her ſinnes, and that yee receiue not of her plagues.*

Q. *By what markes may we know thoſe that are not in the truth of the Church?*

A. By their publike ſinnes and erroneous faith; for we are to flie ſuch people, leaſt wee bee contaminated with their ſinnes.

Q. *By what things oughteſt thou to communicate with the holy Church?*

A. I muſt communicate with the Church in regard of the ſubſtance, by Faith, by Hope, and by Charity, and by the obſeruation of the Commandements, and by finall perſeuerance in that which is good.

Q. *How many Miniſteriall things are there?*

A. Two, the Word, and the Sacraments.

Q. *How many Sacraments are there?*

A. Two, that is to ſay, Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord.

Q. *VVhat is the third vertue neceſſary to ſaluation?*

A. Hope.

Q. *VVhat is Hope?*

A. It is a certaine expectation of the grace and glory to come.

Q. *By what meanes doe we hope for grace?*

A. By the Mediatour Ieſus Chriſt, of whom Saint *Iohn*

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Iohn ſpeaketh, Chap. 1. 17. *Grace came by Ieſus Chriſt.* And againe, *VVe beheld his glory full of grace and truth, and we haue all receiued of his fulneſſe?*

Q. *VVhat is Grace?*

A. It is Redemption, Remiſſion of ſinnes, Iuſtification, Adoption, Sanctification.

Q. *By what meanes doe wee hope for this Grace in Chriſt?*

A. By a liuely faith, and true repentance, Ieſus Chriſt ſaying, *Repent, and beleeue the Goſpell.*

Q. *From whence doth Hope proceed?*

A. From the gift of God, and his promiſes: and therefore ſaith the Apoſtle, *He is able to accompliſh whatſoeuer he promiſeth*: for he hath promiſed himſelfe, that at what time ſoeuer a ſinner ſhall know him, and repent him of his ſinnes, and hope that hee will haue mercy, pardon, and iuſtifie, &c.

Q. *VVhat are the things that diuert a man from this hope?*

A. A dead faith, the ſeducing of Antichriſt to any other then Chriſt, that is to ſay, to Saints, and the power of that Antichriſt in his authority, words, benedictions, Sacraments, reliques of the dead. The teaching men to haue hope, by thoſe meanes that directly oppoſe themſelues againſt the Trueth, and againſt the Commandements of God, as Idolatry after diuers manners, and Simoniacall wickedneſſes, &c. Abandoning the fountaine of liuing water giuen by grace, to runne after broken ceſterns, adoring, and honouring, and ſeruing the creature, by Prayers, and Faſtings, and Sacrifices, Donations, Offerings, Pilgrimages, Inuocations, &c. Truſting thereby to attaine grace, which none can giue, but God alone in Chriſt Ieſus. So that

in vaine they trauell, and loſe their ſiluer and their life, and doubtleſſe not only this life preſent, but that which is to come; for which cauſe it is ſaid, that the hope of felons ſhall periſh.

Q. *And what ſay you of the bleſſed Virgin* Mary? *For ſhe is full of grace, as the Angel teſtifieth, Haile* Mary *full of grace, &c.*

A. The bleſſed Virgin hath beene, and is full of grace in her ſelfe, but not to communicate vnto others: for her Sonne only is full of grace to beſtow on others, as it is ſaid of him; *And we all receiue of his fulnes grace for grace.*

Q. *Doeſt thou not beleeue the Communion of Saints?*

A. I beleeue there are two things in the which the faithfull doe communicate, the one is ſubſtantiall, the other Miniſteriall: They communicate in the ſubſtantiall by the holy Ghoſt, in God by the merit of Ieſus Chriſt. But they communicate in the Miniſteriall or Eccleſiaſticall, by the Miniſtery duely exerciſed, that is to ſay, by the Word, by the Sacraments, and by Prayer. I beleeue the one and the other of theſe two Communions of Saints. The firſt onely in God by the Spirit, the other in the Church by Chriſt.

Q. *In what doth life eternall conſiſt?*

A. In a liuely working faith, and perſeuerance therein. Our Sauiour ſaith, Iohn 17. 3. *This is life eternall, that they might know thee the onely true God, and Ieſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent*: And *he that perſeuereth to the end ſhall be ſaued. Amen.*

A con-

A confeſsion of ſinnes, common both with the *Waldenſes* and *Albingenſes.*

Chap. II.

O Dio de li Rey, & Segnor de li Segnor, yo me confeſſo a tu, car yo ſoy aquel peccador que tay mot offendu, &c.



God of Kings, and Lord of Lords, I confeſſe my ſelfe vnto thee, for I am that ſinner, that hath grieuouſly offended thee, by mine ingratitude. I cannot excuſe my ſelfe, becauſe thou haſt ſhewed mee what is good and what is euill. I haue knowne what thy power is, and haue vnderſtood thy wiſedome; I haue taken notice of thy Iuſtice, and ſeene thy goodneſſe; and therefore all the euill that I haue done proceedeth from my owne corruption. O Lord forgiue me, and giue mee repentance, for I haue contemned thee by my pride and preſumption, I haue giuen no credit to thy wiſedome, nor obeyed thy Commandements, but I haue tranſgreſſed them all; for which I am ſorry, and much diſpleaſed with my ſelfe. I haue not feared thy Iuſtice, nor thy Iudgements, but I haue committed many wickednesſes, euen from my cradle vnto this day, neither haue I loued thy great bountie and goodneſſe as I ſhould, and as thou haſt commanded mee; but I haue giuen too great a truſt vnto the deuill, by the fraile corruption of my nature; I haue followed pride and hated humilitie; and if thou pardon me not I am vndone, ſo deepely is ſinne rooted in my heart. I am ſo carried away with the loue of ri-

