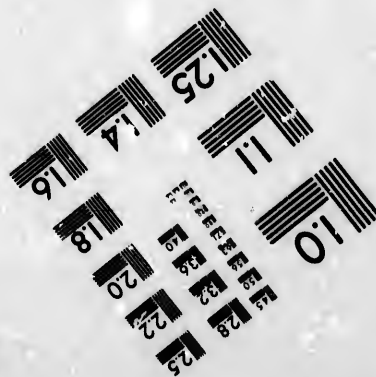
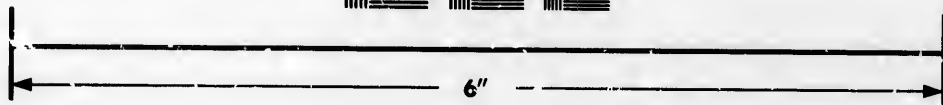
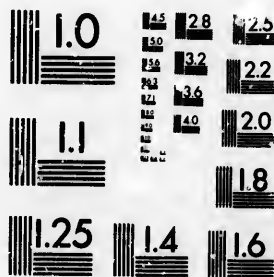


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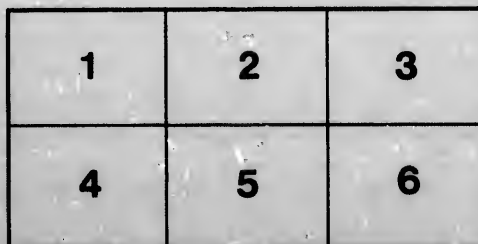
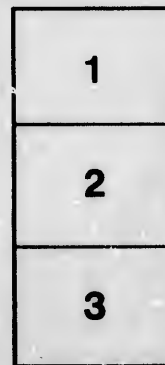
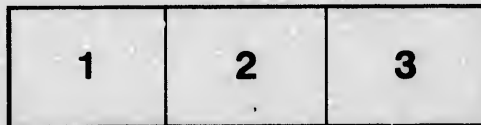
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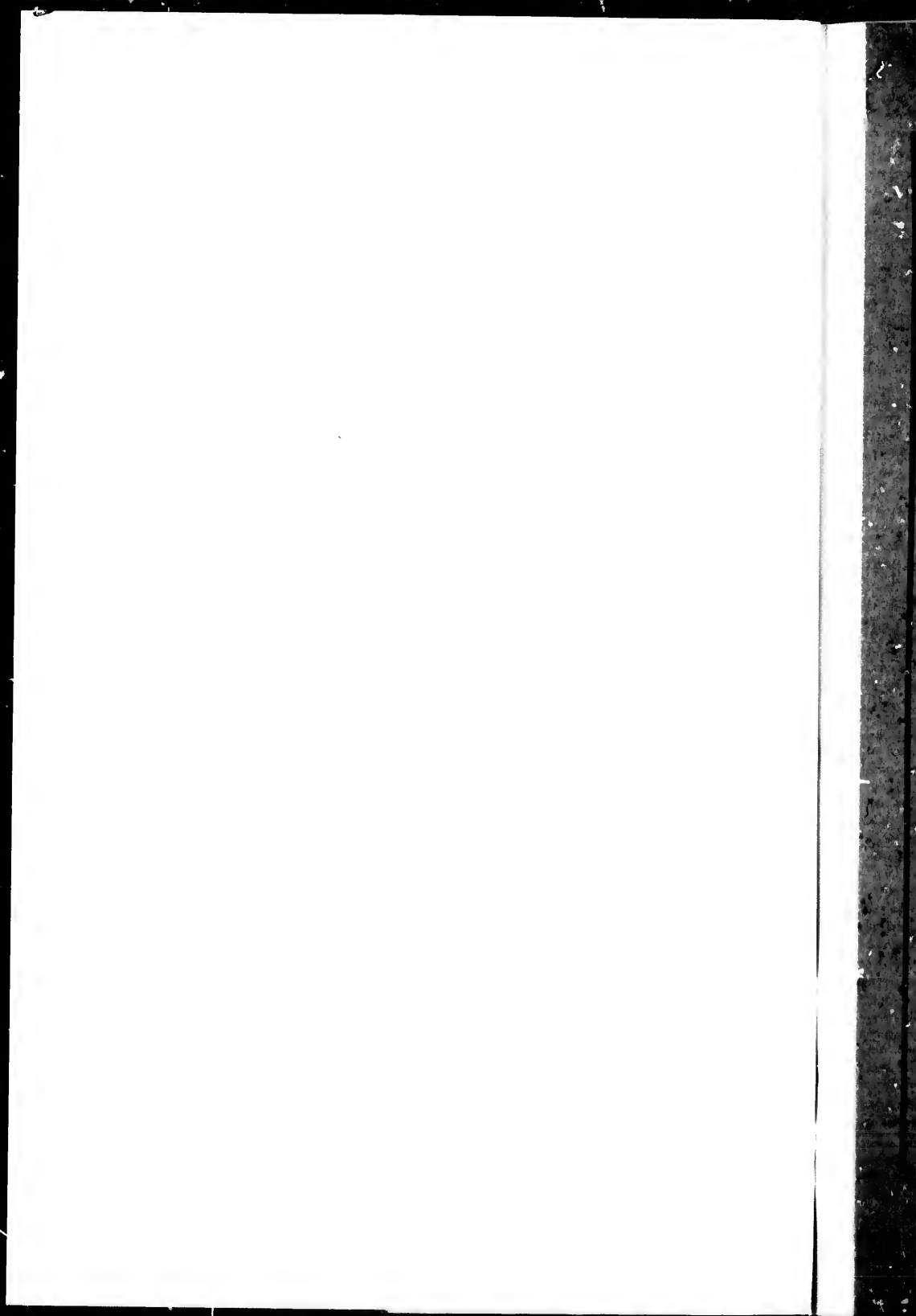
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THE
WALDENSES

IN

:- 1686 :-

MEMORIALS OF TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, BY A
FEW PASTORS OF THE VALLEYS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

REV. THOMAS FENWICK,

ELDER'S MILLS.



S. R. BRIGGS,

FRONT WILKINS TRACT DEPOSITORY, TORONTO, CANADA.

1887.

750

THE WALDENSES IN 1686.

120



THE WALDENSES IN 1686.

Memorials of Two Hundred Years Ago.

BY A FEW OF THE PASTORS OF THE VALLEY.

DEDICATED TO THE WALDENSIAN FAMILIES.

"The enemy hath overturned all in the sanctuary."—(*French Version.*

PSALM lxxiv: 3.

"They that sow in tears shall reap in joy."—PSALM cxxvi: 5.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY

REV. T. FENWICK, ELDERS MILLS, ONT.

WITH AN APPENDIX BY THE TRANSLATOR.



DEVICE OF THE WALDENSIAN CHURCH.

S. R. BRIGGS,
TORONTO WILLARD TRACT DEPOSITORY, TORONTO.
1887.

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THE TIMES, PARKDALE
PRINTERS.

TO
The Memory
OF
My Mother

I LOVINGLY DEDICATE

THE FOLLOWING TRANSLATION AND APPENDIX.

Thomas Fenwick.

“The only *child* of his mother, and she was a widow.”—LUKE viii. 12.

“—————more endearing still than all,
Thy constant flow of love, that knew no fall,
Ne'er roughened by those cataracts and breaks,
That humor interposed too often makes ;
All this, still legible in mem'ry's page,
And still to be so to my latest age,
Adds joy to duty, makes me glad to pay
Such honors to thee as *these pages* may ;
Perhaps a frail memorial, but sincere,
Not scorned in heaven, though little noticed here.”

(Slightly altered from Cowper.)



INTRODUCTION.

Next to Palestine, there is not a corner of the earth whose history is of such thrilling interest to the Protestant Church, as that of these three Alpine Valleys in which the Waldenses dwell. For three hundred years they endured persecutions, the terrors of which the Judgment Day alone can reveal. Not until A.D. 1848, were all disabilities removed, and the Waldenses placed on a civil and religious equality with their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. As a specimen of the fruit of Roman Catholic principles still avowed, the story of the Waldenses deserves consideration, and as an illustration of Christian heroism, deserves to be placed alongside of that of the martyrs, immortalized in the Eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It ill becomes the churches of the Reformation to forget them, and it is a cause for thankfulness that in recent years, so much has been done to repay, or rather acknowledge an indebtedness, that can never be repaid. This volume is a brief account of one of these bloody persecutions, in which the combined powers of the Duke of Savoy and Louis XIV. seemed to have crushed the last spark of national life, out of the Waldensian community. But it was not so determined. They survived and still live, and are now, holding up the cross to reviving Italy. The Translator has done good service to the cause of Christ in giving this record to the English reader.

R. P. MACKAY.

Having been favored with a reading of the advance sheets of the little volume "The Waldenses in 1686," we take great pleasure in commending it to the Christian Church of the present day. We consider it to be well fitted to stir up in it a spirit of love and zeal, like that so remarkably manifested by these our Waldensian brethren 200 years ago. The records of the faith and patience of the Saints furnish a good antidote to the indifference and worldliness that abound in our own day.

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GEO. DOUGLAS, D.D., LL.D.,

Principal Methodist College, Montreal.

W. CAVAN, D.D.,

Principal Knox College, Toronto.



Preface by the Authors.

The year 1686 was a disastrous one to the inhabitants of these Valleys. It is a sadly memorable one to us, their descendants.

Our object in bringing again to mind the painful events which took place, now 200 years ago, is not to awaken feelings of animosity and hatred towards the authors of that fearful persecution which resulted in the exile of the last survivors of our people. These feelings our martyred fathers never had. We, who are laden with the favours of our heavenly Father, shall not make ourselves guilty of having them.

Our object in calling to our remembrance the severe trial through which the Lord made our people pass, is only to draw from it the lessons of humiliation, repentance, and Christian faithfulness which our God and Father gives us in it.

Preface by the Translator.

Last year, during my travels in Europe, I spent a day in the Waldensian Valleys. I would have greatly rejoiced if I could have spent, at least, a month in them, but I could not stay any longer than I did. I am an admirer of the Covenanters of my native land. They and the Waldenses were brethren in suffering for Christ. Yea, during the year 1686—the one to which the following translation chiefly refers—both were persecuted for His sake. I staid at Torre Pellice, called in French, La Tour. While there, I attended two meetings, at each of which I had the privilege of saying a few words to a Waldensian audience. I also visited the Waldensian College, Orphanage and schools. Some time ago, Signor Pons, one of the Waldensian pastors there, very kindly sent me a copy of *Les Vaudois en 1686. Souvenirs d'il y a deux cents ans.* I was so much interested in it that I read it through at one sitting. It seemed to me that a translation of it into English might be profitable as well as interesting to Canadians. I have now the pleasure of putting it before them in the following pages. Different Waldensian pastors expressed to me the hope that if I should be permitted to return to Canada, I would do something, as I might have opportunity, to interest Canadians in their Church. I shall be much pleased if I shall learn that some have become, either interested, or more interested in it, by means of this work.

We have as much reason as the Waldenses of to-day, to rejoice and thank God that we are not per-

secuted as the Waldenses were in 1686. But the spirit of Popery is the very same to-day that it was then. The lion's nature is not in the least changed by his being put into a strong cage.

Let us not be satisfied with mere excitement of our feelings when we hear of such things as the sufferings of the Waldenses two hundred years ago.

“ Let us, with zeal like theirs inspired,
Begin the Christian race,
And, freed from each encumb'ring weight,
Their holy footsteps trace.

Behold a Witness nobler still,
Who trod affliction's path,
Jesus, at once the Finisher
And Author of our faith.”

Let us never forget that we cannot be true Christians without having to suffer persecution. “All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution,” (ii. Timothy, iii. 12). If we do not suffer it in one way, we shall in another. But if we continue faithful to death, we shall receive a crown of life. We can do so only through Christ strengthening us, but if we seek the grace we need, we shall not seek in vain.

At first, I thought only of the publication of the following translation. The Publishers suggested the addition to it of an Appendix having special reference to the present state of the Waldensian Church. This was the origin of the Appendix. When I began it, I thought that a short one would suffice. But as I went on, one thing after another presented itself to me as likely to be interesting to the readers, and, therefore, claiming a place in it. The difficulty with me then was, not what to put in, but what not to put in.

To those friends who have assisted me in my translation, I return my sincere thanks.

