

APPENDIX.*

CONFESSIO OF FAITH,

PUBLISHED BY THE VAUDOIS, IN 1120.

ORIGINAL.

1. Nos cresèn e firmament tenèn tot quant se contèn en li doze articles del Symbolo lo qual es dict de gli apostol, tenent esser heresia tota cosa laqual se discorda, e non es convenient à li doze articles.

TRANSLATION.

1. We believe and firmly hold all that is contained in the twelve articles of the creed of the apostles; (Lat. symbolum apostolorum.) esteeming as heresy every thing which differs from, and is not agreeable to the twelve articles. (i. e. of the Apostles' creed.)

* A fragment of the *Noble Leçon*, is here omitted, it having been already published in Mr. Gilly's work.—T.

2. Nos cresèn un Dio, Paire, Fil, e Sant Esperit.

2. We believe in *one* God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

3. Nos recontèn par sanctas scripturas canonicas, li libres de la sancta biblia.

3. We recognise as holy and canonical Scriptures, the books of the Holy Bible. (Here follow the names of the books of the Old Testament.)

Ara s'ensègon li libres apochryphis li quel non son pas recéopu de li hebreos, mas nos li legen, (enaima dis Hierome al prologe de li proverbî) per l'enseignement del poble, non pas per confermar l'authorita de las doctrinas ecclesiasticas, enaymî.

Then follow the apocryphal books, not received by the Hebrews, but we read them, as Jerome says in the prologue, (preface) to the Proverbs, "for the instruction of the people, and not to confirm the authority of the doctrines of the church;" as follows. (Here are enumerated the books of the Apocrypha.)

Ara s'ensegon le libres del Novel Testament.

Then follow the books of the New Testament.*

* All the books of the Bible are placed in the usual order of the Vulgate.

4. Los libres sobre dict enseignan aiçò que lés un Dio tot poissant, tot savi, e tot bon, lo qual per la sua bonta a fait totas las cosas. Car el a forma Adam a la soa imagena e semblença, ma que per l'invidia del diavol, e per la disobediença del dit Adam, lo pecca es intra al mond, e que nos sen peccadors en Adam e per Adam.

4. The above-mentioned books teach, that there is one God, all powerful, all wise, and all good; who through his goodness has made all things. For he formed Adam in his own image and likeness: but by the envy of the devil, and the disobedience of the same Adam, sin is entered into the world: we are sinners in Adam and by Adam.

5. Que Krist es ista promés à li paire, li qual an recéopu la ley, aiço que per la ley connoys-sent lor peccas, e la non justicia, e la lor non abastança, desirsson l'avènement de Krist, per satisfacer per li lor peccà, e acomplir la ley per lui meseime.

5. That Christ is that promise to the (our) fathers, who received the law; so that by the law, having a just idea of their sins, and their want of justice and insufficiency, they desired the coming of Christ to make satisfaction for their sins, and accomplish the law in himself.*

* By means of himself.

6. Que Krist ès nà al temp ordonna de Dio lo seo paire, soès à saber, à l'hora que tota eniquita abondie, e non pas per las bonas obras solament. Car tuit eran peccadors, ma aço quél nos fé gratià e misericordia, enaima veritadier.

6. That Christ was born at the time ordained by God his father; that is to say, at the moment when all unrighteousness abounded, and not for good works only: for all were sinners. But that he may show us favour and mercy, as the true one.

7. Que Krist ès la nostra vita, e pais, e justicia, e pastor, e avocat, e hostia, e preire, lo qual ès mort per la salut de tuti li cresènt, e resuscita per la nostra justification.

7. That Christ is our life, our peace, and justice, and shepherd, and advocate, and oblation, and priest;* who died for the salvation of all believers, and rose again for our justification.

8. E semblablement nos tenen firmamènt non esser alcun autre mediator e avocat en apres Dio paire, si non Jèsu Krist; ma que la vergèna Maria ès ista sancta, humil e plena de gratia. E enaimi cresen de tuit li autre sanct,

* Offerer up of prayers.

quilli speran en li ciel la resurrection de lor corps al judici.

8. And in like manner we maintain, that there is no other mediator and advocate with God the Father, than Jesus Christ; but that the Virgin Mary, was holy, humble, and full of grace. And so we believe of all the other saints, who expect* in heaven the resurrection of their bodies to judgment.

9. Item nos cresèn en après aquesta vita esser tant solamènt duoi loc, un de li salvà, loqual appellen per nom Paradis, e l'autre de li damnà loqual appellèn Enferm denegànt al postot a qual purgatori seumà de l'Ante-Krist e enfeint contra la verita.

9. Also, we believe that after this life there are but two places; one of the saved, which we call Paradise, and the other of the damned, which we call Hell; denying that purgatory dreamed of by Antichrist, and feigned contrary to the truth.

10. Item, nos havèn totavia cresù esser abomination, non parlivol devant Dio, totas las cosas abrobas de li homes, enaima son las festas e las vigilas de li sanct, e l'aigua la qual dison benieta e se abstenir alguns jorns de la

* Await for, hope for.

carn, e de li autres manjars e las semeillants cosas, e principalment las messas.

10. Also, we have always believed to be abominations, not to be mentioned before God, all those things invented by men, such as are the feasts and vigils of the saints; water,* which is called blessed; and the abstaining on certain days from flesh and other eatables; and similar things; but principally the mass.

11. Nos abominèn li abrobamènt human, enaima Ante-Kristian per liquial sen contorba e que prejudican à la libertà de l'esperit.

11. We abominate human inventions, as being antichristian, by which we are disturbed, and which prejudice the liberty of the spirit.

12. Nos cresèn que li sacrament son signal de la cosa sancta o forma visibla, tenent esser bon que li fidel uzan alcune vees d'aquisti dict signal o forma visibla si la se pò far. Ma emperço nos cresèn e tenèn que li predict fidel non esser fait salfs, non recebèn li predict signal, quand non han lo loc ni lo modo de poèr usar de li predict signal.

12. We believe that the sacraments are signs of the holy thing, or (its) visible form; and we hold it to be good that the faithful use the aforesaid signs, or visible forms, sometimes, if

* Holy water.

it be possible. But with this we believe and hold, that the aforesaid faithful may be saved, not receiving (or having received) the aforesaid signs, when they have not the opportunity nor the means to make use of them.

13. Nos non aven conegu autre sacrament que lo baptisme e la eucharistia.

13. We have not knowledge of other sacraments than baptism and the eucharist.

14. Nos devèn honor a la potestà secular, en subjection, en obediença, en promptessa, e en pagamènt.

14. We ought to honour the secular power, by our submission, obedience, alacrity and contributions.

CATECHISM OF THE VAUDOIS,

COMPOSED BY THE BARBES IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.*

D. If thou wert asked who thou art? Answer.

R. A creature of God, rational and mortal.

D. For what hath God created thee?

R. That I might know him, and worship him, and be saved by his grace.

D. On what ground does thy salvation rest?

R. On three substantial virtues, necessarily belonging to salvation.

D. Which are they?

R. Faith, hope, charity.

D. By what means dost thou prove it to be so?

R. The Apostle writes to the Corinthians in the first epistle, thirteenth chapter, "And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three."

D. What is faith?

R. According to the Apostle in the eleventh

* The translator has not added the Vaudois words, as the language is similar to the last specimen, being of the same date; the language of the noble Leicon is evidently of a much more ancient period. He has endeavoured to render his version more literal than that of M. Bresse, at the expense of elegance, but it is hoped not of clearness.

chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

D. How many kinds of faith are there?

R. Two; dead and living.

D. What is living faith?

R. That which works by charity.

D. What is dead faith?

R. According to St. James, (Epist. Gen. chap. 2.) "Faith if it hath not works is dead!" Indeed faith without works is idle.* A dead faith is to believe there is a God, and (to act as if one did) *not* believe *in* God.

SECTION II.

D. Of what faith art thou?

R. Of the true Catholic and Apostolic faith.

D. Which is that?

R. It is that which by the council† of the Apostles is divided into twelve articles.

D. Which is that?

R. I believe in God, the Father Almighty, &c. &c. (the rest of the Apostles' creed.)

D. By what art thou enabled to know that thou believest in God?

R. I know his commandments and keep them. By this.

* Ocioça, which Bresse translates inutile, useless.

† Perhaps by the counsel, opinion, advice, of the Apostles.

D. How many commandments of God are there?

R. Ten; as is shewn in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

D. Which are these?

R. O Israel, hearken unto thy Lord! hearken not to a strange God before me. Make not for thyself any graven image, nor any likeness of any thing that is in heaven, &c. &c.

D. On what do all these commandments hang?

R. On two great commandments, which are to love God above all things, and one's neighbour as one's self.

SECTION III.

D. What is the foundation of these commandments, by which every one ought to enter into life; without which foundation the commandments cannot be worthily kept nor accomplished?

R. The Lord Jesus Christ; of whom the Apostle says, 1 Corinthians, chap. iii. "For other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

D. By what can man come to this foundation?

R. By faith; St. Peter saying,* "Behold I lay in Sion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious;

* 1 Gen. Epis. chap. ii.

and he that believeth on Him shall not be confounded." And the Lord says, "He who believeth in me hath eternal life."

D. In what way can you know that you believe?

R. In that I* acknowledge Him, Himself, as very God and very man, who was born and suffered, &c. &c. for my redemption, justification, &c. In that I love Him Himself, and desire to fulfil his commandments.

D. By what means does one arrive at the essential virtues, viz. faith, hope, and charity?

R. By the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

D. Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit?

R. I believe in Him;† for the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son, is one person of the Trinity; and as to Divinity, is equal to the Father and the Son.

D. Believest thou God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, to be three in person, (three persons,) then thou hast three gods?

R. There are not three. (gods)

D. Yet thou hast named three.

R. That is by reason‡ of the difference of the persons, not by reason of the essence of the

* I know him himself for.

† In this, i. e. in this dogma.

‡ On account of the difference of persons, not of essences.

divinity, for as there are three in person, (three persons) so there is one in essence.

SECTION IV.

D. In what manner do you adore and worship that God in whom you believe?

R. I adore him with the adoration of internal and external service, (worship or service.) Externally by bending of knees, holding up of hands, inclinations, (of the body,) by hymns and spiritual songs, by fasts, and by invocation.* Internally, by dutiful affection, by a will equally adapted to all things which please him. But I worship him by faith, hope, and charity, in his commandments.†

D. Dost thou adore any other thing, and worship it as God?

R. No.

D. Why?

R. On account of his commandment, which distinctly says, "Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." Again, "My glory will I not give to others." And again, "I live, saith the Lord, and every knee shall bow down before me." And Jesus Christ says, "They shall be true worshippers, who worship the Father in spirit and in truth." And the angel will not be worshipped by St. John, nor Peter by Cornelius.

* i. e. prayer, praying aloud.

† In keeping his commandments.

D. In what manner dost thou pray ?

R. I pray by (with) the prayer taught by the Son of God, saying, “ Our Father, which art in heaven,” &c.

D. What is the other substantial virtue necessarily belonging to salvation ?

R. It is charity.

D. What is charity ?

R. It is a gift of the Holy Spirit, by which the soul is reformed in its desires, illuminated by faith, and by which I believe all those things which should be believed, and hope for all that should be hoped for.*

SECTION V.

D. Dost thou believe *in* the holy church ?

R. No,† for it is composed of creatures, but I believe of it, itself.

D. What do you then believe of the holy church ?

R. I consider it as of two kinds ; one as to its being, and the other as to its ministry. As to its being, the Holy Catholic‡ Church consists of all the elect of God, from the beginning to the end, (of the world,) in the grace of God, by the merit of Christ ; collected by the Holy Spirit, and before ordained to life eternal ; the

* Vide St. Paul, 1 Corinthians, chap. xiii.

† i. e. its existence, as before of dead faith ; *it*, but not *in it*.

‡ Catholic, i. e. universal.

number and the names of whom are known alone to Him who hath elected (chosen) them. The church, as considering its true ministry, consists of the ministers of Christ, with the people subject to them, using their ministry by faith, hope, and charity.

D. By what oughtest thou to know the church of Christ?

R. By ministers consistent with it, and people participating with the ministers in the truth.

D. But how mayest thou know the ministers?

R. By a true understanding of the faith, sound doctrine, a life of good example; by preaching the gospel, and proper administration of the sacraments.

D. How knowest thou false ministers?

R. By their fruits, blindness, evil workings, (bad conduct,) perverse doctrine, and improper administration of the sacraments.

D. How knowest thou their blindness?

R. When they know not the truths necessary to salvation, and observe human traditions, in like manner as the commandments of God; of whom is that said by Isaiah, which Christ hath spoken in the fifteenth chapter of Matthew. "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

D. How are their evil workings known ?

R. By their manifest sins of which the Apostle speaks, Romans i, they which do such things, shall not obtain the kingdom of God.

D. How is perverse doctrine known ?

R. When the instruction is contrary to faith and hope, as idolatry of many kinds, committed in the worship of the creature,* rational and irrational, sensible, visible, or invisible. For one ought to worship the Father alone, with his Son, and the Holy Spirit, and no other, nor any creature whatever. But the contrary is the case when worship is rendered to man, to the work of his hands, his words, or his authority, as when men believe blindly, that they are just towards God, by false religion, and avaricious simony of priests.

SECTION VI.

D. How is the improper administration of the sacraments known ?

R. When the priests do not hearken to the meaning of Christ, nor acknowledge (recognise) his intention in the sacraments, and say, that grace and truth are included in exterior ceremonies alone ; and lead men to receive the said sacraments without the truth of faith, hope, and charity. The Lord puts *his* own on their guard against such false prophets, saying, “ beware of false prophets.” Also, “ take

* Worship done to any creature, &c.

heed of the pharisees, that is of the leaven of their doctrine." Also, "Believe them not, neither follow after them." And the Apostle, in 2 Corinthians, chap. vi. "Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? wherefore come out from among them."

D. How dost thou know the people which are not of a truth in the (true) church?

R. By public sin, and erroneous faith. We should fly such, to shun corruption by the same.

D. How many ministerial functions are there?

R. Two; the word, and the sacrament.*

D. How many sacraments are there?

R. Two; Baptism, and the Eucharist.

SECTION VII.

D. What is the third virtue necessary to salvation?

R. Hope.

D. What is hope?

R. The certain expectation of grace and of future glory.

* i. e. preaching and administration of the sacraments.

D. On what account does one expect grace ?
(favour, mercy.)

R. On account of the mediator, Jesus Christ, of whom St. John says, " Grace is come through Jesus Christ." Also, " We regard his glory full of grace and truth." And " We have all received of his abundance."*

D. What is this grace ?

R. It is redemption, remission of sins, justification, adoption, and sanctification.

D. Through what do we hope for this grace in Christ ?

R. Through living faith,† and true repentance. Christ saying, " Repent ye, and believe the gospel."

D. From what does hope proceed ?

R. From the gift of God and his promises, of which the Apostle says, " He is powerful to accomplish whatever thing he promises," since he himself hath promised, if any one will know him, and will repent and have hope, he will have mercy on him, and pardon and justify, &c.

D. What things turn away (people) from this hope ?

R. A dead faith, the seduction of antichrist, to others than Christ ; that is, to the saints and to his (antichrist's) power and authority ; words, benedictions, sacraments, relics of the dead, the dream and fiction of purgatory. Teaching

* See biblical words.

† Viva fe, lively faith.

that we have this hope, by means which are directly contrary to the truth, and the commandment of God, as idolatry of many kinds, depraved simony, &c.

Abandoning the fountain of living water, the gift of grace, to run unto cracked cisterns. Honouring and worshipping the creature as the Creator ; doing service to it with prayers, fasts, sacrifices, gifts, offerings, pilgrimages, invocations, &c. Being confident of thus acquiring grace, which no one has to give, but God alone in Christ.* Thus they labour vainly, losing wealth and life ; not the present life only, but the life to come. Of which thing it is said, The hopes of the wicked shall perish.

SECTION VIII.

D. What sayest thou of the blessed Virgin Mary, for she is full of grace, as the angel hath testified ?

R. The blessed Virgin Mary was and is full of grace, as to her own want (of it), but not as to the communication of it to others. For her Son alone is full of grace, as to the communication of it to others, as it is said of the same, “ We all received grace through the grace of his abundance.”†

D. Dost thou not believe the communion of saints ?

* By Christ.

† See biblical words.

R. I believe that the communion of the saints is twofold, substantial and ministerial. They communicate as substantial (beings) by the Holy Spirit, and by the merit of Jesus Christ, in God. But they communicate as ministerial, or serving the church, by the ministry properly exercised, such as by words, by sacraments, and by prayers. I believe both these communions of the saints. The first only in God, and Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit; the other in the Church of Christ.

D. In what does eternal life consist?

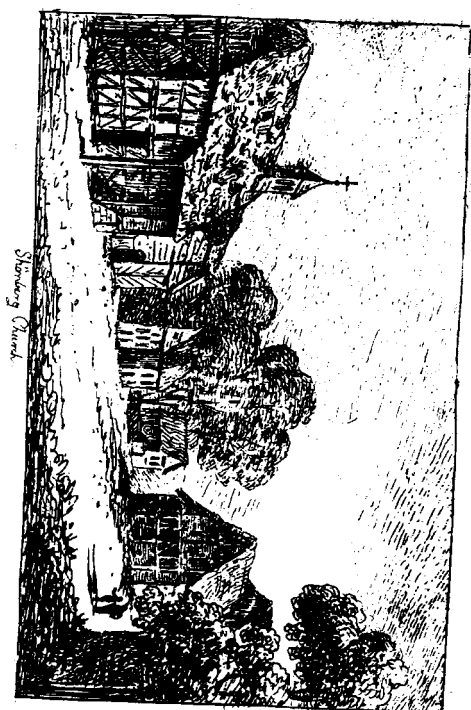
R. In a living and efficacious* faith and perseverance in the same. The Saviour says, John xvii. 3, "And this is *life eternal*, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." And he who shall persevere in this to the end, he shall be saved. Amen.

* Operative, producing works.

SKETCH

OF

THE LIFE OF HENRI ARNAUD.



St. Andrew's Church

SKETCH
OF
THE LIFE OF HENRI ARNAUD.

THE family of Arnaud, or Arnold, was originally of La Tour, where Henri Arnaud was born in 1641, and educated in the Latin school there; as he was intended for the church, he probably went to Basle, Geneva, or Lausanne; but afterwards, on account of the troubles in the valleys, he seems to have given up the idea of the church, and entered into the service of William of Orange, where he attained the rank of captain, as well as other favours. Previous to the year 1686, it appears he returned to his studies and took orders. Whether he was induced to do so by the Vaudois, or the reformed church in the Netherlands, or whether it was for the purpose of assisting his exiled countrymen, I have no means of knowing. He appears, however, to have had at this time great influence, both with the Prince of Orange and the Dutch govern-

ment; the former, as king of England, having given him the commission of colonel, still preserved by his descendants at La Tour, as well as supplies for his expedition against the Duke of Savoy; and the latter, having intrusted him with large sums of money for his exiled countrymen, and made him joint commissioner to arrange their settlement in Wirtemberg.

His exertions in these great affairs are, recorded in his own "*Rentrée Glorieuse*," and in the *Memoirs of the Wirtemberg Vaudois*, published in Germany. When, in consequence of the change of politics on the part of the Duke of Savoy, the Vaudois gained their possessions on condition of sending 1000 men to ravage the French frontier: Arnaud was named to the command by Marlborough and Eugene; for the Duke of Savoy seems to have been submissive to the latter, in every respect. The plan of attack from Piemont was formed, and after reconnoitering Turin, Eugene led his army through the passes of Savoy into France, while Marlborough continued in the Netherlands. The Vaudois were placed on the outposts of Eugene's army, and when a sufficient body of troops had been drawn off from the Rhine to oppose this attack from Piemont, Eugene rapidly withdrew by the Tyrol, leaving Arnaud and his Vaudois to mask his retreat; and by frequent attacks from the mountains, at differ-

ent points, to detain the French troops in the south. He effected this object with such success, that the allied army had again united in the Low Countries ere Eugene's absence from Savoy was known; and thus Arnaud materially contributed to the victories of Hochstett and Blenheim.

Notwithstanding this great benefit, the Duke of Savoy listened to those who asserted that Arnaud wished to excite the Vaudois to rebellion, and to the formation of a republic. The defence, that he was only acting as senior pastor, in settling their differences and arranging the rebuilding their houses and division of their possessions, (a business rendered very perplexing by the return of many supposed dead, who waited till a prospect of quiet possession favoured their return,) was of no avail; his friends could no longer defend or conceal him; a high price was set upon his head, and he fled in disguise, never more to return to the valleys.

Notwithstanding pressing invitations from William III. Queen Anne, and Prince Eugene, to reside at their courts, and the most flattering promises of honourable provision, he preferred the humbler task of *pastor* to all that courts or princes could offer; and as soon as he had settled the affairs of the Wirtemberg colonies, he took up his abode in the midst of

them, in the village of Schönberg, where he fulfilled the duties of his office for the remaining twelve years of his life; in this seclusion he wrote "La Rentrée Glorieuse," and some other memoirs, which have never been printed.

It is observable, in his preface, he makes no mention of his extraordinary history, or claims any merit for his benevolent exertions. His will (registered at Schönberg) shows that he still possessed his paternal lands at La Tour, and had pensions from William III. Queen Anne, and the Duke of Wirtemberg; but whether these pensions were paid, appears *more* than doubtful, since it is evident he lived and died in poverty, for the valuation of his effects, of every description, upon his decease, did not exceed 2520 florins, (226*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*) and his household furniture and clothes seem to have been scarcely worth valuation.

His house and grave still exist; but the church that contains his mortal remains will not long stand; as a memorial of his last exertions for the good of his people.

Emigrations have reduced the number of Vaudois residents in Schönberg to about forty only; and, by the recent changes in the church, the privilege of having a minister of their own has been refused to them, on the plea of there being a Lutheran church two miles distant. Nay! the inhabitants of Schönberg have been



invited to pull down their church, and the allowance for its repair has been discontinued. But they have refused the temptation, though miserably poor, and have undertaken themselves to support the temple where the bones of Arnaud repose. It is built of mud, brick, and timber, as well as the house he lived in. When the timbers give way, which must soon take place, it will no longer be in the power of the poor villagers to repair it.

Extract from the Register of the Parish Church of Schönberg, in Wirtemberg, taken in August, 1825.

TRANSLATION.

Actum, No. 29, ——— An. 1722.

Inventory and division of property according to the royal ordinance.

Property of different descriptions, in the same parish and elsewhere, devised by the Herr Henri Arnaud, deceased, reformed minister of the same.

Inheritors, being children of the first marriage.
(Madame Reni Rebaudi, widow of the late H. A.)

1. Miss Margaret, now wife to Mons. Joseph Rostain, burgess of La Tour, in Piemont.
2. Herr Scipio Arnaud, the present reformed minister of the parish of Schönberg.

3. Herr Jean Vincent Arnaud, minister of Angrogna, in Piemont.
4. Miss Elizabeth, now wife of John Philip Rolb, ecclesiastical collector of Bretten.
5. Mr. Wilhelm, juris studiosum, residing in London, in England.

Children of the second marriage—none.

EFFECTS.

The late minister's silver utensils and trinkets.

	Florins.		
Nine silver spoons and six silver forks	48	0	0
One metal spoon	8	30	0
One needle case—nadel büxele	10	30	0
One small spoon and fork, and gob-			
let weighing 9½ oz.	11	0	0
One echarpe, half gold half silk, with			
large golden buttons, weighing 42			
oz.	15	0	0

The late minister's clothes and apparel.

One black serge gown }	2	0	0
One white worn-out German gown }			

N. B. The rest of his apparel was so old and bad as not to be worth valuing.

One old pair of double pistols . . }	2	0	0
One bad old musket }			
One old saddle—one woman's saddle	2	0	0
Beds and bedding	N. B. These are also specified and valued at length.		
Barrels and wood			
Agricultural implements			

	Florins.	
One old chaise and harness . . .	4 0 0	
One old cow and one young one		
Six beehives		
Corn, &c.		
Land here and in the valleys	* * * *	
Monies to receive.		
From one Pindar	32 0 0	
Pension from England of 122 florins		
per annum, two years being due	244 0 0	
Nothing is estimated on this, but as there is also a reasonable hope of receiving it, it remains to be divided among the heirs.		
Pension from the Duke of Wirtemberg 25 florins per annum, one half year being due	12 30 0	
Ten sheffel of corn per ann. allowed by the Duke, half a year due . .	7 30 0	
Also two aymer of wine per ann. from said Duke, one now due . . .	8 0 0	
The valuation of his entire property of every kind . . . florins	2520 48 3	
This sum is equal to 226 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> English, and his lands and tenements at La Tour are comprised in it. A florin is equal to about twenty-one pence English.		



The interior of the Church at Schonburg.
* Tomb of Henri Arnaud.

LA RENTREE GLORIEUSE
DES VAUDOIS
DANS LEUR VALLÉES.

PAR

HENRI ARNAUD,

Pasteur et Colonel.

ABRIDGED AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

The translator of *La Rentrée Glorieuse* is aware that much apology is necessary, for the apparent negligence of language in which he has executed his task ; such, however, is the uncouth structure of the original, that it seemed hardly possible to attempt any elegance or correctness of style, without deviating from the actual meaning of the words before him.

DEDICATION.*

TO THE

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESS,

ANN, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. &c.

* * * * *

P R E F A C E.

PUBLIC renown, as well as private and official documents, have borne witness in so faithful and extraordinary a manner, before all Europe, to the wonderful valour shown by the Vaudois, in the last war between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, that it would seem manifest that the power of the Almighty must have been with them.**** † France, not content with having driven out her most faithful subjects, those called by the Romanists the *Reformed Church*, sought to induce her neigh-

* This dedication is long, and uninteresting in these days.

† The Preface goes on to give a short history of the Vaudois down to the time of the edict of Nantes, and then gives the following account of the expulsion, in 1686.

bours to do the same. The Duke of Savoy resisted the importunities of Louis XIV. until his ambassador intimated that 14,000 men were ready for this service; but that if they were employed to expel the heretics, his master would occupy the valleys as his own territory.* Moved by this artful threat, the Duke immediately issued orders to the Vaudois to destroy their churches, to baptize their children according to the Catholic rite, and go to mass.

All petitions were vain, and after useless attempts to soften the heart of their prince, the Vaudois resolved to adhere to their religion, as their ancestors had done, in spite of every attempt upon their liberties and lives; and in consequence put themselves in a state of defence, which obliged the Duke to accept the offer of the French troops, who, under the command of Mons. de Catinat, attacked them on the 23rd of April, 1686. As the French were eager to have the honour of the first onset, they had also here the honour of being well beaten; for they were dislodged from their posts, and sought safety in flight, passing the Cluson as they could, in confusion, and retiring upon Pignerol.

* This is no new principle in Catholicism, and Louis might refer to the numerous bulls which gave the goods and chattels of heretics to their conquerors.—T.

The numbers of killed and wounded were concealed, but it was soon known that four regiments of the line and two of dragoons had greatly suffered. When the French were driven from their posts above St. Germain, Mons. de Villeveille took refuge in a church, and Mons. Arnaud then coming up with a small detachment, ordered the roof to be stripped off, and the tiles thrown upon those within; but night coming on, M. de Villeveille with the greatest part of the troops made their escape.

As the Vaudois had beaten the French the first day, they had the honour of giving a no less decided check to the Piemontese troops on the second, at Angrogna. But instead of being elated by these victories, by an unhappy fatality, (altogether extraordinary in these intrepid people, whose fathers had successfully carried on thirty-two wars for the sake of their religion,) they became suddenly so dispirited, that on the third day they surrendered at discretion to the Duke.

This prince, triumphing in their dastardly conduct, plunged them into the thirteen prisons of Turin; and thus were the flames of war extinguished, not by the blood of the Vaudois, but by their unexpected submission.