This confeſſion is taken out of the Booke of the *Waldenſes*, intituled *New comfort.*

ches and vaine-glory, affecting the praiſe of men, that I beare but little loue vnto thoſe, to whom by their good deeds I am moſt obliged. If therefore thou forgiue mee not, there remaineth nothing for my poore ſoule but euerlaſting perdition. Anger reigneth in my heart, becauſe I haue not endeuoured to alaye it, enuy fretteth mee becauſe I haue no charitie. O Lord forgiue me for thy goodneſſe ſake. I am raſh, lazie, and ſluggiſh to doe that which is good; hardie and bold to doe euill, and more then diligent. O Lord vouchſafe mee thy grace, that I may not bee of the number of the wicked. I haue not ſhewed my ſelfe thankefull for that good thou haſt done vnto mee, and giuen vnto me out of thy loue, as I ought, and as thou haſt commanded mee; for I haue beene alwayes, by the peruerſeneſſe of my nature, diſobedient vnto thee in all things. O Lord forgiue mee, for I haue not ſerued thee, but contrarily I haue greatly offended thee. I haue beene too carefull to ſerue my body, and mine owne will, in many vaine thoughts and wicked deſires, wherein I haue taken pleaſure. I haue blinded my body, and exerciſed my thoughts and imaginations againſt thee in many wickednesſes, and I haue ſought after many things againſt thy will. Haue pitie on mee and giue mee humilitie. I haue caſt vp mine eyes to behold the vaine delights and pleaſures of this world, and I haue turned them away from thy countenance. I haue giuen eare to the ſound of vanitie, and to wicked ſpeeches, and it hath beene a grieuous thing vnto me to vnderſtand thy Law and thy Diſcipline. I haue committed many ſinnes, eſpecially in my vnderſtanding, for the ſtench of wickedneſſe hath beene more pleaſing, then the diuine ſweetneſſe of thy celeſtiall honours;

honours; for adoring the euill, I haue therein taken greater contentment, becauſe I haue committed many ſinnes, and omitted much good that I ſhould haue done, and not acknowledging my faults, I haue endeuoured to caſt them vpon another. I haue not been temperate in my eating and drinking. I haue many a time and oft returned wrong for wrong, and therein I haue taken greateſt pleaſure. I haue a wounded body and ſoule. I haue ſtretched out my hands to touch vanitie, and I haue laboured to poſſeſſe the goods of another man, and to miſchiefe my neighbour. My heart hath delighted in that I haue ſaid, and much more in many other vaine delights and pleaſures. O Lord pardon mee and giue mee chaſtitie. I haue ill imployed the time that thou haſt giuen mee, and I haue followed during my yonger yeeres, my vanities and pleaſures. I haue wandred from the right way, and haue giuen an ill example by my lightneſſe. I know but little good in my ſelfe, and I finde much euill. I haue diſpleaſed thee by my wickedneſſe, and condemned mine owne ſoule, and hated my neighbour. O Lord preſerue mee that I bee not condemned. I loue my neighbour for my temporall benefit. I haue not carried my ſelfe faithfully, when there hath beene any queſtion of giuing and receiuing, but I haue had reſpect vnto the perſons, according to mine affection. I haue loued the one too much, and too much hated the other. I haue taken too little ioy and comfort in the good of the godly, and too great delight in the ſinne of the wicked. And beſides all the euill that I haue committed in times paſt vnto this preſent day, I haue not had any repentance, or diſtaſte of my ſinnes, anſwerable to my manifold offences. I haue many a

HAIL & FIRE

time and oft returned to that wickednesse I haue committed, and now confessed, for which I am hartily sorrie. O Lord God, thou knowest that I haue confessed my selfe vnto thee, and that there are yet in me many wickednesses, which I haue not recounted vnto thee, but thou knowest the wicked thoughts, the wicked words, the wicked works that I haue committed vnto this day, O Lord forgiue me, & giue me time in this life to repent me of my sins, and vouchsafe me the grace in time to come, so to hate those sins I haue committed, as that I neuer offend in that kind any more, & that I may so loue vertue and keepe it in my heart, that I may loue thee aboue all things, and feare thee in such sort, that when the houre of death shall come I may doe that that shall be pleasing vnto thee. And giue me such affiance in thee at the day of Iudgement, that I neither feare the deuill, nor any other thing may affright mee, but receiue me, and set me at thy right hand, without offence, free from all sinne. Good Lord let all this come to passe according to thy good pleasure, for thy Son Christ Iesus sake.

Amen.

An Ex-

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An Expoſition of the *Waldenſes* and *Albingenſes* vpon the ten Commandements of the Law of GOD.

CHAP. III.

An Expoſition of the firſt Commandement.

Lo premier Commandement de la Ley de Dio es aqueſt. Non aures Dio ſtraing deuant mi. Exod. 20. &c.

Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods but me.



ALl they that loue the Creature more then the Creator, obſerue not this Commandement: That which euery man honoureth and ſerueth more then GOD, that vnto him is God. And therefore ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome* vpon *Mathew*: The euill to which a man is a ſeruant, is to him a God. So that if any man ſhall ſay, I cannot know, whether I loue more or leſſe GOD, or the thing God forbids mee to loue; let him know, that what a man loues leaſt, in a caſe of neceſſity, is that which he is moſt willing to looſe; and that which he loues, is that which he keepeth and preſerueth. As it is the manner of Merchants to doe, if when they are in danger of drowning, they willingly caſt their Merchandize into the Sea, to ſaue their liues, they loue their liues better then their Merchandize: So thinke thou with thy ſelfe, that if vpon any occaſion, thou hadſt rather looſe thy temporall things, or receiue any loſſe or hinderance in them, as in thy Money, thy Houſes, thy Cattell,

Taken out of the Booke of the *Waldenſes*, intituled, *The Booke of vertues*, pag. 197.

Cattell, thy Wife, thy Children, yea, thine owne body, then commit any ſinne by which thou muſt looſe God, then doubtleſſe thou loueſt God more then all things aboue mentioned. But contrarily, if thou haddeſt rather ſinne, then looſe theſe temporall things, then certainly thou doeſt adore and ſerue theſe things more then God, and thou art an Idolater. And this doth our Sauiour affirme in the Goſpell, ſaying; If any man come vnto me, and hateth not his Father and his Mother, his Wife and Children, his Brothers and Siſters, yea, and his owne ſoule, hee cannot be my Diſciple. All ſuch offend againſt this Commandement, &c.

The reſt touching this Commandement, is before in the 1. Booke of the Hiſtory of the *Waldenſes*; Chap. 4.

An Expoſition of the 2. Commandement.

Tu ne te feras image taillee, &c.

Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any grauen Image, &c.

THou ſhalt make thee no Image, cut out of ſtone or wood, or any other thing, which may be cut into any figure, or picture, or in any other manner whatſoeuer, *that is in Heauen aboue*, as the Angels, the Sunne, the Moone, the Starres; *nor in the Earth beneath*, as Men, and other Creatures, as the Ægyptians doe: *nor in the waters*, as the Fiſh: For the Philiſtines ſerued *Dagon*, which was an Idol, which had a head like a Fiſh: *Nor vnder the Earth*, as the Diuels; as they of *Acheron*, who worſhipped *Beelzebub*. *Thou ſhalt not worſhip them*; by doing them outward reuerence, nor ſerue them with inward reuerence. Neither ſhalt thou doe any worke that may tend to the honour and reuerence of them.

them. So hee manifeſtly forbiddeth to make any grauen Image of any thing, to the end to ſerue and adore it. And therefore it is wonderfull, that there are ſome that frame vnto themſelues Figures and Images, and attribute vnto them by their ignorance, and againſt the Commandement of God, the honour and reuerence which belongeth to one onely God.