To me, this work will ever have very painful

memories connected with it. A great part of it was written during my mother's last illness, and in the room in which she was lying. A very slightly different form of the foregoing part of this Preface was finished a little after two o'clock one morning, while I was helping to minister to her wants. A part of the Appendix was written about four o'clock another morning, in the same circumstances. She was about a month ill. At last, at *midnight* of Tuesday, Oct. 26, thirty-four years and a week after she was made a widow, "the Master of the house" came to her, (Mark xiii. 35). I was standing by the head of her bed when He did so. A few gasps, and the machinery of her frame which, for well nigh 87 years, had gone day and night without ceasing, came to a perfect stand-still. I was left mourning for my mother. (Psalm xxxv. 14). "Her own sweet smile" which I had so often seen was there, "but there was no breath in her." The following Friday, we laid her remains in the house appointed for all living. I can say with the late Leopold von Ranke's son beside his father's coffin,—"It was the privilege of the son to minister in his holy and glorious office at his mother's funeral." I write these lines in the room in which she exchanged worlds. Painful to me is the thought that, to the end of my life, she shall be to me only an object of recollection. Her kindness to me, shall ever be to me a most pleasing one. "I hope to meet her in the promised land," "where we shall meet to part no more, and still together be."

Shortly before my mother was taken from me, I had this work ready, as I considered, for publication. Since then, I have received papers, the reading of which has led me to make alterations on, and additions to, the Appendix.

Elders Mills, Ont., Dec., 15, 1886. T. F.

ON THE LATE MASSACRE IN PIEDMONT

Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold :
Even them who kept Thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,
Forget not : in Thy book record their groans
Who were Thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant : that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who, having learn'd Thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.

MILTON.

The above is one of the best-known of the author's sonnets. It was written—as the title implies—on the occasion of a persecution of the Waldenses in his own day. The leader in that persecution was a predecessor of the Duke of Savoy, the leader in the one described in the following pages. Cromwell sent him a message in which he told him very plainly that if he did not “let these men alone” he would make him feel the power of his arm. The Duke knew that he had to do with one who was not to be trifled with. He, therefore, very wisely “governed himself accordingly.” The Protector offered to remove the Waldenses from their Valleys and place them in Ireland. Had his offer been accepted, no doubt the state of “the green

isle" to-day, would have been a very different one from what it is. He also sent somewhere about £30,000, (\$150,000) for the relief of those who had suffered "the spoiling of their goods." Only a part of that money reached those for whom it was raised. Charles II., often called "The Merry Monarch," but who would more truthfully be called "The Miserable Monarch," some way or other, obtained possession of the rest. He, of course, spent it in the service of the Devil. The Waldenses still hold Cromwell and Milton in honour on account of what they did in their behalf. On the walls of their College at Torre Pellice (La Tour) is a large engraving representing "The Uncrowned King," and his Secretary, the poet of *Paradise Lost*


T. F.



CHAPTER I.

State of the Valleys in 1686.

I. MATERIAL AND CIVIL STATE OF THE WALDENSES.

 HE ducal throne was occupied in 1686 by young Prince Victor Amadeus II, who was twenty years of age. They valleys of Pragela and Pérouse on the left bank of the Cluson and the town of Pignerol belonged to France, whose king was the powerful Louis XIV.

The edict of 1664 confined the Waldenses within the narrow limits of the Valleys. It compelled them to leave Luserne, Lusernette, Bubiane, Campillon, Fenil, Garsillane, Briquéras. St. Second, and other parts of the plain, where they had eleven churches and several schools. Worship was even forbidden in the whole territory of St. Jean.

There was great material misery in the Valleys. The last thirty years had been times of troubles and continual wars. In 1665, the third great persecution took place. From 1660 to 1664, was the famous war of the banished, the leader in which, on the side of the Waldenses, was the valiant and pious Captain Janavel.

From 1675 to 1685, the attitude of the ducal court towards the Waldenses, became more and more friendly. On the 31st of January, 1682, all the privileges granted in olden times to the Waldenses, were officially confirmed. Our fathers hoped to enjoy, at last, and for a long time, rest and liberty. But lo! in less than four years after, the Revocation of the Edict

of Nantes cast a gloom on their future ; and the Edict of January 31, 1686, let loose on these mountains the most fearful storm which has ever threatened the existence of the Israel of the Alps.

II. MORAL AND SPIRITUAL STATE OF THE WALDENSES.

The evangelical churches of the Valleys had, in 1686, an ecclesiastical organization corresponding in its main features, to the one under which we are to-day.

The Waldensian communities were 13 in number. The names of the pastors over them in that memorable year have been preserved to us. They are as follows :—

1. Sidrac Bastie, pastor of St. Jean, *Moderator*.
2. David Léger, pastor of Les Clos, *Assistant Moderator*.
3. Jean Chauvie, *Secretary*.
4. Jahier, pastor of Rocheplate and Prarustin.
5. Jahier, pastor of Pramol.
6. Guillaume Malanot, pastor of Angrogne ? (1).
7. Leydet, pastor of Pral.
8. Giraud, pastor of La Tour (Torre Pellice).
9. Bertrand.
10. Danne.
11. Laurens, pastor of Villar.
12. Bayle, pastor of St. Germain ? (1).
13. Bayle (the son).

Arnaud had just arrived in the Valleys. He, as well as Montoux, and some others whom we shall find again, in Switzerland, among the Waldensian

(1) I here follow the author in using marks of interrogation. What they mean I cannot see, unless that these persons were only *probably* pastors of the places mentioned in connection with their names.—T. F.

exiles, was formerly a Waldensian pastor in French territory.

The Waldenses distinguished themselves from those around them by the Scriptural purity of their doctrines, by their honest and laborious lives, and by the faithful discharge of their duties as citizens.

The Duke wrote, in 1677, to the Pope's Nuncio : "If one had regard only to politics and temporal interests, so much trouble and expense would not be necessary, and it would be to the advantage of their Royal Highnesses to allow the people of the Valleys, who are faithful, well-disposed, industrious, and useful to the country, to spread abroad and multiply."

The mortal enemies of the Waldenses have, in vain, tried to establish different charges against them. The evidence of facts has always silenced them.

The approach of persecution produced a religious awakening in the Valleys. Easter was celebrated with unusually large assemblages.

A letter to the Swiss ambassadors from Bastie, the Moderator, written on the 17th of April, contains these words :—"I well believe that all the pastors are resolved to live and die among their flocks, since Your Excellencies do not disapprove of it. Certainly, it would be neither honest, nor excusable to forsake them at such a critical time, and we would, without doubt, have to reproach ourselves, in some measure, should evil befall them, since the good shepherd is called to lay down his life for his sheep."

Indeed, nine pastors were imprisoned with their flocks, and neither threats, promises, nor the sufferings of three years in prison, could make them abjure their faith. Leydet, the pastor of Pral, died a martyr at Luserne, glorifying God by the calmness of his soul, and the serenity of his faith.

Thousands of men, women, and children, chose

rather to give up family joys, liberty and life than make sacrifice of their faith, and their Christian hope.

* * *
The Waldensian people was not, however, composed only of believers—of converted persons. All did not faithfully serve their Saviour. The last thirty years had made manifest much moral wretchedness. The trial which approaches, discovers to them their sins, and urges them to confess. At the head of their military regulations one reads these words:—"Since the war which is being waged against us is an effect of hatred against our religion, and our sins are the cause of it, every one must amend his ways."

And in their daily prayer they said: "O Lord, our Great God and Merciful Father, we humble ourselves before Thy face to ask of Thee the pardon of all our sins, in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, in order that by His merits Thine anger may be pacified towards us who have offended Thee so much by our perverse and corrupt life."

But this free confession of their sins did not produce, in general, a deep humiliation, and a return to the Lord with all their heart.

Many of the things which took place in that sad year—1686—are tokens of a feeble and languishing spiritual life. Human wisdom has more place in their deliberative assemblies than the cries of anguish and the courageous words of faith. Pastors suffer and die with their flocks in more instances than they expose themselves to defend their sheep.

The chiefs of the people and the captains are without forwardness and energy. No man stands in the breach to wrestle with the Lord in order to obtain from Him the pardon and deliverance of his people. No captain puts himself at the head of the armed people to lead them on to victory. One would say that the power of the Prince of Darkness has, at this most im-

portant moment, cast the most valiant into a sleep, as formerly it did the Apostles in Gethsemane.

The valley of St. Martin breaks the covenant sworn, some days before, at Rocheplate.

The Waldenses of Val Pérouse, and in succession those of Vale Luserne, fall into the snares of the enemy. The persecutors come down on the fold, plunder, butcher, and destroy the flock without a shepherd.

The pastor Danne apostatizes. Out of 1,973 families which composed the Waldensian people, 425 renounce their faith to save their lives and their goods.

This year should be to us one of humiliation, repentance, and rising again.

Let us not forget the words which Janavel wrote three years after these painful events:—

“If our Church has been reduced to so great an extremity, it is our sins which are the cause of it. We must, therefore, every day, humble ourselves the more before God.” “Let there be nothing firmer than your faith.”

H. TRON, *Pastor of Villar-Pellice.*



CHAPTER II.

The Edict of January 31.

NONE can relate the sad events of 1686 without speaking of Louis XIV, and Victor Amadeus II, who were so largely responsible for them.

Victor Amadeus was only nine years old when he succeeded his father Charles Emanuel II, under the regency of his mother Marie Jeanne de Nemours. The young duke having confirmed the privileges granted to our fathers, there was reason to hope that the Valleys would long enjoy the blessings of peace and rest. But a dark cloud was gathering beyond the Alps, where Louis XIV sought to atone for his dissolute and debauched life by rooting out the Huguenots.

This monarch, as great by his vices as by his exploits in war, had begun by buying conversions to Popery at a money price; but this system resulted only in purifying the Reformed Church, and in creating numerous beggars, who went from one city to another, selling their abjuration in each. He tried the dragonnades, compelling the poor Huguenots to lodge, feed and pay the expenses of these booted missionaries, whose commission was to torment the poor Protestants by unworthy annoyances.

But, to strike a still more fearful blow at the Reformed Church, whose utter destruction the cruel despot desired, the King of France signed, at Fontainebleau, on the 18th of October, 1685, the revocation of the liberties granted to the Protestants by Henri IV,

in his celebrated Edict of Nantes (April, 1598). Worship was forbidden, churches were levelled with the ground, and our fellow-Christians were forced to leave the country, or choose between apostacy or death. Then were seen hundreds of thousands of persons—men, women, children, and old men—taking with heavy hearts the road to exile, braving the dangers of the sea in frail vessels, exposing themselves to forced marches, to indescribable fatigues, and to perils without number, in disguises of every kind in order not to be surprised, sent to the galleys, or massacred.

We mention the atrocities to which the Reformed were exposed in the dominions of Louis XIV, because they struck with the same blow the Waldenses of Val Pérouse and Val Pragela, which then belonged to France, as well as Pignerol and Casal, and also because they were only the prelude to those which struck our fathers in all the Valleys. The Waldensian Churches of Dublon, Pinache, Villar-Pérouse, Mentoules, Suchères, Fenil, Fénestrelles, Pragela, Chaumont, Oulx, and elsewhere, were demolished, or turned into Roman Catholic churches. The pastors were driven out or massacred, and the flocks left without leaders, were reduced to choose between apostacy and slaughter.

In vain the Waldenses who inhabited the part of the Valleys then belonging to France, sought a refuge with their fellow-Christians of Val St. Martin and elsewhere. Yielding to the pressure of his powerful neighbour, Victor Amadeus issued a decree dated November 4, 1685, forbidding his subjects to receive the persecuted French. He ordered the latter to leave in eight days or abjure their religion.

Louis XIV, who laboured to root out the Protestants of France, was anxious that the Duke of Savoy should do the same on this side of the Alps to the

Waldenses. The revocation of the celebrated edict of Henri IV was not yet published when Louis XIV wrote to Turin on the 12th of October, exhorting Victor Amadeus to use against the Waldenses the same measures which he was employing for the destruction of the Huguenots.

This letter from the King of France to the Marquis d'Arcy, his ambassador at Turin, opens the series of a long diplomatic correspondence, of which we can give only the substance. The King takes the trouble to write himself, so much has he at heart the extermination of the Waldenses, which is represented to him, by the priests, as a meritorious work.

At first Victor Amadeus resists. He replies that he ought to examine into matters deliberately, that several of his predecessors have, in vain, engaged in this undertaking, and have even brought by it great disorders into their dominions. Persuaded that "the Reformed Church can be destroyed only by force," the King urges the Duke to employ it in his dominions, offering him the help of his troops from Pignerol Casal, and Fénestrelles, and assuring him that he would do a thing agreeable to him and the Pope. "You must," he wrote to him from Versailles, January 17, 1686, "withdraw with one stroke from the Waldenses the favours and permissions granted them by your predecessors, order the demolition of their churches, forbid them to perform any religious exercise, and, at the same time, lay on the most obstinate the lodging of your troops.