These unhappy creatures had scarcely submitted ere they became aware of their error; no less than 14,000 were imprisoned; of these

10,000 perished miserably of cold, hunger, &c. &c. a greater number than would have fallen in the most cruel war. The number of deaths, however incredible it may appear, is certainly correct, since 14,000 certainly entered, and only 3,000 survived to be released. This remnant of the Vaudois, after escaping the barbarity of governors and gaolers, (though obliged to fly their country,) afterwards proved the seed appointed by God to preserve and replant the truth extinguished in the valleys, and form the subject of this history, from the time they took refuge in Switzerland until the peace concluded with their prince. But doubtless, reader, you will find it difficult to conceive why so many colonies of the Vaudois remain settled in foreign countries. I will therefore inform you, that the Duke of Savoy, having made peace with the Vaudois, continued to delude them with fair promises as long as he had occasion for their services, but thought himself no longer required to keep any measures with them, as soon as he could dispense with their assistance. The circumstance of their having taken an oath of fidelity before Count Martiano, governor of Pignerol, promised to afford them all perfect tranquillity; but, incredible as it may appear, this governor, at the very same moment, had in his pocket an order for the banishment of a great part of

them. The Duke thinking that he could not in honour openly drive out from his territory those who rendered him such important services, sought a pretext for weakening them, and published an order for all those who were not themselves natives of the valleys to depart within two months, on pain of death. Such was the inhuman recompense given by a powerful prince to his faithful subjects; who, after driving off his enemies, materially contributed to prevent his expulsion from the throne.

Beware then, ye who read this history, never more to trust the promises or flatteries of Papists, since there is nothing sacred or solemn that they will not trample under foot to serve their ambition or interest. Think! that for a thousand years and more, they have continued to deceive true Christianity; let these considerations be clarions loud enough to pierce your ears, and to remind you in whom you place your confidence.

The Duke absolutely insisting upon the execution of his cruel edict, these persons who had for the most part been established forty or fifty years in the valleys, as well as the inhabitants of the country beyond the Cluson, or Valley of Perouse, were not only banished from the Vaudois territories, by the cession of Pignerol, but also from his other states. He then affected to soothe their sufferings, by pro-

mising them provisions through Savoy; but no sooner had these poor exiles (about 3000 in number) began their march, than they were overtaken by couriers on the Mount Cenis, who required to see their order for forage, and took it from them: who could have supposed, that to save a morsel of bread to a prince, it would be taken from those who had not spared their blood in his service!

These, reader, are the Vaudois, who are now dispersed in foreign countries,* and took refuge in the praiseworthy cantons of Switzerland, where they were supported by private charity, and by contributions made for them in England and Holland.

Thus did they subsist till M. Valkenier, envoy of the States General of Zurich, procured for them (by dint of extraordinary zeal and exertion) lands and privileges, under some of the German princes, in whose dominions they have founded colonies.

The greatest number in the duchy of Wirtemberg, the others in the states of Baden, Hesse Darmstadt, and Hanau, forming in all fourteen Vaudois churches; which, with the reformed church in the French colony of Constadt, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, together compose a synod.† Of the ministers of these churches,

* Vide Sketch of the Vaudois in Wirtemberg.

† Vide Arnaud's Life.

seven, with their schoolmasters, are paid by his Britannic majesty, who also, in his royal generosity, continues to honour M. Arnaud with a pension to bring up his family; four ministers are paid by the States General, and the rest by their adopted sovereigns and their own churches. Thus kindly favoured by the princes, under whose mild laws they have taken shelter, they live peaceably, praying God for the preservation of their benefactors, &c. * * * * *

THE
REMARKABLE HISTORY
OF
THE WAR OF THE VAUDOIS,
AND
THEIR RE-ESTABLISHMENT IN THEIR COUNTRY,
IN 1690.

THE history which it is proposed to write, is so admirable in all its circumstances, that a naked exposition of the events would afford wherewithal to satisfy the reader, without the assistance of art or ornament; it is sufficient to relate them with order and fidelity. This, however, has not been done by several persons, who actuated by the desire of gain, have been induced to give to the public hasty mutilated accounts, far from the truth of this one, which has been compiled from the memoirs of those who had the chief direction of the affairs of the "*Vaudois*." This is the name of that handful of people who inhabit the valleys of Piemont, as Mons. Jean Leger has proved in the first part of his great history, written thirty years since, the appellation is derived from the nature

of their country, which proves that they were so called in the middle of the 12th century; consequently before the time of that Valdo, from whose reform it has falsely been derived. They have never been without difficulties, particularly in the cause of religion, often have they been brought before ecclesiastical tribunals, and more often attacked by force of arms; but it must be owned, that of thirty-two wars which they have valorously sustained, the last has been the most violent and deplorable; since it ended in their being torn from their dwellings, which had never been effected in the former convulsions, though their numbers had been thinned by massacres. Besides the lives lost in war, they never made a peace that did not cost them the banishment of many of their people, and the diminution of their rights and privileges. I shall not here speak of those powers who treated them so ill, but content myself with saying, they individually excused themselves by throwing the blame on each other: several public documents and one manifesto speak sufficiently to this point.

As it is precisely of the return of these exiles that I undertake to write, I shall not enlarge upon their expulsion, which has already been published, by a judicious author, who has not only shown the unexampled cruelties exercised (contrary to the promise of their prince) upon

14,000 Vaudois, of whom only 3000, resembling spectres rather than men, remained, whom his royal highness of Savoy permitted to retire to Switzerland, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Protestant cantons; he has also well described the affecting arrival of these moving skeletons at Geneva, and the charitable eagerness of the inhabitants to relieve them: I am, therefore, indebted to him for relieving me from the painful task of describing this heart-rending scene. We will now follow them into the Protestant cantons, where being all arrived in February 1687, they were supported by their deliverers, and for the most part dispersed in the canton of Berne; here they might have been contented with their lot, had not the desire of returning to their country incessantly agitated their minds: in fact, considering life of no value if passed where they had not received it, they determined to return at all risks.

For this purpose they made three attempts; and though only the last succeeded, I will say a few words respecting the other two. As for the first experiment, as it was made at hazard, without leaders, almost without arms, or the measures necessary for such an enterprise, it is not surprising that the plan failed at Lausanne, when the bailiff of that town prevented their embarkation, and ordered them in

the name of their excellencies of Berne to separate and return.

If this first attempt passed without exciting much attention, it was not the same with the second, which having been concerted with prudence, carried them much farther.

The first thing these good people did was to send three men to reconnoitre the country ; who had orders to discover the bye paths, to trace the roads over the highest mountains, in order to pass rivers at their sources, and also to do their utmost to engage those who lived near the valleys, to bake bread and place it secretly in places on which they should agree. It is well to remark, that, in the valleys, it is customary to bake the bread to the same degree of hardness as sea biscuit, which preserves it for a length of time.

The three travellers were successful in going, but not equally so in returning, for two of them were actually watched and taken as robbers, because they did not follow the usual roads. On being questioned, they answered that they trafficked in lace, and knowing it was made in the district, they went from one place to another to buy it. Although this excuse seemed plausible, they were nevertheless searched ; some sheets of paper were found on them which excited suspicion, these were placed before the fire, to

see if this process would not discover some writing that might criminate the travellers, but none appeared; they then placed lace before them, to try if they understood the merchandise they pretended to traffic in; this little artifice had nearly proved their ruin, one of them offering six crowns for a piece that was not worth three. The wardor and the inhabitants who were present, confirmed in the idea that they were spies rather than merchants, took their money and threw them into prison; being then interrogated according to all the forms of law, they persisted in their first declaration; and one who had been a pedlar in Languedoc, having said he could bring good proofs from that province, particularly from Montpellier and Lunel, they sent for a man who had often been in those parts; this man declared all the prisoner had said was true, and they were in consequence released at the end of eight days; but their money, amounting to ten crowns, was not restored to them.

The report made by these three men having appeared favourable to the interests of the Vaudois, inasmuch as their country was inhabited by strangers, and as several roads were deemed practicable, till then thought impassable, a council was held, in which it was determined to make a second attempt, by the Valais and Mont St. Bernard. The ren-

dezvous was fixed in the plain of Bex, a village at the extremity of the canton of Berne, and within a league of St. Maurice.

They hoped to arrive at the place appointed without being perceived; but though they marched by night, and by various roads, they could not conceal their movements from the governments of Berne and Zurich, or from the town of Geneva, where their design was discovered by the desertion of some sixty Vaudois, who served in the garrison, and who had retired into the Pays de Vaud. There is also reason to think that the mutual information, given by these three towns to each other, respecting this new project, was the reason the Vaudois were not met in time by a boat which they had engaged to convey arms to Villeneuve, a little town on the Lake of Geneva, at the entrance of the Valais. On hearing of this new enterprise, the Savoyards and Valaisans lit their signals, put themselves in a posture of defence, and placed a strong guard on the bridge of St. Maurice, by which they were obliged to pass, at least, unless they crossed the Rhone below, which they could not do without boats. While these poor people, who amounted to a body of 6 or 700 men, were considering what measures they should take, in a conjuncture so critical, M. Frederick Torman, bailiff and governor of Aigle, assembled

them in the temple,* where he gave them an excellent discourse, exhorting them to zeal and patience, and adroitly pointing out that there was temerity and even folly in persisting in an enterprise already discovered ; and having thus a little composed their minds, M. Arnaud, their pastor and commander, followed it up, by expounding this verse of the 12th of St. Luke, “ Fear not, little flock.”

The generous bailiff conducted them to Aigle, where he distributed bread, and ordered the best lodgings in the town for them, reserving to himself the care of the principal officers, particularly the aforesaid *Sieur Arnaud* ; and to crown all, lent two hundred dollars to assist the return of those who came from the distant extremities of Switzerland : all this kindness made them feel more sensibly the cruelty of the inhabitants of Vevey, who, by order of the council of the town, not only refused to lodge them either in the town or neighbourhood ; but, under pain of rigorous punishments, forbad their being supplied with provisions. One poor widow alone, in defiance of the prohibition and at the risk of her having her house razed to the ground, ventured to carry them some supplies into a meadow, where they were encamped.

Though this inhumanity on the part of the

* The word still in use in the valleys for church.

gentlemen of Vevey was only in obedience to the superior orders, dictated by policy, which had in view the expulsion of the Vaudois from the frontier; it would be difficult not to consider as a dispensation of Providence the circumstance of the town having been entirely destroyed by fire shortly afterwards, while the poor widow's house remained unhurt, though situated in the very centre.

The failure of this second enterprise, in June, 1688, was doubly prejudicial to the Vaudois; the Duke of Savoy having learnt by it, that though foiled in it, they would not fail to make others, as soon as a favourable opportunity offered. Not satisfied with the militia guards placed on all the roads, and chiefly in the environs of Geneva, and at St. Julien, Lancy, Tremblieres, Chene, Bellerive, and his territory along the eastern side of the Lake, he sent into the Chablais two regiments of infantry, 2000 strong, commanded by two men of birth and merit: the Comte de Berne, of the house of Rossillon, was colonel of the Chablais regiment; and the Marquis de Coudrée, of the house of Alinges, colonel of that of Monferrat, and was besides adjutant-general. They were followed by some dragoons, which gave umbrage to the town of Geneva. The second evil which resulted to the Vaudois from their failure was, that their prince having made it a subject

of quarrel with their excellencies of Berne, accusing them of want of faith, and of having favoured the project of an irruption into his territory; they were so offended with reproaches so contrary to that strict honour and fidelity with which they observe their treaties; that they began to look coldly on the Vaudois, and to think of ordering them from their frontiers, and by this conduct to remove (in the eyes of the Duke) every suspicion of intelligence between them. Their excellencies of Zurich conceiving a like indignation against the Vaudois, convoked an assembly of the Protestant cantons at Arrau, to which the most considerable of the Vaudois were summoned; two of those who had taken refuge in the canton of Berne, and as many from Neuchatel, Bâle, Schaffhausen, and St. Gall. In this assembly they received orders to quit the cantons altogether; but as two months had elapsed since the failure of their second enterprise, during which period they had been supplied as usual with provisions, and their excellencies of Berne had offered them the islands on the lakes of Neuchatel and Morat to inhabit and cultivate, they were totally unprepared for such orders. It was proposed to them to go to Brandenburg, but this they resisted on the plea of the great distance, which only the more convinced the Bernois how much they had their native

country at heart ; and to conquer an obstinacy these gentlemen deemed dangerous, they were ordered to leave the canton by a fixed day.

They obeyed, and took their route by the capital of Berne ; where they had the pleasure to find that the severity exercised towards them was merely the effect of state policy, for besides much individual kindness, the secretary of the town distributed money among them when they embarked on the Aar, to take up their abode in Zurich and Schaffhausen, until some favourable opportunity of proceeding further might offer.

Wirtemberg was not very distant, and was reckoned fertile in vineyards and pasturage : they appointed three deputies to address the Duke Frederick Charles, (then regent, uncle and guardian of his present reigning highness, Duke Eberhard Louis,) who met with a favourable reception, lands being even offered them ; but the Vaudois, whose object was to remain in a body, would not accede to the condition of being separated, and supplicated from Zurich and Schaffhausen the permission to remain in those cantons during the winter. This was granted them through the intercession of some of the other cantons. The large collections made for them in England and Holland contributed to this favour ; from the last-named country ninety-two thousand crowns were de-

spatched, and his serene highness the Prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, sent Mons. de Converant to distribute it with exact economy. Thus were the poor exiles furnished with the means of subsistence, but it remained to find them a fixed residence: after many projects, some of which would have sent them to the New World, they accepted the generous offers of the late Elector of Brandenburg, to establish themselves in his dutchy.

Many, however, on the representations of some who had visited the country, were dismayed at the obstacles which the language, climate, and distance presented; this was deemed fastidious and obstinate, particularly by the Swiss; who, after many harangues, forced them to take an oath that they would go wherever they were ordered. But though Mons. Arnaud himself signed this act, he nevertheless protested against it as a forced assent. In consequence of this, about 800, men, women, and children, took their departure; and as these were considered the most prudent, every facility was afforded them on their journey. At Frankfort on the Maine they were received by Mons. Choudens, deputed by the Duke of Brandenburg to escort them to Berlin, where they met with a most gracious reception from the Elector, whose memory will

be for ever held dear for his benevolence to these poor refugees. To commemorate this worthy act, a print was engraved by the celebrated Forneiser, of Bâle, and presented to his successor, the first king of Prussia, with a suitable discourse.

To return to the Vaudois whom we left in Switzerland; they had need of all their resolution to withstand the coldness with which they were treated, and at last found themselves obliged to separate, and provide for themselves according to their inclination or ability: some were dispersed in the Grisons, others on the frontiers of Wirtemberg, and those parts of the Palatinate assigned to them by order of the Elector Philip William de Neubourg, who was glad of this means of repeopling his country, so often desolated by war. These poor wanderers seemed now provided for; but having always other views, Mons. Arnaud gladly profited by this little interval of peace, and accompanied by a Vaudois captain, named Batiste Besson, of St. Jean, went to Holland to communicate their design to the Prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, and to some other great people, who had at heart the interests of the Vaudois: this prince, of glorious memory, in an audience with Mons. Arnaud, praised the zeal of this minister, and exhorted him to keep

his little troop together, to have patience, and not lose courage; he also gave him money for his journey back.

Providence, who preserved this little flock in order to make them a wonderful example of divine power, appeared to deny them another country, that they might afterwards return to their own. Hardly had they begun to establish themselves, when the quarrels between the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Neubourg (become Elector Palatine) obliged them to seek safety in flight, not daring to run the risk of falling a prey to the French, whose fury they had already sufficiently experienced. Without being dazzled therefore by the privileges, of which the Elector Palatine offered to put them in possession, or by the offers of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who agreed to employ the effective, and support the rest, they determined to give up all these advantages to escape from their enemies, and after much uncertainty where to bend their steps, they decided on returning to Switzerland, as if inspired by God, who, it may not be improper here to observe, in conducting these people back to their inheritance, permitted that the French, who had driven them out, should be the means of paving the way for their return. This new calamity, which occurred just as they had surmounted the difficulties which always attend the first

settling in a new country, (added to the distress of leaving their crops to be gathered by their enemies) happily so touched the hearts of the inhabitants of the cantons as to efface from their memory all past dissatisfaction, and they received this remnant of the Vaudois with open arms. Behold them again dispersed in different parts of Protestant Switzerland, living by the labour of their hands, and always honestly; for it is a thing to be remarked to their credit, that, during all the time of their exile, there was never any complaint made against them of bad conduct or improper behaviour, excepting at Zurich, where one soldier carried away the gun of his master, which coming to the knowledge of some of the chiefs, the said gun was immediately restored to the owner.

With time for reflection came the conviction that they had too long forgotten their country, and that God had permitted their misfortunes to make them feel they would never have repose elsewhere than at home, and they determined to return at all hazards. This resolution was fortified by the encouraging accounts they received from the spies whom they had sent more than a year before, and from whom they learnt that the Duke of Savoy had withdrawn his troops from the other side of the mountains, since the spring of 1689. Besides this, the happy and glorious Revolution in England was

the seal that impressed on their hearts the resolution not to give way. They saw that the Prince of Orange, who had assured them of his august protection, was now raised to the throne of Great Britain, and flattered themselves that the antipathy which naturally existed between him and the king of France, his zeal for the Protestant religion, and the obligations he was under to the potentates who had favoured his advancement to the throne, could not fail to produce a war with France. This happened indeed soon after, and afforded occupation enough to Louis the Fourteenth, who, entangled in such weighty affairs, overlooked or despised, without doubt, the trifling concerns of the Vaudois. This appeared to be the moment to throw off the mask, and as these poor exiles well knew that their first attempts had failed, because they had not kept them sufficiently secret, their leaders now took infinite care to conceal their new scheme, in order that the passage through Savoy might not be closed, or the Bernois be able to intercept them. It was also necessary, to prevent the latter from incurring any blame for having appeared to connive at their departure: they took their measures so well, and conducted the affair so secretly, that all their people began the march without knowing to what place they were going: their rendezvous was in a large forest in

the Pays de Vaud, called the wood of Nion, between Nion and Rolle; a place very proper for their purpose, as they could there remain concealed, and easily obtain provisions from the many neighbouring towns; besides having immediate access to the lake, on which they could embark at night without being perceived. The most part happily arrived at this rendezvous, and waited only for those who were to come from the Grisons and Wirtemberg, and who, having farther to go, ran more risk of being discovered, and in fact were so; for it happened that the Count de Cassati, the Spanish envoy, observing some movements which seemed suspicious, gave information to the Count de Govon, envoy of the Duke of Savoy, who made such exact inquiries, that he discovered these unfortunate persons, to the number of 122, including some strangers, who, though not in the plot, shared the fate of the others. Not only was their money, amounting to 500 crowns, taken from them, but they were pillaged, insulted, and exposed to all sorts of cruelties, and sent to Turin. In their way through several Catholic countries they were cruelly used, out of enmity to their religion, especially in the canton of Friburg, where one Bastie, a physician, was left for dead in consequence of the blows he received, of which he bore the marks all his life. At last they

were confined in the prisons of Turin, where they languished miserably for several months, during which four of them died; who, as it happened, remarkably enough, were all four named Daniel, which gave occasion to our Vaudois to allude to the history of Daniel and the other three Hebrews, who were thrown into the furnace. However, the comparison would have been more just had these four modern Daniels come forth safe and sound from their dungeon, as those of old from the furnace.

Let us leave these unfortunate prisoners, waiting their deliverance, of which we shall speak when we come to the surprising denouement of this history. Those who expected them, tired of waiting and fearing discovery, thought now only of passing the lake, to the number of from 8 to 900: and indeed it was time, for it began to be whispered that there were people hid in the wood of Nion. This report, which seemed so adverse, proved by divine grace most favourable to them; for wagers were laid in the adjacent places, that the Vaudois were about some new enterprise, and curiosity induced several persons to transport themselves in boats to the places where it was said they were.

The Vaudois, who had but four little boats, which was far from enough to carry over their whole number, with the celerity

the occasion demanded, seized the boats of those whom curiosity had led there, and thus obtained the addition of fourteen or fifteen. Monsieur Arnaud, who at this time was called Monsieur de la Tour, having said prayers, they embarked between nine and ten o'clock in the night of Friday the 16th of August, 1689. There had been a general fast the preceding day, in the whole of Protestant Switzerland, and the devotions thereto belonging, were not yet finished; which contributed not a little to their passing the lake. However, they did not escape without experiencing a piece of treachery of the blackest kind. A man named Prangin, son of the late Monsieur de Baltazar, who had bought an estate near Nion, after having, on his knees, joined in the prayer which Monsieur Arnaud made, ran the rest of the night, (like a Judas,) to Geneva, and disclosed what he had seen to the envoy of France; who immediately went to Lyons, to order a certain number of Dragoons, to march against this troop of Vaudois. Their first passage was without accident; and if the wind which arose, separated their boats, it was apparently so ordered, that they might fall in with one from Geneva, which contained eighteen of their people: but on sending back the boats for those who remained, they had the misfortune to see but three return, the boatmen of the

others having taken to flight, though they were paid before hand ; thus were they obliged to leave 200 men on the shores of Switzerland, it being necessary to march in all haste from a place so replete with danger. They had besides the mortification to see the three boats which had remained faithful, take back several good men, who would go no farther without arms, and to learn that several others who had left Lausanne the night of the 15th had been taken, and were released too late for their embarkation. I shall not enter into the motives which induced the boatmen to behave as above-mentioned ; apparently the fear of losing their lives in Savoy, if taken, and ill used in Switzerland, when sent back, contributed much to it ; but I must remark a singular fact : one named Signat, a refugee from Tonneins, in Guienne, a zealous man, established at Nion as boatman, offered to pass the Vaudois for nothing, which he did ; but having disembarked with his cargo, to take leave of his friends, the other boatmen went off with his boat. He called after them in vain, and as he durst not return home on foot, lest if caught by the Savoyards, it might cost him his life, he accepted the offer of the Vaudois, to give him a good house instead of a boat if he would join their cause.

I can imagine the impatience of the reader to learn what became of the little band of Vau-

dois, in an enemy's country. They disembarked between Nernier and Ivoyre, two towns of the Chablais, with the intention of marching sword in hand to recover their country, and of re-establishing there the true Church of Jesus Christ. The acts of valour they performed, to achieve that which appears impossible for so small a number to have accomplished, are so extraordinary, that in order to relate them more regularly and clearly, I shall faithfully detail the events of each day as they occurred.

First Day.—Monsieur Arnaud having with fourteen others, first set foot on the eastern shore of the lake, posted good sentinels on all sides, and marshalled his men in line as they landed; which done, he formed them into a regiment, of which one named Bourgeons of Neuchatel, was to have had the command; however, he did not arrive in time, for reasons which need not be here mentioned, as enough will be heard of him hereafter.

This regiment was divided into nineteen companies, of which six were composed of strangers, nearly all from Languedoc and Dauphiné; the thirteen others of the Vaudois communities.

Angrogna had three companies, Capts. Buffe, Franche, and Bertin.

St. Jean, two —, Capts. Bellion and Besson.

La Tour, one —, Capt. Jean Frache.

Villar, one company, Capt. Pelene.

Bobbi, two —, Cpts. Martinat and Moudon.

Prarustin, one —, Capt. Odin.

St. Germain and Pramol, one —, Capt. Robert.

Macel, one —, Capt. Trone Poulat.

Prales, one —, Capt. Peirot.

The six foreign companies were commanded by Cpts. Martin, Privat, Lucas, Turel, Tronfrede, and Chien. Several who did not choose to be inrolled in these companies, formed a company of volunteers. The whole were formed into three divisions; viz. the advanced guard, main body, and rear guard, after the order of regular troops, which they always observed on their march; they had besides Monsieur Arnaud, who may be called their patriarch; two ministers, Mons. Chyon, formerly minister of the church of Pont, in Dauphiné, and Mons. Montoux, of Pragelas, who had been in his own country minister of the church at Chambons, and afterwards at Coire, in the Grisons; where he had left his family, to follow the fortunes of his countrymen.

Their safety being thus provided for, they solemnly invoked the protection of Heaven, to favour their enterprise; after which the above-named minister, Chyon, went to the nearest village to procure a guide, but a Savoyard cavalier, who had perceived our people on the borders of the lake, had already given the

alarm, and the minister was taken prisoner, and sent to Chambéry, where he remained till the peace between the Duke of Savoy and the Vaudois. The cavalier just mentioned having advanced pistol in hand, towards our people, Mons. Arnaud, with the Sieur Turel and six fusileers, went towards him, but he faced about so quick, that he avoided only by flight a shot that was fired after him. A general alarm being thus given, no time was to be lost, and some officers, with twelve fusileers, were sent to Ivoyre, to persuade the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and afford them a free passage; to which, (dreading the consequence of a refusal,) they consented, for in this case they were threatened with fire and sword; but they lit their (alarm) signal, which would have proved their destruction, if happily for them they had not contrived to convince the Vaudois it had been done by some children; and they were pardoned, on condition that the commandant and another,* should serve as guides; these men were, however, sent back home after a march of half a league. The Vaudois afterwards took with them as hostages, two gentlemen of the country, but these also they soon released, wishing to avoid all harshness and cruelty as long as no resistance was made. They observed this rule so exactly, that even

* Literally the warder of the castle.

the peasants and priests came out to see them pass, and often made vows for them, calling out "God speed you." The Curé (or Catholic minister) of Filli even opened his cellar for their refreshment, and would not receive any money. Soon afterwards they were met by four Savoyard gentlemen, armed, who demanded of the officers, by whose order, and for what purpose they were in arms; and displeased by the firmness of their reply, commanded them to lay down their arms. But no sooner had they spoken the words, than perceiving the approach of the main body, they changed their tone, and having ordered some peasants who were with them to retire, they would have themselves made their escape if the Vaudois had not prevented them, by making them dismount, and march as prisoners at the head of the regiment, as a punishment for their temerity. From the top of a hill the Vaudois perceived about 200 armed peasants near a wood, and fearing an ambuscade, they detached a party to disperse them. Mons. Gropel, serjt. maj. and Mons. Mouche, commandant of Boëge, who commanded the peasantry, made but little resistance, and their arms and ammunition having been destroyed, some were taken as guides, with a menace, that they would be hung upon the nearest tree, if they played false.

One of the above mentioned leaders was also

taken, that he might bear testimony no damage was committed on the march, and passing near his house, he offered to give refreshment, which was not accepted.

Judging that now every place would be found under arms, it was deemed expedient to make one of the gentlemen spoken of above, write as follows :—

“ An expedition is arrived here, composed of 2000 men, who have begged us to accompany them, to bear testimony of their conduct ; we can assure you they behave perfectly well, pay for all they take, and require only free passage. We therefore request you not to sound the Tocsin, or raise an alarm, but to withdraw your people if under arms.”

This letter, signed by all the gentlemen, and sent to the town of Viu, produced a kind of emulation on the way, who should give them most readily what was wanted ; indeed orders had been issued to the peasants, to furnish our travellers with carts for their baggage ; but as there are always some who transgress orders, one peasant fired on a Vaudois soldier, but missed, and the soldier took him prisoner ! another soldier killed an armed peasant, and amongst some who fled, seized one of the Dominican Monks, called Hermits of the Oüarons, or as commonly pronounced, *Voïrons* ; he had a dagger under his

gown, but he afterwards made himself very useful. At nightfall they halted near Viù Villette du Foucigni, from whence they procured bread and wine, which they paid for, and one of the gentlemen not being able to walk any farther, was sent back: after two hours halt they proceeded, having made one of the hostages write another note, to be sent to the town of St. Joyre, where they arrived in half an hour, and all the inhabitants came out to receive them, even the magistrates had a cask of wine placed in the streets for the soldiers, some of whom feared to taste it, lest it should have been poisoned; they arrived soon after at a little ascent, where they halted, the place was called Carman; it was midnight, and though it rained a little, they reposed themselves, after their long march, during the remainder of the night, in order to be in better condition to pass the bridge of Marni, which they feared might be broken up; it was here that having taken the brothers George, they released the two hostages taken at Boëge.

Second Day, August 17th.—Having found the bridge of Marni in good repair, they passed it without resistance, and entered an agreeable valley, which the inhabitants had abandoned. By ten o'clock they arrived near Cluse, a pretty fortified town, situated on the banks of the Arve, which they were obliged to ford.

The inhabitants in arms, lined the ditches, and the peasants descending the mountain, made it resound with their cries of abuse, against the Vaudois; who in spite of a heavy rain which annoyed them much, advanced within gun-shot, determined to force a passage. At this time Mons. de Fora having overheard some persons say, it would be advisable to kill the hostages, in case of resistance, and fearing for his own safety, begged permission to write to the Governors of the town, which was granted him. He represented to them the danger of refusing admission to people who had done no kind of harm in any place through which they had passed; this note was carried into the town just as three of the principal persons were coming out to capitulate, two were retained by the Vaudois, who at their request, sent back one of their own people with the other, who being asked for the watch-word, fiercely replied, it was at the point of his sword. The townspeople soon saw the affair was serious, and allowed them to proceed and to be supplied with provisions on paying for them. The inhabitants armed, were ranged in line on both sides the streets; and while our troops passed through the town, Mons. de la Rochette the governor, asked some of the officers to dinner, which they refused, but as soon as they were out of the town, at their desire, he sent them a

barrel of wine, and bread in plenty, for which Mons. de la Tour paid five louis d'ors, which seemed to satisfy the inhabitants very much.