Obiect. But there are ſome that ſay, that Images are Lay-mens Bookes, who not being able to reade in Bookes, may ſee that vpon a wall, which they cannot reade.

Anſwer. To whom wee may anſwer, that the Lord ſaith to his Diſciples, in the fift Chapter of Saint *Matthew*; *Ye are the ſalt of the Earth, the light of the World.* For the life and conuerſation of the Paſtors ought to be the Booke of their Flockes. And if a man ſhould grant that they are Bookes, yet they are falſe, and ill written. For if Lay-people ſhall take example by thoſe Images and figures of the liues of Saints, it is moſt certaine that it is impoſſible. For the Virgin *Mary* was an example of humility, pouerty, and chaſtity, and they adorne her Image, rather with veſtments of pride, then humility. So that the Lay-people doe not reade in their habits humility, but pride and auarice, if they conforme themſelues to the ſaid Bookes corrupted, and ill written. For the Prieſts and the people in theſe dayes, are couetous, proud, and luxurious, and therefore they cauſe their Images to be pictured like themſelues. And therefore ſaith *Dauid*, *Thou thinkeſt fooliſhly that I am like vnto thee.*

Obiect. But there are others that ſay; We worſhip the viſible Images, in honour of the inuiſible God.

Anſwer. This is falſe. For if wee will truly ho-

nour the Image of GOD, by doing good vnto men, we ſerue and honour the Image of GOD: For the Image of GOD is in euery man, but the reſemblance or likeneſſe of God, is not in all, but onely in thoſe where the thought is pure, and the ſoule humble. But if we will truly honour God, wee giue place vnto the truth; that is to ſay, wee doe good vnto men that are made after the Image of God: we doe honour vnto God, when we giue meate to thoſe that hunger, drink to thoſe that thirſt, & cloath to thoſe that are naked. And therefore what honour doe wee giue vnto God, when we ſerue him in a ſtock, or a ſtone; when we adore idle Figures without ſoules, as if there were ſome diuinity in them, and contemne man, who is the true Image of God? Saint *Chryſoſtome* vpon *Mathew* ſaith; That the Image of God cannot be painted or pictured in gold, but figured in man. The Money of *Cæſar* is gold, but the money of God is man. And therefore if the Iewes were commanded vnder the Law, that they ſhould deſtroy all the figures and Images, and addict themſelues to one onely God; as it is written in the firſt Booke of the *Kings*. But *Samuel* ſaid to all the Houſe of Iſrael: *If you turne vnto the Lord with all your heart, and remoue from you all your ſtrange Gods, and keepe your heart vnto the Lord, and ſerue him onely, he will deliuer you from the hands of the Philiſtines.* Much leſſe then ought Chriſtians to depend vpon ſuch ſignes and Images which the Iewes did not; but they ought rather to lift vp their affections vnto Chriſt, who ſitteth at the right hand of God.

An

An Expoſition of the 3. Commandement.

Tu ne prendras point le nom du Seigneur ton Dieu en vain, &c.

Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine,&c.

IN this Commandement, we are forbidden to ſweare falſly, vainely,and by cuſtome,as it is written, Leuit. 19. *The man that is accuſtomed to ſweare, ſhall bee filled with iniquity, and the plague ſhall not depart from his houſe.* An oath confeſſeth God to know the truth, and it is to confirme a thing doubtfull; for an oath is an act of Gods ſeruice: and therefore they that ſweare by the Elements doe ſinne. This is the reaſon why Chriſt Ieſus forbiddeth vs to ſweare by any thing,neither by the heauen,nor by the earth,or any thing elſe,but that our ſpeech bee, Yea, yea, and No, no, and whatſoeuer is otherwiſe is ſinne. And Saint *Iames* in the fift Chapter of his Epiſtle ſaith. *Aboue all things,my brethren, ſweare not, neither by heauen, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath, leſt ye fall into condemnation.*

An Expoſition of the 4. Commandement.

Souuienne toy du iour du repos, &c.

Remember thou keepe holy the Sabbath day,&c.

THey that will keepe and obſerue the Sabbath of Chriſtians, that is to ſay, Sanctifie the day of the

Lord, muſt be carefull of foure things: The firſt is to ceaſe from all earthly and worldly labours: The ſecond, not to ſinne: The third, not to be idle in regard of good workes: The fourth, to doe thoſe things that are for the good and benefit of the ſoule. Of the firſt it is ſaid, *In ſixe dayes ſhalt thou labour and doe all that thou haſt to doe, but the ſeuenth is the Sabboth of the Lord thy God, in it thou ſhalt doe no manner of worke*: and in Exodus it is ſaid, *Keepe my Sabbath, for it is holy; he that polluteth it ſhall die the death*: and in the Booke of Numbers we reade that one of the children of Iſrael being ſeene to gather ſtickes vpon the Sabbath day, hee was brought vnto *Moſes*, who not knowing what courſe to take therein, the Lord ſaid vnto *Moſes*; *This man ſhall die the death, all the people ſhall ſtone him with ſtones, and he ſhall die.* God would that his Sabbath ſhould be kept with ſuch reuerence, that the children of Iſrael durſt not to gather Manna therein, when it was giuen them from heauen.

The ſecond thing which we are to obſerue, is, to preſerue our ſelues from ſinne, as it is ſaid in Exodus, Remember to ſanctifie the day of reſt, that is, to obſerue it, by keeping thy ſelfe carefully from ſinne. And therefore ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, It is better to labour and to dig the earth vpon the Lords day, then to bee drunke, or to commit any other ſinnes; for ſinne is a ſeruile worke, by which a man ſerues the deuill. Againe, he ſaith that it is better to labour with profit, then to range and roame abroad idly: For the day of the Lord was not ordained to the end that a man ſhould ceaſe from worldly good workes, and giue himſelfe vnto ſinne; but to the end he ſhould addict himſelfe to ſpirituall labours, which are better then the worldly,

worldly, and that hee repent himſelfe of thoſe ſinnes he hath committed, the whole Sabbath throughout: for idleneſſe is the Schoole-maſter of all euill. *Seneca* ſaith, it is a ſepulchre of a liuing man.

The fourth thing is to doe that which may be good and profitable to the ſoule; as to think on God, deuoutly to pray vnto him, dilligently to heare his Word and Commandements, to giue thankes vnto God for all his benefits, to inſtruct the ignorant, to correct the erroneous, and to preſerue our ſelues from all ſinne, to the end that ſaying of *Eſay* might bee accompliſhed; *Repent you of your ſinnes, and learne to doe good:* for reſt is not good, if it bee not accompanied with good workes.

An Expoſition of the 5. Commandement.