Victor Amadeus delayed matters, and did not yield to the importunities of his dangerous neighbour till the latter had threatened him that he would withdraw his friendship from him; and, especially, till Rébenac Feuquières had whispered to him that the King his master would find means, with 1,400 men, to drive out the Waldenses; but that, in that case, he would keep

for himself the valleys which the latter inhabited.

The hurtful influence at Rome which wrought at the same time at Versailles and Turin, added itself to Louis XIV, and the emissaries of the Vatican made themselves very busy conspiring for the destruction of the Waldenses. The society *De propaganda fide et extirpandis haereticis* (For the propagation of the faith and the rooting out of heretics,) the Nuncio, the confessors of exalted personages, and the regular and the secular clergy, all blew on the fire which seemed to be going to consume our forefathers.

Then appeared that fatal Edict of January 31, 1686, which is an infamy on those who framed it, as well as on him who was so weak as sign it, and of which the following are the chief points:—

1. "All religious exercises to cease at once and for ever.
2. "Religious meetings forbidden to be held, under the penalty of death and the confiscation of goods.
3. "All ancient privileges to be abolished."
4. "All churches and places of worship to be demolished.
5. "Pastors and schoolmasters to become Roman Catholics, or leave the country within fifteen days, under the penalty of death and the confiscation of their goods.
6. "Protestant children to be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion. The father to be sent to the galleys for five years, and the mother to be publicly scourged with rods, if their child be not presented to the parish priest within eight days.
7. "Waldensian pastors who shall renounce the doctrines which they have hitherto preached, to receive a pension of one-third more than their salary.
8. "Protestant strangers to embrace Catholicism, or leave within eight days.
9. "They are permitted to sell their goods in this

interval, only, however, to Roman Catholic purchasers."


It is impossible to imagine the terror and deadly anguish which the reading of such a document to the assembled Waldenses produced in the Valleys.

ET. BONNET, *one of the pastors of Angrogne.*



CHAPTER III.

Intervention of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland. (1)

 O HUMAN view, the fate of the Waldenses seemed to be fixed. This people, few in number, was devoted to utter destruction. But He, who in His goodness, provides a lair for even the beasts of the field, had also prepared a refuge for His oppressed children. To the Swiss, next to God, our forefathers were beholden for their existence. At the commencement of the reformation, this kind people said to the Waldenses by the mouth of their reformer Oecolampadius: "We acknowledge, that Christ is in you, therefore, we love you as brethren." From that time they gave them many tokens of their brotherly love.

When the edict of January 31, came to the knowledge of the Evangelical Cantons, it produced there the deepest emotion. A cry of alarm ran with lightning speed through the bosom of all the Swiss churches: "We must go to the help of our brethren in danger!" Immediately, a letter was written to the Duke of Savoy to ask him to continue to his subjects in the Valleys the privileges which had been granted

(1) We are indebted to the kindness of Col. de Bueren, President of the city of Berne, and other Swiss friends, for having been able to obtain several interesting particulars on our subject, copied from the archives of Berne and Zurich for the Waldensian Historical Society. D. P.

them by his predecessors. But, while an answer was being waited for, it was voted at a diet held at Baden about the middle of February, to send an embassy with all speed to Turin to plead there the cause of the Waldenses. The position of the two ambassadors who were chosen, shows how much importance was attached to their mission. They were two Councillors of State—Messrs. Gaspard de Mueralt, of Zurich, and Bernard de Mueralt, of Berne, both known by their piety, their prudence, and their skill in diplomatic questions. The instructions which were given them bore on two points. They had, first to make every effort to obtain from the Duke the revocation of the Edict of January 31, and in case they should not succeed in that—which was to be looked for—they were to endeavor, in concert with the Waldenses, to procure for them liberty to leave the country on favourable terms.

Our ambassadors set out without loss of time. As they pass through Vaud and Geneva, they learn how many exiles these Cantons can take in. On the 27th of February they leave Geneva, stay some time at Chambéry to get *there* from the President, the Marquis de Bellegarde, information regarding the matter of the Waldenses, and arrive at Turin on the 7th of March, at nightfall.

It is not till five days after—the 13th of March, at nine o'clock at night—that they can have an audience with the young Duke. They set forth in burning words the end of their mission; ask in the name of their lordships of Berne and Zurich whose domains touch his own, that the liberties which the Waldenses have enjoyed in the past be preserved to them, and support their petition by a very detailed memorial. In favour of their fellow-Christians they bring forward;

1. The fact that the Waldenses have never separated themselves from the religion of their prince, since

they have practised their "Reformed" religion for *eight centuries*, therefore, long before coming under the rule of the dukes of Savoy.

2. The concessions obtained by them in the year 1561, then in 1602, and in 1603, provisionally continued by the Senate and the Chamber in consideration of the sum of six thousand French ducatoons which these churches paid.

3. The axiom that religion cannot penetrate into the heart by violence, but only by the way of persuasion.

4. The fact that the Waldenses are good subjects of His Highness, in no way fomenters of revolt, with being which, they are falsely charged.

The answer of the Duke was delivered to the ambassadors, two days after, by the Marquis de St. Thomas. It was such as one might expect from a feeble prince, threatened by the most powerful despot of Europe. Here, in a few words, is the substance of it:—It was fate which drove the Duke to issue the Edict of January 31. "The large wheels moved and drew the small ones." Having in his neighbourhood a prince who was powerful and jealous of his authority, he was obliged to conduct himself with great circumspection. (Later, it was said openly to the ambassadors that the orders came from Versailles). He could not alter the Edict which had been issued, seeing that the Waldenses had committed hostile acts against his other subjects, and armed themselves against him. The concessions of 1655 were only toleration. Furthermore, he forbade the Waldenses only the exercise of their religion, but did not wish in any way to do violence to their conscience.

The ambassadors replied, without result, to the objections of the Duke by a memorial, which was delivered on the 20th of March.

Seeing that they could not, on any ground, hope

for the repeal of the fatal Edict, they resolved to enter on negotiations on the second point which this commission bore—the removal of the Waldenses from the country.

They set out, therefore, for the Valleys three days after, furnished with a letter from His Highness to the Governor of Luserne.

Behold them arrived in the country of these oppressed brethren, to whom they come to say otherwise than by vain words:—"Be of good cheer! God does not forsake you."

From Luserne they send a messenger to Angrogne, and the news of their arrival spreads in a short time through the whole Valley, as far as Rocheplate and Prarustin. Soon after, they set out themselves from the seignorial palace on horseback, preceded by two drums, and go up as far as the hamlet of the Oudins—near the historic Chanforan—where the meeting has been summoned. It was the 24th of March. A good number of ministers and deputies from the Valleys are gathered together to receive their benefactors, perhaps in the great house which is still seen in the centre of the hamlet, and which bears the date of 1588. The latter state the object of their visit, relate the check which they have met with in their efforts to obtain the repeal of the Edict, and, considering their painful circumstances, they counsel our poor forefathers to make a great and terrible resolution—that of leaving the country!

Ah! however grave may be the circumstances, it is not easy for a people to decide on a sudden, to forsake their old country, their dear mountains, that land hallowed by the memory of valiant forefathers, and where the bodies of so many loved ones await the resurrection.

It need not, therefore, astonish us, that after a long discussion, our Ambassadors had to return to

Turin without having been able to obtain a decision on the part of the Waldenses.

Two days after, March 26, they send their secretary Zollinger to renew their entreaties. The preparations on the part of the two bodies of the enemy's army for making the assault were proceeding rapidly. At Pignerol, the ladders and iron hooks for the soldiers were ready. There was no time to lose. The indecision of the Waldenses might be fatal to them. Then, at a meeting held at Ciabas (called Muston), the most of the Waldensian parishes, their pastors at their head, decided by the mouth of their delegates to choose exile instead of the death which threatened them. Only the parishes of Angrogne, St. Jean, and Bobi, to which was added later a part of those of La Tour and Villar, stood firm. A letter signed by 17 ministers and Waldensian deputies, and accompanied by a memorial setting forth the difficulties which the prospect of going out from the Valleys met, was sent to the ambassadors on the 28th of March. (1)

The Duke having learned by means of a petition of these latter in favor of exile which was the intention of the most of the Waldenses, replied by Count Graneri on the 7th of April, that he would not hear of treating with his subjects unless they first laid down their arms, and humbled themselves before him, asking of him pardon for their conduct. Then he would consider on what conditions he would grant them the favour of letting them go out of his dominions. It was in vain that the ambassadors besought that, at least, a special commission should be named to study these

(1) This letter bears the following signatures:—Sidrac Bastie, *Moderator*; David Leger, *Assistant-Moderator*; Jean Chauvie, *Secretary*; Jean Laurens, Jean Jahier, G. Malanot, P. Leydet, P. Jahier, Giraud, Bertrand, *Ministers*; Jean Malanot, Jacques Peyrot, Jean Baptiste Roberto, Etienne Gautier, Paul Beux, Jean Pierre Guanta, Daniel Albarin.—D. P.

and to make them known. All that they could obtain was a safe conduct for six Waldensian deputies. Zollinger, the secretary, set out the second time for the Valleys, furnished with this document on the 4th of April.

The day following, a large meeting of Waldenses was held in the church of Serre (Angrogne). Notwithstanding the threats of the Duke, referred to in the letter of the ambassadors, there was still a difference of opinion. A discussion was kept up for more than five hours. At last, six deputies were chosen, of whom five were in favor of their leaving the country. The sixth, named Bianchi, was against it. They arrived at Turin on the 5th of April, bearing different letters from those whom they represented. The same day, the Ambassadors, grieved to see division continuing among the Waldenses, persuaded that the only hope of safety for this "little flock" was in exile, wrote a long and touching letter to the obstinate parishes, and sent it by Bianchi.

Let us quote in closing this chapter, a few fragments of this letter, which will show our readers better than we can in our own words, the spirit of apostolic charity with which these good ambassadors were animated.

"It is true that one's country has great charms, that the most of men have a natural desire to live and die there. Yet, the children of God should not set their heart on it, since they are strangers on the earth, and heaven is their true country. You would, therefore, be guilty of distrust of Divine providence, if you were to fear that you could not find other countries where you could live in comfort, and worship your Heavenly Father."

"You should set before yourselves the example of the patriarchs who drew down on themselves the blessing of God by trusting in His promises, and

forsaking their houses and lands in obedience to His command to go and live in distant countries. A like confidence cannot but be very pleasing to the Lord, and it is, without doubt, more in harmony with the spirit of the Gospel to forsake one's country, than to take up arms against one's sovereign. It is to sufferings, not to resistance, that Christians are called. We do not see that either the Apostles or the Primitive Church set up any other defence against their persecutors than patience and prayer."

"You will not doubt that we have been surprised to learn that you find it difficult to resolve to take this resolution (that of exile), and that you mean to resist two formidable powers which have resolved to root you out in case you oppose their will. By this mean you will not only act against your duty, against Christian prudence, and against your true interests, but you will also give us good reason to complain of you, because when you engaged us in a negotiation with your Prince, you would not condescend to avail yourselves of the advantages which we were in a position to obtain for you. Open then your eyes to consider the misery into which you are going to cast yourselves."

"If you persist in your obstinacy, you will be guilty before God, not only of having thrown away your life which you can save, and of having exposed your wives and children to slaughter, but also, of having caused the ruin of these beautiful remains of the Waldensian Churches which you could remove into some other country."

"Till God inspire you with this wholesome feeling; and you give your deputy authority like that of the other parishes, we commend you to His compassion

and Divine protection, remaining Gentleman, Yours very affectionately at your service."

This letter did not succeed any better than the others in bringing the Waldenses to an agreement. We shall see in the following chapter how the edict of April the 9th changed the appearance of matters.

D. PEYROT, *One of the Pastors of Angrogne.*



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CHAPTER IV.

The Waldenses Resolved on Resistance.

BLANCHI, the deputy of the parishes opposed to the proposition of the ambassadors relative to exile, returned from the Valleys with a letter which decidedly expressed the feelings of those whom he represented. "They are resolved," said this letter, "to be the children of their fathers, and they hope that the Lord will be their deliverer; that He will be pleased to use weak things to confound those which are mighty."

At the moment when he was again going into Turin, unexpected news stunned the Swiss ambassadors. The Duke, without giving them any notice whatever beforehand, published an Edict of exile for the Waldenses.