As they were refreshing themselves, they perceived some children running towards Salenche, and suspecting they were sent to give information of their advance, they made them turn back. When the Vaudois were about to recommence their march, Mons. de la Rochette and another, desired to return, on pretence of attending mass, but they would not allow them, and observing soon after, a servant of this said gentleman's amongst the troops, they searched him, and found upon him letters from the elder La Rochette to the governors of Salenche, exhorting them to take arms, promising that while they attacked the Vaudois in front, the people of Cluse would not fail to charge them in the rear.

In the expectation then of an attack, they defiled through a long narrow valley, in the middle of which was a village and castle, named Maglan, but the peasants who were under arms, contented themselves with looking on. Mons. de Loche, the owner of the castle, after loading the officers with caresses, found himself obliged to march with them ; to console him, they made his *curé* accompany him, and in order that it might be difficult to count their numbers, they affected to march in confusion.

Salenche is a mercantile town, and capital of the district of Foucigni. To arrive at this place it was necessary to pass a wooden bridge, with houses upon it, a quarter of a league from the town, within a hundred yards of this bridge; the officers, expecting the passage to be disputed, formed their men in divisions, in one of which they placed their hostages, with orders (more intended to alarm than to be obeyed) that they should be shot, if the Savoyards fired. While these arrangements were making, they sent three captains, with an escort of six soldiers, to demand a passage through the town, who fell in with six of the principal people of the place, and took one of them, the others faced about, and came straight to us; Mons. Cartan, first syndic, being one of them, having replied that the passage demanded, was too great a favour to grant without assembling a council. We consented to half an hour's delay for this purpose, menacing at the expiration of that time, to force the bridge, which we were about to attack, when the said gentlemen returned, saying, the period was much too short for so important a deliberation, and were about to return again, when the Vaudois made two of them dismount, and very civilly requested of them to augment the number of hostages; this compliment was not to their taste; the

Vaudois might then have forced the bridge, but willing if possible to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood, they listened to the request of the last hostages, to permit one of them to return into the town, and bring back an answer good or bad ; but instead of seeing them again, they heard the tocsin sound, and saw 600 armed men range themselves near the bridge. As our troops were preparing to charge, they perceived four capuchins coming out of the town, as negociators, and having been civilly received, they proposed a free passage, on condition that the hostages and their horses should be released, offering to give up two others of distinction in their place, which was agreed to ; but when they discovered that the promised hostages, instead of two *sindics*, as they called them, were two poor wretches of the lowest order, Mons. Arnaud, indignant at the shameful manner in which they endeavoured to deceive him, advanced towards the capuchins, who, reading in his countenance that he meant to detain them, took to their heels, and so quickly did they tuck up their frocks and run, that two only of them were caught, who were added to the number of hostages. It must be remarked to their honour, that they were afterwards of great use, their intreaties for the permission to pass through towns and villages, being generally so efficacious, that the Vaudois could not but the more wonder at the influence

these good fathers held over those of their religion. To return, the capitulation being now of no avail, they marched a detachment over the bridge, without opposition, and afterwards flanked it with a guard of forty soldiers, to secure the passage of the rest, which being effected, they drew up in order of battle, twenty steps from the hedges, behind which the inhabitants were entrenched, but did not fire, lest their town should be burnt by the Vaudois, who in consequence marched quietly on, and at last reached the village of Cablau, where they established themselves for the night, but found nothing either to eat or drink, or even fire to dry themselves, which would have been the more acceptable, as it had rained all day ; but for this rain even, these poor people had cause to be thankful, as it no doubt prevented the enemy from pursuing them.

Third Day, Monday 19th.—If the Vaudois were not on this day harassed by the movements and opposition of the inhabitants of Cluse, Maglan, and Salenche, they were greatly alarmed on hearing that they had a rough and difficult journey before them, having two very steep mountains to climb and descend, therefore they bought some wine in a village, through which they passed early in the morning. On starting, they sounded two trumpets, instead of drums, which would have been inconvenient to carry, and discharged their

muskets, to reload them; the rain still continued; they passed through several villages, and a town called Beaufort or Migeves, in which the inhabitants were under arms, but did not molest them. They then gained the summit of the mountain, where they rested on account of the rain; here they found a great many cattle, which it was customary to keep there during the summer, but neither these or the dairies did they touch, greatly to the surprise of the hostages, who were incommoded by this frugal life, and at last persuaded our people, that with regard to provisions, it was the custom of soldiers to take whatever they found. This advice, or rather reproach, from those who were in the interests of the country, and their example, added to the hunger which our Vaudois were suffering, and to the deserted state in which they found the chalets, induced them to break the rule laid down, and to help themselves to bread, milk, cheese, and all the eatables they could find, which they would have paid for, had they seen the owners. At length, after severe toil, they arrived at the summit of the second mountain, called "Haute Luce," of which the very appearance is alarming, and the ascent always difficult, and more than usually so at this time, on account of the rain and snow, as well as of the thick fog with which it was covered.

At the top was a deserted barn, where they found some milk and other trifles for their support, and luckily fell in with some peasants to supply the want of guides, as theirs, in the fog, believing themselves in the clouds, declared they had lost all knowledge of the paths; this they soon after found out to be a pretence, and that they maliciously contrived to lead the Vandois through the most frightful passes, to allow time for the Savoyards to come up and destroy them; and in consequence, Mons. Arnaud threatened in earnest to have these treacherous guides hanged. If the zealous leader of this little troop knew how to alarm those who meant to deceive, he endeavoured no less by good and holy exhortations to raise the courage of those under his care, and who seemed now on the point of sinking under an accumulation of evils, increased by the almost unbearable fatigue of effecting a passage through a pass cut in the rock, like a ladder, where twenty persons might easily have destroyed 20,000. They descended with greater difficulty; and in a sitting posture, slid down precipices without other light than what was afforded them by the snow, and arrived late in the night at St. Nicholas de Verose, a miserable hamlet, composed merely of some shepherds' huts. In this place, sunk as it were in a deserted cold abyss, they were obliged to halt,

without finding even the means of making a fire ; so that to provide themselves with this comfort, they unroofed the cabins,* and thus exposed themselves to a rain which lasted all night.

Fourth day, Tuesday, 20th.—Impatience to quit this miserable post before daylight caused two accidents ; Capt. Meynier, a Vaudois, and good soldier, was wounded in both thighs by a ball, fired by chance in the dark ; and, secondly, a report having been spread that 200 Savoyards had slipped in amongst the corps, with the design of attacking the Vaudois, a soldier, mistaking for one of them the Sieur Bailiff, (a refugee from Lausanne, who had left his establishment there, to join our travellers,) discharged his cross-bow at him, and would have taken his life if the captain had not begged for time to say his prayers, having already received a thrust with the soldier's bayonet, which only pierced his doublet. It was here also that the Sieur Chien, one of the captains, discouraged by so many fatigues, which his constitution could no longer support, deserted, taking with him a fine horse, from a place where they had left six others. In the morning they ascended or rather climbed, with the snow up to their knees, and the rain pouring on them, one of the

* The cottages here are even now roofed with wooden shingles.—T.

rudest points of the mountain called Bon Homme. Knowing that the year before, on the news of their first attempts, strong ramparts and entrenchments had been made in this place, with embrasures, in so advantageous a position, that thirty men might not only have stopt, but entirely have destroyed them; they marched in the expectation of a bloody engagement; but the Eternal, who was always with this troop of his faithful people, permitted that they should find these entrenchments vacant, and without even a guard; for, tired of watching so long in vain, they had retired—a mercy for which the Vaudois offered up thanksgiving to God upon the spot. After a long descent through the snow, they bought a barrel of wine to drink on the road; but perceiving that the rear guard delayed to follow, some shots were fired, which caused them to leave the wine (the occasion of the delay) and hasten with all speed to their stations. In the valley which they came to, it was necessary to cross the Isere frequently; they marched for some time two abreast, expecting resistance, and their danger was the more eminent in this narrow defile, nearly filled up by a river, at the time overflowed, as they perceived the heights above them to be in possession of armed peasants. These however, to the very agreeable surprise of the Vaudois, contented themselves with

looking at them. These peasants, having observed that their presence had not given any alarm to our Vaudois, returned as hard as they could run to their hamlets and sounded the tocsin. In a moment was heard a horrible peal from all the bells round. This, however, did not prevent the Vaudois from proceeding to a bridge they expected to find ; they discovered that it was barricaded with strong rafters, and trees crossed one over the other, and guarded by peasants, some armed with scythes, some with muskets, some with forks. As soon as the Vaudois showed a disposition to attack them, Mons. de la Val d'Isere, lord of this valley, came to parley, that is to say, to grant a passage, the peasants themselves, and even the curé himself helping to clear the bridge. As for Mons. Le Comte, as soon as he had finished his embassy, he rode off at full gallop, so afraid was he of being added to the hostages ; who, whenever they saw some one of distinction, usually said to Mons. Arnaud, " there is a good bird for our cage." They passed the little village of Sez without committing any disorder, although its bells had sounded loudly, and the inhabitants had taken arms ; and, above all, they were aware that the above-named lord was there shut up in his castle. They encamped very near this town, where they obtained as much provision as they wished : for

bread they paid two sous a pound, excepting Mons. Arnaud, who paid voluntarily three sous, and they had such plenty, that some of the peasants came and bought bread of the soldiers.

Fifth day, Wednesday, 21st.—The march began before daylight, still along the Val d'Isere, where the hamlets were all deserted. At the village of St. Foi they halted, here they again found inhabitants, procured provisions, and were treated with cordiality; some persons even came to meet them, praising their design of returning to their own country, and urging them to stay all night, promising, if they did, to bake bread, kill cattle, and furnish wine to refresh the troops. These flattering speeches would probably have induced the Vaudois to consent to the proposal, had not Mons. Arnaud, then with the rear guard, advanced to inquire the cause of the delay; and as he always distrusted the caresses of an enemy, he ordered the troops to march on, and take with them the smooth-tongued gentry, who doubtless intended their destruction. Their road now lay through a narrow ravine between two high mountains, covered with thick underwood; nothing could have been more easy than to have defended this pass; by merely taking away the rafters of the little bridge, it would have been impossible for our troops to have forced a passage, however they arrived safe at Villar Rougy, where the ad-

vanced guard seized a curé and some peasants, who were trying to make their escape. On leaving this frightful valley, they perceived numbers of the peasants who had abandoned their houses and retired to the opposite side of the river; they next came to Eutigne, a hamlet situated in a little plain, surrounded by mountains. The inhabitants had taken refuge on the heights, where they were seen in arms. At night the Vaudois encamped in a field near the village of Laval, and found provisions in the deserted houses. One of the principal persons of the place lodged the officers; and here Mons. Arnaud and his colleague Mons. Montoux, after having passed eight successive days and nights almost without food or sleep, lay down for three hours, after having supped. It may be supposed that neither bed nor supper were ever more welcome.

Sixth day, Thursday, 22d.—We passed the village of Tigne and released some of our hostages; others escaped, doubtless by bribing their guards; we took the precaution of replacing them by two priests and a lawyer, and then began the ascent of Mount Tisserand, or La Maurienne, more properly Iserand, from whence is derived the name of the river Isere.

During the halt, we divided the companies and appointed some additional officers. We had afterwards to traverse some very difficult

paths among the Alps, in some of the valleys there was abundance of cattle, and the owners regaled our travellers from their dairies, at the same time giving them to understand, their passage would be disputed at the foot of Mount Cenis, where a large body of troops awaited their arrival. This news, instead of alarming them, gave them fresh courage; under the conviction that the fate of their arms depended solely on God, and trusting through his support to obtain a passage; they courageously descended the mountain of Maurienne, and traversing the district of the same name, passed the hamlet of Bonneval, and marched straight to Besas, where the inhabitants were understood to be very ill disposed, and in fact their violence and menaces obliged the Vaudois to avenge themselves, by seizing some mules and carrying away with them the curé, the warder, and six peasants, who, for their greater mortification, were bound together; they here passed the river and encamped near a little deserted hamlet, where it rained upon them all night.

Seventh day, Friday, 23d.—In passing through Lannevillard they took a curé and some peasants; but released the former when they came to Mount Cenis, considering him too fat and too old to accomplish the ascent. Fearing lest their march should be made known by

means of the post-house on the summit, a detachment was sent forward to seize all the horses; and as they returned with this booty (of which they had possessed themselves in self-defence) they fell in with some laden mules, and, tempted by the opportunity, seized them also, and found that they were conveying the luggage of the Cardinal Angelo Ranuzzi; who, being on his return from his nunciature in France, had sent them by this road, while he was himself making all speed another way to Rome; in order to assist at the conclave which elevated Alexander the Eighth to the papal chair. The muleteers having complained to the officers, they commanded that the whole of the property should be instantly restored to the owner, lest the reputation for good discipline, on which they so much prided themselves, should in any degree suffer; therefore, if any article was lost, the officers declare it to have been without their knowledge, except indeed in the single instance of a watch of singular construction, made after the model of the clock at Strasburg, and which was not discovered till too late to restore it: they also aver that they did not read any of the papers belonging to the said cardinal, who upon hearing of this accident, on his arrival at Fano, and concluding that all the memoirs of his nunciature, as well as his private papers, had fallen into the

hands of people who would turn them to their own advantage, was so much mortified, that it may be said to have caused his death, by inducing him to give up all hopes of succeeding to the pontificate, a dignity he was in fact, from various causes, peculiarly well calculated to fill ; he is said, however, to have exhibited some degree of weakness in his conduct, relative to the misunderstandings between the king of France and Pope Innocent the Eleventh ; and also on his death bed, when he frequently exclaimed, “ Oh ! my papers, my papers ! ” * Many reports have been circulated respecting these papers ; amongst others, that the Duke of Savoy purchased them of the Vaudois, and sent them to the court of France ; where, by this means, an intrigue was discovered between the Cardinal Ranuzzi and several of the French ecclesiastics, ten of whom were in consequence said to have been thrown into the prison of Vincennes ; however, being well aware that these stories were only invented to blacken their character, the Vaudois trouble themselves very little about these papers, only repeating once more, that they never had them, or ever saw them ; and the watch, above mentioned, fell subsequently into the hands of Mons. Montoux, and was taken with his equipage by the troops of the Duke of Savoy, when he was

* “ O ! le mie cartè, le mie carte.

made prisoner, an event which will be spoken of in its place. The sufferings experienced by the Vaudois in crossing the great and little Mont Cenis, are hardly to be described, having with infinite toil reached the latter, they found in the barns peasants armed with halberts and poles shod with iron, two of whom they seized. Soon afterwards, they lost their way, either through the treachery of the guide or in consequence of the fog; and the ground being a foot deep in snow, they descended the mountain of Tourliers, rather by a precipice than a road. To complete their misfortunes, darkness having surprised them, many who were sinking under fatigue got separated from the rest, and passed the night in wandering about, while the main body happily reached the valley of Jaillon, where they found at least dry wood for fires.

Eighth day.—At daybreak, on the 24th, the stragglers having rejoined the main body, it was decided to march by Chaumont, above Susa; and a party having been sent out to reconnoitre, discovered on the mountain a considerable number of French soldiers and peasants rolling down pieces of rock into the valley, which being very narrow, and the river Jaillon very rapid, our position appeared evidently a very dangerous one. But the advanced guard, having been reinforced with 100 men,

marched forwards with intrepid courage, and when within fifty yards of the enemy, Captain Pelene, with an escort, advanced to treat for a passage; two curés were sent with him, in hopes of their facilitating the business; but, on the contrary, they escaped, and at their instigation, Capt. Pelene and his men were seized, bound, and gagged, only one excepted, who found the strength of Samson in his hair, by which they had seized him. The enemy then making an attack with their musketry and grenades, and throwing and rolling down stones from their advantageous position, obliged the advanced guard to retire under shelter of the rocks, and at last to defile through a wood of chesnuts on the right side of the river, which they forded with difficulty: it was here that the *Sieur Caffarel*, of *Bobbi*, was taken prisoner by the dragoons, after being wounded by one of his own men, who mistook him for an enemy, he being at the time dressed in the clothes of a soldier he had just killed. Those who had passed the river, finding they were not pursued, returned, and rejoined the main body, and it was then considered advisable to endeavour to regain the heights, to avoid the danger of being surrounded in the valley. The ascent could only be accomplished by climbing, often on the hands as well as feet, and the difficulty of it may be imagined, since the hos-

tages entreated to be shot rather than be forced to undergo such fatigue : and though the Vaudois did reach this summit, the undertaking cost them dear, several of their people being lost in the wood, and among them captains Lucas and Privet, who were never more heard of, and also two excellent surgeons, one of whom, named Melanet, remained hidden four days in the trunk of a tree, with several others, subsisting on a small quantity of water. They were at last taken prisoners and conveyed, bound hand and foot, to the prisons of the senate at Turin, where they lingered in a dungeon for nine months. It was usual to send those taken on the territory of Savoy to the prisons of that country ; while such as were captured on French ground were sent to Grenoble and from thence to the galleys, where those on whom death has not taken pity still remain, although offers of ransom or exchange have been made. Among these latter unfortunate persons was the other surgeon, Mons. Jean Muston, of St. Jean, whose constancy and firmness under such protracted sufferings demand a place in this history.

This defeat, which enfeebled the little flock, and cost them much booty as well as many brave men, did not discourage them, but supported by the conviction, that neither strength, address, nor numbers are required to carry into

effect the wonderful plans of God, they put their trust in his help, and prepared for fresh exertions in the ascent of the mountain of Tourliers. Having waited two hours after the trumpets had been sounded as a signal to the stragglers, and fearing the enemy's troops might gain time to dispute their passage, they marched with such haste, that poor Meinier, of Rodoret, who had been accidentally wounded by one of his own men, and had fallen asleep from fatigue on a rock, was left behind; two of the hostages also escaped, one of whom was wounded or killed in his flight. When they had reached the summit of the mountain, they perceived through the fog 200 armed men, marching towards them, with drums beating. The commanding officer sent word he did not mean to oppose the passage of the Vaudois, provided they would take a route a little above him, in which case he even offered them provisions; but if, on the contrary, they were determined to open themselves a road through his post, he demanded eight hours to consider what was to be done. Though they were aware this officer was not entirely to be trusted, they thought it better to accept the route proposed to them, rather than try to force one which was well guarded, they therefore took the right hand road; but soon perceived that they were followed by the same troops, under cover of

the night. From this manœuvre, the Vaudois clearly saw it was the intention of the enemy to engage them between two fires, when they attempted to force the passage of the bridge of Salabertran, upon the river Doire, which seemed an infallible way of destroying a handful of men, worn out with fatigue and privations of every kind. They therefore sent a message to demand why these troops continued to advance, apparently in opposition to their word; to which they replied, that they had no intention of violating it, and pretended to retire; the Vaudois believing they had done so in good earnest, continued their march in close order, across extensive plains and through woods; as they approached a hamlet, about a league from Salabertran, they inquired of a peasant whether provisions could be procured for money, to which he coldly replied, "Go, they will give you all you want, they have prepared a good supper for you." These words, pronounced seriously, but archly, led them to suspect something wrong; however they proceeded with unshaken courage, after a halt of a few minutes, during which they refreshed themselves with some wine, which they had ordered the peasants to bring them; half a league from the bridge, they discovered thirty-six fires at different distances along the valley, which showed them at once the position of the

enemy; a quarter of an hour afterwards the advanced guard fell into an ambuscade, but the troops which formed it retired as soon as they had discharged their pieces, leaving five dead. An engagement now appearing inevitable, the Vaudois assembled to prayers; and having reconnoitred the ground on each side, advanced almost to the bridge, the enemy, who were entrenched on the other side, called out "Qui vive?" to which they replied very sincerely, "Amis," that was, provided they were allowed to pass; but the others, who desired no friends at that price, called out "Tue, tue," and opened a fire during a good quarter of an hour, of two thousand shots at each discharge; Mons. de la Tour from the first ordered all his men to lie flat down on the ground, by which means one man only was wounded; and one of the hostages, a Savoyard nobleman, who had grown old in arms, declared he had never seen so heavy a fire take so little effect; but what was still more remarkable, Mons. de la Tour, with Capt. Mondon, of Bobbi, a brave officer, (who is still alive,) with only two refugees, not only made head against two companies who attacked the Vaudois in the rear, but repulsed them. Our men seeing themselves thus placed between two fires, and that every exertion must be made, called out "The bridge is carried," although it was not, which so animated the soldiers

that they threw themselves upon it, and forcing it sword in hand, made their way into the entrenchments of the enemy, whom they pursued so closely as to seize them by the hair. The shock was tremendous, the sabres of the Vaudois struck fire against the steel of the French, who could only use their muskets to parry the blows; at last the victory was so complete, that the Marquis de Larrey, who commanded the French, and was dangerously wounded in the arm, exclaimed (swearing after the French manner) "Is it possible I should lose the battle and my honour? *Sauve qui peut.*" He then retreated with several other wounded officers to Briançon, where not thinking himself in safety, he took the road to Embrun in a litter. The engagement lasted near two hours, and the enemy were thrown into such disorder, that many were mixed with the Vaudois and thus killed. The watchword of the Vaudois being *Angrogna*, the enemies, in trying to repeat it, replied to the "*Qui vive,*" only "*Grogne,*" so that this word alone cost above 200 of them their lives; at last the field of battle remained covered with dead; many companies were reduced to seven or eight men, all their officers having been killed, and all the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victorious Vaudois. Mons. Arnaud ordered them to break open thirteen military chests, and

throw into the river the booty they could not carry, after providing themselves with as much powder and ball as each man could convey, and setting fire to the rest, which made so terrific an explosion among the mountains that it was heard at Briançon. At the same time the trumpets were sounded, and every man throwing up his hat, made the air resound with this exclamation of joy, "Thanks be given to the Eternal God of armies, who has granted us the victory."

What! could a handful of men force 2900 soldiers from their entrenchments, when of those soldiers nineteen companies were composed of regular troops, and the remainder of militia and peasants, besides the troops in their rear already mentioned? The thing appears so little probable, that to believe it one must have seen it; or rather one must bear firmly in mind that the hand of God not only fought for them but blinded the French; otherwise it is impossible that a nation so clear sighted, and so skilful in the art of war, should have failed to perceive, that by breaking up the bridge, which was only of wood, they must have instantly stopt the progress of the Vaudois, for the river was so swollen, that it was not fordable. Astonishing as this victory appears, the trifling loss sustained by the victors is no less so; from ten to twelve only were wounded,

and fourteen or fifteen killed, half of whom fell by the fire of their own rear guard. Of thirty-nine hostages only six remained, one curé being killed, and the rest having made their escape during the engagement. Although after such an action, they stood more in need of repose than ever, having previously marched for three days and nights without intermission, almost without even eating or drinking, they still thought it prudent to advance and employ the remainder of this glorious night in climbing by moonlight the mountain of Sei, in the direction of Pragela. This was, however, attended with the greatest difficulty, for the men fell at every step from sleep and exhaustion, and doubtless many must have perished had not the rear guard taken the greatest care to wake those they found on the ground, and obliged them to proceed.

Ninth Day, Sunday 29th.—At the dawn of day, they formed themselves on the top of the said mountain of Sei, where they waited for those who had dropped into the rear; after which Mons. de la Tour having assembled the whole army, made them observe that they were already within sight of their own native mountains, the summits of which he pointed out, and exhorted them to thank God for having so miraculously preserved them. He made a prayer which animated them afresh, and having thus

given thanks to God, they descended into the valley of Pragela, and crossed the Clusone, where they encamped opposite the church of the hamlet of la Traverse, and bought some provisions, in spite of the first refusal of the inhabitants, who were, notwithstanding, brothers by the tie of the same religion. Here they had the pleasure to learn, that while it was acknowledged they had lost but fourteen men in the late action, their enemies had left twelve captains on the field, besides other officers, and 600 men; but at the same time, they had the mortification of learning that thirty-six of their own men who had been taken near the Jaillon, and eighty others at the foot of Mont Sei had been sent, bound and gagged to Grenoble. Though it was Sunday, no mass was celebrated in all the Valley of Pragela, for all the priests, thinking more of their safety than of their duty, had taken to flight. The son too, of the commandant of the place, had hastily formed a company, which he commanded; all their exploits consisted in taking prisoners four Vaudois, who lost their way in the woods; these men hoping to secure better treatment, advised his not advancing, if he did not wish to be cut to pieces; for this advice, and thinking the four Vaudois would guarantee him from harm should he fall in with the main body, he promised to do them no injury; but no sooner did he think himself out

of danger, than these poor creatures were sent to Grenoble.

As the Vaudois troops were preparing to march about three o'clock, p. m. towards the Valley of St. Martin, they saw some dragoons on the side of Cestrieres, advancing towards the valley ; but when these perceived the Vaudois steadily advancing, they retired. We passed the night in the village of Jaussaud, the highest point on the Col de Pis, and obtained a few provisions, on paying for them very dearly, but not as many as were wanted ; which caused the Vaudois to reproach the inhabitants with their inhumanity, so inconsistent with their former intimacy ; they excused themselves, however, by saying, they should be ruined, if it was known they had favoured them in the smallest degree, and it was afterwards discovered that the priest had told the peasants that if they did not take all the Vaudois they could, they would deserve to be burnt in their houses.

Tenth Day, Monday 26th.—The troops began their march late, and when near the foot of the Col de Pis, they saw the troops of H. R. H. drawn up in order of battle, in the plain of Bouchar, at the lower part of the pass. They halted to say prayers, which Mons. Arnaud pronounced aloud with great devotion ; that done, to make themselves masters of this pass,

they divided their line into three detachments, which marched in three columns, two on the flanks, and the third directly in advance.

The Savoyards seeing the resolution with which they marched, sent an officer, who made signs he wished to come to a parley, but as they would not hear him, he took to flight, together with the whole body, leaving their baggage to the mercy of the Vaudois, who would have pursued them, but for a heavy fog; they fired but three muskets after them, each of which took effect, and brought down a man. They then continued the descent, and halted at the foot of Mont Geras, near one of the huts where the shepherds make cheese; they seized six soldiers of H. R. H. whom they killed, after desiring them to say their prayers, which they knew so little how to do, that they asked how.

They carried with them from this place near 600 sheep, and some shepherds, but restored the greatest part on receiving a small sum of money. Night and rain coming suddenly upon them, they were obliged to descend one of the most tremendous paths that can be imagined, by the light of torches, till they arrived at a roofless barn, above the Col de Dalmian, in and about which, they passed the night, not in sleep, but occupied in drying themselves by some little fires.

Eleventh Day, Tuesday 27th.—They arrived

at Balsille, the first hamlet in the Valley of St. Martin, and discovered here that twenty soldiers had deserted; what was the more surprising in this defection was, that it happened at the very time when they first set foot on the land they had laboured so hard to attain. As in the above-mentioned hamlet they did not find as was expected any armed force, a little time was given for repose and refreshment. They killed the sheep they had brought with them, which some ate with a little bread, and some without being able to obtain any, it having been refused to them in Pragela. As they were thus refreshing themselves as they could, a soldier perceived some troops approaching by the Col de Pis, and called *to arms*; the party seeing this movement, and mistaking them for their own people, made a sign with a handkerchief, that they were the troops of H. R. H. They were immediately attacked, taken, and disarmed, and proved to be forty-six men of the militia of Cavour, sent under the command of a serjeant, to guard the pass. A council of war having been held upon them in a meadow, they were exhorted to say their prayers, and led to the bridge of Balsille, where they were killed and thrown into the river; the Vaudois passed the night at Macel, where they found bread and other eatables, which the peasants had not had time to bury.