Theſe Commandements tell vs how we are to carry our ſelues towards our neighbours.

Non ſentend tant ſolament de la reuerentia de fora, &c.

Honour thy father and thy mother, &c.

WEe are not to vnderſtand theſe words, as if the queſtion were onely touching outward reuerence, but alſo concerning matter of complement, and things neceſſary for them: and therefore wee are to doe that which is enioyned in this Commandement, for that honour which is due vnto fathers and mothers: for we receiue from them three excellent gifts, that is to ſay, our Being, our Nouriſhment, and our Inſtruction, which we are neuer able fully to recom-

pence. The Wiſeman ſaith, *Honour thy father, and forget not the ſorrowes of thy mother:* Remember that by them thou haſt had thy being, render then a recompence anſwerable to the price they haue giuen thee: and therefore hauing regard to that naturall being which we haue receiued from our father and mother, we are to ſerue them in all humility and reuerence, after a threefold mannet. Firſt with all the power of our bodies, wee are to ſupport their bodies, and to yeeld them the ſeruice of our hands. As the wiſe man ſpeaketh; *He that feares God, will honour his Father and his Mother, and will ſerue them as his Lords that haue begotten him.* Againe, wee muſt ſerue our Fathers and Mothers with all our power, neuer debating or queſtioning with them with hard and bitter ſpeeches; but wee muſt anſwer them humbly, and hearken louingly to their reprehenſions. *Prouerbs* 1.8. *My ſonne heare the inſtruction of thy Father, and forſake not the Law of thy Mother.* He that ſhall curſe his Father and Mother, his Lampe ſhall be put out in the middeſt of darkeneſſe. We muſt likewiſe honor them, by adminiſtring vnto them things neceſſary for this life. For Fathers and Mothers haue nouriſhed their Children with their owne fleſh, their proper ſubſtance; and Children nouriſh their Parents with that which is without their fleſh, being impoſſible they ſhould reſtore vnto them thoſe benefits they haue receiued of them.

And touching the inſtruction wee haue receiued of our Parents, wee muſt obey them in whatſoeuer ſhall tend to our ſaluation, and to a good end. *Epheſ.6. Children obey your Parents in the Lord, for this is right.* Of which obedience, Chriſt hath giuen vs an example, as it is in the ſecond Chapter of Saint *Luke: And he went downe*

downe with them, and was obedient to his Father and Mother. And therefore honour firſt thy Father that hath created thee; then thy Father that hath begotten thee, and thy Mother that hath borne thee in her wombe, and hath brought thee forth, to the end thy dayes may be prolonged vpon the Earth, and that perſeuering in that which is good, thou mayeſt paſſe out of this world to an euerlaſting inheritance.

An Expoſition vpon the 6. Commandement.

En aqueſt Commandament es deſfen du ſpecialment l'homicidi, &c.

Thou ſhalt not kill.

MVrder is eſpecially forbidden in this Commandement: but more generally, to hurt our Neighbour in any manner whatſoeuer, as with words, detractions, iniuries, or deeds, as to ſtrike our Neighbour. Of the firſt ſort it is ſaid, *Mathew* 5.22. *Whoſoeuer is angry with his brother without a cauſe, ſhall be in danger of iudgement.* And Saint *Iames* ſaith, Chapter 1.20. *The wrath of man worketh not the righteouſneſſe of God.* And Saint *Paul, Epheſ.* 3. *Let not the Sunne goe downe vpon your anger.* He that is angry with his brother without cauſe, is worthy of iudgement; but not hee that is angry vpon iuſt occaſion. For if a man ſhould not be angry ſometimes, the doctrine were not profitable, neither would the iudgement bee diſcerned, nor ſinne puniſhed. And therefore iuſt anger is the Mother of diſcipline, and they that in ſuch a caſe are not angry, ſinne: for that patience that is without reaſon, is the ſeed of vices, it nouri-

nouriſheth negligence,it ſuffereth not onely the bad to ſwerue,but the good too: For when the euill is corrected,it vaniſheth. So that it is plaine,that anger is ſometimes good, when it is for the loue of righteouſneſſe, or when a man is angry with his owne ſinnes, or the ſinnes of another man. Thus was Chriſt angry with the Phariſes. The other ſort of anger is wicked, which proceedeth from a deſire of reuenge, which is forbidden. Vengeance belongs vnto me (ſaith the Lord)and I will reuenge.

An Expoſition vpon the 7. Commandement.

Loqual Commandament defend tota non licita cubititia, &c.

Thou ſhalt not commit adultery.

THis Commandement forbids all vnlawfull luſt,and pollution of the fleſh,as it is ſaid in the fift by Saint *Mathew: He that looketh vpon a woman, and luſteth after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.* And in the fift of the Apoſtle to the *Epheſians*,it is ſaid: *This ye know,that no whoremonger,nor vncleane perſon,nor couetous man, ſhall inherite the Kingdome of God.* And in the 1 *Corinthians 6. 9. Be not deceiued,neither fornicators, nor vncleane perſons,ſhall inherite the Kingdome of Heauen.* And in the 5 Chapter: *If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or couetous, &c. Eate not with ſuch a one.* Now as there is a corporall whoredome, ſo there is a ſpirituall; that is to ſay,when a man ſeparateth himſelfe from God.

An

An Expoſition of the 8. Commandement.

En aqueſt Commandament es deffendu totalment furt et fraud de coſas ſtragnas, &c.

Thou ſhalt not ſteale.

IN this Commandement we are forbid all manner of theſt, and all vnlawfull meanes, to get vnto our ſelues the goods of another by fraud or auarice, or iniury, or violence: For they are not onely theeues, that take the goods of another, but they that command them, that receiue theeues into their Houſes, and that buy ſtollen goods, and make profit of them wittingly. All they that doe ſuch things, and they that conſent thereunto, they ſhall ſuffer equall punilhment: or if thou finde any thing, and reſtoreſt it not, thou haſt robbed thy Neighbour; for thou art bound to make reſtitution of that thou haſt found. They that depriue their ſubiects of their goods and commodities, as Lords vſe to doe, impoſing vniuſt charges and taxations, ouer-burthening the poore by their wicked inuentions, and if they refuſe to doe it, they impriſon them, and many times torment them euen to the death, and ſo take from them their goods vniuſtly, they are theeues. Of theſe the Prophet *Eſay* ſpeaketh, Chapter 1. 23. *Thy Princes are rebellious, and companions of Theeues, and follow after rewards.* They are alſo Theeues that retaine the wages of the labourer by fraud. Of ſuch it is ſaid in the 19 of *Leuiticus*, *The wages of him that is hired, ſhall not abide with thee all night vntill the morning.* And as Saint *Iames* ſpeaketh in his fift Chapter, *Ye that haue heaped treaſure together for*

the laſt dayes, Behold the hire of the Labourers, which haue reaped downe your fields, which is of you kept backe by fraud, cryeth, and the cries of them which haue reaped, are entred into the eares of the Lord of Hoſts. They play the theeues that hurt the weale publike, as Coyners, in the weight, number, value, and generally all ſuch as falſifie their weights and meaſures, and diuers Merchandizes; theſe are called robbers of the common good, and ſuch according to the Law are to be put to death in boyling oyle. They are Theeues that labour to get by fraud, that deceiue men in their wares and merchandize, ſelling bad for good. Alſo Gameſters, who inuite others to gaming, who play out of auarice, the roote of all euill, rapine, lying, vaine and idle ſpeeches, oaths, blaſphemies againſt God, ill example, the loſſe of time. Thus by playing, a man winds himſelfe vniuſtly into the goods of another man.