The Chamber, in secret session, had drawn it up at night on the 8th of April, and on the 9th it had been signed by the Duke.

The impossible clauses which it contained, showed the Waldenses once more that their ruin was sealed.

Here they are:—

"Though our subjects of the Valleys of Luserne professing the Protestant Reformed religion, are worthy of the severest punishment for not having obeyed our Edict of January 31, and for having committed enormous acts of rebellion, yet our innate clemency moves us to open to them the door of our favours. * * Confirming in other parts our Edict of January 31, we

order our Reformed subjects to lay down their arms within eight days from the publication of these presents.

* * We forbid them to form assemblies or detachments, in order to give free access to Judges, Mission Fathers, Monks, Catholics, and converts to Catholicism, to go into the houses which they have left. * * * Losses sustained by the said Missionaries, Monks, Catholics, and converts to Catholicism must be made good by the Reformed in general, if it cannot be proved by whom they have been caused. * * And to show how great is our clemency, we permit those who desire to do so, to leave our domains in the time fixed by the Edict, reserving to ourselves the right to send out ourselves those whom we judge it necessary to send out to insure the peace of Catholics and converts to Catholicism. * * We grant to those who leave to carry away their clothing, and to sell their goods, provided they do so to Catholics or converts to Catholicism, permitting them to empower four or six persons to remain at Luserne to conclude these contracts.

“Those who leave must, without having any fire-arms with them, be at the places and on the days which shall be appointed them, to take the road which shall be pointed out to them, either by Savoy, or by the Valley of Aoste. Those from the Val Luserne must ready to set out from La Tour on the 21st of April inst.; those from the Valley of Angrogne, from St. Barthélemi, Rocheplate and Prarustin must be at St. Second on the 22nd, and those from the Valley of St. Martin and l'Envers Pérouse forming the third brigade, must be at Miradol on the 23rd, * * In consideration of a punctual obedience to our orders, we grant our said subjects the full pardon of their excesses, forbidding the judges to prosecute them for these. If they render themselves unworthy of so great favour, we

shall make use of all the means with which God has entrusted us, in order to chastise them."

The ambassadors showed themselves but little satisfied with this Edict, and communicated to the Duke their views after they had put them into the form of a memorial. They complained especially:—1. Of the shortness of the time allowed the unhappy Waldenses to go out of the domains of His Royal Highness. 2. Of the small number of persons appointed to sell the goods of all the Waldenses. 3. Of the too limited time for this sale itself. Still the six Waldensian deputies were sent into their parishes furnished with 100 printed copies of the Edict, in order to circulate them in all the Valleys.

Discord was further increased among the Waldenses after the arrival in the Valleys of the pastor Arnaud who brought encouraging news from Bale and Geneva, and stirred up his fellow Christians to defend themselves, in spite of the opposite opinion of the Seigneurs de Mueralt and the pastors.

The reading of the Edict resulted in uniting the great majority of the people in the same resolution—that of remaining in the country and defending themselves. On the 14th of April, at a meeting held at Rocheplate the great resolution was formed. On the 17th of the same month, it was ratified in the presence of the Lord. A letter brought by Zollinger, the secretary, in name of his Seigneurs urged the Waldenses to submit, notwithstanding the pressing demands of the decree. It closed in these terms:—"His Royal Highness with all his house, and his troops, will set out next Tuesday for Luserne where he will wait the time which he has granted, or may grant in case of disobedience; but, if the time be past, your slaughter will not be delayed one hour longer." But this resolution has little effect on the readers, on the contrary, like a flock which gathers together when it sees the wolf coming,

they tighten by communion with Christ, the bonds which unite pastors and flocks. The former cease to insist in favour of leaving the country, and write to the ambassadors through the Moderator Bastie:—"I well believe that all the pastors are resolved to live and die among their flocks, since Your Excellencies do not disapprove of it. Certainly, it would be neither be honest nor excusable to forsake them at such a critical time, and we would, without doubt, have to reproach ourselves in some measure should evil befall them, since the good shepherd is called to lay down his life for his life for his sheep."

The solemn engagement is entered into! Behold now this people, few in number, ready to face death once more for their country and religion. They prepare themselves for the last struggle by fasting and prayer. As it was the eve of Good Friday, it was agreed to devote that day to humiliation. Everywhere exhortations to repentance and reformation were addressed to the people of the Valleys, in order to receive with humility the trials through which they were to pass. Then, in each parish, on the following Sabbath, the Easter one, a solemn Communion of all the children of these mountains was celebrated. In some parishes the people assembled in such numbers that the Holy Supper was dispensed in the open air.

But, in the midst of the general humiliation, the note of Christian hope does not fail to make itself heard, and it awakens in hearts accents of joy and courage. "Lord Jesus," cries the pastor Arnaud, "Thou, who hast suffered so much, and hast died for us, grant us grace to be able to suffer also, and to sacrifice our life for Thee! Those who endure to the end shall be saved. Let each of us cry with the Apostle: 'I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me.'"

To many hundreds of our forefathers, this Easter was the last which they celebrated here below. May we all meet with them at the Marriage Supper of the Lamb!

One word more, in closing, on the Swiss Embassy. Seeing the uselessness of their mediation, the ambassadors were preparing to leave when they received two letters dated from Angrogne, and addressed—the one to the Evangelical Cantons, in the name of all the Waldenses—the other to the ambassadors, in the name of the pastors. These were touching letters in which gratitude was shed abroad in excuses for the result of the attempts of the Cantons and their deputies. Assuredly these generous benefactors could not say to themselves when they read these letters that they had wrought for ungrateful persons.

In vain our two noble friends, the Messrs. De Mueralt besought of the Duke leave to accompany him to the camp of Briqueras to seek there to be further useful to the Waldenses. They were advised to take again the road to Switzerland, which they decided to do after having received a farewell hearing.

“But,” says the account presented to the Seigneurs of Zurich, “the moment of their departure, they received a letter from the parish of Villesèche whose inhabitants urgently asked permission to avail themselves of the Edict of April 9, and leave the country.”

“Notwithstanding the decision come to, the Ambassador of Berne set out for the camp. In vain! On the way, he met the secretary of the Marquis de St. Thomas who brought him the news that the French troops had, that very morning, made the planned assault, and the army of Savoy was on the march with the same design. All negotiation was thus cut down.

* * Next morning, the news were confirmed by evidence which could not be gainsaid, for, besides the roar of cannon which was quite distinctly heard, the

Piedmontese mountains were covered with 'vapour of smoke.' Thus return was pointed out."

Our friends set out on the 24th of April, and the interesting account in German of their mission, closes with these words which should yet, to-day, find an echo in the heart of every true Waldensian:—

"May the Lord in His grace, have compassion on these churches, and be pleased to grant them a full deliverance."

D. PEYROT, *etc.*



CHAPTER V.

The Counsels of Janavel.



HE hero of Rora and Rociamanéout, Josué Janavel, who had been excluded from the amnesty of February, 1664, by which the war of the banished had been brought to a close, had withdrawn to Geneva. Notwithstanding his great age and his wounds, he had preserved all his force and his burning love to his absent country. From the bottom of his exile he had watched with anxiety the events which took place in succession in Europe, in which, not without great fears, he had seen forebodings of a fresh storm which was about to burst on his dear Valleys. Then, that is to say, towards the end of 1685, he wrote to his fellow-countrymen a letter which is an admirable one for the counsels full of wisdom which it contains.

The Counsels of Janavel relate, some to the *military tactics* which the Waldenses are to use if they be attacked, others to the *discipline* which they are to maintain among their troops, and others, finally, to their *religious duties*.

Strategic counsels. Janavel counsels the Waldenses, "should war arise," to present, first of all, petitions to their sovereign.

Not having forgotten the treachery of Pianezza, April 22, 1655, and so many other instances of the same kind, he advises them urgently and "in God's name," *not to accept any quartering on them of troops,*

for any reason whatever, "otherwise," he adds, "it will be to your hurt."

They must, at the same time, *keep themselves in readiness*, so as not to be surprised, and be able, even without officers, to repel the first attack, which, he supposes, will be owing to treachery.

Janavel next describes to his fellow-citizens what *military organization* they must form among themselves.

They must form companies of 18 or 20 men, and appoint a Commander-in-chief of all their troops.

They must have a secret Council, which shall be, at the same time, State Major and Superior Council of Discipline, composed of a faithful and God-fearing man from each Valley, one or two courageous pastors, and the Commander-in-chief.

All these officers shall be appointed by the votes of the people —by universal suffrage.

Janavel who was gifted with an extraordinary military genius, and knew, so to speak, every stone and every path of his dear Valleys, points out in detail what positions in them are important for strategical purposes; what ones it will be necessary to strengthen as points of defence, what ones it will be necessary to supply as places of refuge, and what ones it will be necessary to abandon as incapable of being held.

Passing next to the manner in which they should fight, our valiant captain counsels them never to sound a retreat. He points out how they should set themselves in battle array; how they should pursue the enemy; with what weapons they should fight him, among which he notices slings, scythes, and large pieces of rock which the women will be able to help to roll down on him.

Disciplinary counsels. Janavel knew by experience how important discipline is in an army. He, therefore, does not forget to point out to the Waldenses the prin-

cial articles which they must inscribe in their code of military discipline. According to his counsels, soldiers must be most strictly forbidden to blaspheme the holy name of God, to quarrel among themselves, or abuse the enemy with insulting words. Debauchery, thieving, and cowardice, as well as insubordination must be severely punished. Finally, the officer must answer before the Council, for each of his soldiers.

Religious counsels. Janavel was not only a great captain and a bold warrior, he was also, and above all, a humble and believing Christian. His code of military discipline begins with a call to repentance, and closes with a prayer to be used, night and morning, throughout the camp. "If our Church have been brought to so great an extremity," he says, "our sins are the true cause of it. You must, therefore, humble yourselves more and more, and heartily ask pardon of Him * * having always recourse to Him. * * Let there be nothing firmer than your faith." "For the carrying on of the war, * first, you must all, as many as there are of you, fall on your knees, and lift your eyes and hands to heaven, and your heart and soul to the Lord, in earnest prayers."

Janavel insists particularly on the union which should exist among the Waldenses. The first thing which you will have to do," says he, "is to be *closely united*. This union should exist, above all, between flocks and pastors. Let the pastors be obliged to follow their flocks day and night, in order to be honoured and respected as servants of God on the earth."

We do not believe that we are mistaken when we say that if the Waldenses had faithfully followed these counsels, if they had been closely united, firmly resolved on resistance, filled with faith and courage, they,

certainly, would not have been so easily overcome. Alas! when the storm burst on them they were not prepared to resist it. It surprised them while they were undecided, divided, without one at their head, without direction. We need not, therefore, wonder that they were crushed in such a short time.

But let us not anticipate events.

D. GAY, Junior, *Pastor of Prarustin.*



CHAPTER VI.

The French Troops in the Valleys of Pérouse and St. Martin.



THE time fixed in the Edict of April 9, for the submission and exile of the Waldenses had just expired, and the preparations for this war of extermination were completed. Then the French troops began their march to attack the Val Pérouse, and the Val St. Martin, while the Ducal troops marched against the Val Luserne. Let us first accompany the French troops under Catinat.

First Day. Two hours before Easter Monday, two detachments of 200 soldiers each, set out from Fignerol, and stretching along the two banks of the Cluson, threw bridges over that river before the Village of the Portes, and occupied the neighbouring heights to command the road. Soon the bulk of the troops appeared and succeeded in making a passage on the right bank. The first brigade commanded by Mélac was composed of Dampierre's and Clérembaut's regiments and 100 foot dragoon's of La Lande's, besides sixty troopers of Rousillon's. The second brigade commanded by Catinat himself, comprised the Limousin, Du Plessis-Bellièrè and Provence regiments, and the LaLande and Dauphin dragoons. Catinat ordered Lieut. Col. Villevieille to attack St. Germain. The Waldenses withdrew further up, and stationed themselves behind the intrenchments of the Barricade where, till near three in the afternoon, they stood the fire of the assailants

who lost many men. Several captains were wounded. The Provence Major was killed. De Longueval who was left behind by Catinat to finish this affair, ordered Villevieille to fall back on St. Germain; but a vigorous sortie of the Waldenses changed into a murderous rout the retreat of the French who crossed the Cluson in disorder, losing a number in it. "No one has ever been able to learn," says Arnaud, "the number of wounded and killed which they had in the first action; for they were careful to hide them, and to bring their wounded into the town by night." Villevieille escaped into the church with 30 men and 2 officers, and there withstood the siege by the Waldenses till night. "These war-trained peasants" says an official account, "climbed up on the roof and into the trees to overwhelm the besieged." Arnaud had even ordered water to be brought into the church in order to drown them in it. Villevieille and a Lieutenant were wounded as well as two Waldenses, the only ones who had to suffer from the fire of the enemy the first day. During the night, the governor of Pignerol, warned by a lieutenant, sent a reinforcement to St. Germain, and the next day, the cavalry assisted Villevieille to hold his post and compelled the Waldenses to withdraw further up.