Twelfth Day, Wednesday 28th.—Our travellers having nearly reached the end of their career, marched towards Prals, and being arrived at the top of La Couline, they formed two troops, one of which proceeded by Rodoret, the other by Fontaines; that is to say, one took the mountain road, the other that which led through the valley, in order to discover whether there were any soldiers to oppose them; but they met only some Savoyards, on whom they laid violent hands. Having learnt that the Marquis de Parelle, (the lieut. general commanding the Ducal troops, appointed to guard the Col de Lapier,) was at Perrier, the detachment which went by Rodoret joined the other at Prals, where they burnt a chapel, which had been built only three years, and having had the pleasure of finding the temple in the hamlet of Guigou, which was the church of Prals, standing, they stripped it of all that appertained to the worship of Rome, and then sung in it the 74th Psalm, "Oh God, wherefore art thou absent," . . . &c. Monsieur Arnaud to make himself heard by those also who were outside, got upon a bench in the doorway, and the 129th Psalm, "Many a time have they fought against me," being sung, he preached on both these psalms. It is here worthy of remark, that God permitted that the first service heard by the Vaudois, on their return to their valleys,



should be performed in that temple, of which Mons. Leidet was minister, who for singing psalms under a rock, and preaching publicly the true faith, lost his life on a gibbet, by order of the court, in the fort of St. Michel, near Luzerne, in the year 1686.

Thirteenth Day, August 29th.—Mons. Arnaud having made public prayers, they prepared to pass the Col de Julien, in order to descend into the valley of Luzerne, when meeting with a horse near la Ferrouillarie, they guessed that the enemy were not far off, and soon after saw a serjeant of H. R. H.'s guards, with a peasant for a guide; they were taken, and the guide put to death. The serjeant to avoid the same fate, promised to discover all he knew, and said he had been sent into the valley of St. Martin, to reconnoitre the state of the Vaudois; that there were 200 of his Majesty's guards waiting for them, well entrenched on the Col de Julien; and that a regiment of guards had been sent for, seventeen days before, from Nice, to come to the defence of the valleys, which was three days before the Vaudois set out. Upon this information, they divided as usual into three bodies, one taking the right, the other the left, and the third, which was the principal, the centre. The right division having reached a wood above, were preparing to halt, but finding them-

selves discovered by a sentinel of the enemy, they lost no time in taking up a position before the Savoyard troops could have time to occupy it; these came up with the intention of disputing the post, but as soon as they perceived the Vaudois had been too quick for them, they retired under favour of some heavy clouds, crying out, “ Venez, venez, Barbets du Diable,* we have seized all the posts, and are 3000 strong ;” adding by way of gasconade, “ let Mons. le Chevalier be told to take care of his posts.” And as the Vaudois approached, the sentinel kept calling out, “ qui vive, if you do not answer, I fire ;” but not one shot was fired, so afraid were they of the Vaudois, who in their eagerness to come to an engagement, determined to attack these boasters even in their entrenchments, where they thought themselves so secure. As soon as they saw themselves attacked in good earnest, and on all sides, after firing for half an hour, they disgracefully abandoned their posts ; leaving behind them baggage, and ammunition, and even the clothes of their commander, in the hands of the Vaudois : who on their part lost only one man, named Joshié Mandom, a good soldier, who died of his wounds, at les Pausettes, the next day, and was buried under a rock. The fugitives retreated in such haste to the convent

* Barbets, a name of reproach given the Vaudois.

of Villar, that they did not even give information to the inhabitants of Serre de Cruel, of Aiguille, or Bobbi. The Col de Julien thus taken, the Vaudois pushed on to a place called Les Passarelles de Julien, where they killed thirty-one more soldiers and three horses, one of whom belonged to the commanding officer, whose pistols were still in the holsters. They passed the night near Aiguille, where they were much incommoded by the rain, which favoured the escape of the serjeant spoken of above, who found means to get loose, and escaped by sliding and rolling down to the bottom of the mountain.

Fourteenth day, 30th Aug.—The weather having cleared, they marched at daybreak; the day was passed in pursuit of the enemy, who fled at the approach of the Vaudois till they reached Bobbi, (a town in the plain, on the river, and at the foot of Mount Julien,) and fearing even there an attack, they passed on still farther, which the Vaudois having observed, thought proper to refresh themselves, and took up their quarters in some barns within gun-shot of Bobbi.

Fifteenth day, 31st Aug.—They separated into two bodies, and pursued the fugitives into Bobbi, which they entered as masters, putting to the sword all the prisoners they took. The inhabitants of this town abandoned every thing

and fled by the bridge, without waiting for a single shot; here it must be owned to the shame of the Vaudois, that instead of following the enemy, they amused themselves with pillaging and sacking the town. The other division of the Vaudois behaved better, they brought in twelve soldiers, whom it was thought necessary to put to death, excepting one, called Jean Gras, who with his father and son-in-law were spared, because a Vaudois captain, who knew him, interceded for him; saying, if he had never done them any good, he had at least never done them any harm. If the Vaudois in this manner put to death those who fell into their hands, it must be remembered they had no prisons to keep them in, to carry them with them was impossible, for they had occasion for all their number; and to send them back was to publish to the world their small force, their march, and in fact every thing on which their success depended: they had reason to perceive the necessity of this forced line of conduct, by the consequences which resulted from the release of Le Gras and his father, which were of great injury to them; however, these two ungrateful men received some time afterwards the just punishment of their perfidy.

Sixteenth day, Sunday, 1st Sept.—The Vaudois remained all day at Bobbi, where Mons. Montoux and Mons. Arnaud performed service

in the open air, and the latter preached on the sixteenth chapter of St. Luke, “ The law and
“ the prophets were until John, since that time
“ the kingdom of God is preached, and every
“ man presseth into it.” Afterwards they remained assembled, to make several rules and orders: the first business was the oath of fidelity, which Mons. Arnaud read aloud in the following form: “ God, by his divine grace,
“ having happily reconducted us to the inheritance of our fathers, there to establish the pure
“ service of our holy religion, by continuing and
“ finishing the great enterprise which he has hitherto so graciously favoured:—we pastors,
“ captains, and other officers, swear and promise,
“ before the face of the living God, and upon the
“ damnation of our souls, to observe union and
“ order, and neither to separate or disunite
“ while God grants us life, even should we have
“ the misfortune to be reduced to three or four;
“ not to parley or treat with our enemies, those
“ of Piemont as well as France, without the
“ consent of all our council of war; to put together the booty which we have or may make,
“ and to use it for the wants of our people on
“ extraordinary occasions. We, soldiers, promise and swear before God to-day, to obey
“ the orders of all our officers, and swear obedience to them, even to the last drop of our
“ blood; and to place the prisoners and booty

“ at their disposal. Further, it is ordered that
“ all officers and soldiers shall be forbid, under
“ heavy penalties, to search, either during or
“ after any action, any of the dead, wounded,
“ or prisoners, excepting those officers or soldiers especially appointed for this purpose.
“ The officers are enjoined to see that all the
“ soldiers keep their arms and appointments in
“ order ; and above all, to punish very severely
“ any who blaspheme God, or swear. And to
“ the intent that the union, which is the soul
“ of our affairs, should remain inviolable, the
“ officers shall swear fidelity to the soldiers,
“ and the soldiers to the officers, promising
“ altogether to our Lord and Saviour Jesus
“ Christ, to deliver, if possible, our brothers
“ from the cruel woman of Babylon, and with
“ them, to re-establish and maintain his kingdom till death, and observe all our lives with
“ good faith this present ordinance.” This being read, they all took the oath by raising their hands towards heaven ; and after this an account was taken of the plunder, which was given in charge to four treasurers, and two secretaries ; and they ended the day by taking down the bell from the Catholic church at Bobbi and hiding it under some stones, where the enemies found it some time after, when they were fortifying Bobbi.

Seventeenth day, Monday, Sept. 2.—After as-

sembling for prayers, they marched to attack Villar, in two detachments, the principal one keeping the road, while the other marched above the vineyards, to make an attack on the side of Rospard ; but they made a great mistake in leaving the wounded and baggage at La Combe, where they narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. Those who guarded the pass, on seeing the Vaudois, fled towards La Combe du Valguichard, and those in the village of Villar retired to its convent. The Vaudois, on finding themselves thus masters of the village, burnt some houses to avoid being surprised ; and as they were annoyed by the firing from the convent, Mons. Arnaud devised their rolling large barrels before them, under shelter of which they could approach nearer ; by this means they got into the houses opposite, and fired through holes which they made in the walls upon those who were firing from the steeple, at which time three lives were lost. Having learnt from some prisoners that the besieged had no provisions, they found it expedient to turn the attack into a blockade, and to cut off all supplies, for which purpose they attacked a company of soldiers, who were conveying fourteen baggage mules, and took them. The mules and provisions were divided amongst the companies : a guard was posted at Rospard, and sentinels at Pertuzel. The besieged

soon after made a desperate sortie, sword in hand, but the Vaudois received them so gallantly, they were forced to retire to the convent in such haste, that they dragged in by the feet the body of their commander, the Baron de Choüate, who had been killed, and whose hat and wig were found in the street.

Eighteenth day, 3rd Sept.—The sentinel of Pertuzel made a signal that succours were advancing to the besieged, at the same time they left the convent, and were escaping into the wood, where the Vaudois followed and shot several of them; but this pursuit favoured the entrance of Mons. de Parelle, for though a detachment of Vaudois had run with all haste to the bridge of Rospard, they could not make effectual resistance, but were surrounded, and many of them killed. They were now separated into two corps, divided by the enemy, (who were in great numbers, and composed of veteran soldiers,) and thought it prudent to economize their small number, and risk nothing; so the division in Villar abandoned that place and took the road to Bobbi; the other, consisting of only eighty men, escaped different ways, and almost miraculously rejoined their companions on Mount Vendelin, above Angrogna. Mons. Arnaud, who, with six soldiers, three times gave himself up for lost, and said prayers accordingly, joined them there; Mons. Mon-

toux was not so fortunate, he was taken prisoner by the peasants of Cruzzel, and sent to the prison of Turin, where he remained till peace was concluded.

Nineteenth day, 4th Sept.—The main body, who had returned to their old quarters near Bobbi, sent a reinforcement to Mons. Arnaud.

Twentieth day, 5th Sept.—This detachment received a message from Mons. Arnaud, to say he would meet them as soon as he could with safety; and having learnt, from a prisoner, that there were some mules a little lower down, laden with provisions and guarded by only one man, Mons. Arnaud and six of his men went down and seized them, destroying what part they did not want: this supply was very seasonable, and they provided themselves with ammunition soon after, from a quantity the enemy had left behind.

Twenty-first day, 6th Sept.—The first capture they made were two men, who, having been examined, were put to death. The captains gave strict orders no one should be killed flying, if possible, (fearing extremely they might destroy some of their own religion;) but taken alive, to be questioned; and this very day they met with a woman, who in the preceding war had powerfully assisted the Vaudois, and now befriended them as much as she dared, in secret. Being married to a Savoyard, she had been

persuaded to change her religion, at least in appearance; they promised quarter to her husband, in return for bread and other assistance, given by stealth.

This Vaudois detachment, perceiving they were observed by the enemy, who were trying to surround them, retired in haste to the hill of La Vachere, where they found a few stragglers, who were taken prisoners, one of whom was spared, because he was a good surgeon, which there was great want of. Two hundred men arrived from Bobbi, as a further reinforcement to Mons. Arnaud, who began to return thanks to God, when he was interrupted, by being told the enemy was trying to take possession of a post above La Vachere. To prevent this, he sent off a party, who made such expedition, that they not only gained the post in the very face of the enemy, but killed more than 100 of them, without any loss on their side. Soon after came in a detachment, who had passed two days without eating; they were all now so short of provisions themselves, they could only give these a bit of bread each, as large as a walnut. The same day, after an engagement on Mount Vachere, which lasted seven hours, they at last retreated under cover of a fog to a small hamlet, a league off, called Turin, where they regaled themselves with some raw cabbages, not daring to make a fire

for fear of discovering their position to the enemy; who, in fact, were encamped within a quarter of a league from the same spot, and had sustained a great loss both in men and officers, while the Vaudois had only three killed and three wounded.

Twenty-second day, 7th Sept.—They retired towards Le Perrier, but by such difficult paths that one false step would have been certain death: they passed through several hamlets without finding any thing but apples to eat, and were so enfeebled by hunger, that they durst not attack a party of the enemy who retrenched themselves in a convent; they therefore contented themselves with detaching eight men to Prals, to see if the enemy were there, and to endeavour to procure provisions.

Twenty-third and twenty-fourth days, 8th and 9th Sept.—A good report having been brought, they went to Prals, where they found a favourable opportunity of resting two days, to recover the fatigue and hunger they had undergone. Mons. Arnaud, having administered the sacrament to the men of the Val de St. Martin, went with a detachment to Bobbi, to do the same there, taking with him, to the assistance of the wounded, the surgeon who had been made prisoner.

Twenty-fifth day, 10th Sept.—They detached a party to Balsille, to fetch the arms they had

hidden there; who on their return, passing by Macel, perceived a great smoke, which, on examination, proved to proceed from the hamlets near Perrier, which the enemy had set fire to, previous to making his retreat. A party was sent on to observe them, but owing to a most wonderful heavy rain, fifteen men only reached Perrier, where there was left a guard; which, on seeing this little troop, shamefully took to flight, leaving the fifteen Vaudois to enter the camp as victors, who afterwards returned to Prals.

Twenty-sixth day, Wednesday, 11th Sept.—A detachment of 120 men marched to the bridge of Pomaret, called Macel, where the enemy was in force, and took possession of the post, with the assistance of a party of twelve more of their men, who had attacked and carried a small fort on the rocks above. Two of the prisoners, who were French, informed them of the advance of the troops of the king of France towards the Valley of Pragela, and return to join the main body. The lives of these two Frenchmen were spared (as they had begged for quarter, and were not persecutors) on condition that one should serve as a soldier, and that the other, who was allowed to return, should remain in their interest.

Twenty-seventh day, 12th Sept.—The men who were sent to ascertain the truth of the French-

men's assertion confirmed the fact of the French troops, to the number of 8000, having been three days encamped at the bridge of Salabertran; but also brought word, that on the report that Cazal was invested by the Spaniards, they had retired in that direction. They had no sooner received this good news than an express arrived from the party at Bobbi, to demand instant succour, as a large body of the enemy's cavalry as well as infantry had pursued one of their detachments, and were in possession of Bobbi. A council of war was held, and it was decided to send eighty men to Angrogna, to force the enemy to quit Bobbi: these were detached and slept on the Mont Lazara.

Twenty-eighth day, 13th Sept.—This detachment marched before daylight, and reached the convent of Angrogna before daybreak. By the light of the moon they discovered some peasants whom they made prisoners, and from whom they learnt that 300 men had arrived the day before at the convent, and that there was some cavalry at St. Germain; upon which they did not think it prudent to advance, but passed the night in some barns above Angrogna.

Twenty-ninth day, 14th Sept.—They prepared to march, according to their orders, to the relief of those near Bobbi, when they met four soldiers, bringing them directions to burn all the hamlets in the vicinity of Angrogna; and

at the same time they perceived a body of 500 men on the mountain. They in consequence hastened to gain possession of the heights, but the enemy being aware of their intention, gained the post first. The Vaudois, however, advanced, in spite of a heavy fire from the enemy, to another post on the left; and, after an hour's fighting, the enemy retired with loss, and the party rested for the night at Infernette, where they unroofed some cottages to obtain fuel.

Thirtieth day, 15th Sept.—The detachment finding it impossible to penetrate to Luzerne, returned and rejoined their main body, which had been putting the vineyards under contribution, and in the course of the day seized some provisions and took some prisoners, who were put to death.

Thirty-first day, 16th Sept.—The Marquis de Parelle, after burning Villeseche, which the Vaudois had just left, retired to Pomaret, where he fortified himself, and sent some companies to Riouclaret and the summit of the Zarra, for the same purpose. To distress the Vaudois, who were gathering in the harvest in the Valley of St. Martin, he ordered the corn, &c. to be burnt in that direction; but as the Vaudois had a flying camp well guarded, this did not materially affect them, and they collected a great deal of corn of various kinds. A

great annoyance occurred to them in the defection of one of their captains, Turel; this man, apparently thinking their affairs desperate, or perhaps unequal to withstand longer the continued fatigue, decamped so adroitly, that no one suspected him, taking with him a brother and cousin, both officers, and two privates of his company. If he abandoned the cause from the fear of a death which could only have been glorious to him, he shortly after found one as ignominious as it was terrible; for being taken at Embrun, he was sent to Grenoble, and after seeing twelve others hung by his side, he expired on the wheel. If our Vaudois in the Val de St. Martin had reason to be satisfied with their progress, they were not easy with respect to the fate of their brethren in the Val Luzerne, whom they had been unable to join; and as no doubt the reader is desirous to hear the adventures of this little troop, the beginning of the second part will satisfy his curiosity.

PART THE SECOND.

THE little corps, consisting of eighty men, which had unhappily left the main body on the eighteenth day, accomplished during this time, such extraordinary things, that it may be well said, God employs often the smallest force to overturn the greatest ; particularly when it is considered, that their numbers were rather diminished than increased. On the third they encamped above La Tour, where they suffered much from hunger, having only some plums, and a few nuts to eat ; they were also greatly distressed by a false report which had reached them, that all their companions were lost, or had delivered themselves up to the governor of Pignerol ; this news, which appeared but too probable, did not shake their courage, but on the 7th of September, overcome by hunger, they resolved to run all risks to obtain some provisions, and fifty of them went into Queiras, and succeeded in carrying off some sheep and cattle, which were a great resource to them. They soon after received refreshment of a

spiritual kind, and partook of the holy sacrament in a meadow at Serre de Cruel, administered by Mons. Arnaud ; at which time several persons who had given up their religion during the late persecutions, were again received into the church, on making the expiations required in such cases. From thence they descended several times to Villar, and to prevent the royal troops from posting themselves there, they set fire more than once to the convent ; but as it took no effect, owing to the thickness of the walls, they determined on sapping them, in which they succeeded. They had numberless little encounters with the enemy, which terminated generally to their advantage ; till the cavalry having arrived, they were obliged to retire from the plain. An engagement took place during their retreat, in which they lost but one man, while the enemy had a great number killed and wounded ; and though the Savoyard troops had so small a number to contend with, yet they apparently feared them, for they entrenched themselves strongly at Bobbi, of which they had now possession, and hardly ever sallied forth ; so that the Vaudois, with a flying camp, beat the country round without opposition. One day they had an affair at Rora, where they killed thirty men, and threw down the church, within sight of the fort of St. Michel, the garrison there not interfering :

another day, the enemies prepared an ambuscade at la Cercena, which the Vaudois perceiving from Serre de Cruel, attacked them without delay, and obtained the victory; the same success attended several other skirmishes. As they could no longer remain, or even venture down into the open country, on account of the cavalry, they endeavoured to deprive the enemy of the means of subsistence on the night of the 12th, by setting fire to all the barns round Bobbi, which were full of forage. The 13th of October the enemy, with the intention of provisioning fort Mirabouc, sent a detachment to attack the Vaudois, who retired to Pausettes, where they were engaged nearly all the day, keeping always the advantage; in the meantime the main body of the enemy conveyed their supplies into Mirabouc, and on their way demolished every thing that could afford assistance to the Vaudois; unroofed the houses, and dug up the gardens, in hopes of destroying them by being exposed to cold as well as hunger, which must have happened, if God had not interfered for their preservation. These poor people were now obliged to retire to holes in the rocks, which served them for barracks. During a little respite, they fortified themselves as well as they could; the enemy employed this time in securing themselves still farther at Bobbi; not content with

that, they sent a party of sixty every night to Cibaud, above Bobbi, where they surrounded themselves with an immense ditch. The Vaudois, who were now reduced to only sixty men in this valley, determined to attack them at night; they surprised them so completely that they killed thirty-four, and the rest escaped in confusion to Bobbi; those who were entrenched there, were seized with such a panic, that they demolished their fortifications, burnt the town, so as to leave not one stone upon another for the Vaudois, and retreated. The following is the account, word for word, which they sent to Turin, of this affair at Cibaud:—"The inhabitants of Luzerne cannot stand before our troops, and are scattered about in divisions; they annoy our out-posts from time to time, but fly if they find them on the watch; however, lately having found a guard asleep, they killed thirteen, and the officer, who was very young, had only time enough to escape with four or five others wounded." The end of the next week the enemy collected all their force, and even banditti, peasants, and all they could get together; as the Vaudois imagined, with a view to force them from the Aiguille; the main body marched to the Combe de Ferriere, a large detachment towards Cercena, and another advanced towards les Pausettes, which the Vaudois abandoned, and placed themselves

on the rocks of the Aiguille, sending a little boy to inform their brothers in the Val St. Martin, that if they could not come to their relief the Col de Julien must be abandoned, an apprehension but too well founded, for the officers who had the command, far from keeping a guard on the Col de Julien, very improperly abandoned the Aiguille; had they done their duty, the enemy could never have gained possession of it. Thus was every thing left in the power of the enemy, who entered the next morning, as the Vaudois were preparing to drive the few cattle they had there; unfortunately the shepherd who had the care of their sheep, not knowing what had passed, drove them to the Aiguille, so that they also fell into the hands of the enemy. An officer having found among other things in one of the huts, an exact journal of the march of the Vaudois, up to the 17th of October, carried it to the court of Turin. This journal, after having passed through various hands, fell at last into those of a man of letters, at Geneva, who having recognized the hand-writing to be that of the Sieur Paul Renaudin, a native of Bobbi, (and who from a student became a soldier, and is now a minister in one of the valleys,) made a present of it to the good old Joshua Janavel, a few days before his death. This excellent man shed a flood of tears on reading the account of

what these poor people had achieved, and reflecting how far they yet appeared from any prospect of better times. To return to those who had abandoned the Aiguille, God assisted their escape by surrounding their enemies with a thick fog, so that their retreat was not at first perceived, but it being afterwards conjectured they had abandoned the Aiguille merely to take up a fresh position on the Col de Julien, a detachment was sent to prevent their effecting this movement. This in fact they had never contemplated, for they employed the night in traversing a most terrific and precipitous part of the Alp of Sabiague, where they were obliged to crawl on through dense clouds, feeling their way with their hands, which fatigued them beyond measure, and put them into such confusion, that some of them in the dark took the road to the Val St. Martin, and others, that leading to Angrogna. At length they were so much dispersed and weakened that all opposition to the enemy being for the moment at an end, they remained all day in a tolerably advantageous position, on the mountain, where, however, they suffered dreadfully from fatigue, not daring to make any fires, or even to place themselves in the sun, for fear of discovery. Night was hailed with as much joy by the poor Vaudois as the day would have been under other circumstances, and they availed themselves of

it to begin their retreat, foreseeing the probability of an attack the following day ; as it was, the enemy were so near them that they were alarmed by the noise of some stones which rolled down as the Vaudois passed, and they fired three shots at random, but the Vaudois not taking any notice, continued their march, and eluding further observation, passed on happily to Bastier. I say happily because this passage was very narrow, and had always been guarded, so that the pass being unprotected, they considered its being unoccupied as a visible act of divine favour ; indeed it was little short of a miracle, that while the enemy were surrounding the Aiguille, and searching for them in every direction, they should have escaped to Cercena, and thence by the bridge of Pagan and la Combe Guichard to Fragnon, where they halted, till the enemy having information that a company of Vaudois, under the command of Capt. Buffe, were ravaging Angrogna, proceeded to attack them. Our other detachment then ventured to move to la Combe de Ferriere, in search of chesnuts for food, which were of great assistance to them, as they were destitute of all other provisions. After this expedition they gained a little advantage over a body of the enemy by means of an ambuscade, and then returned to l'Aiguille to see in what manner the enemy had treated it.

Here they collected a good many chesnuts, and some bits of bread, left by the late occupants, and fell in with many of their companions who had been long missing, and fortunately came this way in the hope of rejoining their comrades.

The enemy aware that the Vaudois had been driven out of Rodoret, the same day that they had also been obliged to abandon l'Aiguille, considered them as exterminated, and indeed their situation appeared hopeless with 10,000 French troops against them on one side, and 12,000 Piemontese on the other; but a party of Vaudois being observed returning from the Combe Guichard, the enemy were so surprised at their appearance, that they retired to the post they came from. Fresh mortifications, however, daily befel them; nine or ten French refugees, notwithstanding the solemn oath they had taken at Bobbi, deserted; it is true these men tried in some way to compensate for this treachery by sending the Vaudois eighty goats they had found at Prals, of which two were given to each company, but the rest unfortunately fell into the enemy's hands. The enemy perceiving that the Vaudois always found out some means of escape, resolved to have recourse to artifice, they sent accordingly a serjeant to say that Mons. de Haye, one of the Piemontese generals, desired a conference. The serjeant

was accompanied by John Gras, one of the deserters above mentioned, who kept a little in the rear, but the serjeant having called to him to come forward, which he did with some hesitation, he was taken prisoner. His father came to Marbee to see him, and was spared on account of his age, but sent back with a note, to say, if Mons. de Haye wished a conference they were ready to meet him the following Tuesday, at the Pieuse de Peirela, provided he was attended by one soldier only without arms; the next day the serjeant came to ask if they were ready to fulfil their engagement, (though they suspected it was only a device to entrap some of their leaders, and by that means oblige them to release John Gras, who as a traitor was only fit for the enemy,) they replied they were ready, but should place soldiers at all the bridges, to prevent surprises. On the day appointed, the Vaudois went as arranged, although they heard a detachment was lying in ambush, but Mons. de Haye never came, and they returned, unable to discover this general's intention, who sent the following note by Gras's father. "If you have nothing to say to me I have still less to say to you, but send us back John Gras, who has been detained in breach of all faith." They replied, "If you had come to the spot appointed, as we did, we should have spoken with you, there-

fore the fault rests with yourself, and not with us, who have been so often deceived, that we cannot do otherwise than mistrust our enemies, but are always ready to hold a conference if you will come to the place appointed." No notice was taken of the latter part of Mons. de Haye's note; and they could not be blamed for want of confidence on this occasion.

The enemy were now in possession of all the heights, without being able to discover where the Vaudois were hidden; this provoked them so much that they determined to use the most vigorous measures to bring the business to a conclusion, and posted peasants to be upon the watch near Mirabouc; they at last discovered them at Essert, and fell upon them, while they sent a messenger to the detachment at Bobbi, to say the barbets were found, and might be had cheap. These poor people gave themselves up for lost, but determined to sell their lives dearly, and retired to a ruined building, where firing through loopholes, which they had made for the purpose, they defended themselves valiantly all day. The enemy perceiving they could make no impression upon them then, attempted to surround the building, but our brave Vaudois anticipating their design, prevented their effecting their object, by making a timely and vigorous sortie. In the evening the enemy received reinforcements from Bobbi,

but fortunately the darkness of the night favoured the Vaudois, who had but one man wounded, whose name was Francois Martinat; this poor fellow the next day fell into the hands of the enemy, and even then defended himself so bravely, that his gun failing him, he fought with his bayonet till a sabre took off his head; this was the same man who so adroitly managed the attack at Cibaud, and his death gave great joy to the enemy, as may be seen by the following extract from an account sent to Turin, 11th December, 1689. "I have already mentioned that the interview with the barbets ended in nothing, there remain only about forty in the valley of Luzerne, who are worn out with the fatigues of the war and have some inclination to surrender, particularly since one of the leaders was lately taken, a brave man, who was the same that surprised and destroyed the guard stationed above Bobbi. There remain 400 men on the heights of Luzerne, in a village called La Balsille, where the French have judged proper to leave them at rest," &c.

To return to the poor little detachment of Vaudois which we left under cover of the night; the enemy took every precaution to prevent their escape, hoping to destroy them in the morning; but they found means to slip out in three or four small divisions, and fortunately arrived, some at the Combe Guichard,

others at Balmadant, and at Cumien above Villar, in which places they remained closely concealed. Their greatest misfortune now was to find themselves separated from each other; but God was graciously pleased to unite them again as they wandered in search of chesnuts, near Malpertus. After another engagement with the enemy, in which they had one man killed and a second taken prisoner, they hid themselves near Balmadant; but ignorant how to proceed or to find subsistence, and fearing that they should be snowed up, the only remedy seemed to be to disperse again in various directions; they all considered their destruction certain, and nothing remained to them but their trust in God, when they were found by their brethren of the Valley of St. Martin. Twelve men, however, were missing, whose adventures surpass all that have yet been related. These men were hid near Essert, afraid of stirring, lest their track in the snow should be discovered. At length hunger obliged them to run every risk, and one Sunday, during a heavy snow, they ventured out in search of some corn or flour, intending to seek a hiding place in the Balme de la Biara, a very advantageous position; the following day their footsteps were observed and tracked by the peasants, who followed them, to the number of 125; had these peasants been one quarter of

an hour sooner, they would certainly have surrounded our Vaudois in the Balme; but here they were so vigorously repulsed, that at the first fifteen shots thirteen peasants were wounded, and (as they afterwards owned) twelve killed on the spot. A result truly astonishing, when it is considered that twelve men, half dead with cold and hunger, were opposed to 125, without even having a man wounded on their own side. To avoid perishing with cold, they left the Balme de la Biara two days afterwards, intending to retire to la Lanze, in the Val St. Guichard, where they were prepared to winter, determined, in case of attack, to dispute their lives to the last drop of their blood, upon the point of some rock. Thus marching with their minds filled with the courage of despair, they providentially met with a party of their brethren from St. Martin, who were in quest of them; little expecting this meeting, their confused imaginations led them at first to suppose they were encountering enemies, and throwing down their knapsacks, they retired behind a house to defend themselves, and shot one of their friends before they discovered their mistake; tears of joy were, however, soon shed on both sides, and they passed the Col de Julien together on their way to La Balsille, where they rejoined the main body: this, after being harassed on all sides by the French and Pie-

montese, had been forced to retire from Prals and Rodoret and take up a strong position on the rocks above La Balsille.