An Expoſition on the 9. Commandement.

En aqueſt Commandement non es ſolament deffendu la meſſogna, ma tota offenſa, &c.

Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witneſſe againſt thy Neighbour.

IN this Commandement, we are not onely forbidden to lye, but all offences that may be done vnto our Neighbours, by falſe or fained words or workes. For all ſuch as loue lying, are the Children of the Diuell, as alſo they that impeach the honour of their Neighbour by lying, or beare falſe witneſſe for the wicked. Hee that beares falſe witneſſe, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, wrongs

wrongs theſe three. Firſt God, whoſe preſence is thereby contemned. Secondly the Iudge, who is deceiued by him that lieth. And thirdly he wrongs the Innocent partie, who is oppreſſed by his falſe witneſſe. All detractors ſinne againſt this Commandement. A detractor or ſlanderer is compared to an open ſepulchre, as *Dauid* ſpeaketh, *Their mouth is an open ſepulchre.* There is no graue ſo loathſome vnto God, as the mouth of a ſlanderer. And this was that that made S. *Ambroſe* to ſay, that a thiefe is more to be boren-with then a detractor; for the one robbeth a man of his corporall ſubſtance onely, the other of his good name. The ſlanderer deſerueth to be hated of God and man. The ſtroke of the whip maketh markes in the fleſh, but the ſtroke of the tongue breaketh the bones.

An Expoſition of the 10. Commandement.

En aqueſt Commandement es defendua la Cubitiția de tui li ben, &c.

Thou ſhalt not couet, &c.

IN this Commandement is forbidden the couetous deſire of all goods, that is, of wife, ſeruants, fields, vineyards, houſes, &c. As alſo the concupiſcence of the eyes, and of the fleſh. The luſt of the fleſh, is like a running water, but the luſt of the eyes is like earth, by reaſon of our earthly affections. And as of water and earth, there is made a materiall dirt, ſo of concupiſcenſe is made the ſpirituall durt and dunghill of the ſoule, which maketh a man odious vnto God, From hence ariſeth the pride of life, which like a violent

HAIL & FIRE

winde diſquieteth the ſoule, and turneth this earthly lumpe into duſt.

The concluſion of the Expoſition of the Commandements.

Aqueſti ſon li dies Commandament de la Ley, &c.

THeſe are the ten Commandements of the Law, whereof the firſt concerne our duty to God, the latter towards our neighbour. And whoſoeuer will be ſaued, muſt keepe theſe Commandements. Many excellent bleſſings are promiſed to thoſe that keepe theſe Commandements, and to thoſe that tranſgreſſe them, many grieuous and horrible maledictions. As *Deut* 28. *If wee truely acknowledge our ſinnes, we know that we are farre from God*: For ſaluation is farre from ſinners, and the knowledge of ſinne bringeth vs to repentance, for no man can repent that knoweth not his ſinne. The firſt degree to ſaluation is the knowledge of ſinne; and therefore acknowledging our fault, we approach with confidence to the throne of the grace of God, and confeſſe our ſinnes: for hee is faithfull and iuſt to pardon our ſinnes, and to cleanſe vs from all iniquitie, and to bring vs to the life of grace. Amen.

A briefe

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A briefe Expoſition of the *Waldenſes* and *Albingenſes* of the Apoſtles Creed, confirming the Articles thereof by expreſſe paſſages of the Scripture.

Chap. IIII.

Nos deuen creyre en Dio Paire tot Poiſſant, &c.

WEe muſt beleeue in God the Father Almightie, maker of heauen and earth, which God is one Trinitie, as it is written in the Law, *Deut. 6 4. Heare O Iſrael, the Lord our God, is one Lord.* And the Prophet *Eſay, I am Lord and there is none other, neither is there any God but I:* And Saint *Paul*, in the 4. to the *Epheſ. There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme, one God, and one Father of all.* And Saint *Iohn*, 1. *Epiſt.* 5. 7. *There are three that beare record in heauen, the Father, the Word, and the holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one.* And in the Goſpel by Saint *Iohn* it is ſaid, *Chap.* 17. 11. *That the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt are one*; when our Sauiour ſaith, *That they may be one, as we are one.* Againe, wee muſt beleeue that this holy Trinitie hath created all things viſible, and that he is Lord of all things celeſtiall, terreſtriall, and infernall, as it is ſaid in Saint *Iohn, Chap.* 1. 3. *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made:* And in the *Reuelation* it is ſaid, *Chap* 4. 11. *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receiue glory, for thou haſt created all things, the heauens, the earth, and the ſea, and the fountaines of water.* And the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith, *And*

thou, O Lord, haſt founded the earth in the beginning, and the heauens are the workes of thy hands. And againe, *The heauens are framed by the word of the Lord, and all the powers thereof by the breath of his mouth.* All theſe, and diuers other teſtimonies and reaſons drawne from the Scriptures, doe affirme that God created all things of nothing, whatſoeuer they be.