As for Mélac and Catinat, they had continued their march, and were gone to encamp, the former at La Pérouse, or, it may be, even at Château du Bois, and the latter at Le Clot des Boulard, in l'Envers du Pomaret.

Second day. Having set out from Le Clot an hour and a half before daybreak, Catinat found himself very early in the morning, Tuesday 23, above Fort Louis, which had to be abandoned by the Waldenses as well as the villages of Rioclaret where the French killed and burned what they could on their passage. "We have killed," said the general, "40 or 50 of their men." That done, Catinat went up to La Sarra, and suddenly

rushed on the villages of Pramol, from which the inhabitants fled in the direction of Peumian, leaving the enemy a large quantity of victuals and ten of their killed.

On their side, the troops of Mélac having set out from Chateau du Bois, with a hundred peasants to open a road for them in the snow, had carried the post of Pas de l'Ours, and having come down on the slopes of Bonvil, had burned the villages, killed "a number of these *barbets*," (1) as Catinat himself writes, and committed acts of brutality and cruelty which remind one of the *Piedmontese Easter* of 1655. (2) In the evening they encamped at Les Clos.

Third day. On Wednesday morning, 24th, Mélac crossed Rioclaret and rejoined Catinat at Pramol where he arrived about ten o'clock. The Commander-in-chief had just sent 500 men in the direction of St. Germain to make sure the communications with Pignerol, and had gone himself with 500 others in the direction of Angrogne to reconnoitre the places which he intended to cross next day. Towards five in the evening, he received information that the Waldenses of Val Luserne had surrendered in the morning, and he

(1) This was a name given to "the poor persecuted Waldenses." It was formed from *barbes*, the title which they gave their pastors. As here used, *barbets* is applied to the Waldensian people, as well as to their pastors, very probably, because the former professed to be followers of Christ, as well as did the latter. The word is used in the Alps in the sense of bandits and smugglers. No doubt, it was first applied to that class in mockery of the Waldenses, though, of those who now so use it to describe the former, very few may mean anything disrespectful to the latter, yea, or even know the origin of it. T. F.

(2) This was the Massacre in Piedmont in which Milton wrote the well-known sonnet quoted on another page, and which roused the righteous anger of Cromwell as described in the note on it. According to some, it was the persecution which is the subject of this work, which so deeply moved them. This is a glaring absurdity, for the former was in his grave twelve years, and the latter in *his* twenty-eight before it began. T. F.

hastened to inform those encamped at Peumian, assuring them that if they would lay down their arms, all would be forgiven them. He went even so far as to guarantee them that his army would go through their village without touching a fowl in it. The Waldenses could scarcely doubt the word of Catinat, especially, when they could, in the evening, see the troops of Savoy on La Vachère.

Fourth day. Catinat, however, was not faithful to his promise. The detachment which he sent on Thursday morning to Peumian separated the men from the women, and had the former conducted to the Duke, while they gave up their families to the unbridled soldiery which made them suffer "all the horrors of outrage and slaughter." Women were found there who resisted so boldly, that their executioners could not get the better of them till after they had mutilated them in their four limbs. Others were buried alive, or pinned to the ground by a sword run through their breast.

In the afternoon Catinat rejoined Don Gabriel La Vachère, and Mélac's brigade which had taken the heights arrived there by Mont Servin. Catinat, Don Gabriel, the ambassador D'Arcy, and the Duke of Savoy, who wished to go thither on Friday, could thus, on the heights of La Vachère, congratulate themselves on having in such a short time, and with such small losses, obtained the surrender of the Waldenses who occupied some of the most favorable positions of the Valleys. By Thursday evening, the prisons of Luserne were filled with men and women from the Val Pérouse, the Val St. Martin, and the Valley of Angrogne. Three days' rest could well be granted to the soldiers "to give the inhabitants of the Valleys time to lay down their arms, and put themselves at the mercy of the Duke, and, by this mean, (we quote from a letter of Catinat) prevent the troops from being

marched through the Valleys *which it is so difficult to do without their making havoc.*" They had, indeed, showed very plainly what they knew to do.

HUNTING THE BARBETS. (1)

The three days of respite brought new surrenders, and increased by two thousand souls the number of Waldensian prisoners. The rains which had begun again, compelled the French to go down on St. Germain, and it was not till the 2nd of May, that they set out again on their march to the Valley of St. Martin to "ransack that country" and finish "cleansing it from that moral filth," as the unworthy sovereign of the Waldenses wrote to Catinat. The number of prisoners at that time was estimated at more than 6000; but it was a question about "completely purging the Valleys formerly thickly peopled, and not leaving in them a single inhabitant."

Catinat went to the top of the Val St. Martin with the Provence regiment, 200 men taken from each of the other four regiments, and 200 dragoons. Sixty Waldenses had retreated to La Balsille when the enemy attacked them on the 3rd of May without being able to penetrate into their retreat. But despairing of victory, they sent, towards midnight, two deputies to the French general, to surrender themselves on the same conditions as their brethren had done. On the 7th of May, the colonel of the Provence regiment was able to send to Les Clos, and from there to Luserne, about eighty persons—men, women, and children. Those who were taken with arms in their hands were killed by the soldiers, or hanged on trees by police furnished by the Duke. Catinat had given orders that "those should be treated with a *little*

(1) See note on page 31.

cruelty who were found hidden in the mountains, and who had given his men the trouble to go and take them." The soldiers had little need of this encouragement. They had burned one after another the members of Jean Ribet of Massel, because he refused to abjure. At Les Fontaines they had massacred four children before the eyes of their mothers, whom they afterwards killed. Others had been cast down from the top of the rocks, torn asunder by horses, mutilated in an abominable manner, compelled to hang their brethren.

At Pral, whither Catinat went on the 4th of May, and whither he sent afterwards the Clérembaut regiment to hold the Passes of Julian and Abriès, the pastor Leydet was seized in a cave in which he had taken refuge, and was singing a psalm in a low tone. He was taken to Luserne, where he was put in the stocks and tormented by the monks. He refused to abjure, and died a true martyr on the scaffold, uttering these words: "O my God, into Thy hands I commend my spirit."

Every day the French troops—which were at their full strength on the 6th of May in the Val St. Martin, and there formed several detachments—discovered some Waldensians in their hiding places, or surprised them while they were seeking a refuge beyond the frontier. On the 9th, Catinat could write: "This country is completely desolated. There are no more, either people or beasts. There are no mountains where no one has ever been, and I send to them every day. The troops have had difficulty, owing to the ruggedness of the country, but the soldiers have been well rewarded for it by the booty. The Duke of Savoy has about 8000 souls in his hands."

Notwithstanding that, one would have said that the fewer the number of the defenders of the country became, the more formidable those who remained made

themselves. When Catinat believed that "that race of *barbets* (1) was entirely rooted out," he learned to his mortification that thirty or forty of them had been discovered "at the top of the gorge called Basiglia," nestled in a living rock whither they had gone up by ladders, and which they called a fortress made by the hand of God : where they had nothing but snow to drink, where they could not have much provisions, but which could not easily be taken.

Colonel de Magny had attacked them at the same time in four different places. All that he gained was two captains and a great number of soldiers wounded by blows of stones. Catinat went thither himself, staid there two days with 550 men, and found means, not without suffering serious losses, to take this post by the top. "This plan has, as usual, disarmed the revolted," said the general, * * "there were some sixty of the rebels killed, men and women, who were found hidden in the rocks half-way up, as in eagles' nests. * * The soldiers killed the women as well as the men, because they often galled our little parties by rolling down stones on them."

"There was only one prisoner whom I ordered to be hanged. I know of nothing more to be done here. * * There cannot be in this country more than a few solitary individuals hidden in the mountains" like the partridge from the hunter. These "solitary individuals" became terrible. Sometimes, on the heights of Bobi, hidden behind entrenchments of dry stones, (1) they let a hundred French come within their reach, fired a murderous volley, and fled like chamois. Sometimes, favored by a mist on the Pelvou, they utterly destroyed an isolated party of scouts. To take three or four of them was a task. "The Provence regiment," wrote Catinat on the 25th of May, "took

(1) See note on page 31.

(2) Loose, that is merely piled up. T. F.

four of the most determined of that class of people, one of whom, though wounded, managed to escape. The other three were hanged."

Towards the middle of June, the number of Waldenses still wandering in the mountains was estimated at only fifteen or twenty. The French troops had, in the space of a month and a half, finished their work of destruction. They left the Valleys to return to the soil of France.

H. BOSIO, *Pastor of St. Germain.*



CHAPTER VII.

Attack on the Val Luserne by the Ducal Troops.

ON the 27th of April, while the French troops were invading the Val Pérouse, the Duke of Savoy sent forward the Piedmontese forces encamped at Bibiane, Fenil, and Garsigliana, to make them occupy the better positions between Briqueras and St. Jean. There were 4,529 combatants, including officers, commanded by Don Gabriel of Savoy, the Duke's uncle.

The first column, to the right, commanded by the Commander-in-chief, was formed of the regiments of the Guards and Monferrat, with four pieces of artillery and several hooked muskets. The second which was led by Brichanteau, was composed of the two Nice regiments, and the marines, and had to occupy the centre. Finally, on the left, towards Angrogne, the Marquis d'Ogliane had under him the Savoy, Croix Blanche, and Saluces regiment, with a squadron of cavalry.

More than a hundred mules were ready to transport the war stores, such as powder, balls, fuses, grenades, cannons, and hooks, as well as victuals, as flesh and wine.

First day. At daybreak on Tuesday, April 23; not Monday the 22nd, as our historians affirm, at the signal of three cannons fired from the castle of Briqueras, the ducal troops began the attack, directing their front

towards the summit of the hills of St. Jean and Angrogne, where the Waldenses occupied small posts. The engagement took place at all points at the same time, and, in spite of the frequent volleys which they had to suffer, the three columns of the enemy having forced all the intrenchments, quickly gained the top of the hills. The few hundreds of Waldenses, though they fought boldly, had to yield to the numbers, and especially to the artillery of Don Gabriel, and to raise their front of resistance, by withdrawing to points less numerous, and nearer each other.

When he arrived at La Séa, Gabriel brought to a halt his troops which had marched, climbed, and fought with much vigour. Gathering around him D'Oliagne, Brichanteau, and Parelle, he was asked to pursue the Waldenses who had rallied "in better order than one can believe," says a report of their enemies, to defend the place called Roncialla. The fire of artillery which had a good effect, "did not hinder" these obstinate "Waldenses from waiting on a firm footing for the enemy, and skirmishing a long time," causing heavy losses to the regiment of marines and a squadron of gendarmes, to which the Savoy and Saluces regiments came to lend a strong hand, not to let them be crushed.

Second day. Wednesday the 24th, an hour before day, Gabriel of Savoy gave orders to take the strong position of La Roncialla, in order to continue his march towards the heights of La Vachère, where he was to join Catinat's troops on the 25th. But, during the night, the Waldenses abandoned this place which they could not have kept long, and withdrew behind an intrenchment further up.

What took place during that painful day, one of the most fatal in the history of our forefathers, and which was as the hour of the funeral knell of a whole people? Must we believe, according to an account

sketched by a Catholic hand, and published by M. de Rochas, that the Waldensians, seeing it impossible to stand their ground before the ducal army which was moving forward in order of battle, were the first "to beseech Don Gabriel to ask favour for them from His Royal Highness, their sovereign," or should we rather, with M. A. Muston, say that it was from the camp of Gabriel that the offer of favour went forth? Be that as it may, one thing is certain, namely that Gabriel of Savoy sent that day, to the Waldenses, who were strongly intrenched near La Vachère, the following letter, signed with his own hand: "Do not hesitate to lay down your arms, and be assured that in committing yourselves to the clemency of His Royal Highness, favour will be showed you, and no one will touch either your own persons, or those of your wives or children." What is not less certain, is that trusting in a promise so formal confirmed by the Duke Victor Amadeus whom M. de Castellamont met half way up the mountain, the Waldenses opened their intrenchments to Gabriel, and placed themselves, without arms and without mistrust before his troops. Taking off the mask, Gabriel caused these poor too-confiding mountaineers to be immediately seized and bound as galley slaves, and then hurried away by the dragoons and infantry to the dungeons of Luserne which were already crowded (1) with their betrayed brethren.