On the 16th October, the Marquis de Parelle set fire to the country as far as Perrier; on the 22nd he burnt some places near Balsille; and the same day the French entered the Valley of St. Martin, to the number of 2000. A Vaudois party was sent out to harass their march; but found themselves obliged to retire, and at last to rejoin their companions at Rodoret; where a council of war was held, at which there was much difference of opinion:—to prevent the ill consequences that might follow, Mons. Arnaud assembled the disputants to prayer, and then, after strongly urging the necessity of unanimity at such an important crisis, gave his reasons why he considered that no position could be so advantageous as that of Balsille, which was unanimously agreed to, and they began their march two hours before daylight, when it was so dark, that in order to distinguish their guides they made them put white cloths over their shoulders: the road they were obliged to take was so interrupted by precipices, that they were often obliged to crawl along on their hands and feet, and every man having enough to do to take care of himself, the hostages found means to escape. To prove how clearly Providence watched over

them, two wounded men passed this road safely on horseback : those who have never seen such kind of places, cannot form any idea of the danger and difficulty attached to them, and those who have will take this march for a fiction, however, that which is here related is the simple truth. And it may be further added, that when the Vaudois afterwards saw by daylight, which often happened, the places they had passed by night, they shuddered at the idea of the dangers they had escaped. At last they arrived at the fort of Balsille, so called from the strength of its situation, where they determined to entrench themselves, and not again to expose the troops to the fatigue of climbing from mountain to mountain, as they had hitherto done. They made covered ways, ditches, and walls; the huts in which they lived were scooped out of the earth, and surrounded by drains to keep out the water. Mons. Arnaud preached twice every Sunday, and once on Thursday, and said prayers every morning and evening, during which they all fell devoutly on their knees with their faces on the ground. After morning prayers, they every day worked by turns at the fortifications, which consisted of ramparts, formed by terraces raised one above another, to the number of sixteen, so that each one was defended by the one immediately above it; they mounted guard every

night, to protect the entrance into La Balsille, the bridge, and a mill. This mill had no millstone, and Poulat, a native of the place, said they had thrown it into the river more than three years before, thinking it might be of use at some future time; they succeeded in getting it out, and in making the mill usable. Besides this mill they were also in possession of another, half a league further off, called the mill of Macel. The enemy having reached Rodoret, were greatly surprised to find the Vaudois gone, and no trace of them to be seen except the remains of their little stock of provisions; and supposing them to have moved on to Prals, the French advanced to that place, where they remained some days, while the troops of the Duke of Savoy were employed in cutting off the communication with the Val Luzerne, by taking possession of the Col de Julien. The French, commanded by Mons. de L'Ombraile, seized all the advanced posts of the Val St. Martin, and thus surrounded the Vaudois, who, to secure La Balsille, had posted a guard at Passet; here the enemies surprised and repulsed them, having ascended the mountain under cover of a dense fog; and from this advantageous position they determined to attack La Balsille. On Friday, the 29th of October, for this purpose, several detachments were posted in the wood, where they remained from that time

until Sunday, all the while exposed to a heavy snow, from which they suffered much, and many men had their feet frozen. During these three days of blockade they sent several offers to the Vaudois, which were all rejected, and they resolved to set fire to a part of La Balsille; but the two first men who advanced to execute this order were killed, and the third wounded. On the following day they effected their purpose, with the loss of sixty men, while the Vaudois did not lose one.

On the evening of Sunday, 31st October, they retired upon Macel; eight days after having abandoned Rodoret, and to prevent the Vaudois penetrating to Pragela, they posted a guard upon the Col de Clapier; but this force was soon after attacked and defeated, with the loss of only one officer, Captain Gardiet, who died for want of proper attention to his wounds.

A few days afterwards, a wretch, who had changed his religion some years before, came with two others to visit a relation at La Balsille, and had the baseness to tell Mons. de Salignac, who was at Bobbi with his detachment, that the mill at Macel was not guarded, and that he might there catch some Vaudois when they went to grind their corn; Salignac and this traitor having given this information to Mons. de L'Ombraile, he immediately ordered 500 men to march upon this grand expedition

Baldwin.

1872.



of destroying a mill. They only fell in with a few stragglers of the Vaudois, making bread in a neighbouring village, they chased them all round the hamlet, but succeeded only in killing two French refugees, who were sick, and taking another prisoner; this poor fellow they obliged to carry the heads of his countrymen on a pole to Perouse, where they hung him and stuck his head upon a pole, that every one who passed might say, such is the end of the barbets! This man, in his last moments, prayed with such fervour, that the magistrate of the place, though a Roman Catholic, begged his life of Mons. de L'Ombraile, who, in reply, threatened to hang him also. The firmness and resolution of the poor man at the place of execution interested all the spectators in his favour: in answer to various questions which were put to him, he declared that the Vaudois were well provided with corn, bread, salt, and gunpowder: being asked where they got their salt, he replied, without betraying either his friends or his conscience, from saltpetre: he declared he felt happy to die in such a cause; and that for every Vaudois who fell God would raise up 500 more—a prophecy which was completely fulfilled some months afterwards. Although the French in general have often discovered rather a propensity to desert, yet it must be owned there have been some of them among the Vau-

dois who have shewn great steadiness and courage; as, for example, the one whose fate we have just related. And we must also mention with praise and gratitude the name of *Le Sieur Francois*, a native of *Vinan* in the *Cevennes*, and *Captain Sicut*, of the English and Dutch Protestant troops in that place; he was well known and esteemed by *Mons. Arnaud*, and his correct and accurate statements have contributed not a little to the formation of these *Memoirs*.

Whether from the lateness of the season, or the mortification resulting from other causes, the enemy razed to the ground and then abandoned *Macel*, *Salse*, *Fontaines*, *Rodoret*, and *Prals*, after carrying away the corn, and every thing which could contribute to the subsistence of the *Vaudois*, and calling out to them to wait till *Easter*, retired to *Maneille* and *Perier*, where they firmly entrenched themselves.

This cowardly retreat gave the *Vaudois*, who who were still 400 strong, time to breathe; and though their persecutors had threatened to return, nothing could daunt the little flock, who trusted in that providence who had hitherto so wonderfully sustained and preserved them, both from famine and from the hands of the enemy. They had arrived at *La Balsille* without provision even for the next day; but they had subsisted on vegetables and corn

without salt and butter, until, by rebuilding the mill, they were able to make bread. Well might it be said, that the Almighty had declared himself in their favour, since, on their arrival in the Valleys of St. Martin and Luzerne, they had been permitted to find provisions of all sorts in abundance; and that the corn, which had not been sown at the proper season, was preserved under the snow all winter till the month of May, when the Vaudois reaped it and found it perfectly good. Had it been gathered up and put into barns, as usual, it would have been burnt by the enemy, but in this manner was it preserved for the sustenance of those to whom God had destined it. This miraculous circumstance occurred at Rodoret and Prals, where the Vaudois had been on the point of beginning the harvest when they were interrupted by the arrival of the French troops.

During this calm they frequently sent out detachments in search of provisions, and one day, as they went to the village of Bourset for this purpose, the syndic told them the inhabitants would rather grant them a contribution than be exposed to their frequent visits; that if they would send three or four captains with an escort, they would settle this matter together, hinting at the same time that they had good news to communicate; the Vaudois, not dis-

trusting this wicked apostate, on the appointed day sent a captain, called Michael Bertin, with some soldiers, to Bourset. The French, to whom this same syndic had sent advice of this projected visit, had garrisoned the village with 200 men, who fell upon the Vaudois, killed the captain and wounded two of his men. This black piece of treachery of the syndic cost the enemy very dear, nor did the traitor himself derive from it much satisfaction, and still less profit, for the garrison of Bourset having afterwards appeared upon the Col de Clapier, hoping to surprise about twenty Vaudois who were stationed there, they were themselves attacked by a detachment of them, who killed sixty of their men, and then proceeded to burn all the houses round Bourset, and all the village of La Tronchée. Towards the end of January the Vaudois fell in with a party charged with dispatches to the governor of fort Mirabouc, and killed one man, to whose care they were intrusted: these letters informed them of what was passing in the world, and gave them other intelligence, which proved of such importance to their preservation, that it seemed as if this rencontre was an especial act of Providential care; and it was particularly noticed, that in fact each party had taken on that day a different route from the one recommended to them, with a view to avoid false directions.

In February there arrived at La Balsille a man called Parander, and some others, bringing a note from the Chevalier Vercellis, who commanded the fortress of La Tour, to Jean Puy, brother-in-law to David Mondon, who had been carried prisoner to Turin. This was discovered to be merely an artifice on the part of the commandant, to inform himself of the state of the Vaudois, their numbers, and whether they were well provisioned. The note contained a request that the said Jean Puy would visit the writer at Turin, the commandant promising him a safe conduct: this proposal it was not thought fit to comply with; but it led to several letters, (not interesting to the general reader,) which were followed by others, from some of Mr. Arnaud's relations, earnestly entreating him to surrender; and also, by a letter from a person of distinction to him and the other officers generally, to the same effect. Soon after these fruitless attempts at negotiation, a detachment from La Balsille penetrated as far as St. Germain, and made a successful attack on a party of the enemy, sent out in quest of provisions, in which 120 of them were killed, and a supply of cattle taken, which was most acceptable, particularly to the sick, who stood in great need of meat. At this time the Sieur Droume, a Swiss refugee, arrived at Balsille, from Switzerland, with the melan-

choly information, that the Vaudois remaining in that country had been driven from thence, and obliged to take refuge in Wirtemberg. He departed immediately, as he had promised to return by Easter, being provided with a passport from Turin, which a deserter of the name of Rosaro, of Pragela, had lent him; which, however, did not prevent his being taken prisoner at Susa, and sent to Turin.

On the 22nd of March, the enemy advanced from Macel close to Balsille, and stuck up poles with papers on them, addressed to several French refugees, inviting them to surrender on the following terms:—"We, *Retournat* and *Jaques Causse*, inform you, that the king will pardon all Frenchmen, who come and surrender, as we have done: you will have liberty of conscience and passports, if you choose to return: we find ourselves well off in the regiment de *Plessis*: profit by this advice. *Jaques Causse*." Others were addressed to individuals, in this form: "My dear friends, *Clapier*, *David*, and *Etienne*, you are hereby informed that the king grants an amnesty to all his subjects, who lay down their arms, as we have done. We are in the regiment of *Plessis*: profit by the opportunity." All these snares proved fruitless.

The 17th, the *Sieurs Parander* and *Richard* arrived at La Balsille, with fresh propositions on the part of the *Marquis de Parelle*, to which

the council of war saw fit to send an answer, to the following purport, enclosed in a letter to the Marquis, praying him to represent to his Royal Highness ;

First, That his subjects in the valleys had been in possession of lands there from time immemorial, which lands were bequeathed to them by their ancestors.

Secondly, That at all times they had paid such imposts and duties as his Royal Highness had thought fitting to impose.

Thirdly, That they had always paid implicit obedience to his Royal Highness's commands.

Fourthly, That before the expulsion they had lived peaceably in their own houses, and that there was not so much as one criminal process against any one of them ; and yet, although they had not given any cause of offence, they were driven out and dispersed, after having been imprisoned and persecuted ; does it therefore appear strange that these people should wish to return to their homes ? It is not the intention of the Vaudois to spill blood, unless in self-defence ; if they retain possession of their land, it is to prove themselves, as before, good and faithful subjects to his Royal Highness, the lawful prince that God has given them. We therefore humbly entreat your Excellency to afford us the protection of your support in these our just pretensions, and if you will honour us with a reply, the two men

employed to carry this will faithfully deliver it to us: hoping we shall be dealt with in good faith on this occasion, as, on our part, it is our pride and custom to deal with others, we remain with respect, &c. &c. &c. Signed, on behalf of the whole community, Henri Arnaud.

P. S. We are particularly obliged to your Excellency for the kindness shown to our prisoners, and beg the continuance of your good offices towards them.

A letter, somewhat to the same effect, was also written at this time to the Chevalier de Vercellis.

It will be perceived, that the farther we advance in this history the more our hopes of success diminished. The French, who had all winter threatened the Vaudois with an attack in the spring, were observed on Sunday, the last day of April, 1690, defiling through the bottom of the valley, by the Col de Clapier and by the Col de Pis, accompanied by 1400 peasants to clear away the snow and bring them provisions, their intention being evidently to surround the Vaudois, who had happily taken the precaution to throw up entrenchments, with apertures to fire through, high enough to command the enemy on the opposite hill; each company was also well provided with large stones, with which to regale those who attempted the ascent.

Before we proceed, the reader may like to have a description of the situation of the castle,* in which they were thus about to be besieged. It was situated on the top of a very steep rock, which was formed as it were into three tiers or levels, on the highest part of which was a small flat space, where they had formed a kind of barrack in the earth; and where there are three springs. The approach to the rock is extremely difficult, except on the side of a rivulet which bathes the foot of the castle; but as Mons. Arnaud perceived this to be the only assailable point, he took particular care to fortify it, assisting with his own hands in planting palisades, and raising parapets with trees, which they had supplied themselves with from the wood adjoining, and disposing these trees, (each being strengthened with large heaps of stones,) so that the branches and boughs were turned towards the enemy, and the trunks towards their own entrenchments. In the meanwhile, the French supposing their numbers must ensure them success against so small a force, made the necessary preparations for an attack. On the Monday their dragoons were placed in the wood to the left of the castle, and afterwards crossed the river, some troops were also posted in ambuscade along its banks, but many were killed by the fire from the fort. The main body advanced to the cottages of La

* i. e. fortified position.

Balsille, but were forced to retire, leaving many killed and wounded. An engineer, after having examined the fort with a telescope, decided that the attack should be made on the right; their numbers amounted to 22,000 men, of whom 10,000 were French and 12,000 Piemontese.* Mons. de Catinat ordered a detachment of 500 French to advance to the attack of the first bastion, and they at first imagined they had merely to pull away the trees in order to clear themselves a passage, but they were much surprised to find that these same trees, being fastened with immense stones, were in fact as if rooted to the spot; and as the Vaudois all the time kept up such a heavy and effective fire, notwithstanding a continual snow, the greatest part of these chosen troops were killed, and the rest thrown into disorder. The Vaudois then sallied forth and destroyed all but about ten or twelve, who escaped as they could, and carried to Mons. de Catinat the news of their defeat; he retired first to Clos and then to Perouse. Mons. de Parat, who commanded the detachment, was found severely wounded, between two rocks, and being taken prisoner, was conveyed to that very place, pointing to which only a few hours before, he had said to his soldiers, "My children, we must sleep in those barracks to-night." The Piemontese, who had been that day only spec-

* This must have been the number of the whole of the troops occupying the valley.—T.

tators of the bravery of the Vaudois and of the defeat of the French, retired to Salse; what is most interesting in this bloody day is, that the Vaudois had not one man either killed or wounded. The next day, the first thing they did after prayers was to cut off the heads of the dead and stick them on the palisades, to show the enemy they would keep no terms with them and did not fear them.

They then told Mons. de Parat, that as it was necessary he should have a surgeon to dress his wounds, he must send for one; because the one whom the Vaudois had, as it were miraculously, found at Angrogna in September of the last year, had died a few days before; and in consequence he wrote a note to desire his principal surgeon might be sent to him; this note was carried by a boy, who stuck it on a pole, not far from the French camp; it had the desired effect, for the surgeon came soon after, bringing with him all necessary remedies; and, when in the fort, the Vaudois obliged him to remain and attend to their own sick. Upon Mons. Parat was found the order from Mons. de Catinat for the attack, which had succeeded so ill.*

On Thursday Mons. Arnaud preached, according to custom, and the sermon was so affecting that he could not refrain from tears;

* A copy of which is to be found in the original of this work.

and his little flock, seeing his emotion, shed tears also. He had touched upon the justice to be observed in the division of booty; and had no sooner concluded than each man brought all that he had taken from the enemy: these spoils consisted of arms, clothes, linen, &c. and were for the greatest part sold, and produced enough to allow of something being given to each soldier:—what remained was divided among the poorest.*

The curious may perhaps like an account of the charms or preservatives that were found on searching the bodies of the French, and which they fancied were to preserve them from all wounds, &c. &c. only one was in manuscript, in this form, “† Agra † Batome.†.” Others were printed on little squares of paper, as follows:

“Piscina Christus quæ nobis sit cibûs Borrus
P.” 1690.

“Ecce cru † cem Domini nostri Jesu Christus,
fugite partes adversæ vici leo De tribu Juda ra-
dix David Allel. Allel. ex St. Anton. De Pad.
homo natus est In ea Jesus Maria Franciscus
sint mihi salus.”

“Christus vincit † Christus regnat † Christus
imperat † Christus ab omni malo me defendat

* A long letter is here omitted, which gives the account of the same attack, sent to Turin.

† Christus, Rex in pace venit Deus, Homofactus est verbum, Caro factum est Jesus, Nazarenus Rex Judeorum. Qui verbum caro factum est, &c. R. Habitavit in nobis nascens ex Maria Virgine per ineffabilem pietatem, et misericordiam suam piissimam, et angelorum, sanctorum que omnium maxime Apostolorum, et Evangelistarum morum Joannis et Mathei, Marci et Lucæ, Antoni Vbaldi Bernardi, Margaretæ et Catharinæ ipsum quæso ut dignetur me liberare, et preservare ab omni infestatione, Sathanæ et ab omnibus incantationibus ligaturis, Signaturis et facturis ministrorum ejus, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

"Oratio contra omnes tum maleficorum tum Dæmonum incursus." That is to say, a prayer against those who use the arts of devils. At the bottom of this one was the approbation of the inquisitor of Turin. "Fr. Bartholomeus Racca de Palermo, Inqu. Taurini vidit, permittitque ut imprimatur."

The French, some days afterwards, sent ten Louis d'ors to Mons. de Parat, who in consequence had a sort of hut constructed for himself and his surgeon, which cost four crowns; the rest of the money he would have given to Mons. Arnaud, who refused it. He wished also to ransom himself, but was answered on

the part of the council of war, that they did not want money, but were willing to exchange him for some prisoners at Turin; upon which he gave them to understand, that Mons. de Feuquieres, at that time French ambassador there, was his particular friend. Several days elapsed without any reply, either because his countrymen wished to show they considered Mons. de Parat of little importance to them, or were thinking of other things. But it was soon after evident that Mons. de Catinat was meditating a complete revenge for the affront he had received; and as to his disgrace he had fully experienced the valour of the Vaudois, he did not think it expedient to expose his life a second time, as well as his hopes of becoming a French marshal, at the risk of a defeat; he, therefore intrusted the conduct of the enterprise to Mons. de Feuquieres. At the expiration of a week from their retreat, the French returned to the charge in good earnest, and laid siege to La Balsille, which they took at the end of fourteen days; but by some extraordinary circumstance, which never can be sufficiently wondered at, they did not take the besieged prisoners, which was the sole object they had in view.

All happened as follows: on the 10th of May, the French advanced in five divisions, the better to surround the Vaudois; one of

these encamped at Passet, one at the foot of the mountain, another in the Clos d'Almian, a fourth a little higher up, and the fifth in the wood towards the Chateau de Guignevvert; towards nightfall they advanced near the cottages of La Balsille and the river, where they threw up a redoubt, from whence they kept up a continued fire; but only two Vaudois were wounded, who died a few days afterwards. The besiegers obliged all the soldiers, who were not on guard, to collect bundles of faggots, which formed a good foundation for their parapets, &c. the fort was thus soon surrounded, and every foot of ground gained was protected by a strong bulwark: if they perceived the hat only of a Vaudois, they fired a hundred musket shots, and that without risk, for they were also protected by sacks full of wool. At the expiration of some days, they summoned the besieged to surrender, and at the same time hoisted the white flag at the foot of the fort; from which a soldier was dispatched to inquire more particularly what was wanted. To this they replied, that it was very surprising that such a handful of men should presume to make war against such a great king as the king of France; that if they would surrender, they should be supplied with passports to enable them to retire, and that each man should receive 500 louis d'ors; that though they might cause the death of many a brave man, in

the end they must all perish themselves. The French availed themselves of this opportunity to send Mons. de Parat some provisions and medicines. At the same time he wrote to an officer named Chartogne, that money would not purchase his liberty, and that his Royal Highness must be asked to release the Sieurs Moutoux and Bostie, ministers; Malonet, surgeon; and Martines, armourer. His friend sent him word in reply, that he hoped to give him an account of his commission on the morrow, when he should have spoken with the Marquis de Feuquieres, who was then visiting the out-posts; but on the commanding officer's return to his quarters, he would not listen to the proposition of Mons. Chartogne, either because he did not choose to hazard a refusal from his Royal Highness, or for other reasons. He wrote a letter to this effect, offering money to the Vaudois; adding, "These gentlemen had better look to themselves and avoid extremities, for I have orders not to relinquish this enterprise till it is accomplished, and they may receive now what will not be granted them when once the cannon have fired." This the Sieur Chartogne sent with a few lines to Mons. de Parat, to say he might rely on the Marquis doing every thing for him in his power, and in the meantime he sent him four pounds of beef and a sheet of paper. The Vaudois made a reply worthy of their usual firmness, which

none who know them can consider as rash or as boasting.

Reply of the Vaudois to the Marquis de Feuquieres :—" Gentlemen, though you imagine us to be very poor, we do not want money for the ransom of Mons. de Parat, our prisoner ; we permit you to send him rations for four or five days, that we may not have the trouble of going up and down every day. In answer to all your proposals, not being subjects of the king of France, nor that king master of this country, we cannot make any treaty with you. We now occupy the inheritance which our fathers bequeathed to us since time immemorial ; and hope, by the aid of Him who is God of armies, to live and die here, if there should be only ten of us left : if your cannon thunder, our rocks will not be dismayed, and we shall hear the report." If the Vaudois had distinguished themselves by their courage and valour, they had no less occasion for all their resolution and vigilance during the siege, for they could not allow themselves any rest, and scarcely a night passed without a sortie, in one of which they had to regret the loss of Joseph Pelene, who was unfortunately killed by one of his own men ; but they made several sorties in quest of provisions, which generally ended favourably. Mons. de Feuquieres perceiving that the continual fire of his musketry ended in

nothing but the expenditure of ammunition, planted his cannon on the Guignevert, and having once more displayed first the white flag and then a red one, to shew that no quarter was to be expected, he prepared every thing for a general assault. Before day break on the 13th of May, he ordered some of his troops to advance to distract the attention of the Vaudois by feigned movements, while he caused parapets to be erected on a rock above the wood of the Clos d'Almian, and from these his men fired with falconets, but they only wounded one man.

The 14th was the day of the grand attack, and though Mons. de Catinat and Mons. de L'Ombraile had boasted that the Vaudois should be taken, without its costing a pound of powder; they kept up so sharp a fire, from an early hour in the morning, that by noon they had expended 124 shots of twelve and fourteen pounds weight. This caused immense breaches in the walls, which were only calculated to resist musketry; the enemy, encouraged by this success, now made an assault in three different places. The Vaudois were soon obliged to abandon the lower part, but without any loss, one man only being wounded; they retired to the retrenchment called Cheval la Bruxe, where they had also some huts, to reach which they had to pass a spot exposed to

the fire of the enemy, from a redoubt near the torrent, but happily a fog favoured them. They had made it known to Mons. de Parat, that if the place was forced they should be obliged to kill him; to which he replied, that he should forgive them his death: in fact soon after, his guard having left him, a soldier, who retired one of the last, shot him through the head; such was his end, and not as it has been sometimes represented. A Vaudois soldier having incautiously returned to fetch some of his things, was made prisoner with some of the sick and wounded. While the enemy were minutely examining every fresh position which was abandoned by the besieged, the latter thought of nothing but how to make good their escape; the immense fires kept burning in the French encampment, seemed to preclude all hope of their being able to retire under cover of the night, and well were they aware that the hand of God alone could deliver them in this hour of peril, as he had already done from so many former dangers. But at the very moment when a most cruel death seemed to be preparing for them, a fog arose before dark, thus assisting to lengthen the night, which at that season was in itself too short for their purpose. Capt. Poulat, who was a native of La Balsille, offered to be their guide, and they resolved to march, under the protection of God, and the

direction of this brave man, who had a perfect knowledge of the country, and having accurately observed the situation of the enemy's fires, he declared the only chance of escape to be across a frightful precipitous ravine. They followed him down this chasm, some sliding on their backs, others scrambling with one knee on the ground, holding by the branches of trees, occasionally resting, and then feeling their way with their hands or feet. Poulat made them take off their shoes that they might the better perceive whether they placed their feet on any thing capable of supporting them. In this manner they passed close to one of the French outposts, and a Vaudois soldier in trying to assist himself with his hands, let fall a small kettle, which in rolling over some stones, made noise enough to disturb a sentinel, who cried out "Qui vive;" but this kettle happily not being of the race of those feigned by the poets to have spoken, and to have delivered oracles in the forest of Dodona, returned no answer, and the sentinel took no further notice. Meanwhile the Vaudois continued to gain ground; they ascended the mountain of Guignevert, in the direction of Salse, and two hours after daylight they were still climbing the mountain by steps, which they cut for themselves in the snow. The French, who were encamped at Lantiga, discovered them at a distance, on the

morning of the 13th, and sent a detachment in pursuit of them, but they descended by the Pausettes of La Salse, on the other side of the mountain, where they stopped to rest and refresh themselves. They did the same at Rodoret, and had no sooner prepared to march, than perceiving the detachment of the enemy rapidly advancing towards them, they instantly retreated up to the very summit of Galmon, a mountain between Prals and Rodoret, where they remained two hours; this time was employed in making a review of their force, and having separated the wounded and disabled from the rest; they sent them with the surgeon of the late Mons. de Parat, guarded by those who were only slightly wounded, into a ravine called the valley, after which the main body descended rapidly towards Prals, and remained till night, concealed in the wood of Serrelemi, when they proceeded under cover of a thick fog, to the Casage Major. Here they were greatly disappointed not to find a drop of water to boil their soup, but Providence in compassion to them, sent them rain, which was at this time as great a relief as on former occasions it had proved an addition to their distress. On Friday, the 16th, having carefully put out their fires, for fear of discovery, the enemy being supposed to be either at Rodoret, or on the Galmon; they advanced through the mist, but

when it cleared away they occasionally lay down flat on the ground, to avoid being seen by any sentinels who might be on the Galmon, till they lost sight of the mountain, and passing the Roche Blanche, from whence the fine marble is taken, they arrived at Fayet about midnight, much fatigued by the harassing march they had made, over such a dangerous tract of country.

The next day, the 17th, finding the enemy were on their track, they marched towards Pramol, and hoping to obtain provisions at Angrogna, detached a party in search of supplies, which they happily met with in the village of Rüa, where the inhabitants had entrenched themselves in the church-yard, but were soon compelled to yield. Mons. de Vignaux, who commanded the place, on giving up his sword, shewed Mons. Arnaud the positive order he had received not to abandon his post; he also informed him that the Duke of Savoy had only till the Tuesday following, to decide whether he would remain on the side of France, or embrace that of the allies. Besides the commanding officer, three lieutenants were taken prisoners, and fifty-seven men killed in this attack, and the enemy had the additional mortification of seeing the village burnt. The Vaudois had only three men killed, and as many wounded.