Againe, we muſt beleeue that God the Father hath ſent his Sonne from heauen vnto earth, and that for our ſakes hee hath taken vpon him our fleſh in the wombe of the Virgin *Mary* for our ſaluation; as the Prophet *Eſay* ſpeaketh, *Chap.* 7.14 *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceiue and beare a Sonne, and his name ſhall be Emanuell; which is God with vs.* And the Lord ſaith in the Goſpel, that this hath beene accompliſhed, ſaying, *I am come from my Father into the world*; and againe, *I haue left the world, and goe to my Father.* And againe, Saint *Iohn* ſaith, *Chap.* 1.14. *The Word was made fleſh, and dwelt amongſt vs.* And in the firſt Epiſtle of *Iohn* 5.20. *Wee know that the Sonne of God is come, and that hee hath taken our fleſh vpon him for vs, and is raiſed againe from death for vs, and hath giuen vs vnderſtanding, that wee may know him that is true, and wee are in him that is true, euen in his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt.* This is the true God and eternall life. And in the fourth to the *Galatians* 4. *When the fulneſſe of time was come, God ſent foorth his Sonne made of a woman, made vnder the Law, to redeeme them that were vnder the Law:* who by the commandement of God the Father, and his owne free will, was lifted vp vpon the altar of the croſſe, and crucified, and hath redeemed mankinde with his owne blood; which hauing accompliſhed, he aroſe from death the third day, hauing diſperſed in the world a light euerlaſting, like a new

HAIL & FIRE

new ſunne, that is, the glory of the reſurrection, and heauenly inheritance, which the ſame Sonne of God hath promiſed to giue to all thoſe that in faith ſerue him. For aſcending vp vnto heauen the fortieth day after his reſurrection, and the tenth after his aſſention, hee ſent the holy Ghoſt from heauen to comfort his Apoſtles, and to repleniſh his Church with the ſame Spirit. We muſt beleeue that the ſame God hath choſen vnto himſelfe a glorious Church, without ſpot or wrinckle, or ſuch like thing, as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh, to the end it ſhould be holy and vndefiled, according to the commandement of the Almighty; *Be ye holy, for I am holy.* And in the fift of Saint *Matthew*; *Be yee perfect, as your heauenly Father is perfect:* for nothing that doth commit abomination ſhall enter into the Kingdome of God, but onely they that are written in the Booke of life, as it is ſayd in the *Reuelation.*

We muſt beleeue the generall reſurrection, of which our Sauiour ſpeaketh in the Goſpell of Saint *Iohn*; *The houre ſhall come when all they that are in their graues ſhall heare the voyce of the Sonne of God, and they that haue done euill, to the reſurrection of Iudgement.* And Saint *Paul* ſaith in the firſt to the *Corinthians*, *that all ſhall ariſe, and all ſhall be changed.* And *Iob* ſaith, *Chap.* 19. 25. *I know that my Redeemer liueth, and that hee ſhall ſtand at the latter day vpon the earth; and though after my skin, wormes deſtroy this body, yet in my fleſh ſhall I ſee God; whom I ſhall ſee for my ſelfe, and mine eyes ſhall behold, and not another, though my reines be conſumed within mee.*

Wee muſt beleeue the generall Iudgement vpon all the children of *Adam*, as the Scriptures both of the Old and New Teſtament doe affirme. As our Sauiour promiſeth

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promiseth in the 25. of *Matth.* 31. *When the Sonne of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall hee sit vpon the throne of his glory; and before him shall bee gathered all nations, and hee shall separate them one from another, as a shepheard diuideth his sheepe from the goates; and hee shall set the sheepe on his right hand and the goates on the left.* And *Iude* in his Epistle, *Vers* 15. *Behold the Lord commeth with ten thousand of his Saints, to execute iudgement vpon all.* And the Prophet *Esay* saith, *The Lord commeth in iudgement with the Ancients of his people, and with his yong men also.* These things are set downe in the Old and New Testament, and especially the foure Euangelists, and the Prophets witnesse it in many places.

Chap. V.

An Exposition of the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses* vpon the Lords Prayer.

Taken out of a Booke of the *Waldenses*, intituled, *The treasure of faith.*



Saint *Augustine* being requested by a spirituall Daughter of his, to teach her to pray, hath thus said; and written: That multitudes of words, are not necessary in prayer. But to pray much, is to be feruent in prayer. And therefore to be long in prayer, is to present things necessary in superfluous words. To pray much, is to solicit that we pray for with a seemely decency and affection of heart, which is better done by teares, then by words; because God who seeth the secrets of our heart, is more moued with a deepe grone or sigh, by plaints and teares that come from the heart, then by a thousand words.

But

But many there are in theſe dayes that reſemble the Pagans, to whom Chriſt would not haue his Diſciples to be like; for they thinke and beleeue that they ſhall bee the rather heard for their many words in their prayers: whereby it comes to paſſe, that they looſe much time vnder a pretence of prayer. *Iob* ſaith,& beſides experience makes it good, that a man is neuer in the ſame eſtate in this life, but hee is now diſpoſed to doe one thing, and preſently to doe another. And therefore there is no man that can keepe his minde, his ſpirit, bent and attentiue to prayer, a whole day or a whole night together, except God giue the eſpeciall aſſiſtance of his grace. And if a man hath not his heart ſetled vpon that which he ſpeaketh,he looſeth his time, becauſe hee prayes in vaine, and his ſoule is troubled, and his minde wandring another way. And therefore God hath appointed to his ſeruants other exerciſes, vertuous,ſpirituall,and corporall, wherein a man may ordinarily exerciſe himſelfe, ſometimes in one, ſometimes in another,either for themſelues,or their Neighbours, hauing their hearts lifted vp vnto God, with all their power, in ſuch ſort that they may not bee idle. And therefore that man that liues well, according to the will of God,and the Doctrine of his Saints,prayeth alwayes. For euery good worke is a good prayer vnto God. And as for thou that readeſt, know that all the prayers of the old and new Teſtament, doe agree with this;and that no prayer can be pleaſing vnto God,that hath not a reference ſome way or other vnto this. And therefore euery Chriſtian ought to apply himſelfe to vnderſtand and to learne this prayer,which Chriſt himſelfe hath taught with his owne mouth.

Now it is neceſſary that he that is heard of God, be

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agreeable vnto him, and know thoſe benefits hee hath receiued from him. For ingratitude is a winde that dryeth vp the Fountaine of the mercy and compaſſion of our God. And therefore if thou wilt pray, or aske any thing at Gods hand, thinke with thy ſelfe before thou aske, what and how great benefits thou haſt receiued from him, and if thou canſt not call them all to minde, yet at the leaſt forget not to beg that grace, that thou mayeſt be bold to call him Father. And thinke and know in how diuers a manner he is thy Father: for hee is the Father of all Creatures generally by creation, for he hath created them all. He is a Father by diſtribution, for he hath ordained them, and diſpoſed them all in his due place, as being very good. By preſeruation; for he hath preſerued all Creatures, that they faile not in their kinde, amongſt which his Creatures thou art one. And beſides, hee is the Father of mankind by redemption, for hee hath bought him with the precious bloud of his Sonne, the Lambe without ſpot: By inſtruction, for he hath taught him by his Prophets, by his Sonne, and by his Apoſtles and Doctors, and that after a diuers manner, the way to returne into Paradice, from whence wee were driuen by the ſinne of our firſt Father *Adam*. By chaſtiſement, for he chaſtiſeth and correcteth vs in this life diuers wayes, to the end wee may returne vnto him, and not be condemned eternally in another life.

Lo teo nom ſia ſanctifica.

Hallowed be thy Name.