Thus the enemy by using trickery and treachery, seized on these redoubtable Valleys where their defenders "had positions so advantageous, and intrenchments so strong that they could have held them ten years," according to the opinion of a contemporary.

The same day, the ducal troops went to La Vachère, and the next, Catinat joined them with his army.

On Thursday the 25th, De Parelle went down to

(1) In the original *jonchés*, literally "strewn. T. F.

Pra-du-Tour where were the wives, the children, and all the provisions of the Waldenses, as well as a number of disarmed men. Let us spread a veil over the outrages and massacres which took place there, and let us say that a detachment was formed to send a part of this unhappy people to increase that of the prisoners of Luserne.

On Friday the 26th, Victor Amadeus set out from Luserne, where he had been since the 23rd. Following the road which his troops had made, he went in person to La Vachère to see the encampment of his troops, and that of the French army there. In the evening, the Duke returned to Luserne, and gave orders to pursue what remained of the Waldenses fleeing, or grouped at a few points in the Valley.

Isolated combats. Two important posts of La Tour (Torre Pellice) still held out: Ciamprama and Les Geymets. They fought a whole day, and caused great losses to the enemy who left there the commander of the Mondovi militia.

Towards evening, worn out and without ammunition, the assailants of Ciamprama had recourse to the same perfidy which had succeeded so well at La Vachère. Waving a white napkin, they show a paper which they say is "a letter from the Duke who bestows favour on all his subjects." The Podestat Prat of Luserne, having attested the truth of this declaration, the Waldenses cease firing, let the enemy retire in peace, and go themselves to seek rest.

But soon the Catholic soldiers return with new reinforcements, and seize on the abandoned post.

The defenders of Les Geymets, after a vigorous resistance fall back towards Le Villar passing through Les Bonnets, where the enemy remained two days without daring to attack them. This time was employed in new snares into which several Waldenses let themselves fall. Decimated by surprise or treachery,

the Waldenses abandoned Le Villar, and fell back on Bobi, towards the end of April.

Last struggles. As the Duchess of Savoy wrote, the Waldenses who retired to Bobi were resolved "to hazard all in desperation," and it was a question "about purging the Valleys, and not leaving in them a single inhabitant." With this design, Gabriel of Savoy, on the 4th of May, marched all his troops against all the Waldenses intrenched on the heights of Subiasec. This first attack was repulsed. A few of Gabriel's officers, and several of his soldiers fell there. They were, in like manner, victorious in some new attacks, when, on the 13th of May, the French troops, led by the Marquis de Parelle through the Pass of Julien, surprised the valorous defenders of Bobi in their rear. Taken between two fires, the Waldenses dispersed on the heights of La Sarcena and Garin. Emissaries were sent them who offered them liberty if they would surrender. Several of these unhappy persons fell into the snare, and were cast into prison.

Acts of a nameless barbarity were committed on men, women, and even on children! The least unfortunate were those who were thrown down from the top of the mountains, like the twenty-two who were cast from the heights of Bariound de Parneireugna, into the ravines of Le Cruel. Some of these victims who had been caught on the sharp points of the rocks, and whose flesh was in shreds were found still breathing several days after. Daniel Mondon, an elder of Rora, after seeing all his numerous family slaughtered, was compelled to carry the heads of his two sons as far as Luserne, where he was himself hanged on a gibbet.

On the 17th of May, the ducal troops set out again on their march to hunt the *barbets* (1) and to "purge entirely all these mountains from heretics." There re-

(1) See note on page 31.

mained some hundred men from Le Villar and Bobi intrenched on the most inaccessible heights.

Among others, a troop of combatants still struggled on the mountain of Vandalin. The last hope rested on their noble efforts. But these heroes, after they had victoriously repulsed several attacks, fell into the snare which the governor of La Roche laid for them. He promised them liberty if, in accordance with the Edict of May 28, they laid down their arms. Scarcely, however, had they opened their intrenchments, when this unworthy magistrate tore out of their hands the letter which he had written them, and caused them to be cast into prison.

While the last defenders of the Valleys were cruelly massacred, or cowardly betrayed before the eyes of their prince, the latter sent his soldiers "to mow the grass, cut the wheat, and throw down the houses" of the faithful and loyal people which he had just blotted out.

The Piedmontese army began to forsake this blood-drenched and desert land; and Savoyards rushed forward to seize on our desolated Valleys, where reigned the saddest solitude and a deathly devastation. To appearance, the Waldensian Church had lived! *

J. P. PONS, *Pastor of La Tour (Torre Pellice.)*

* As we would say in English "lived only in history," or "was only a thing of the past." Virgil in his Aeneid says "Troy has been," meaning "but it is not in being now;" "We have been Trojans," meaning "but we are not now, as Troy does not now exist." T. F.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Waldenses in Prison. (1)



Salvageot writes in his Memoirs : "Every day, they brought some of our poor people from these mountains into prison." The mothers carried their children in their arms, the soldiers tore them away from them. There were then loud cries, and great mourning, "but there was no humanity in that people."

At Luserne, whatever could be used as a prison, was soon filled with prisoners. Those who could not be taken in had to be sent elsewhere. During several weeks, the Waldensian population was seen passing from one prison to another—from Luserne to Cavour, Villafranca, Saluces, Revel, Mondovi, Carmagnola, Fossan, Asti, Turin, Trino, and other places besides.

On the 16th of May, 160 Waldenses came out of the prisons of Luserne to go to Turin. There are among them the most of the pastors and their families. A great multitude meets them on their way. For every farewell, they hear many blasphemies, and words like these : "Begone, heretics, race of the Devil, and see once more your mountains ; it will be the last time." So, the poor Waldenses, go away in the midst of the soldiers who accompany them, as sheep in the midst of wolves. It is, especially, a painful sight to see twenty-seven men all bound together, when they

(1) In this chapter there are several quotations translated from the Italian. T. F.

have to cross a river on a foot-bridge, for they are in great danger of all falling in, and when they are thirsty, they cannot drink unless some one come to their help, for they have not their hands free.

These sad journeys continued in different directions all summer. And when the Waldenses went out of prison to take the road to exile, the pastors who thought that they would be the first set free, were divided into three bands, and sent to different points. Here is one of their companies—first a criminal from Mondovi, then a car for the sick, and lastly, the pastors and their wives on foot.

At Luserne, every place which could hold a few individuals shut up in it, was used as a prison. There was no straw on which one could stretch himself. He had to lie on the earth, on damp bricks, or on the pavement whatever it might be. Happy was he who could have a stone for a pillow. Every one who had some money would very willingly have bought a little straw, but the ministers, no more than the others, could have any. "All those who formerly acted as friends became enemies: thus they showed their cruelty." The ministers were in a very wretched condition. Worms crawled all around the room in which they were. In the morning many were found under their bodies. At last, there was sent them, at a high price, two wretched mattresses; but what did they get from them?—a quantity of vermin left by the soldiers. Jean Leydet, shut up in a tower, had his legs squeezed between two beams fastened together by a screw, so that he could neither sit nor lie.

Many other prisons were like those of Luserne, or even worse.

At Turin they were treated better than elsewhere. Except the twenty-seven, who were brought bound together, and were shut up in a room so small that they had not space to turn themselves in it, the others

were put in a place situated at the top of a turret. "Thus we were all refreshed with sleep, for there were mattresses in great numbers, many boards, and much room in the turret." They were in number 220. From time to time they received alms, people gave them porringers full of soup, and other things, which did great good to all, especially to those who had no money, and were sick. "So there were many persons who showed great charity." They enjoyed some degree of liberty. At certain hours, they were allowed to take a walk on the bastions. The women could go and wash, and take as much water as they pleased.

But they were too comfortable, it appears, in this turret. On the 26th of July, orders were given that, excepting the ministers and some others who were named, all should be removed elsewhere, to make room for others. "And there were many sick, but they had to go out, and there was great mourning and lamentation. But they had to have patience, because such was the order of His Royal Highness." Almost all died in this new prison. Of eleven persons from Rorâ, only one, Daniel Rivoire, escaped to tell the tale of it.

There was not in all the prisons good porringers of soup, but only dirty water, and bread which was kneaded with muddy water, and in which were found all kinds of fragments. No pure air, no pure water, no wholesome food, no change of clothing, but vermin which multiplied, excessive heat in summer, cold in winter, no sympathy but harsh words, and unceasing entreaties to renounce their faith. Poor mountaineers, what great sadness must have filled your hearts! It is not astonishing that as many as seventy-five sick persons were found in one room. During the night no light for watching by their bedside, and, consequently, no possible help. Sometimes they were even

deprived of covering, and exposed to the severity of the air.

The children which staid with their parents did not escape disease. Small-pox attacked several of them. They were banished to low and damp courts, and even under gutters.

As for those who came into the world in these sad circumstances, they had to be immediately baptized by the priests. In most instances, they soon died, and, very often, their mothers went before them, or followed them into the grave. With regard to this, Salvageot tells of the deaths of his wife and child, and adds: "Soon after that, Madame Malanot, the wife of the minister, gave birth to a child, which had to be baptized immediately. Soon after, it died, and almost all the women who were with the child, also died."

The fourth part of those who were at Turin, where much compassion was still showed them, died. It was still much worse elsewhere, since out of 14,000 Waldenses who were imprisoned, about 8000 perished.

The living were not respected, no more were the dead. While Salvageot was following with his eyes his wife's coffin, he heard the cry: "To hell with that damned woman, (1) because they are beasts. They have refused to embrace the holy faith. And this," he adds, "horrified me."

(1) The original of this passage is in Italian. The words which I have translated as above, are "A l'e dannata quella." What "l'e" means, even the Rev. Signor Internoscia of Montreal, does not know. No doubt, it is a misprint. Very probably, it is for "l'inferno" (hell). In English, the word "hell" is often written "h—." So, at first, in the original of this passage, "l'inferno" may have been written "l'i—." Afterwards, it may have been written simply "l'i," of which the misprint "l'e" is one quite likely to happen. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that this clause has a meaning of the kind which I have given it. If then my translation of it be not a faithful one, it will do as well as if it were. T. F.

Were our fathers all "steadfast and unmovable" in this great tribulation? Alas! several gave way. Here is a sad picture :—

	WALDENSIAN FAMILIES IN 1686.	FAMILIES CONVERTED TO CATHOLICISM IN 1686.
St. Jean.....	217	49
Angrogne.....	327	12
La Tour.....	200	50
Villar.....	163	66
Boba.....	118	10
Rora.....	30	20
St. Germain.....	66	23
Pramol.....	75	4
Pinache.....	35	25
Villar-Pinache.....	13	4
Portes.....	32	17
Pérouse-Pomaret.....	56	4
Pral.....	100	13
Faët.....	80	32
Rioclaret.....	100	13
Traverse.....	20	16
Bouille-Bouvil?*	15	13
Maneille.....	40	19
Macel.....	80	8
Salse.....	30	13
Rodoret.....	35	12
St. Martin.....	20	20
Prarustin.....	80	3
Rocheplate.....	81	3

* I have put a mark of interrogation here as there is one in the original. Why it is there, I cannot see. T. F.

At Turin, the converts to Catholicism at first were separated from the others, and began to be treated a little better.

They had, from time to time, to go to mass and communicate. Every day, monks came to give them instructions in the Romish doctrines, and people gave them much alms. Then, they were treated almost alike, so that the converts to Catholicism were offended at it, and said: "It is not necessary to give them alms. It is on their account that we are in prison." At last, the monks visited them less frequently, and they received no more than did the others. One day, a certain Pierre Bellion de St. Jean, said to the monk who came to see them:—"It would be well, Your Lordship, to come and see. It would be necessary to come to instruct us, and make us go to mass, because we do not wish to live as these others, and as these ministers who live like beasts."

But so great zeal did not raise them in the estimation of the monks who ended by giving the preference to those who had not changed their religion.

Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love Him.

What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

J. D. A. HUGON, *Pastor of Rora.*

Sickness and infection have broken out among the unhappy people in almost every place where they have been put. The half will die of them this summer. They are in a climate altogether different from that in which they have lived, though but a short distance from it. They are badly bedded, badly fed, and some above others. He who is well can breathe only an infected air. Above all these evils, sadness and melancholy justly caused by the loss of their goods, a captivity of which they do not see the end, and the loss of, or separation from, their wives and children whom they see no more, and of whom they do not know what has become. (*From a letter of Catinat, June 29, 1686.*)



CHAPTER IX.