On Sunday the 18th, they ascended the mountain of Angrogna, and those who were first had no sooner gained the top than the inhabitants gave the alarm, which obliged the Vaudois to retrace their steps, in search of a resting-place on some other part of the mountain. But on their arrival at a neighbouring hamlet they were no less astonished than delighted to find Messrs. Parander and Bertin, who were come as envoys from the Baron de Palavicino, to announce to them peace on the part of the Duke of Savoy, offering at the same time to furnish them instantly with provisions; and no sooner had they reached Pra-del-Tourne than two other persons came to inform them that the Chevalier de Vercellis, governor of the fort of La Tour, desired to speak with some of their officers; to which they replied, that if he would come the following morning to the spot where they then were, he would find them; they also requested a surgeon might be sent to visit the three lieutenants who had been wounded at Pramol.

Let us leave these poor fugitives for a moment to their joy and exultation at having peace offered to them, and let us allow them to breathe in the hope of a termination to their misfortunes, while we turn to observe the consternation of the French, who could but ill digest their disappointment at finding the birds

flown, after all the trouble they experienced in taking their nest. As the conquest which Mons. de Feuquieres had sought for, was not the possession of La Balsille, but the capture of its garrison, (an exploit by which he expected to exult even over Mons. de Catinat himself,) his disappointment upon entering the last recesses of the fort, to find only miserable huts and points of rocks, which from their shape and size had given the mountain the appellation of Quatre dents, may be better imagined than described. It was a thunder-stroke to him to find himself thus deprived of the title of "conqueror of the barbets," which had been destined for him beforehand, as will be found by an intercepted letter from the governor of Pignerol.*

To return to our Vaudois, whom we left in the agreeable expectation of a perfect and secure peace with their sovereign; the Chevalier de Vercellis did not come, though expected, and the booty was sold and divided; they remained, however, till the 24th, without bread. A Vaudois soldier happening to kill a partridge, gave it to Mons. Arnaud, who having had it broiled, gave a bit to Mons. de Vignaux, and the other three prisoners, saying, to-day you must eat partridge without

* This letter and some others being uninteresting are omitted.

bread, to-morrow, perhaps, it will be bread without partridge, which often happened afterwards. While they were under this difficulty in procuring food, they had the comfort to observe Messrs. Parander and Bertin return with an order that they should send forty or fifty men to the farm of Mons. Gautier, brother-in-law of Mons. Arnaud, but as they were sent by night, this direction gave rise to some suspicion, for which reason Mons. Arnaud gave orders that the two captains who had the command of the expedition, should only permit five men to enter the house at a time, while the others kept guard outside, and that when these five had taken their load of bread, they should send ten others, and so on till all were supplied, which was done without any opposition, and the bread arrived safe. The French were now the only remaining enemies of the Vaudois, and on the 22d, they sent out two detachments against them; the Vaudois did the same, and had the good fortune to make an attack so opportunely upon one of these divisions, that they carried off sixty or seventy guns and muskets, with as many doublets. These Vaudois troops having joined each other, they marched up higher towards Balmadant the following day, and as they were eating soup, made of violets and wild sorrel, perceived the French advancing, whom they fell upon, and continued

skirmishing with the whole of the day. The French, still enraged at their escape from La Balsille, had sent out detachments on all sides to exterminate them if possible. Mons. de Elerambant not knowing that the Duke of Savoy was become the friend of the Vaudois was taken prisoner, with all his detachment, at La Tour, which he had entered in search of refreshments. Some four or five days passed without any event, except the return of a detachment of the Vaudois, which arrived in time to hear a letter read from the Marquis de Palavicino to the governor of Mirabouc, and which contained, among other things, instructions to him to allow a free passage to the Vaudois, seeing that H. R. H. was become their friend, and had broken with France. The 3d of June they had the satisfaction to see the return of another detachment of sixty strong, which had been sent into the Valley of Perouse, to meet fifty men, who it was reported wished to join the Vaudois; their delight was greater as they had given them up for lost; this detachment on its march had two soldiers killed at the bridge of Pomaret, who were found to be carrying 700 gun flints to the enemy: the charms which it was thought one of these men had made use of, to render himself bullet proof, rendered his death still more dreadful, indeed it was found difficult to kill him, for no bayonet

would pierce him until it was fixed in the ground by the hilt; he begged very hard for his life, and in the hope of obtaining it, made known the spot where he had buried a quantity of tin, but the diabolical charms with which it was supposed he had provided himself, rendered him in their eyes so unworthy of life, that his entreaties were of no avail.

On reaching Perouse they only found twelve men instead of fifty ready to join them, and marching always by night to escape observation, they received at Clapier intelligence of the loss of La Balsille, and hid themselves for several days in the woods, while they persuaded some peasants to bring them provisions, and at last happily rejoined their comrades.

June the 4th. The French having learnt that the Vaudois were at Palmad or near Villar, marched all night, in the hope of surprising them, but the dawn of day having betrayed them, the Vaudois were prepared on their arrival to give them a warm reception; they fought nearly the whole of the day, with the loss only of two men killed, and two wounded, but the French did not escape so cheaply, though the precise number of their killed was not known. The Vaudois received soon afterwards, a confirmation of the news that H. R. H. had declared war with France. The French who were in the valleys ignorant of

this transported their sick and wounded to La Tour, where they were all made prisoners, and carried to Saluces. The militia of H. R. H. having abandoned Villar and Bobbi, Mons. Arnaud was desired to take possession of those places, and an intimation was given him that he would find provisions. But the Savoyards had only left such a portion as they could not transport, and had even let the wine run out of the barrels.

The Vaudois now released Mons. de Vignaux and the other prisoners, on their word of honour, that the two ministers and others should be sent back to them, and great was their delight when they saw those four persons return a few days afterwards, together with David Mondon and Capt. Pelene, and twenty others, from the prisons of Turin; particularly when these latter declared that H. R. H. had assured them that he should not prevent their preaching, even at Turin, and said many other obliging things; they received an order a few days after, to send fifty men to Crussol for bread, which they did, but having the same order on La Tour for flour; the commissary there, not having yet recovered much good will towards them, refused it, though he had in his possession more than 100 sacks of flour, and above 2000 of corn. H. R. H. gave orders to his troops to blow up the fort of La Tour,

but the mines made for this purpose all proved false, and it was suspected the engineer was in the pay of France. A Vaudois soldier, who is still alive, rejoined them at Bobbi, whose adventures are remarkable enough to deserve a place here; having been slightly wounded during the siege at Balsille, and being without medical aid, he obtained permission of Mons. Arnaud to accompany three others who had undertaken the hazardous task of fetching provisions to sell to those in the fort; his companions passed the river Cluson, at this time much swollen, but this poor fellow could not get through on account of his wound, and wandered about hiding himself during the day and passing from bush to bush, and rock to rock, living only on violets and other wild herbs, during seventeen days. In this time his wound healed, and at last to the joy of the poor starved wretch, he perceived two young wolves, who made off as soon as they were observed, hunger urged him to the chase, and having stunned one by a blow on the head, he caught it, and ate it with a good appetite, though raw; when satisfied he found he had strength enough to get to Bobbi, which was not far off, where he arrived, bringing with him the head of the cub he had feasted on.

This recalls an anecdote in Mons. Leger's history, which he relates during the war, or

rather massacre of 1655. Bianqui, then syndic of Luzerne, who though a papist, always showed great horror at these atrocities, seeing after the battle of La Vachere the number of dead and wounded, exclaimed, "Altre volte li lupi mangiavano li barbetti, ma il tempo è venuto che li barbetti mangiano i lupi." These words cost the poor syndic dear, for the governor of Luzerne was so shocked at them, that he absolutely frightened the syndic to death with menaces and reproaches; and now to the very letter, had a barbet eaten a wolf.

Monsieur de Palavicino, who commanded H. R. H.'s troops, having determined to fall upon the French in the Val Queiras, sent orders to the Vaudois to prepare a large detachment to attack them on one side, while he did the same on the other. Wishing for nothing better than an opportunity of signaling their fidelity to their sovereign, they immediately sent 300 men on this service; they carried the plan into effect, and defeated the French, though with the loss of Capt. Griz and five men, besides three or four wounded; they returned to Bobbi the next day but one, with a good deal of booty, some of which was divided amongst the companies, and the rest presented to his royal highness.

The Chevalier de Vercellis, already mentioned, having come to visit the Vaudois, was

deputed, with Mons. Arnaud, to confer with Mons. de Palavicino, about several things which related to the common welfare; the baron told him that with a reinforcement of 2000 men which he expected, they should soon succeed, without troubling the peasants, or pillaging them any more, provided they remained quiet. The same day, all the inhabitants of La Tour who had changed their religion, came to Bobbi to join the Vaudois. The following days they had a good deal of skirmishing with the French, until a courier was taken, and Mons. Arnaud was ordered to carry his despatches to H. R. H. During his absence the Vaudois enjoyed some repose at Bobbi, where they were well provisioned; but these temporal comforts did not prevent their having some uneasiness as to their spiritual ones, until the return of Mons. Arnaud, the first days of July, 1690, who brought the agreeable confirmation of their sovereign's good intentions towards them, and of the very christian like discourse he had held to the prisoners on restoring them to liberty, which was to this effect.

“ You have but one God and one prince to serve; serve God and your prince faithfully: till now we have been enemies, henceforth we must be good friends; others have been the cause of your misfortune, but if now, as you

ought, you expose your lives for my service, I will expose mine also for yours, and while I have a morsel of bread you shall have your share."

His Royal Highness then spoke the more seriously, as he was in the height of his anger against France. We shall not enter into his reasons, which had nothing to do with the Vaudois, but only observe in conclusion; that God in a wonderful manner, not only separated those two powers, but caused them to turn against each other the very arms which had been designed for the destruction of the Vaudois, and in the very moment when their extermination seemed inevitable, thus worked their deliverance.

Having now arrived at the establishment of peace, we must leave the Vaudois to enjoy the fruit of their labours, while we proceed to give a sketch of what happened to Mons. Bourgeois and his detachment, who from having arrived too late at the place of rendezvous, either for want of boats, or from some other circumstance, were prevented joining our expedition in the first instance. No sooner were they apprised of the progress we had made, than they became anxious to follow, and Mons. Bourgeois, stung by the imputations which had been cast upon his courage, declared himself willing to undertake the command, but very

imprudently not having taken any pains to conceal their intended departure, it was anticipated in Savoy and Dauphiné long before it took place. Money having been taken from the Dutch contributions, (which may be called an abuse of a charity,) and thirty-three boats, with a supply of arms, having been provided; the whole party, in number about 1000, composed, in addition to the Vaudois, of idle persons of all descriptions, embarked near Vevay, at noon, on the 11th of September, and landed at St. Gingolphe with very little opposition. The troops were immediately divided into nineteen companies, viz. thirteen French refugees, three Swiss, two Vaudois, and one of grenadiers, called by the Savoyards Luzernois.

After some skirmishes, in which the peasants made no great resistance, they marched in a slow and disorderly manner to Tagninge, in Faucigni; and in consequence of their delay found the passes guarded; a disappointment which served only to increase the insubordination and disunion which existed among them, and which led to the determination of retreating, on the 17th of September, and abandoning their expedition. After a difficult march of seven days, leave was obtained for them from Geneva to pass the lake, and boats were provided; but, on their embarkation, the booty they had ob-

tained in Savoy appeared so great, that the government of Geneva obliged them to release ten or twelve prisoners they had taken, and insisted on their restoring all the horses, and other property taken away, to the right owners. An example which was strictly followed in the canton of Vaud; and the Bernois commanded all those who had entered the Chablais in arms, on the 11th of September, to quit their territory within eight days. After being imprisoned all the winter, Mons. Bourgeois was condemned for disobedience of orders, in undertaking the expedition, and was beheaded at Nion, on the 12th March. Thus ended this disastrous enterprise.

The present age is so perverted by a spirit of incredulity, vanity, and pride, that scarcely one person in ten would believe the extraordinary means by which the Reformation was brought about in England, Germany, Holland, &c. the liberty of Switzerland established, and the independence of Geneva preserved, and would consider the details as fabulous stories. Foreseeing, therefore, that the facts here related may to many appear incredible, I wish to add some remarks as to the clear evidence of their truth. The simplicity of the narrative shows that its design was neither to amuse nor to deceive, and the facts contained in it can yet be attested by many living witnesses of differ-

ent nations ; when, therefore, O reader, you read of events which your imagination can scarcely reach, be not less reasonable than our honest Vaudois, who taking credit to themselves only for their sufferings and inexpressible labours, attribute every thing that is astonishing and extraordinary to the arm of the Eternal, and for his glory. God, to show his almighty power and superintending care, did not make use of a consummate warrior, but of a poor minister, who never before waged war except with Satan. You have seen this man, under celestial guidance, force a passage through every obstacle, and carry away prisoners men of every rank in society, as witnesses of the wonders effected by a true faith and the good order he preserved.

By what means, unless by the peculiar favour of God, did this same Arnaud escape falling into the hands of the Swiss Catholics, who sought to lay hold of him, that he might suffer at Constance like John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who were burnt alive for sustaining the true religion of Jesus Christ? Is it not miraculous that a small band of men, of whom many had never before handled a firelock, should force the bridge of Salabertran, guarded by 2500 men, kill 600 of them, with only a loss of fifteen, half of whom fell owing to the want of skill of their comrades? Is it not as clear

as the light of day that it was by special permission that the Roman Catholics, who for three years had inhabited the houses of the Vaudois, should all fly on their approach, as well as the troops who ought to have defended them?

Is there any one of such weak intellect as not to discover, that it must have been God alone who could have inspired such a small party, without money and a thousand other requisites, courageously to undertake a war against the king of France, who then made all Europe tremble? and who but God himself could protect them and cause them gloriously to succeed, in spite of every effort used by two mighty powers to exterminate them?

Who can be so unreasonable as not to attribute it to divine Providence, that the Vaudois should be enabled to gather in their harvest in the depth of winter, at the time their enemies, unable to subdue them by force of arms, were taking every means to destroy them by famine?

Can any one be weak enough to suppose, that, without divine protection, 367 Vaudois, shut up for eight months in La Balsille, sleeping on the earth, and subsisting only upon bread and herbs, in small quantities, could force 10,000 French and 12,000 Piemontese to retire with loss; and that, after defending themselves during a second siege, they could have so happily escaped the fury of the French; who,

still enraged at the obstinate resistance they met with from such a handful of men, had resolved to condemn them to be hung, and actually brought executioners and ropes for that purpose?

Weak as human nature is, every one must allow that the Almighty God fought for the Vaudois, assisting them whenever they were on the point of failing, and opening the eyes of their prince, and inducing him to seek their assistance against their joint enemy, after restoring them to their homes and own inheritance, as well as to their pure mode of worship. Does it not surpass imagination, that although these people were more than eighteen times engaged in battle during the efforts they made to penetrate into their valleys, they lost only thirty of their number; while their enemies lost 10,000 men, without effecting the object they had in view?

After so many wonderful achievements, is it not clear the arms of the enemy were blessed only by the false benedictions of Rome, while theirs were strengthened by the protection of the great God and King of kings?

Open the eyes of your understanding all ye that are blinded wilfully, and consider with coolness and impartiality the divine mysteries contained in this History; and let all Christians, after due reflection, unanimously allow

that God has made choice of the Vaudois as the elect of his faithful flock, to demonstrate by prodigies beyond the course of nature, or natural strength of man, that they live in that religion in which he would have all the redeemed to live, to serve and honour him. Amen.*

ROUTE OF THE VAUDOIS.

THEY crossed the Lake of Geneva and landed opposite *Nion*, between *Nernier* and *Ivoyre*, passed the village of *Viii Villette* and *St. Joyre*, the height of *Carman*, the bridge of *Marni*, towns of *Cluse* and of *Salenches*, villages of *Cablau*, and *Beaufort*, or *Migeves*, mount of *Haute Luce*, hamlet of *St. Nicholas*, mount of *Bon Homme*, crossed the river *Isere*, hamlet of *Sez*, *St. Foi*, and *Villar Rougy*, of *Eutigne*, *Laval*, *Tigne*, mount *Tisserand*, hamlet of *Bonneval*, of *Besas* and *Lannevillard*, mount *Cenis*, mount *Tourliers*, the valley of *Jaillon*, by *Chaumont* above *Susa*, the bridge of *Salabertran*, mount *Sei*, the valley of *Pragela*, and so on.

* Several of the writers on the Revelations have considered the Vaudois as the witnesses mentioned in the 11th chapter of the Apocalypse.—See new translation of the Apocalypse by Dean Woodhouse, chap. 11. p. 298.; also chap. 14. v. 9 Dr. Gill on the Revelations, chap. 11. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History cent. 7, part 2, chap. 2, sec. 2. Also Sermon preached by Dr. Gill, in 1720, in Great Eastcheap.

APPENDIX.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE VAUDOIS SINCE ARNAUD'S
TIME.*

EXTRACTED FROM PEYRAN'S WORK.

AFTER the treaty of 1690, concluded by Arnaud, the Vaudois had many opportunities of showing their courage and loyalty, in the wars carried on by the Dukes of Savoy,† and in consequence their privileges were constantly confirmed. So that with the exception of the expulsion of the three thousand who formed the colonies in Germany, which are mentioned in Arnaud's Preface, perfect liberty of conscience was enjoyed by them during the whole of the eighteenth century. The Protestant powers continued their protection, and particularly England; for a pension was granted by that country to the pastors, under William and Mary, which was named the English royal

* The reader is referred to Arnaud's Preface for a history of that portion of time intervening between the treaty, at which M. Bresse's History terminates, and the expedition of Arnaud.

† See Burnet's history of his own times, year 1690, fol. edit. 2 vol. pp. 100—111.

subsidy ; and this being found insufficient, in 1770 a general collection was made, the interest of which was paid under the name of the English national subsidy. From these two sums the pastors received their incomes, amounting to 40*l.* or 50*l.* those of the most laborious parishes receiving the largest payment. The interest of the Dutch collections was applied to the salaries of schoolmasters, widows of pastors, and retired pastors. And in Switzerland studentships were established at the universities of Geneva, Lausanne, and Basle, for the young Vaudois intended for the ministry.

In this state the Vaudois affairs remained till after the French revolution, when, owing to the distresses in Holland, a diminution took place in the payments from that country ; and in 1797, the English royal subsidy suddenly stopped, and has been since discontinued.*

In consequence the French government assigned certain sums from the treasury of Turin, as an increase to the diminished stipends of the

* By means of the dishonesty of the royal almoner's secretary, who drew for the money from the Treasury, and persuaded the almoner to give a receipt without receiving one from the Vaudois, which last he said could not be got on account of the war : the succeeding almoner, not receiving the receipts from the Vaudois, ceased to obtain the money. By the exertions of the Rev. W. S. Gilly and the Vaudois committee, the payments are re-established this year, 1826.

pastors, which raised their incomes to upwards of 60*l.* per annum, at the same time ordering their church government to be remodelled according to the system of Napoleon in France.

This act produced very little alteration, except the cessation of the authority of moderator and the appointment of two ministers to nearly the same functions.

The most important change was, that the Vaudois were in all respects put upon a level with the Catholics, and enjoyed every right of Piemontese subjects.

In 1814, the house of Savoy was restored to the throne, and the sums drawn from the treasury of Turin were stopped. Victor Emanuel, moved by the distress of the pastors, generously granted them a sum of 21*l.* each; and thus they enjoy the same revenues as they did before the revolution. And Victor Emanuel, in being the first of his house who has wished to place the Vaudois on a level with the Catholics, in this point has acquired a new title to their attachment and fidelity.

In 1821, not one of them was found among the revolted.

It must however be admitted, that though this monarch and his successor, Charles Felix, at present on the throne, have always received the Vaudois deputies with kindness, and though

they are now admitted to the enjoyment of the same laws as their fellow subjects, no Vaudois can rise in the army above a sub-lieutenant; nor, in civil offices, beyond a notary, secretary, apothecary, or surgeon.

* * * * *

A SKETCH
OF
THE HISTORY
OF
THE GERMAN VALDENSES.



WHB.

Gros Villars

D^r. Wertenberg

A SHORT SKETCH
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
THE GERMAN VALDENSES,

Which may be found at length in the following German Works :

Waldenser Chronick, printed in 1655, probably at Berne.

Die Geschichte der Waldenser, Zurich, 1798, by Moser.

Kurzer Abriss der Geschichte der Wurtembergescher Waldenser, by Andreas Keller, minister, Tübingen, 1796.

Original Briefe, or Original Letters, in the library at Heidelberg.

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- 1655 After the treaty of Pignerol, in 1655, (at which period the history of Bresse terminates,) the affairs of the Vaudois remained much in the same state till 1685, when the Duke of Savoy was induced by Louis the Fourteenth to revoke all his promises, by a new edict. This edict commanded the demolition of their churches, and the immediate banishment of all pastors and schoolmasters,

forbad the education of children in the Vaudois faith, and prohibited the public and private exercise of their religion.

1686 Louis the Fourteenth not only pressed this measure on the Duke ; but, in 1686, according to a former promise, sent 14,000 men, under the Marquis de Catinat, to join the Piemontese army, then marching to enforce the obedience of the Vaudois.

Catinat,* who led the attack, was repulsed ; but, after two other engagements, the Vaudois sued for peace. The Duke determined upon punishing them severely, and condemned 14,000 persons to the prisons of Turin. The remainder either submitted to the mass or fled. By the intercession of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Swiss cantons, the Duke was at length induced to permit those who would not change their religion to leave the country unmolested. The prisons were consequently opened, but only 3000 persons issued from them ; the other 11,000 had perished by heat, cold, hunger, and thirst, during their imprisonment. The 3000, immediately on their release, marched into Switzerland ; where two thirds remained, and

* See Burnet's history of his own times, fol. edit. p. 456.

the rest proceeded to Brandenburg, by invitation from the Elector Frederic William, by whom they were received with the greatest kindness. Some of the descendants of these very people are now settled at Buckholtz, near Berlin, enjoying all the rights of Prussian subjects, and having their church supplied with ministers from the French Protestant refugees, who settled in great numbers in Prussia after the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

The 2000 remaining in Switzerland gave great uneasiness to the cantons, by their plans for returning in arms to their country, which induced the great Swiss council to apply to the German princes for land, they themselves offering to contribute to the expense of establishing Vaudois colonies.

Subscriptions having been raised in the Swiss cantons, the United Provinces, Brandenburg, and England, for the immediate support of the exiles: application was first made to the Duke of Wirtemberg, whose dutchy had lost one fourth of its population in the thirty years war. The negotiation proceeded slowly, for as the Wirtembergers were strict Luthe-

rans, they raised endless difficulties, on the score of religion and politics.

Several questions were referred to the universities. Some idea of the want of charity and tediousness of these proceedings may be formed from the fact, that a book was written in the university of Tübingen, on the extreme danger of receiving people who had no written confession of faith; and to one of the questions sent to the legal faculties at Tübingen, they replied, "That the Vaudois could not be allowed the free exercise of their religion in any place incorporated with the ducal territory, but might enjoy it in one dependent on the Duke," "*Non de territoris Wirtembergis sed in terris,*" &c.

- 1687 In the year 1687, 200 men were allowed to assist in the harvest, and though a Swiss commission the next year made little impression on the Duke, an embassy from the States General effected the establishment of 200 Vaudois near Malbrun. These unfortunate people were obliged to return to Switzerland in
- 1688 the autumn of the same year, 1688, in consequence of an attack made by the French army on Baden and Wirtemberg.

After passing the winter among the Swiss cantons, about 1000 marched into Wirtemberg in spring, where they were but ill received, although they agreed to purchase all their provisions beyond the limits of the dutchy; "Lest," to quote the words of the demand, "any scarcity should be felt by his Highness's subjects, for the sake of a handful of Calvinistical sojourners."

At this time, and for many months preceding, serious thoughts had been entertained of sending the Vaudois to the Cape of Good Hope; a plan to which many showed repugnance, but some assented. In a letter, still extant, from one of their pastors, Bilderbeck, is this passage, "A letter from the Hague, bearing date May 31st, 1688, informs me that Messrs. the States General have destined the sum of 39,000 livres for the transport of the Vaudois to the Cape of Good Hope." Dated Cologne, June 3rd, 1688.

Why this idea was abandoned does not appear from the remaining records: it was probably met by unwillingness on the part of those who designed to return sword in hand to their valleys.

Some of the above-mentioned settlers in Wirtemberg joined their compatriots in this undertaking, and eighty of them were seized in the attempt to do so, in the canton of Uri, and sent in chains to Turin.

1690 The history of the expedition is written by Henri Arnaud, down to the treaty with the Duke of Savoy. In consequence of a total change in politics, in 1690, that prince united with the emperor and the kings of England and Spain against Louis the Fourteenth; and, on this occasion, wrote directly to the duke of Orleans, declaring that he had sacrificed these Vaudois to the court of France, contrary to every rule of sound policy. He also set at liberty the prisoners who had been condemned to death, allowed 1200 of his Vaudois subjects to receive English pay, (that they might serve in the war,) and permitted the rest to return to their homes in the valleys. The allied powers were eager to make use of the Vaudois, conceiving them to be justly irritated against France; their interested and philanthropic views both promoting charity towards the Vaudois who behaved with such bravery in the war, that England and the States General again pressed on the duke of Wirtemberg for concessions towards them. In consequence, in the year 1694, the free exercise of their religion and customs was granted them in the dominions of Wirtemberg.

The exertions of Messrs. Cox and Valkenier, the English and Dutch envoys at Berne, had previously obtained leave that the wives and children of those Vaudois who had returned to the valleys, in order to judge of the possibility of residing there, should remain in Wirtemberg, their subsistence being paid for beforehand.

These men found their country in such a state of utter devastation, that they gave up the idea of remaining and returned to their families. After a series of disappointments, too tedious to detail, a prince of the house of Wirtemberg, Frederic Augustus, came forward as a protector to the poor exiles, and took such active measures for the establishment of a colony at Gochsheim, that he laid the first stone of the new Augustadt in 1698, and obtained from his brother, Duke Eberhard Louis, articles of reception. Unhappily, when these were published, they were found to require a written confession of faith, and a great delay and dispute took place on that account, though the Vaudois endeavoured to show from Leger's history (then just published) what their doctrine was. In the midst of this new dilemma, occasioned by the unyielding spirit of the Lutherans, the Duke of Savoy concluded a peace with France; in conformity to which, he commanded the inhabitants of the valleys of St.

Martin and Perouse, as well as the parishes of St. Barthelemi, Prarustin, and Roche Platte, formerly subjects of France, to leave his territory. This part of the ducal dominions, always inhabited by Vaudois, (long before the house of Savoy gained any part of Piemont,) had been ceded to France in the former part of the reign of Louis XIV. and was now returned to Savoy upon the above condition.

It appears from Arnaud's preface, that the Duke ordered only those not born in the valleys to leave his dominions. All statements concur in asserting that 3000 Vaudois were thus forced into exile, and that they submitted to their fate without resistance, and arrived in the greatest misery at Geneva, where they were relieved. Until some plan could be determined on, they were dispersed among the Swiss cantons for the winter, and in the mean time extensive collections were made for their support throughout Protestant Europe. Arnaud was himself one of the 3000 re-exiled; and, in 1698, was one of the three deputies sent to discuss the points of reception with the privy council of the Duke of Wirtemberg. The English and Dutch envoys at Berne were also ordered by their courts to press the subject with the Duke, and urge the examples of the Elector of Brandenburg, the Landgraves of Hesse Cassel,

Darmstadt, and Homberg, as well as the Counts of Hanau, Ysenburg, &c. who had already received Vaudois colonies. The next year, 1699, William of England, the elector of Brandenburg, and the states general again renewed the most pressing solicitations, and took upon themselves to guarantee the Duke from all expense on account of the Vaudois, requiring only from him land and building materials in the rough.

In the meantime the difficulties on the score of doctrine were gradually overcome; the situations fixed on for the colonies were marked out in the spring near Malbrun, and money was advanced by the commissioners of subscriptions in England, Holland, and Switzerland, to enable the Vaudois to buy provisions, until they could bring the land which had long lain waste into cultivation. The colonies now received the names they have at this day, and in June the Duke issued a regular edict, which was followed by the concessions-brief in September. (1699.) This act contains twenty-three articles of privilege and protection, for which the Vaudois were entirely obliged to the unremitting zeal of William of England, and the states general. For the most part the government kept faith with them, but some of the articles have fallen into disuse, and others have been entirely broken; some of the most

important among them during the last fifty years.