THy Name, amiable to Chriſtians, and fearefull to the Iewes, to *Paynims*, and to the wicked. Of this name

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name ſaith the Prophet, O Lord, thy Name is admirable, and wonderfull. O our Father which art in Heauen, we humbly beſeech thee, that thy Name which is holy, be ſanctified in vs, by purity of heart, by the contempt of the fleſh and the world, and that by an aſſured perſeuerance of thy loue, wee may be holy as thy name is holy, which we beare, and by which wee are called Chriſtians. For which cauſe, let it be and dwell alwayes in vs, that wee may addict our ſelues to holineſſe and righteouſneſſe.

Lo teo regne wegne.

Thy Kingdome come.

YOu muſt vnderſtand that God the Father hath two Kingdomes, the one of glory, life eternall; the other of grace, the life Chriſtian. And theſe two Kingdomes are ioyned together, in ſuch manner, that betwixt them there is no middle, but the point of death. But according to the order of diuine Iuſtice, the Kingdome of grace is before the Kingdome of glory. And therefore they that liue in the Kingdome of grace, by which we are to paſſe, if wee will enter the Kingdome of glory, without doubt they ſhall raigne in the Kingdome of glory; and no man can reigne there by any other meanes. And therefore Chriſt our Lord ſaith vnto his Diſciples, *Seeke firſt the Kingdome of God, and the righteouſneſſe thereof*, that is, the Kingdome of grace and vertue, as Faith, Hope, Charity, and the reſt. But forasmuch as you cannot performe this of your ſelues, without the heauenly grace, beg it at Gods hands, ſaying; *O our Father which art in Heauen, thy Kingdome come*; that

is to ſay, the loue of vertue, and the hatred of the World.

La toa volunta ſia faita, enaimi es faita en cel ſia faita en terra.

Thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heauen.

A Man cannot affect, deſire, or doe any better thing in this life, then to endeuour with all his wit and vnderſtanding, and with all his heart, to doe the will of God, as the Angels doe it in Heauen. Now to doe the will of God, is to renounce himſelfe; that is to ſay, his owne proper will, and to diſpoſe and employ that which is in his owne ſoule and heart, or that is without him, in things temporall, according to the Law of God, and the Doctrine of the Goſpell of Chriſt Ieſus. And to be well content with whatſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe God to doe or permit, both in aduerſity and proſperity. Many there are who thinke they are to be excuſed, becauſe they know not the will of God. But theſe men deceiue themſelues. For the will of God is written, and plainely manifeſted and proued by the word of God, which they will not reade or vnderſtand. And therefore ſaith the Apoſtle, *Conforme not your ſelues vnto thoſe that loue the World, but be reformed and renewed in the truth of your vnderſtanding, to the end you may know what is the will of God.* And againe, this is the will of God, euen your ſanctification. There is no worke that is little, if it be done with a willing and feruent affection. And our Sauiour teacheth his Diſciples both by words and examples, that the will of God muſt be done, not theirs; ſaying, *I am come into the world, not to doe my will, but*

but to doe the will of my Father who hath ſent me. Againe, being neere his paſſion, and ſeeing the torments of death which he was to endure, as he was man, he cryed out, *O my Father, if it be poßible, let this Cup paſſe from me; but yet not my will, but thy will be done.* To be briefe, we muſt thus pray in all our affaires. *O our Father which art in Heauen.* Thy will be done in vs, by vs, and of vs in Earth, as it is done by the Angels in Heauen, without idleneſſe continually, without fault vprightly, without humane deſire, doing that which is good, leading a vertuous and a pure life, obeying our ſuperiours, and contemning this World.

Dona nos lo noſtre pan quotidien enchoi.

Giue vs this day our daily bread.

WEe may heere vnderſtand two kinds of bread, Corporall and Spirituall. By Corporall bread wee are to vnderſtand our meates and drinkes, and clothing, and all things neceſſary for the body, without which we cannot liue naturally. The Spirituall Bread is the Word of God, the Body of Chriſt, without which the Soule cannot liue. And of this Bread Chriſt ſpake vnto his Diſciples; *Whoſoeuer ſhall eate of this bread, ſhall liue eternally.* And therefore it is the dutie of euery man, in all humilitie to aske this Bread at Gods hands, who can giue it him, ſaying, O our Father, doe vs the grace and fauour, that wee may obtaine by our iuſt labour, the bread that is neceſſary for our bodies, and to vſe it with ſobriety and meaſure, yeelding thee alwayes thankes and praiſes, and that wee may charitably beſtow ſome part of them vpon the poore.

Moreouer we beſeech thee that thou wilt bee pleaſed, ſo to deale with vs, that wee may vſe this bread with ſobriety to thy glory, and the good both of body and ſoule. For the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſaith, *Chap.16.49. That fulneſſe of bread, and abundance of idleneſſe, was the cauſe of the iniquities and abominations of Sodom, which were ſo great in the ſight of God, that he ſent downe fire and brimſtone to conſume them.* Whereupon a certaine learned Father ſaith, that coſtly apparrell, ſuperfluitie in diet, play, idleneſſe and ſleepe, fatten the body, nouriſh luxurie, weaken the ſpirit, and leade the ſoule vnto death; but a ſpare diet, labour, ſhort ſleepe, poore garments, purifie the ſoule, tame the body, mortifie the luſts of the fleſh, and comfort the Spirit.

The ſpirituall Bread is the Word of God. Of this Bread the Prophet ſpeaketh; *Thy bread quickeneth mee.* And Chriſt ſaith in the Goſpell; *Verily I ſay vnto you, that the houre commeth, when the dead ſhall heare the voyce of the Sonne of God, and they that heare him ſhall liue.* And this is found true by this experience: That is, that many being dead in their ſinnes, hearing the Preaching of the Word of God, haue departed, quickned, & raiſed, by the ſaid Word of God, & betaken themſelues to true repentance which giueth life. This bread of the Word illuminateth the ſoule, according to that of *Dauid, Pſal.* 119. 130. *The entrance of thy word giueth light, it giueth vnderſtanding to the ſimple*; that is to ſay, to the humble, to the end they may know what to beleeue and to doe, what to feare, to flye, to loue, to hope. This bread delighteth the ſoule more then honey and the honey-combe. And therefore ſaith the Spouſe, *Canticles* 2. 11. *Let me heare thy voyce, for ſweete is thy voyce, and thy countenance is comely.* There is another Spirituall

Spirituall Bread, and that is the Body and Blood of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt. In the Sacrament, they that receiue it worthily, receiue not onely grace, but Chriſt the Sonne of God ſpiritually, in whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſedome.

Pardonna a nos li noſtre debit o pecca, coma nos perdonnen a li noſtre debitor o offendadors.