The Eighty.

AFTER their exploits in the Val Luserne, the troops of Victor Amadeus, and Louis XIV, had retired, leaving behind them a land impoverished, blood-drenched and depopulated. Those of the Waldenses who had not been massacred, groaned in dungeons. Desolation and silence had succeeded war and butchery.

To human view, it was all over with "The Israel of the Alps." But under the ashes of the martyrs lie a few feeble brands which by the breath of the Almighty shall yet be able to kindle a great fire.

Five or six men, all that seem to be left of an outlawed people, come out, all on a sudden, from the inaccessible retreat of the vale of Giaussarand which leads from Bobi to Pral by the Pass of Julien. It is a Peyrot and a Gay from the Val. St. Martin, a Negrin, a Geymonat, and a Talmon from the Val Luserne. To these others soon join themselves. They make their trysting-place at Bessé, a hamlet hidden among the chestnut trees of Villar.

They are very soon counted, eighty in all, including some women and children. Whence come they? what is their name? what is their history? how have they succeeded in escaping the devilish fury of the persecutors? These things, perhaps, no one shall ever know. They come out from the depths of the

woods, from the bottoms of the ravines, from the clefts of the rocks. They bear on their wasted bodies traces of hunger, and of the greatest want.

What can we expect of these mountaineers, half naked, true skeletons, who have had no other food than the herbs of the mountains and the flesh of chamois kids and wolves' cubs? It is, however, this handful of maddened mountaineers which shall be the instrument of the deliverance of the Valleys.

If one cannot say that they have always been harmless as doves, they have, certainly, learned by a long and cruel experience to be wise as serpents.

They fall like a thunderbolt on the persecutors who believe them to have been utterly destroyed. They demolish in succession the garrisons of Villar, La Tour, Luserne, and St. Second. They carry off convoys of victuals, and thus make good their equipment and ammunition at the same that they provide a little better than in the past for their nourishment. Then, going back into their mountains, they organize themselves for defence, determined, as they are, not to give the enemy truce any more.

They fall unawares on the neglected posts, they surprise the sleeping garrisons, they put all to fire and sword, and disappear before the enemy can observe what direction they have taken. At other times they surprise the villages of the plain, setting fire to them at both ends, and retire only after they have obtained a heavy contribution.

The exploits of these new Gideons begin to seriously disquiet the Marquis de Parelle and Gabriel of Savoy, who, not having time to rest on their laurels, find themselves obliged to take to the field again. But their troops are defeated on two occasions. They think then of returning to their old tactics which have succeeded so well. They try to attack them from the heights, and from the side of the plains. Labour lost!

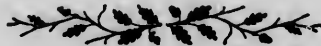
These daring mountaineers know all the passages, and they always find means of coming together again, after having inflicted heavy losses on the enemy.

An effort is made to treat with each of them singly on favourable terms. Again to no purpose. The fate of their brethren of St. Martin has sufficiently taught them.

They are offered a safe conduct to enable them to retire freely into a foreign country. This time the Eighty accept, but on the three following conditions:—1. That the same liberty shall be granted to all their fellow-Christians who are in prison. 2. That an officer of the Duke's Guard shall accompany each division of exiles to serve as a hostage. 3. That the journey, as far as the frontier, shall be made at the expense of Victor Amadeus.

These, to him, humiliating conditions, the enemy was forced to accept. Thus, what sixteen thousand Waldenses—who, unfortunately were without a capable leader, union and discipline, were unable to do—a handful of outlaws closely united, and firmly resolved, did with the help of God. And once more was seen the truth of these words of Scripture: "*Base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are: that no flesh should glory in His presence.*"

B. GARDIOL, *Pastor of Bobi.*



CHAPTER X.

Leaving to go into Exile.

PLACED between three alternatives—abjuration of their faith, death, or exile, our fathers chose the least. For them resistance was no longer possible, yet, notwithstanding all the promises made and signed by Victor Amadeus, to set the Waldensian prisoners at liberty, months passed, the end of the year was drawing nigh, and our fathers continued to suffer in dungeons.

Why this delay? In the first place, in order to give the Romish Propaganda time to convert the greatest number of them. It was like a real thirst which the most of the Catholics, even in the great families, had to make renegades. To gain their end the more easily, every means was used, promises and threats.

But, how those were deceived who apostatized, hoping to be sent back to their homes altogether free! See them, on the contrary, kept months yet in prison, afterwards, taken like slaves to the marshy plains of Verceil, forbidden to leave them under penalty of ten years at the galleys. What a punishment for these poor unhappy people, and what remorse they must have had on account of having abandoned their church!

This is not all. It was all the Waldensian prisoners whom they wished to discourage and turn from the design of taking the road in the dead of winter, for a journey across the high mountains of Savoy

That, next, was a motive for this long delay of their departure.

It was not till December, and in the course of January and February of the year after, that the doors of the prisons were opened to about three thousand prisoners out of from twelve to thirteen thousand persons who were taken.

All were not left free to set out. There were kept in prison, nine ministers with their families, and the Waldenses who were taken with arms in their hands.

The most of the children were carried off from their parents and placed in Catholic families, which took on themselves to bring them up in the Romish religion

What a sad departure for those poor mothers who had to leave behind them, in the enemies' hands, their little boy, their young daughter, or even both together, without being able so much as to embrace them again! What agonizing separations of the wife from her husband! of the father from the son! What scenes impossible to describe!

And then, for those who set out; what a journey! How many persons, already worn out and enfeebled by sufferings, who went out of prison to perish on the road to exile, victims of the snow and frost!

Among the prisoners who set out from Mondovi, on the 24th of December, at five in the evening, not being able to put off their departure till the morrow, one hundred and fifty died of cold the first night of the journey.

Some days after, other prisoners, who set out from Fossan, came to the foot of Mont Cenis, at the moment when one of the most furious storms had just broken out on the mountain. It was pointed out to the officer who had the charge of conducting the exiles, that there was danger in going forward. He gave no heed to it, and eighty-six Waldenses perished in the

journey through the pass. Those who went that way soon after, saw the dead bodies stretched out on the snow; mothers still clasping their little infants in their arms.

Many more would still have fallen by the way but for the charitable cares which came to them from Switzerland, by agents who were sent along the road which our fathers were to take, from Suse to Geneva. These agents furnished some with the means of transport, clothing and medicines, to others money, and to all great encouragement.

The poor exiles felt already, in these messengers from Switzerland, the blessed influence of the love of Christ.

How can the enthusiastic welcome which they received from the Christians of Geneva ever be forgotten? The half of the population of that city went out to meet them, and moved along to the bridge over the Arve, by which the Waldenses were to arrive. There, they were received, not merely as stranger friends, but as brethren who brought with them blessings into their families. The most wretched, those who were no longer able to walk, were the first whom all wished to have, to carry into their houses and nurse. In like manner, the other Protestant towns in Switzerland hastened to join in the kindly welcome.

There was a certain one who took a special interest in this arrival of the Waldenses at Geneva. It was the good and valiant Janavel, who had been an exile there for thirty-two years. What a mixture of joy and sadness must have been produced in the heart of the venerable old man! The vessel, his dear Church, had escaped shipwreck. But in what a state! No matter. The vessel was saved.

God knows what He does, and why He does it. "They have persecuted Me, and they will persecute you also," Jesus Christ has said. That is the rule.

Persecution has had the effect of purifying our Church from many bad elements hurtful to her life. It is that which has prevented her from mingling with the world, and has most contributed to prepare her for the work which she has been called to accomplish in our country. It is that which has brought to her the benevolent support of the Christian churches without, and the charitable interest of men of faith, such as the Gillys and the Beckwiths.

We are what we are, by our name of Waldenses and Christians, at home and abroad, thanks to the steadfastness of our fathers. We cannot reckon all that we owe them, next to God.

But also, Waldensian Fathers, what a duty is ours who profit by all the privileges of a glorious past, and a time of liberty! What a duty, I say, have we not to show ourselves worthy children of those fathers who remained steadfast, for the prosperity of our Church, and the good of our country!

J. P. MICOL, *Pastor of Villesèche.*

The original of the foregoing has an Appendix of three pages, consisting of two poems in Italian by G. Niccolini, (1) one entitled *La Persecuzione*, (Persecution)—(1686), the other, *L'Esiglio*, (Exile)—(1686). On the second page of the cover is a French version of Psalm lxxiv. On the third is a French poem of which the following is a translation into English verse. The measure is the same as that of the original. I have kept as close as possible to the language of the author. T. F.

(1) Professor of Italian in the College of La Tour (Torre Pellice). He is a native of Tuscany. In 1852, he was brought to the knowledge of the truth. Since then, he has been a Professor in the above mentioned Waldensian College. T. F.

Leaving to go into Exile.

(*Le Départ pour l'Exil.*)

1. Hearken ! there comes forth a voice from the ages past,
A voice of mourning, a cry of a pierced heart ;
Our race, forced from its forefathers' soil to depart,
Weeps for its children now dispersed.
Farewell fields of our fathers, Farewell land we love,
There remains to the exiled the country above.
2. Our resting-place here below, is but for a day,
And a sacrifice, Lord, we've made of it for Thee :
O Church of the deserts! let thy lot fulfilled be,
But to the end in His love stay.
We're going away to-day from this land we love,
But to-morrow we shall reach the country above.
3. Hills, sites, forests, of many stirring tales the scenes,
After us, o'er your heights shall the desert be rolled,
At least in your awe-inspiring grandeurs fast hold
Of our martyred sires the remains.
'Tis man who from us has taken this land we love,
But to us God will open the country above.
4. Sanctuaries for God's glory reared ages long past,
Farewell, we hope that for us a better day comes :
Hamlets, temples in ruins, and our fathers' tombs,
This holy ground for us hold fast.
May, in days to come, to our sons this land we love
Make known the way which leads to the country above.

In 1689, Henry Arnaud "led the eight hundred"—the most of the exiles—"out from the land of exile on that wonderful march through flood and fell, over frightful precipices and swollen streams, through thousands of their foes, over whom God made them victorious, back to their Fatherland." Whole congregations, however, remained permanently in foreign lands, especially in the territory of Wurtemberg.—T. F.

Appendix.

About thirty miles S. W. of Turin, are three small valleys "on the southern slopes of the Cottian Alps, in northern Italy, at the very sources of the River Po, among almost perpetual snows." These are what are commonly called the Waldensian Valleys—the place which the Church of that name has occupied from the beginning—the chief scene of the events recorded in the foregoing pages. A railway has lately been built from Turin to Torre Pellice (La Tour), one of the parishes in them. At a station on the way, the name of which I forget, is a branch line to Pignerol (Pinerolo), another parish.

How old the Waldensian Church is, is a question which has not yet been satisfactorily answered. According to some, its beginning dates from Apostolic times. Others go no further back for it than the fourth century. Some look on Claudius, bishop of Turin in the ninth century, as the founder of it. He opposed many of the errors of the Roman Church. It is probable that he helped to preserve greater independence of the Pope, and greater purity of doctrine and worship in the Alpine countries, than there were in most other parts of Europe. Romanists have never held him in great honour. Yea, they charge him with great errors. Yet he never was treated as a heretic during his life. He was bishop of Turin at the time of his death, which took place about the year 839. An ancient Waldensian historian says:—"Our fathers have always been too busy to do well, to have time to write and keep an account of their doings." At the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, Prof. Comba of the Waldensian Theological College of Florence, read a paper on "The Church in Italy." In it he speaks as follows of his own branch of it:—"It is time in my opinion, that we should declare in the most solemn manner, that our history is, in some proportion, to be made over; and when made over and purified of all legends, it will be more true, hence more beautiful. Let the admirers of our antiquity be consoled. If we have not lived through all the past centuries, from the time of the Apostles, please God we shall live many ages to come. He did not give us life by means of fables and legends, but only through His word of truth and of light, des-

tinged to shine for ever and ever. It is true that the Waldensians were and are in Italy the heirs and continuators of the protest, which from the earliest period arose against the dark Papal dominion, and which thus far has not obtained the attention it deserves, especially from Protestants."

In the twelfth century, appeared Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons in France. He was called Waldo from the place of his birth in the marquisate of Lyons. By means of his study of the Scriptures, he was led to adopt a purer form of Christianity than the one he found in the Romish Church—that in which he was brought up. Having divided his property among the poor, he took with him some other pious men, and went about preaching the doctrines which he had drawn from the Scriptures. The archbishop of Lyons, and other great ones in the Romish Church, set themselves against him. As he would not be silenced, he had to leave Lyons. He then visited several places, preaching as he went. One place which he visited was the Valleys already referred to. There, his labours were remarkably blessed. Those who became his followers here, were, most probably, called after him, Waldenses.