The government of the Vaudois was settled in the hands of a syndic, six counsellors, a secretary, and a serjeant; because the point of their forming an integral part of the Wirtemberg dominions, being always opposed, a separate form of government was necessary for them, dependent solely on the Duke. Their church government was arranged exactly on the plan of that in the valleys, with a moderator, council, called *la table*, &c., together with occasional synods. The numbers in each parish having been estimated, the total was found to amount to 1600, which shows how many must have proceeded to Holland and other countries. The distress of these poor exiles during the first year, was most severe; they had no houses but the remains of some old forts, thrown up during the war; the land was covered with weeds, swamps, and brushwood, nor was it in any parts good originally; bricks were to be made, stones and wood collected and prepared for building, wells sunk, marshes drained, &c. All this too was to be done by a people worn by suffering, encumbered with children, and sick, and having expended the whole of their private means. To add to their distress all the strong and vigorous, the ingenious and best educated had gone to the colo-

nies established in the former years of their exile. Those in Wirtemberg were the poorest and most helpless of the whole.

In an original letter, still existing at Heidelberg, Mons. Fabrice thus describes their situation:—"Was it not," says he, "for the charity of the States' General of Holland, they would actually perish for want; about 272 have been appointed to the bailiwick of Mosbach, near Bretten, to clear and cultivate the lands assigned to them. These bare nothing but weeds and wild herbs, on which these miserable people support life, the alms which we send them not sufficing for so many. Working from morning till night to clear the land, which is as yet entirely unproductive, eating nothing but roots and herbs half boiled, and drinking nothing but water, they strive not to be chargeable to any one. * * * * I have seen them with my own eyes, when I passed over their desert, during my visitation of the churches of the bailiwick: we distributed 100 sacks of corn, and some money to the sick and feeble."

Mons. Fabrice was probably a minister and an officer of the Lutheran Consistory. The country alluded to is now occupied by the Vaudois of great and little Villar, and the land is in most parts so bad as to be kept in cultivation only by the greatest industry. A poor

woman of Gros Villar, is now in the habit of walking to the weekly market of Carlsruhe, a distance of fifteen miles, to carry the eggs and poultry of the village there for sale.

To return to the articles of the concessions-brief, no provision was made for the incidental expences of repairs of churches, schools, &c., so that these from time to time reduced the parishes to the greatest poverty, and exhausted the deposits laid by for the use of the poor.

Had the Vaudois been at first admitted instead of being kept eleven years in suspense, they would never have been reduced either individually or collectively, to their present distress. Poverty has prevented the holding of synods, and dissolved, in great measure, the bond of union between the parishes, as well as that between the people and their pastors, while instruction failing from the same causes, has induced many to allow their children to remain in ignorance, or to go to the German schools; by this they have gradually been losing their knowledge of the French language, in which their sermons have been preached till very lately.

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at, that the German Vaudois should fall short of the purity, intelligence, and education of their brethren in Piemont.

By the recent commands of the Wirtemberg

government, all sermons are in German, and the schoolmasters teach in that language only. The resolution of the government to bring the Vaudois into their own church establishment, with whatever reason formed, and with whatever consistency acted upon, must in a few years succeed in its object: the Vaudois church will be no more in Wirtemberg, (as is already the case in Baden,) nor can the pastors from their intimate connection with the Lutheran church, consistently receive henceforward the portion of the English royal bounty due to them.

It is hoped that the charitable Englishman will consider the case of those few surviving pastors, who accepted their cures in reliance on the bounty of England as promised by her sovereigns, who when that bounty ceased, (from the unfortunate causes lately investigated by the Vaudois committee in London,) instead of deserting their posts, persisted for twenty years in poverty and in misery to perform their duties, and support their church against encroachments and anarchy. Although their annual receipt was small it sufficed when added to their other means, for their simple wants and the loss of it has plunged them for half their lives, in poverty, which would be justly complained of by the meanest peasant in England. They are now old and infirm, and some have

had half their wretched pittance taken from them to provide for Lutheran curates, because they themselves were unable to obey the order to preach in German. It is for these veteran ministers that the feelings of Englishmen should be awakened, more particularly because their long and patient sufferings have been endured on account of the non performance of the promises of England given at first by William III., repeated by Queen Anne, and latterly again pronounced by our late revered monarch.

PEYRAN'S
LETTERS ON BOSSUET.

The Roman Catholics of these kingdoms having endeavoured to persuade the people that their unchangeable religion is changed, the two following letters of Peyran, containing observations on the similar stratagem, first put in practice against the Protestants in France, 150 years ago, by the celebrated Bossuet, may be interesting to those who are willing to be both candid and charitable, though not at the expence of truth.

LETTER THE FIRST.

SIR,

NOT having read the answer of our brother Mondon to the pastoral letter of the Lord Bishop of Pignerol, I cannot tell you whether what has been said by the former respecting Bossuet is foreign from the purpose or not. I do not even know for what reason he has spoken of him at all, either good or bad; but this I know that this Bishop of Meaux, this pretended Father of the Church, need not be treated with much delicacy by a Protestant, after the infamous manner in which he behaved towards our brethren of the reformed religion in France, during the reign of Louis XIV., which prince became a bigot, in consequence of the propensity which he had for pleasure, a propensity to which he delivered himself up without restraint; and a fault which he thought he could redeem by forcing his Protestant subjects to embrace the Catholic religion, by seduction, and violence; means most likely to discredit the most numerous conversions, and to reflect

infamy and contempt upon those who recommended such measures; among whom certainly was the artful Bossuet. It is not by the Protestants alone, that it has been asserted, that this bishop himself was married, and that St. Hyacinth, well known by the share he had in the pleasantry of Matanarius was his son. This, however, I will not positively affirm; because I do not think the proofs produced of these facts sufficiently authenticated. But I will boldly assert that there existed in Paris a family of great consideration, from which have sprung persons of distinguished merit, who have positively stated that there had been a private contract of marriage between Bossuet, when a young man, and a demoiselle des Vieux: that this lady sacrificed her affection for him, and her situation in life to the elevation which the eloquence of her lover might procure for him in the church: that she consented never to avail herself of this contract: that Bossuet, thus ceasing to be her husband, took orders: and that after the death of the prelate, the family already mentioned, had the adjustment of the matrimonial compacts. The same family declare that this lady strictly preserved the dangerous secret in her possession, and that she always remained the friend of the bishop. He gave her the means of buying the little estate of Mauleon, within

five leagues of Paris, from whence she took the name of Mauleon, and lived nearly to the age of 100. Voltaire pretends that Bossuet entertained philosophical sentiments, at variance with his theology. If this be true, it would only the more clearly prove the crafty mind of this too celebrated prelate, who did not by many degrees deserve the reputation he acquired. Never did any man discover in him a shadow of good faith. With respect to the solidity, which the Catholics attribute to his writings, I have been unable to discover it, whatever effort of imagination I have made for that purpose. Solidity in the writings of the Bishop of Meaux! I have discovered in reading his works, a great degree of delicacy, especially when art and dissimulation were required. It is certain that he was thoroughly conversant with every turn of the most refined duplicity, and it requires more than moderate skill to be aware of his artifices. His disputes with the minister Claude have shewn his character in its true light; and one may judge by the narrative of these disputes, what was the solidity of his doctrine; and from thence may learn how far he could carry chicanery; of what degree of sophistry he was capable; how well he understood the art of disputatious trifling; how he could carry boldness to the excess, not to say impudence, of denying or

disguising truths the most evident. If that be solidity, we cannot deny Bossuet the praise of it.

His exposition of the Catholic doctrine, which he gave only to take Protestants by surprise, is nothing but one long tissue of dissimulation and fraud, as La Bastide, Noguier, Jurien, and many others have clearly demonstrated. How is it possible to attribute solidity to this prelate, when even in his favourite work nothing can be found compatible with what is called solidity? This name cannot be given to what must only pass for an artful snare, spread with dexterity to entrap the simplicity of the ignorant. The Bishops of France themselves satirised it most severely, for in ranking this hook with the abridged methods of Father Maimbourg, (the most headlong and impetuous man who ever busied himself in writing,) and of Father Veron, author of the lowest and most shameful chicanery ever thought of since religion became the subject of dispute; they did not show much esteem either for the author or his opinions. To place the exposition of the celebrated Bossuet on a level with this absurd quibbling, (which every one considered as the production of the most malignant and lowest sophistry,) was not giving a very advantageous testimony in its favour, or one likely to do him honour. In doing so, they have given a decided contradiction to all those who have

attributed solidity to his works. Who could help observing a revolting disregard of truth in his "*Histoire des variations*," so full of puerilities, sophisms, and false views, for which he was sharply attacked both by French Protestants, and by foreigners, such as Kendorf, Basnage, and Burnet. A man, who with an utter disregard of truth writes with levity of mind against what he actually knows to be the real state of the case, as does the Bishop of Meaux, can never give to his works the sterling and noble character of solidity. This quality can be combined neither with falsehood nor error. A man of ability, even a great man may be involuntarily deceived, and the works of such a man may, notwithstanding some mistakes, be solid. Falsehood and error may be decked with all the ornaments of fallacious rhetoric, but real solidity belongs exclusively to truth. We must, however, do justice to Bossuet, and confess that he has shewn the force of his judgment on occasions on which we cannot avoid being overpowered by it. In the fine discourse which this prelate delivered at the opening of the assembly in 1682, from the text, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob," Numbers, xxiv. 5; he takes occasion in the invocation at the end of his exordium, addressing himself to the Almighty, and imploring his grace, to quote to Him the autho-

rity of St. Gregory, to convince *Him* of the truth of what he says. Here is, without doubt, a striking specimen of the sublime, the solid, and the judicious! To prove a thing to God by the testimony of a man; to cite the fathers, in order to persuade him; to urge to him that the thing ought to be so, because St. Gregory said it. To exhibit this effort of rhetoric in a place so remarkable, at a conjuncture so extraordinary, was certainly doing what no one had ever thought of doing before, or will ever be induced to imitate. What could those brilliant lights, his brethren, the clergy of the Gallican church think of it? Had they not here a striking proof of the claim which this pretended father of the church has to the character of solidity as a teacher? I will not deny that this great prelate possessed some rare talents. He knew how to persecute in the most cruel manner, and at the same time to deny with most revolting assurance, that there was any persecution. He knew how to unite in the business of conversion, fraud with violence, to close every inlet by which one ray of truth might reach the world. In order to stop their mouths against himself he opposed all those who ventured to say what they thought adapted to undeceive the people. He had ever at hand a veil of darkness to be thrown over the purest light of truth, whether in doctrine

or in history. He knew how to make use of the orders of the higher powers for the discomfiture of his adversaries, when argument failed him. He was an assiduous courtier, and a pastor but little troubled with pastoral anxieties. Such are the rare qualities which distinguished the bishop of Meaux.

As you may not be acquainted with M. Bossuet's "Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church," upon the subjects of controversy, I will observe to you, that this treatise appeared three different times, and every time in a different state. The first edition came to hand in 1669, the second in 1671: from a former impression, which had been withdrawn; M. Bossuet inserted in this the articles of the eucharist, of tradition, of the authority of the church, and of the Pope, which all together form the most extensive and important part of his treatise. At length a third appeared; which the printer calls the first edition, though it was in fact the second; it is in this second, principally, that we find Bossuet has changed many passages, both of the first edition and of the manuscript copy, which he had circulated among the Protestants of France.

It ought not to appear strange that a person writing on the subject of religion should correct and recorrect his work, especially if on a matter of controversy; because in such a case it is neces-

sary not only to establish one's own belief, but to answer the arguments of one's opponent; which requires a perfect knowledge of the principles and dogmas of each. But if it be true that the Roman church is an uniform plan of doctrine, as Bossuet wished it to be believed; if his treatise were merely an exposition of faith, as the title professes, and as he gave it out from the first, it does not seem that any contrivance or address was required. Nothing was necessary but to declare at once simply and openly what was believed, and the manner in which it was believed; and for this purpose the most natural and least laboured style would have been the best. I am going, Sir, to point out to you the differences between the first and second editions; because I am convinced nothing is more apt to shew the real sentiments of an author than the different views he appears to take of the same things at different times. A man may begin with axioms and infer conclusions; he may draw out a long chain of reasoning, enlivened by striking figures; he may be curious in the choice of terms; he may employ sometimes those which are equivocal and undetermined; yet, after all, one word escaping from him unawares refutes more, it is said, than the whole book can prove: and the very care which he may take to recall that word discovers still more.

First, In the beginning of the first edition, M. Bossuet declares, that he intends to state the doctrine of the Roman church simply; separating the questions which she has already decided from those which do not belong to faith. Thus saying openly, that all those which are not proposed in his treatise have no reference to faith: and that granted, the Protestants are at once relieved from a great number of doctrines and practices of the Roman church, which M. Bossuet does not propose at all, or separates from those he does propose. In the last edition, Bossuet withdraws this declaration, and says quite another thing: he means, he says, to declare (to the Protestants) the sentiments of the Roman church, and to distinguish them from those which have been falsely imputed to it.

Secondly, In the first, speaking of the worship of saints, he had said, that the honour paid by the Romish church to the saints is religious, yet it is religious only because it gives them honour with reference to God. He proves even, that so far from its being necessary to deny them honour, because it is religious, it would, on the contrary, be blameable if it were not religious. In the last edition, perceiving that he had said too much, and proved too much; and not being able to retract all he said, he turns the subject

into a matter of doubt, as if after reconsidering the subject. "If the honour," says he, "which the church pays to the Holy Virgin and to the saints can be called religious, it is because it necessarily refers itself to God."

Thirdly, In the first, when the Protestants establish as a fact, that no trace of the worship of the saints is to be found in the first three centuries; himself says, with respect to confining one's self within those ages, "It is a settled point, that in those three centuries, the church, more occupied in suffering than in writing, has left many things to be cleared up, both with respect to its doctrine and practice." In the last he passes a sponge over these words, however happily turned. He thought it was acknowledging a fact too favourable to the Protestants, to admit that not only the worship of the saints, but many other dogmas and customs, cannot be found in any part of the writings of the three first centuries, since there have been many Roman Catholics who have made the same assertion.

He perceived also, without doubt, that the reason he had chosen to give for this silence was in fact but a very feeble pretext; because, notwithstanding the sufferings of the church in those early periods, there exists a sufficient number of large volumes, written by various great men of those three first centuries; such

as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Origen, and several others before and after them; for though Tertullian and Origen held some erroneous opinions, (or what have been subsequently considered as such,) that would not have prevented their ability of making some mention of the worship of saints, had it been true that they saw it practised in their times.

Fourthly, In the first, having brought forward all the various ways in which one may imagine the saints to hear our prayers; "or be it," adds he, "that by some other means more incomprehensible and more unknown, God causes us to receive the fruit of the prayers which we address to these blessed spirits:" which in this place means in plain terms that, whether the saints hear our prayers or do not, God will not fail to reward the devotion paid to the saints; which is the doctrine of Hugo de St. Victor, an author of the 12th century. In the last, M. Bossuet again passes a sponge over this opinion, which shewed not only too much uncertainty respecting the foundation of a religious worship, but a sort of inconsistency in addressing prayers to saints, if one could suppose that those prayers were not heard.

Fifthly, In the first edition, speaking of images, he inserts these words: "That the Roman church does not so much honour the image

of an apostle or a martyr, as it honours the apostle or the martyr in presence of the image :” for that means that no honour was in fact paid to the image itself, or very little ; but this does not say enough according to the Roman Pontifical and the Council of Trent, and still less according to the general custom of the Roman church. For which reason, in the last edition, M. Bossuet says a little more strongly, “ When we pay honour to the image of an apostle or a martyr, our intention is not so much to honour the image as to honour the apostle or the martyr in the presence of the image.”

Sixthly, In the first edition, in the conclusion of the article upon the worship of saints, he says, “ There is nothing so unjust as to object against the church, that it makes piety wholly to consist in this species of devotion ; because, on the contrary, it does not impose any obligation on individuals to adopt this practice. I have already remarked,” he adds, “ the words of the Council of Trent, which contents itself with calling it good and useful, without teaching that it is either necessary or required.” Therefore it appears clearly that the church only condemns those who avoid it from contempt, out of the spirit of dissension or revolt. That was saying plainly that the worship of the saints might be dispensed with, since the church does not enforce any obligation

to practise it. But in the last edition Bossuet altered the whole of this passage, for on the one hand, he leaves out these two propositions, that “ The church does not impose any obligation to practise the worship of saints; and that the worship of saints is not a custom necessary or commanded:” as if he did not wish to say the same thing, at least so clearly or so positively as he had done before, but to leave it in a more indefinite shape; and, on the other hand, instead of saying as before, that the church condemns only those who reject this custom out of contempt or from a spirit of dissension; he puts, “ If it is not from contempt or error.” So that, supposing the Protestants to be in error, as the Roman church supposes, this last edition would replace them under the anathema from which the first had saved them.

Seventhly, In the first, at the conclusion of what he says upon justification, he had added, that it was not necessary to know any thing more to form a solid Christian: which disencumbered religion from a great number of distinctions, decisions of canons, and anathemas of councils. Because this prelate put aside all those doctrines, concluding that those which he had noticed would be sufficient: in the last, he changes this opinion into one quite different, and says only that his doctrine was sufficient to teach Christians that they ought to

give to God, through Jesus Christ, all the glory of their salvation. It is thus that this prelate often changed the latter part without having altered the beginning. You may judge, Sir, how far any reasoning can be well grounded, from which different conclusions are without hesitation drawn from the same propositions.

Eighthly, In the first edition, at the end of the article upon indulgences, he asserts that “this subject belongs principally to discipline:” words very remarkable; because the things relating to discipline may be taken away or changed according to circumstances of time and place. In the last, he no longer says that indulgences themselves belong to discipline, but merely the manner of dispensing them.

Ninthly, In the first, speaking of the mass, he says, “It may reasonably be called a sacrifice;” which is as much as to say, that it is not necessary to give it that name. In the last, he changes this determination into a very different one; for he says, strongly, “that nothing is wanting to the mass to constitute it a true sacrifice:” which are two very different consequences deduced from the same doctrine; and what the prelate advances in this place, as a proof that the mass is a true sacrifice, does not in fact prove it any better than it proves that it may be called one.

Tenthly, Now I come to the conclusion of Bossuet, (omitting for your ease several articles.) In the first edition, this prelate says, that “ the foundations of salvation are the adoration of one only God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and reliance on one only Saviour,” &c. In the last, he retracts this definitive proposition, perceiving probably that, by admitting these facts, he was acknowledging that we were in possession of the fundamental grounds of salvation ; since the whole of our doctrine reduces itself to these two points, and we admit nothing that is contrary to them. It is easy to see that Bossuet had in his treatise two principal ends in view ; one to insinuate plausibly into the minds of his readers the doctrine of his church, by extenuating as much as he could the most revolting parts of it ; and the other, to combat the doctrine of the Protestants, upon two points in particular, with respect to which he thought he could raise the greatest difficulties against them, viz. the real presence of the body of Jesus Christ at the eucharist, and the authority of the church. It is easy however to perceive, that it is only upon the subject of the positive doctrine of the Roman church that he has hesitated, altered, and realtered, effaced, added, and in short, made all the changes which I have pointed out to you.

From whence, Sir, can this sort of variation

arise in an exposition of faith? For one cannot deny that this prelate was an enlightened man, capable of expressing himself with great facility and nicety, or that he was not as thoroughly acquainted not only with the doctrine of his own church; but with that of the Protestants, when he published his first edition, as he was when he published the last.

All these difficulties can only arise from the nature of the dogmas upon which he wrote, which having no certain foundation, do not hold sufficiently together, and have not the relation one to another which the different parts of a doctrine ought to have. 1st. We are to believe what the church believes, because we believe that the church cannot err. That is very soon said; but when it is necessary to explain what the church believes, upon what motives and what principles she founds her belief, the mind tossed about in uncertainty knows not where to fix; the light of reason draws one way, the authority of the church another; the writer says more or less than he intended, or differently from what the Council of Trent, the doctors, or general custom require should be said. In such a case, an author must write, efface, replace, in the endeavour to satisfy every body; and this is what happened to Bossuet: but after all it is not easy for a man to satisfy himself with what he

proposes to others. This would justify Voltaire in having said, that the philosophical opinions of this prelate were very different from his theological ones.

You may easily discover, Sir, by reading the treatise of Bossuet, in the shape in which he put it in the last edition, that (with the exception of what he appears evidently to have sought to explain away in the worship of saints and images, in the article of satisfaction, in the sacrifice of the mass, and the authority of the Pope) the difference between his exposition and the common doctrine of the church of Rome consists principally in Bossuet's having enveloped the most difficult parts of the subject in vague and general terms, and suppressed a great number of other doctrines received among those of his own communion.

From the high station he occupied in his church, Bossuet could, if it were necessary to explain himself more exactly upon all these differences, have given to his expressions a colour which might more or less agree with the tenets of the church, and also in what concerns the doctrines which he appeared to give up: and what he actually did after the dragoon crusade, of which he was an ardent promoter.*

* This refers to M. Louvoy's proposal to the king, to send the dragoons to live at free quarters upon the Protestants, which was acted upon at the revocation of the edict of Nantes,

But I will not, Sir, leave you in any doubt about the prelate's want of good faith. Bossuet says then that the Protestants shall not be forced to invoke the saints if they do not choose it, provided they do not condemn those who do invoke them; that what had been called till that time adoration or worship of images, is properly only an honour paid to religious persons, a help for the instruction of the people; that works and satisfactions are only an application of the merits of Jesus Christ; the mass only a display* of the sacrifice of his death; transubstantiation nothing but a word or expression which implies, after all, only the real presence of the body of Jesus Christ in the sacrament, which we ourselves believe: that for the sake of peace the cup might be given to the people: that, provided a primacy in the person of the Pope is acknowledged, for the sake of order and unity, the rights which he claims

A. D. 1685, of which there is a terrible account given by Bishop Burnet, (who was an eye-witness of the miseries it occasioned,) in his *History of his own Times*. Last edit. 8vo. vol. iii. pag. 69—76. Oxford, 1823. In p. 73, note a, is a curious narrative of Speaker Onslow's mentioning what it was which gave rise to this cruelty. Burnet has also a passage in his critique upon the *History of the Variations*, Art 7, concerning this crusade, and the encouragement of it by the bishops, as well as their flattery of the king for it; which he contrasts with the contrary conduct of Martin, the apostle of France, as he calls him.

* Or illustration—Fr. explication.

beyond are only things which are disputed about in schools, but do not belong to faith, &c. &c.

On the other hand, the form of profession of faith, or the formulary of the profession of faith of the Council of Trent, says in as many words; "That it is necessary to believe and receive all the traditions, all the justifications and all the practices of the Romish church," which comprehends in general all of them that we know and all that we do not know. It says still more expressly again: "that it is necessary to invoke the saints, venerate their relics, to have images of Jesus Christ, of the Virgin, and of all the saints, render to them the honour and veneration due to them; to believe seven true sacraments, all that the Council has said and decreed upon justification, and consequently the merit of works, satisfactions, purgatory, and all the doctrine of indulgences, the conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body of Jesus Christ, and the conversion of the whole substance of the wine into his blood; which is called transubstantiation: Jesus Christ entire in the one and the other sacrament, under one and the same kind: the Romish church, mistress of all the churches; to swear a true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and receive generally all other things which are taught by the councils, and particulary by the

sacred Council of Trent." This comprehends generally any thing which they please, and which has been the subject of dispute. This is what it formally exacts of those who present themselves before the parish priest, the bishop, or the great council.

Compare, Sir, these articles of faith with the style of Bossuet's treatise, and judge whether this prelate was sincere, and whether the doctrine of his "Exposition" is one and the same with the doctrine of the Council. Whoever does not perceive the difference is blind, and has eyes in his head in order not to see. What can be thought of a prelate who disguises the doctrine of his church, except that he intended to lay a snare for the unwary? and how can one esteem a man who employs deceit in an affair of such importance as religion. A Father Brasset is to be preferred to him. Perhaps I may shew to you, another time, the object of the work of this too celebrated prelate.

I am, &c.

LETTER THE SECOND.

SIR,

I PROMISED at the end of my former letter to shew you the design M. Bossuet had in view when he compiled his "Exposition de la doctrine Catholique," and in order to do so, shall avail myself of two works by two celebrated Englishmen; one of them Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, the title of whose book is, "The Letter to the last Assembly of the Church of France." (held 1682.)

* The other, by Dr. Wake, (whom his rare merit raised afterwards to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury,) who wrote his "Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England," a "Defence of the Exposition," and a "Second Defence of the Exposition;" which works have furnished me with a multitude of curious particulars concerning the end M. Bossuet had in view in writing his famous "Exposition of the Catholic faith."

It is universally known that after the peace†

* A fourth edition, in which these excellent works are published in quarto, bears date "London, 1688, printed for R. Chiswell."

† A. D. 1659.

of the Pyrenees, they had determined in France to extinguish the Protestant religion, and some of their censors have even acknowledged that it was one of the secret conditions of that treaty; but the difficulty consisted in accomplishing this design without exciting a civil war, or alarming the Protestant powers. The politicians took excellent measures for gradually weakening the reformed party in France, and for laying asleep or making a division among the foreign powers, who were of the same communion; and you are not ignorant with what success. Their triumph would have been more complete, if the theologians employed to support the cause of Rome had succeeded as well as the makers of the proposals, and the inventors of edicts. But it was not from a deficiency of ability that in the outset they persuaded no one. The first person who tried to give a tone to these controversies was the famous Arnaud, a doctor of the Sorbonne. This great man, a philosopher, a mathematician, learned in the fathers, and tolerably well read in the Scriptures, one of the first writers of his age, and who had gained considerable victories over adversaries in his own communion, had only one story to tell in writing against the Protestants, repeating in different forms in his "*Perpetuité de la foi de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistée,*"

that as transubstantiation is now the received doctrine of the church, it follows that it must always have been so, because it was not probable that Christians would unanimously have agreed to change their opinions; and if they had done so, that it would be possible to fix upon the precise time when the universal church varied upon this point, or when and how each particular church corrupted the ancient doctrine.

M. Aubertin had brought forward so many proofs of the actual belief of the holy fathers, that it is astonishing a metaphysical argument should have acquired so much celebrity, and have received such universal applause from the Roman church.

The Protestants might easily have overthrown these chimerical trophies, they had only to point out that according to this mode of reasoning, no error could be introduced into the world, or adopted by a numerous society. The origin of idolatry is still disputed, and the question not yet decided. Is it, therefore, to be inferred, that idolatry is not a pernicious error; and that it must have existed from the beginning of the world, because the precise time is not known, in which the worship of the heavenly bodies was introduced, nor who was the first hero that was deified? Yet it would be arguing quite as justly as M. Arnaud.

With respect to the universal agreement of Christians, which M. Arnaud asserted, they clearly proved to him that the eastern churches, which Rome calls schismatic, did not agree with her in opinion upon the eucharist; and that if they had any idea of a real presence, they approached much nearer to the consubstantiation of the Lutherans, than to transubstantiation. It was in vain that M. Arnaud brought forward attestations of some Greek priests, to shew they embraced upon that point the hypothesis of Rome, for it was proved against him that these attestations had been obtained by bribery. The Englishman Wheler, who was travelling in Greece at that time, assures them that he conversed with several papas, whom M. de Nointel, M. Arnaud's nephew, had endeavoured to bribe; and the same thing may be seen in the *Miscellanea* of another Englishman, Smith.

The reply which was made to M. Arnaud was more than sufficient; yet, as the superstitions of Christian Rome are not so ancient as those of paganism, the reformed, by dint of researches, discovered the origin of the monstrous dogma of transubstantiation. They have shewn how the energetic expressions of the fathers, respecting the Eucharist, gave rise during the dark ages, to the obscure idea of some incomprehensible union or change. They

have even pointed out the authors of two opposite opinions; a figurative, and a literal one. That is to say, consubstantiation, or the union of the bread and body of Christ, which doctrine John of Damascus began to preach in the east, in the year 728; and transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of the one into the other; which the monk Paschasius Rathbert, first published in the Latin Church, in 818.

Thus all the advantage which the Roman Catholics of France gained from this dispute, was to see their strong hold levelled to the ground by M. Claude, who, although an eloquent and ingenious person, would have been unable to cope with M. Arnaud on many other subjects.