Forgiue vs our treſpaſſes, as we forgiue them that treſpaſſe againſt vs.

IT ſhould not ſeeme, or bee, grieuous to any man to forgiue his neighbour thoſe offences hee hath committed againſt him. For if all the offences which haue beene, or can bee committed againſt all the men in the world were put into a ballance, they would not weigh ſo much, being put altogether, as the leaſt offence committed againſt God: but the pride of man will not ſuffer men to thinke heereof, neither to pardon their neighbours, nor to receiue their pardon from God. But a good Chriſtian ſuffereth and gently pardoneth, beſeeching God, that hee may not make requitall according to the euill his debtors, or ſuch as haue offended him, haue deſerued, and that he will giue them grace to know their fault, and withall true repentance, to the end they may not bee damned; and the wrongs done vnto him, he accounteth as dreames, in ſuch manner, that hee thinkes not of repaying them according to their merits, nor deſires to reuenge himſelfe, but to doe them ſeruice, and to conuerſe with them as before, yea, and with greater loue then if they were brethren. And therefore hee that out of the crueltie of his heart, will by no meanes forgiue his enemy or debtour, cannot

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not hope for pardon at Gods hand, but rather eternall damnation. For the Spirit of God hath ſpoken it, and it is true: Hee ſhall haue Iudgement without mercy that is not mercifull to others. The affection and the will that thou haſt towards thy debtour, is the ſame which God hath in his place and ranke, and thou canſt hope for no other.

Non nos amenar en tentation, &c.

And leade vs not into temptation, &c.

VVEe are not to pray vnto God, not to ſuffer vs to bee tempted: For the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſaith, *None ſhall be crowned but he that fighteth againſt the world, the fleſh, and the deuill.* And Saint *Iames* ſaith, *that he is bleſſed that endureth temptation.* For when hee hath paſt his tryall, hee ſhall receiue a crowne of life. For no man can reſiſt the power of the deuill without the grace of God. Wee muſt therefore pray, with all humilitie and deuotion, and continuall requeſts vnto our heauenly Father that wee fall not into temptations, but ſo as that combating with them, wee may get the victory, and the Crowne, by and through his grace, which hee hath prepared to giue vnto vs. We are not to beleeue that he doth ſooner heare, or more willingly, the Diuell then the Chriſtian; and according to that which the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſaith, *God is faithfull, who ſuffereth vs not to bee tempted aboue our power.*

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Mas deſliora nos del mal, &c.

But deliuer vs from euill, &c.

THat is to ſay, Deliuer vs from a wicked will to ſinne: from the temporall and eternall paines of the deuill: that wee may bee deliuered from his infinite toyles and trumperies. AMEN. This laſt word noteth vnto vs, the feruent deſire of him, that prayeth that that thing may bee granted vnto him that hee aſketh. And this word *Amen*, is as much as if he ſhould ſay, So bee it, and it may bee put after all our Petitions.

VVhat the *Waldenſes* and *Albingenſes* haue beleeued and taught touching the Sacraments.

CHAP. VI.

Sacrament ſecond lo dire de Sanct Auguſtin, &c.

A Sacrament, according to the ſaying of Saint *Auguſtine*, in his Booke of the Citie of God, is an inuiſible grace repreſented by a viſible thing. Or a Sacrament is a ſigne of a holy thing. There is great difference betwixt the bare Sacrament, and the cauſe of the Sacrament, euen as much as betweene ſigne and the thing ſignified. For the cauſe of the Sacrament is the Diuine grace, and the

HAIL & FIRE

merit of Ieſus Chriſt crucified, who is the rayſing of thoſe that were fallen. This cauſe of the Sacrament, is Powerfully, Eſſentially, and by authority in God, and in Ieſus Chriſt Meritoriouſly. For by the cruell Paſſion and effuſion of his Bloud, he hath obtained grace and righteouſneſſe vnto all the faithfull. But the thing it ſelfe of the Sacrament, is in the ſoule of the faithfull, by participation, as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh; *Wee haue beene made partakers of Chriſt.* It is in the Word of the Goſpell, by annunciation, or manifeſtation. In the Sacraments, Sacramentally. For the Lord Ieſus hath lent, or giuen theſe helpes of the outward Sacraments, to the end the Miniſters, inſtructing in the faith, ſhould ſo accommodate themſelues to humane weakeneſſe, as that they might the better edifie the people by the Word of the Goſpell.

There are two Sacraments: The one of water, the other of nouriſhment, that is to ſay, of Bread and Wine.

The firſt is called Baptiſme, that is to ſay in our language, the waſhing with water, either of the riuer or the fountaine, and it muſt be adminiſtred, *In the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt*; to the end that firſt, by the meanes of the grace of God the Father, beholding his Sonne, and by the participation of Ieſus Chriſt, who hath bought vs, and by the renewing of the holy Ghoſt, which imprinteth a liuely faith in our hearts, the ſinnes of thoſe that are Baptized, are pardoned, and they receiued into grace, and afterwards hauing perſeuered therein, are ſaued in Ieſus Chriſt.

The Baptiſme wherewith wee are Baptized, is the ſame wherewith it pleaſed our Sauiour himſelfe to bee Baptized,

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Baptized, to accompliſh all righteouſneſſe, as it was his will to be Circumciſed, and wherewith hee commanded his Apoſtles to be Baptized.

The things that are not neceſſary in Baptiſme, are the Exorciſmes, the breathings, the ſignes of the Croſſe vpon the Infant, either the breſt or the forehead, the ſalt put into the mouth, the ſpittle into the eares and noſtrills, the vnction of the breſt, the Monkes Cowle, the anoynting of the Chreſme vpon the head, and diuers the like things, conſecrated by the Biſhop, as alſo the putting of the Taper in his hands, clothing it with a white veſtment, the bleſſing of the water, the dipping of it thrice in the water: All theſe things vſed in the adminiſtration of the Sacrament, are not neceſſary, they neither being of the ſubſtance, nor requiſite in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, from which things many take occaſion of errour and ſuperſtition, rather then edification to ſaluation.

Now this Baptiſme is viſible and materiall, which maketh the partie neither good nor euill, as it appeareth in the Scripture, by *Simon Magus*, and Saint *Paul*. And whereas Baptiſme is adminiſtred in a full congregation of the faithfull, it is to the end that he that is receiued into the Church, ſhould be reputed and held of all for a Chriſtian brother, and that all the Congregation might pray for him, that hee may be a Chriſtian in heart, as he is outwardly eſteemed to bee a Chriſtian. And for this cauſe it is that we preſent our children in Baptiſme; which they ought to doe, to whom the children are neereſt, as their parents, and they to whom God hath giuen this Charitie.

more to come . . .