The Roman church perceived by this defeat, that she ran the risk of losing all credit with ingenuous minds, if dogmas began to be discussed. She therefore had recourse to chicanery, and entrenched herself in formalities, in prescriptions, in the plea that these were points on which discussion was not to be allowed: upon which pretences she pronounced her adversaries worthy of condemnation, without its being necessary to examine which party was actually right or wrong. M. Nicola took upon himself to manage this part of the controversy, and, in his "*Prejugés légitimes*," ex-

pressed himself against the reformed, with all the artifice and eloquence which might have been expected from a disciple and friend of the great Arnaud.

The Jansenists, to whose party these gentlemen belonged, had been defeated at Rome, and in France, in the celebrated dispute of the five propositions; and had taken as their strong hold the assertion that the five condemned propositions were not in the Augustine of Jansenius: it followed clearly from this that neither the Pope nor his councils were infallible in point of fact, since they could condemn persons as heretical who were not so, by imputing to them opinions which they had never taught, and which were not found in their books.

Not only the Jansenists saw the inference which might be drawn from this, and advanced several maxims, which destroyed the authority of the church and its infallibility; but the Protestants of France immediately perceived this contradiction of doctrine between the author "*des Prejugés*," and his friends or disciples, and did not lose this opportunity of embroiling them with each other. Pajon did this with an acuteness and force of argument which silenced M. Nicola. At the same time Claude answered Nicola in a direct manner, by shewing that the excess of corruption to which

the doctrine and the worship of the church of Rome had arisen, obliged the fathers of the Protestants from thenceforward to examine religion, and consequently to separate themselves from a society which would oblige them, under pain of damnation, to receive a belief and a practice contrary to the Gospel.

This was sufficient to make the Catholics repent of having given this turn to the controversy. But as this was their last retreat, they did not wish to abandon it; and, therefore, contrived to bring forward their "Prejugés" under different forms; and to propose them with as much assurance as if they had never been refuted. Their defeated arguments pleased the assembly of the clergy of France in 1682, so much, that they composed from them sixteen methods of prescription, upon the plan of which, they were, to endeavour to convert the reformed. These gentlemen went still farther; they thought their arguments so convincing, that they requested of the king that he would order a copy to be sent to all the consistories of the Protestants; imagining that there would be some of the ministers and elders who would suffer themselves to be dazzled by these illusions, or frightened into submission by the menaces of the pastoral advertisement. "If you still refuse to obey us, as your last error will be worse than the first, so will your last punish-

ment be worse than the first." "Sic erunt novissima vuestra pejora prioribus." But all this was of no avail. Pajon immediately made remarks upon this advertisement, and addressed a letter to the clergy, in which fewer figures of rhetoric are perceptible, but more good sense and solidity. The famous Jurieu, perceiving that the greatest part of the French ministers were not in a situation to defend themselves, took the trouble of examining the little book of the French prelates. At last Jurieu answered them, by way of recrimination, in his "Prejugés légitimes" against Popery; proposed by him to the number of nineteen; which are so many methods, of which the least plausible has more force than all those of the clergy.

All these systems were in vogue when the work of Bossuet made its appearance. The new turn which he gave the controversy surprised the Protestants more than all the subtleties which the theologians of France had hitherto invented. He was a prelate of reputation, preceptor of the dauphin, who had never taken any part in the disputes about grace, and therefore was not distrusted either by Jesuit or Jansenist; either by Rome or by the Gallican church. They saw him, I say, publish a work furnished with numerous testimonies of approbation, in which he endea-

voured to soften down what was most revolting in the hypothesis of his sect, to bury in oblivion the gross abuses, and to extinguish the greater part of the disputes of the school.

It was difficult to suppose that a man, supported by all that was most powerful in a communion of which he seemed to be the oracle, would write only to deceive his fellow-citizens ; or that he could imagine a simple exposition of the doctrines of his church, to be capable of bringing back into its bosom those who had left it after long hesitation, and who continued in their separation in spite of all that they had been made to suffer. It is not to the antipodes that the dogmas of Rome are taught. Our knowledge of them does not arise from the uncertain accounts of ignorant or ill informed travellers. Its ceremonies and devotions are practised before our eyes : the writings of their theologians are sold every where ; and the reformers themselves had most of them been either bishops, priests, or monks, so that neither they, nor their disciples could be ignorant of the tenets of the Roman church. Besides their ministers had no interest in disguising their opinions, for there is much more for ecclesiastics to gain in her communion than in any other society.

This reflection may make us doubt the sincerity of M. Bossuet, who declared in the beginning of his work, that his design was to give a

true notion of the sentiments of the Catholic church, and to separate them from those which have been falsely imputed to it. The reformed, brought up in a religion which inspires sincerity ; and besides disposed to desire a reconciliation, from the hope of its putting an end to their sufferings, thought, and with reason, that this charge of the bishops was only a pretext for getting rid of their creed, which caused them the more pain. In addition to the rumour, which had been circulated for some years among the people, of an accommodation between the two religions, and of which divers plans had been laid before some ministers ; Bossuet and his imitators, from time to time let many general promises of reformation escape from them, if they would reconcile themselves to the church.

If it has since appeared, that there was not a shadow of sincerity in all the advances which the Roman Catholics made, and that even then enlightened persons could discover that these were mere illusions ; surely the reformed are to be commended for not believing them, and their adversaries condemned for trifling with all that is most sacred, in order to deceive the simple.

To ascertain whether Bossuet was one of these deceivers, (as the Protestants have accused him of being, and have even proved him

to have been, by showing the opposition which existed between the opinions he professed and those of the other teachers of his communion,) it will not be without advantage to know the history of his book; because, by the manner in which a design is conducted and managed, we see what is the end proposed.

Marshal Turenne, who had perceived for a long time that his religion was an invincible obstacle to his advancement, and who had the low and mean ambition of becoming Constable, would have been very glad to be able to conform to the Roman Catholic religion; but the gross practices of that church are so revolting to those who have been brought up in other principles, that the prince could not prevail upon himself to join a society which imposed such ridiculous superstitions on its devotees. To remove this scruple, Bossuet composed a work in which he endeavoured to show that these same devotions were not essential to the Catholic doctrine; and that you might live and die in its communion without practising them.

This work, or rather the caresses and liberties of Louis, having made M. de Turenne change his religion, the prelate flattered himself that it might produce the same effect upon others of the reformed, and resolved to publish it in 1671; after having let the manuscript circulate for four years, after having added to it

divers sections, as those of the eucharist, of tradition, of the authority of the church and of the Pope; and after having obtained the approbation of the archbishops of Rheims and of Tours, and of that of certain bishops.

At that time, as they still retained the simplicity of considering the Sorbonne as the depository of the Gallican theology, Bossuet wished to obtain its approbation, but he could not succeed; for having sent his "Exposition," as soon as it was printed, to some of the doctors of the Sorbonne; instead of approving it, they marked several passages, as either contrary or little favourable to the doctrines of their church. This edition was immediately suppressed and another substituted, in which the passages objected to by the Sorbonnists were altered. This was done with the greatest possible secrecy, but notwithstanding Messrs. Naguier and de la Bastide remarked the changes which Bossuet had made in his work; they also objected to him, that the true Roman Catholics were not satisfied with these temporizing opinions, and that one of them had completed a refutation of his book before any Protestant had printed a reply; though he was forbidden to publish it.

Although Bossuet had sufficient influence to suppress the direct answers which those of his communion would have made him, he could

not prevent the malcontents from taking an indirect method of saying (and often too) what they thought of it. The Jesuits, with their monks, like the inventors of superstitious impositions, which enriched them, did not pardon him. The famous Father Maimbourg, in his *History of Lutheranism*, drew the picture of this prelate, and made a critique of his “*Exposition*,” under the name of Cardinal Contarini, and says plainly, that those accommodating and temporizing methods in religion, adopted in the pretended “*Expositions de Foi*,” which suppress, or only mention in ambiguous or softened terms, a part of the doctrines of the church, satisfy neither party, who complain equally of such trifling in a thing so delicate as that of faith.

Father Cresset gave M. Bossuet still harder blows, in his work, entitled “*De la véritable Devotion envers la Sainte Vierge*,” printed at Paris in 1679, with the king’s privilege, by the permission of the archbishop and the consent of his provincial, and three Jesuits, inspectors of the works of the society. A preceptor of M. le Dauphin was an adversary requiring some circumspection. He could not be attacked directly without risk. But M. Widenseldt, intendant of the prince of Swarzenberg, having published, “*Monita salutaria*

B. Virginis ; Avis salutaires de la bienheureuse Vierge Marie à ses Dévots indiscrets ;” a publication which made a great deal of noise, especially after the bishop of Tournay had recommended it in a pastoral to his flock, as a work of solid piety, and well calculated to prevent the excesses to which superstition leads ; Father Cresset boldly affirmed that this work had given offence to good Catholics ; that the learned of all nations refuted it ; that the Holy See condemned it ; and that the bishops forbid it to be printed or read, as containing positions suspected of heresy and impiety, which tended to destroy piety and devotion to the Mother of God, and in general the invocation of saints and the worship of images : and all this because the German gentleman had adopted the sentiments of Bossuet upon these articles.

Nearly ten years after Messrs. Naguier and de la Bastide had refuted M. Bossuet without his making any reply ; he published, instead of a formal answer, a new edition of his little book, with an advertisement at the beginning, nearly half as large as the work itself. You may suppose, Sir, that the composition of fifty or sixty pages, 12mo. was a less arduous enterprise than the taking of Troy ; but though the time was long, it was a good deal for Bossuet to do, to be able in that time to procure

the determination of the Pope,* and the court of Rome to approve a work entirely contrary to their maxims. It seems that the secret end of this work had been discovered to them, and assurance given that, as soon as the reformed should be converted, either by persuasion or force, every thing should be revoked, which had the appearance of relaxation to those who were not in the secret. From being ignorant of this intrigue, some Catholics, worthy of a better religion, were ill used. M. Imbert, doctor in divinity, having taken upon him to say to the people, who were going to the adoration of the cross on Good-Friday, in the year 1683, that the Catholics worshipped Jesus Christ crucified, before the cross, and that they worshipped nothing of what they saw: the vicar of the parish immediately cried out, "It is the wood, the wood." "No, no," replied M. Imbert; "it is Jesus Christ and not the wood." There was no occasion for more to bring him into trouble. He was cited before the tribunal of the archbishop of Bourdeaux, and when he thought to defend himself by the authority of Bossuet and his "Exposition ;"

* It is remarkable, that nine years passed before this book could obtain the Pope's approbation. Clement X. refused it positively. Maclaine's transl. of Mosh. Ecc. Hist. vol. v. sect. 2, p. 1, c. 1, p. 126, Not. ^u Where references are given to books from which the fullest account of the dispute may be obtained. Innocent X. licensed it in 1689.

they urged, by way of reply, what was objected against this book, that it explained things away; but that the sense of the church was contrary. After which he was suspended from all ecclesiastical functions. The accused appealed, as from an abuse, to the parliament at Guiennes, and wrote to M. Bossuet, imploring his protection against the archbishop, who threatened him with perpetual imprisonment and fetters.

M. de Wille, priest and dean of Saint Mary de Malines, having explained the infallibility of the Pope according to M. Bossuet's ideas, underwent numberless persecutions. He pleaded that he had only followed this prelate's authority, and that his "Exposition" did not require more from an orthodox Catholic. But this did not prevent the university of Louvain from declaring that this proposition, "The Pope is only the first bishop," is scandalous and pernicious.

In the mean time the reformed were not forgetful of M. Bossuet. As soon as his advertisement made its appearance, M. de la Bastide refuted it. M. Jurieu soon after wrote "A Preservative against a Change of Religion," in opposition to the Exposition of this bishop; but all these works, as well as those which were written against his Treatise upon the Communion, in both kinds, remained unan-

swered. This prelate, who saw himself roughly handled, waited prudently for the booted apologists (the dragoons) who were soon to reduce his adversaries to silence.

When Mr. Wake published his "Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England," M. Bossuet denied that any Roman Catholic had written or wished to write against him, or that the Sorbonne had refused their approbation of his book; and denied also having read the book of Father Cresset, or even having heard it spoken of.

Mr. Wake showed in the defence, which he wrote of his "Exposition," in 1686, with how little sincerity M. Bossuet denied the most evident facts with regard to Father Cresset. One may fairly say, that this prelate carried his audacity to a height which well deserved an epithet I dare not give it. Can any one believe that M. Bossuet had never heard of a thick volume, written expressly against "*Les Avis salutaires de la Sainte Vierge*," after the bishop of Tournay's pastoral letter, approving of this work, had made so many disputes in France? Can one imagine that M. Bossuet could be ignorant that the opinions of this Jesuit were contrary to those contained in his "Exposition;" after M. de la Bastide had objected this to him in his reply to his advertisement; after M. Jurieu, the author "*Des Reflexions gene-*

rales sur son Exposition," had made long extracts in his "Preservatif," from the book "De la véritable Devotion;" after M. Arnaud had turned Father Cresset into ridicule, in his reply to the "Preservatif;" after M. Imbert, in his letter to this bishop, had offered to refute the "Preservatif," provided that they would engage he should not suffer for it, and that they would allow him to speak his opinion freely; in short, after he himself had answered many parts of the "Preservatif," in his Treatise upon the Communion, under both kinds?

If you add to all this, Sir, what M. Bossuet dared to advance, in his pastoral letter, concerning the dragoon persecution. "I am not surprised," says he, "my dear brothers, that you have returned in crowds, and with so much readiness, to the church. No one of you has suffered violence either in his person or effects. Far from having suffered torments, you have not even heard of them; and I receive the same accounts from other bishops."

Compare, Sir, this notorious falsehood with the apology made by Bossuet for this same persecution to one of his friends, signed with his own hand, and the original of which an author offered at the same time to show, and you will be obliged to acknowledge that a man must push Catholicism very far before he can contradict himself so grossly. What an idea does

such an instance of dissimulation give us of the character of a person unfortunately too celebrated, and how is it possible to esteem him?

But we need not spend more time in discovering the mystery of the Exposition. Bossuet himself let out the secret unawares, confessing that he had weighed all his words, and had taken pains to deceive the simple. You will easily perceive this, when you read the following sentence in his advertisement. *In the meantime they laboured at the Italian version with all the accuracy which so important a matter required, in which a single word ill rendered might spoil the whole work.*

Although one must be stupid indeed to look upon these pious frauds as sincere, and worthy of a bishop; nevertheless, M. Bossuet was so much alarmed, lest it should be imagined that he had a design to amend anything, or any abuse, or to labour in good earnest for the reformation of his church, that he afterwards gave incontestable proofs of the hatred which he had always borne the Protestants, and which he thought proper to conceal beneath an assumed mildness, till the dragoon mission. It was in his *Histoire des Variations*, that he pulled off the mask, and by the abuse and calumny with which he loaded the reformers, and all the Protestant churches, he shewed what he really was, and gave an example of

the manner in which he himself deserved to be treated.

If this prelate advanced falsehoods, he might console himself that his approvers did not act with more integrity than himself; for whoever has read the works of the Cardinals Capisucchi and Bona, will perceive that they have taught a doctrine very different from that of the *Exposition Catholique*, concerning the invocation of saints, and the worship of images.

Mr. Wake, in answer to an apologist of Bossuet's, says, "Of the remarkable things which I should scruple to conceal from you, I will only mention in this place two of the most important; one concerning the division of Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and the other the death of Charles I.

First. With respect to the first of these articles, he confesses that several of those who had been driven from the kingdom by the persecution of Mary, became prepossessed in favour of the form of discipline which they saw at Geneva; but that this spirit of schism was fomented by the Roman Catholics, who mingled amongst them, pretending to be of their number; and in support of this information he refers his readers to

It was in 1568, that the Puritans began to make a noise, and their principal chiefs were concealed papists, as appeared from a letter

which fell from the pocket of Heath. Mr. Wake refers to Archbishop Bramhall, in a letter* of his to Archbishop Usher.

The Roman Catholics had colleges in Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, where they educated young men in the sciences, and mechanic arts, and instructed them twice a week, to dispute for and against the Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists; after which they sent them to England to act the part they were best fitted for. A Jesuit of St. Omer, (Fox Firenbrand,) confessed that there had been fathers belonging to that society concealed for more than twenty years amongst the Quakers.

In 1625, (Mercure Francois,) the Jesuits published a book, entitled *Mysteria Politica*, with a view of breaking the league, which several princes in Europe had formed against the house of Austria. It contained eight letters, equally abusive of France, of England, the Venetians, the Dutch, and the Swiss. In the last of these letters, the author, who counterfeited the Protestants, has omitted nothing which he thought likely to give a contemptible

* The letter, dated July 20th, 1654, but from what place is not mentioned, (probably Paris,) from Bramhall, then Bishop of Derry, to Archbishop Usher, is printed at the end of Parr's Life of Usher, fol. Lond. 1686. No. 293. p. 64.

idea of King James, and to sow divisions between that prince, his son, and the princess Palatine, the lords of parliament, the clergy of the church of England, and the puritan ministers.

Second. Concerning the civil war in England, and the melancholy death of Charles I. Mr. Wake honestly acknowledges that the fear of seeing popery re-established made the people take arms, who since the reformation, have had a great aversion for this superstitious worship; but he maintains that the Roman Catholics were the first authors of the troubles. This accusation was brought against them by M. du Moulin, Doctor in divinity, and Chaplain to Charles II., very soon after the restoration of that prince to the throne; and not content with having brought forward many proofs of it in his answer to the *Philanax Anglicus*, he offers to prove it judicially. Many persons were still living who were ready to depose that they had seen a consultation of the cardinals and doctors of the Sorbonne, in which it was declared, that it was allowable for the English Catholics to drive the king on to his ruin, in order to try to change the religion with the government of the country. The Roman Catholics, instead of accepting the challenge, made use of Charles II.'s authority, to prevent Doc-

tor du Moulin from pressing the decision of this trial. The book, however, and the accusation remained unanswered. Seventeen years afterwards Du Moulin renewed his challenge in a second edition of his work, and he died without any one's having ventured to refute him. These are the proofs which Mr. Wake produces.

First. At the beginning of the troubles, the king was aware that the fanatics were excited by the Catholics. Their maxims he declares in his manifesto against the Scotch rebels are those of the Jesuits; the sermons delivered by their preachers, are in the style of Bekan, whose very phrases they have borrowed. The wretched arguments contained in their seditious libels, are copied from Bellarmine and Suarez. The means which they employ to gain proselytes, are mere fables and jesuitical inventions, forged tales, false prophecies, pretended inspirations, women's visions, &c.

Second. In the year 1640, a scheme was made known to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the Pope, the Cardinal de Richlieu, and several English Roman Catholics were concerned, but most of all the Jesuits, the object of which was to excite a sedition in the church, which was soon after effected. This is an undoubted fact, fully detailed in the histories of those times, the justificatory papers of which

are found in the collection of * * * * *
vol. 3, p. 1310.

Third. Sir William Boswell* was at that time, ambassador to Charles, at the Hague; this conspiracy was made known to him there, (Life of Usher,) and he was informed that the Romish clergy seduced the English, with the hope of establishing the Presbyterian form of government amongst them; that indulgences had been granted from Rome, and dispensations from the Pope, with the approbation of the college of Cardinals, permitting the clergy to instruct their pupils how to dispute against episcopacy and the English liturgy; and, that in the space of two years, more than sixty priests or monks had gone over from France to England, in order to preach the Scotch formula, and to endeavour to destroy the bishops, whom they looked upon as the chief support of the crown.

Fourth. Archbishop Bramhall, who was in France sometime after the death of the king, was there informed how the affair had been contrived in 1646. Above 100 Romish ecclesiastics crossed the sea, and having enrolled themselves in the parliamentary army, they

* Sir William Boswell's letter is in the same life of Usher, No. 17 of the additional letters from the Cotton MSS., dated Hague, Jan. 12th, 1640, to the M. R. William Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury.

engaged in a correspondence with the Catholics who served under the king, for the sake of communicating to them all that passed, which they did almost every day. The following year, having deliberated amongst themselves whether for the advantage of their affairs, it would not be right to put the king and the prince to death, they concluded in the affirmative. But some priests and regular clergy were of opinion, that it would be better to consult the universities, and amongst others, that of the Sorbonne; which answered, that for the good of religion, and the interests of the church, it was allowable to change the government, especially in an heretical kingdom, and that so they might get rid of the king with a good conscience.

Fifth. Le Pere Salomonet in his history of the troubles of England, printed in France, with the king's permission, relates, that the parliament had in its service two companies of Roman Catholic Walloons, and that after the battle of Edgehill, several Catholic priests were found amongst the dead of their army.

If after these proofs, sir, you consider the principles of the two religions, and the practice of those who profess them, you will have no difficulty in discovering the real authors of the death of Charles I. The reformed send no pastors to Vienna, to Italy, or Spain, to excite

seditions there, or to beset the princes, and induce them to violate the privileges of their subjects. Both the doctrines and discipline of these people, alike incline them to a quiet life. All their ministers may marry, and as this state of life is most suited to grave and sedate characters, few of them remain unmarried. Those who are engaged in ties so binding, seldom think of making disturbances, or of rambling abroad; whereas those who serve the Roman Catholic church, are free from all engagements of that nature, except with a mistress, which they may break through when they please, and which they seldom fail to do when preferment presents itself, or their superiors call them elsewhere.

Besides the conspiracies of the Roman Catholics against Elizabeth and King James, (without mentioning Henry IV., and so many other princes,) increase the preconceived suspicions, that the priests and monks were the first authors of the overthrow of Charles I. Would they scruple to do any thing against a king who loved them not, and who died in the firm profession of the Protestant faith; since we have seen them sacrifice the repose and reputation of his two sons, the last of whom, James II., professed himself of their communion, when he came to the throne. After such an important step, it seems that the church of

Rome had reason to be satisfied, and she ought to have thought of nothing but to make her past cruelties forgotten, by a more moderate and gentle conduct. You know, sir, how far the Jesuits instigated this too easy prince, and his retractations are undoubted proofs of the infractions to which they excited him.

The Protestants accuse the Roman Catholic church of idolatry, and of having recourse to other Saviours than Jesus Christ. The palliating party, (amongst whom was Bossuet,) have exclaimed against this as an atrocious calumny, and have insisted that a religious adoration ought to be performed to God only, and that we are saved by the merits of Jesus Christ alone. Thereupon what have the reformed done? They have proved that they do invoke the saints; that they do pray to them as well as to the cross, to images, and to relics, a worship in all respects similar to that by which the pagans revered their heroes, their inferior gods, their statues, and their idols. That they think divine justice may be appeased by satisfactions, indulgences, vows, and pilgrimages. That according to them, the merit of these actions, and of those of their saints, joined to the merits of Jesus Christ, procure the reconciliation of sinners with God. They have proved to them that these are the doc-

trines taught by their theologians, their popes, and their councils, not only in the large volumes which are written for the learned, but also in their catechisms, their hours, and other books of devotion, intended for the use of the people. They have added, that this was not the practice of some of the laity only, and of a few ignorant and superstitious monks, but of all the Roman Catholic church, in its rituals, its breviaries, its missals, and other public offices; and that she has never condemned any one of those who have carried superstition to the excess which the palliating party have pretended to blame. But very far from having had a design to reform these abuses, she has persecuted all those who were suspected of having a design to abolish them, as the Jansenists, and the Quietists, though at heart these were cowardly or insincere persons.

Mr. Wake observes what Daille allows, that the Roman Catholics believe all the fundamental points taught by the reformed.

M. Bossuet has been wrong and very wrong, in pretending to justify his church, and to prove its purity, since this confession only serves to fix the state of the question between the two parties; and that the object now is not to examine whether the fundamental doc-

trines of the Protestants are true, since they are received by both sides ; but to ascertain whether what the Roman Catholics teach in addition, are articles necessary to salvation, as they pretend them to be, or whether that addition does not overthrow those truths, which by both parties are held as divine, and ought to be rejected for that reason conformably to the practice of the reformed.

I will not repeat to you, sir, all the good and excellent things which Mr. Wake has said upon the endeavour of the church of Rome, (which has always sought to set the reformed at variance with each other,) to persuade those who are ill informed upon the subject, that the church of England agrees with her in many more points than the other Protestant churches.

First. The invocation of saints, says Mr. Wake, in the name of his church, is an extravagant practice wantonly invented, and so far from being founded upon Scripture, is contrary to it in many senses. It is true, that in conformity with a custom, as innocent as it is ancient, we make mention at the holy table of saints departed in the communion of the church, thanking God for the good he has done them, and praying him to give us grace to follow their example ; but this respect which we bear to

their memory does not prevent us from condemning a practice which M. Bossuet seems to have omitted, and which shocks us extremely, which is, that the Roman Catholics recommend to God the offering of the Eucharist, through the merits of the saints whose relics lie under the altar, as if Jesus Christ whom they pretend to offer in sacrifice needed the recommendation of St. Matilda, or St. Potentiana, to become acceptable to his father.

Second. The church of England does not hold confirmation to be a sacrament, nor that *the use of the Chrism*, although of great antiquity, is of apostolic institution; for which reason she does not use it, but as the laying on of hands is a very ancient custom, derived from the Apostles, the English have preserved it, and according to their discipline, the bishops alone have the right of administering it. The officiating prelate addresses a prayer to God, to beg that he will strengthen with his Holy Spirit the person on whom he lays his hands; that he will defend him against temptations; and that he will give him grace to fulfil the conditions of his baptism; all of which, he for whom the officiating bishop prays, ratifies and confirms by his own promise.

Third. Neither are orders a sacrament, according to the English church, because they

are not common to all christians; but this church holds that nobody ought to intrude into the functions of the ministry, without ordination, and it belongs to the bishop only to give it. She admits of distinction in orders, though she has none below the rank of deacon, because Scripture mentions no other; she, nevertheless, allows they are ancient.

Fourth. Concerning the question whether any one can secure his salvation in the Romish church. The English believe, that as this church maintains all the fundamental doctrines of christianity, those who live within her pale, with a disposition to gain instruction, to reject all pernicious errors, and to make profession of all the salutary truths which they discover, may be saved by the grace of God, faith in Jesus Christ, and a general repentance, which places their errors in the number of their unknown sins: but that this charitable concession may not be abused, the expositor (Wake) adds the following restrictions.

First. That it is more difficult to be saved in the communion of this church since the reformation than before, because its errors were neither so well known, nor so solidly refuted, which rendered ignorance more invincible and more excusable.

Second. That those who live among Pro-

testants, and in a country where they have the opportunity of learning and making public profession of the truth, are more to be condemned than the others ; and,

Third. That the priests are more so than the laity.

In a word, the Protestants hope that good people in the church of Rome may be saved, but they have no certainty that they ought to be ; while on the contrary, they are assured of the salvation of those who live in a christian manner in their communion. They do not know whether God will condemn the Roman Catholics for the errors which they have professed, mistaking them for truths ; but they are certain that those, who being convinced of the superstitions of the religion of the Pope forsake the Protestants through motives of interest or ambition, and defend the tyrannical dogmas and idolatrous worship of Rome against their conscience, fall into a crime which does not deserve pardon.

With respect to idolatry, the homilies of the church of England, as well as all the English doctors who lived under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, accuse the Romish church of it,

The Catholics object to her ; that the learned men of this kingdom changed their opinion under James I., and began to assert

that the Roman Catholic church was not idolatrous, but those gentlemen were so unfortunate in their proofs, that of six authors whom they quote, Archbishop Laud, Drs. Jackson, Field, Heylin, Hammond, and Thorn-dike, there is not a single one who has not said the contrary.

The Presbyterians would not say Anathema to St. Ignatius, to St. Clement, to St. Polycarp, to St. Ireneus, to St. Cyprian, and to all the church of the second, the third, and a good part of the first century. At the end of this defence of Mr. Wake's are several curious documents.

First. A parallel between the old and new popery.

Secondly. An extract from the sentiments of Father Cresset, and of Cardinal Bona, upon devotion to the Virgin Mary.

Thirdly. The letter of M. Imbert to Bossuet.

Fourthly. The letter of St. Chrysostom to Cæsarius, with the preface of M. Bigot, which was suppressed at Paris, in 1680; and a dissertation of Mr. Wake's upon Applinariius.

You may gather from all the circumstances which I have related concerning M. Bossuet, what confidence we may place in his good faith. What would this be had I repre-

sented him to you as the enemy of Fenelon, persecuting him, seeking his ruin, only from a principle of low jealousy, and in order to gratify an ambition which could not bear a rival. But I have said enough about this man, who has obtained more celebrity than he has deserved.

I am, &c.

THE END.

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