The Waldensian Church is, therefore, a very old one, even if as a Church, she were founded by Waldo, for she was in being long before the Reformation. She has a most glorious place in history. Many a time it has been given her "in the behalf of Christ, to suffer in His behalf." (*Rev. Vers.*). More than any other Church, she has sons and daughters in "the noble army of martyrs which praise God." From the twelfth century down to the end of the seventeenth, the Romish Church has, not fewer than thirty-three times, put her to a fiery trial. Almost everywhere, her Valleys are holy ground, for there are few spots in them of which thrilling stories are not told of "those ages of darkness and blood," in which, in the midst of most fearful persecution, she held fast Christ's name, and did not deny His faith. During four hundred years, she was the only Christian Church among the adversaries of the Papacy. Her Church mark—to imitate a commercial phrase—is a lighted candle on a dark background, under an arch of seven stars, and the motto "Lux lucet in tenebris" (*The light shineth in darkness*). The one part is a beautiful emblem of her, and the other a true statement regarding her, through these ages when "darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people." One of the means she used for extending the knowledge of the truth, was colporteurs or pedlars. These servants of Christ, besides selling such goods as pedlars usually sell, sold or gave away, as they had opportunity, copies of the Word of God. On this, Whittier's well-known, beautiful poem "The Vaudois Colporteur" is founded. It repre-

sents one visiting a castle, where he sells a string of pearls to a lady of high degree, a member of the Romish Church. He speaks to her of a pearl which he has not yet showed her, and describes its surpassing worth. She promises to take it. He puts a Bible into her hand, saying:—"Keep thy gold, I ask it not, for the word of God is free." He goes away. She receives light from on high, through her study of his little book. At length, she casts in her lot with "The Israel of the Alps." Moses-like, she "chooses rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures on earth: for she has respect unto the recompence of the reward."

I shall here give a few extracts from the paper on the Waldensian Church, read by M. Charbonnier, the Moderator, at the First General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance. He says: "Sometimes there were considerable Synods, at which deputies were present, not only from the Churches of Italy, but of several other countries of Europe. Such, for example, was the one which was held shortly before the Reformation, at a place called Le Laus, in the Valley of Cluson (now Roman Catholic), at which not fewer than 140 pastors were present. Before the general persecution of 1488, instigated by Pope Innocent VIII, the Vaudois Churches occupied a large territory on both slopes of the Alps, and in the plains of Piedmont they must have been at least four times more numerous than they are now; their missionary field also was more extensive than it is at the present day. * * * They (the Waldenses) themselves contributed to the extension and confirmation of the work of the Reformation, by giving to the French-speaking public the first translation of the *entire Bible*. The publication of it was decided on at the Synod of Angrogne, in 1532. A *savant*, Robert Olivetanus, was put in charge of the translation and the publication. In 1537, this beautiful volume was printed at Neuchatel, at the expense of the Vaudois Churches, who paid fifteen hundred gold crowns for it. † * * * At the Synod of Villar (Valley of Luserne), in 1629, fifteen churches only were represented. The number was reduced again, and during the eighteenth century not more than thirteen churches were found. The evangelization of Roman Catholics was rendered, if not impossible, very dangerous, by an exceedingly oppressive *regime*. Any Roman Catholic who embraced the Gospel was condemned for life to the galleys, the same punishment and worse even awaited the person who had evangelized him. The religion's indifference of the end of the

† One of the very few copies of this book known to be now in existence is in the Preparatory College at Torre Pellice (La Tour).

eighteenth, and beginning of the nineteenth century, joined with intolerance, caused this work to be abandoned altogether."

In his address to the Council Mr. Charbonnier said:—"According to the report of some Roman Catholic historians, long before the Reformation, the Waldensians held Synods attended by not less than 500 pastors. The general persecution instituted by Pope Innocent the Eighth (1488), reduced them to a small number. However, in the time of the Reformation, according to the testimony of one of their pastors, John Morel, there were still about eight hundred thousand who professed the pure Gospel. It was between 1535 and 1686 that they suffered the most atrocious and destructive persecutions. In that period, their Church, from having many hundred congregations or parishes, was reduced to thirteen."

But better days for this "remnant" which never "bowed the knee to Baal" have come. In the paper from which I have just given a few quotations, it is said:—"In 1826, a partial revival took place, the results of which have been spread by degrees to all the churches. For the intellectual and religious resuscitation God specially made use of the Christian influence of Britain, to which, next to God, they owe their present comparatively prosperous state. * * * The work of evangelization

among Roman Catholics has been resumed ever since it became possible to do so: that is to say, in the year 1848, when the oppressive laws were abolished. It has prospered greatly, and has extended to the whole of Italy, from the foot of Mont Blanc to the extremity of Sicily."

"It was once said, that at the entrance to the Vaudois Valleys might be written the monumental inscription, 'Here lies the Waldensian Church.' Ages of cruel oppression had so reduced its numbers that there seemed no root left to grow. Today it is quick with life."

The Waldensian Church is, in doctrine, thoroughly what is called Calvinistic. In government it is Presbyterian. The lowest court in it is the Consistory—what English-speaking Presbyterians call the Session. "The elections of pastors, elders, members of Synod, etc., are made by the members of the Church. There is an appeal from the Consistory to the Table, and from the Table to the Synod." "All the churches are subject to the decisions of the Synod, which is held annually during the first week of September." A liturgy is used. In 1872 a revised edition was published.

I shall now give a few statistics of this Church. *First*, those connected with what may be termed *Home Work*. I take them from the report presented by the Table to the Synod which met at Torre Pellice (La Tour), on the 6th of September of this year.

The Waldenses call a Committee a Table, as we call one a Board. In English, the word "board" is often used in the sense of "table."†

There are nineteen parishes. Of these, sixteen are in the Valleys. Turin is another. The seventeenth is the Colonia-Valdese, in Uruguay, South America. The eighteenth is the Colonia-Cosmopolita, another Waldensian colony, also in South America, and—as far as I can discover—also in Uruguay. On the last point I do not speak with certainty, as I have not received any very distinct information as to where it is. Pignacol, which was erected into a parish only at the last meeting of the Synod, lies at the entrance of the Valleys.

There are 21 pastors, 117 elders, 28 deacons, 13,205 members, 203 school teachers, 6000 of an average attendance at the principal diets of worship: 1041 catechumens, 82 Sabbath schools, 286 teachers, 3300 scholars, 198 Primary schools, and 4986 scholars. During the past year there were 16 expulsions, 9 re-admissions, ‡ 467 admissions, 626 baptisms, 131 marriages, and 415 burials. The total amount contributed last year for the schemes of the Church, and other good objects, was 62,187 francs—about \$12,438.

I shall now, in the *Second* place, give a few statistics connected with *Evangelization Work*. A part of these I have had to take from the Report on Evangelization for the year ending June 30, 1885. The rest I take from "Gleanings in the Mission Field" by the Rev. Signor Tron of Rome, in the *Voice from Italy* for last month.

There are five Districts. In these are such places as Rome, Naples, Florence, Milan, and Venice. There are 44 churches, and 38 stations. During last year, 126 places were visited. § There are 35 pastors, of whom 2 (Profs. Geymonat and Comba) are also Professors in the Theological College at Florence. The other Professor (Sig. A. Revel), is not a pastor. There are 20 evangelists of different kinds, 51 school teachers, and 13 colportuers. In all, there are 131 engaged in the work of Evangelization. One Bible carriage is used. The average attendance on Sabbath is 6442. Occasional hearers number about 40,000, Communicants 4061. During the year before last there were 396

† The title "The Sublime Porte," given to the Sultan of Turkey and his councillors, literally means "The Exalted Gate." In Eastern countries, justice used to be administered at one of the gates of a city. This custom explains several expressions in Scripture.

‡ Our Waldensian brethren are very outspoken in their Congregational Reports. In ours, "expulsions" and "readmissions" are not usually specified, but included under such heads as "removals, &c.," and "admissions."

§ The year before, 171 were visited. The reason of the decrease is—decrease of funds.

losses, during last year, 606 admissions. The catechumens for 1885-6 were 482. At the week-day schools there were, during the year before last, 1995 scholars; at the Sabbath schools 2380, and at the night schools 881. The baptisms, marriages, and burials during that year are all included under one heading—"Liturgical Acts, 345." The amount raised for different objects was within a trifle of 61,000 francs—about \$12,200.

A few extracts from the returns regarding the state of religion in the different parishes, taken from this year's Report of the Table, will, I think, not be at all out of place here. They show that human nature is the same all the world over.

PRAL.—"The worship, in the opinion of the Consistory, might be better attended if the church were warmed. If people were willing, it would not be difficult to realize this material progress."

RODORÉ.—"With few exceptions, our church has always been nearly filled. This attendance is owing very much to the sacrifice which the parish has made for the purpose of furnishing our house of prayer with a good stove." "Though sacred music has already made real progress, people do not value it as they should, and too many remain silent when the congregation praises the Lord in psalms and hymns."

MASSEL.—"The Consistory deplures the profanation of the Lord's day, the dissipation of the youth, and the irregular attendance of several on public worship, though those who stay away altogether are an exception."

PERIER-MANEILLE.—"Only five persons stay away altogether from church, less from avowed unbelief than from carelessness." "Thirty families have given nothing for the schemes of the Church."

VILLESECHE.—"Not only are the services well attended, but the number of communicants increases, as well as the respect due to the Lord's supper. It is rare to see any one go out of church before the close of the service." "The great enemy of Divine worship, and the Sabbath is not sport and dancing, but a want of order in the family which causes to be put off till Sabbath what could be done, and should be done, during the rest of the week." "Out of 248 families, not one fourth has yet contracted the pious custom of giving for God's work. To bring them to the practice of this duty, the Consistory asks itself if it must use the tone of the captain, or that of the beggar."

POMARÉ.—"Without wishing to undervalue the regular attendance on the services, the partaking by a large number of the Lord's Supper, and the care which the most of the parents take in the religious instruction of the children, we know, alas! by long experience, that all can ally itself, and, in effect, too

often does ally itself to the love of the world and the practical forgetfulness of God the Creator and Saviour. * * As long as the members of the parish depend for the salvation of their souls and their progress in piety, only on the work of the pastor, we must not expect to see progress in piety. * * The Consistory has found itself obliged to exercise discipline in a case of adultery. We are persuaded that this duty has been too long neglected by us, as, no doubt, it has been by other Consistories. We do not think that a flock has anything to gain by keeping a diseased (*galeuse*) sheep in its fold, in the hope of being able to cure it."

PRAMOL.—"The seats reserved for women in the church are seldom filled, while the place reserved for men, is, usually, not sufficient for those who attend worship. It is especially on Communion days that the building is too small. The usual meetings are well attended, but the monthly one devoted to missions attracts but few. In spite of the considerable distances, the two Sabbath schools could be much better attended, if all the parents understood the importance of religious instruction. More application and seriousness on the part of some catechumens is desirable. The reception of six has, therefore, been delayed for the present. More than the half of the families, as yet, give nothing for the schemes of the Church."

PRARUSTIN.—"The abundant temporal and spiritual blessings shed on the parish, have not found, in a great number, hearts disposed to praise and thank the Author of these precious gifts. On the contrary, indifference and worldiness continue, as certain events have clearly showed which have been a ground of humiliation to all serious persons in the midst of us. The Sabbath schools, which are well attended, have a difficulty in finding serious, capable, and devoted teachers."

ANGROGNE.—"One meets everywhere in the parish, souls thirsting for truth and righteousness. By the side of that, there is much spiritual wretchedness to deplore. The good things of earth cause forgetfulness of those of heaven. The Lord's day is observed by a part of the population."

ST. JEAN.—"The number of deaths much exceeds that of baptisms, because parents often neglect to present their children to the Lord. On the other hand, the marriage blessing has become the rule in Waldensian marriages."

RORA.—"We have no progress to report in attendance on worship, participation in the Lord's Supper, or in the sanctification of the Sabbath. The elections, which formerly took place on a week day, took place, this year, on a Sabbath. It is very difficult to get the families to give for Christian works. Marriages are usually celebrated without wedding parties (*noces*). Those to be married present themselves unaccompanied by pa-

rents or friends, which certainly, does not help to give this act the importance with which it should be invested."

LA TOUR (Torre Pellice).—"The half of the members who are electors took part in the election last June; but it is to be regretted that scarcely one-quarter take any interest, in a regular manner, in the affairs of the Church.† Besides 145 usual catechumens, three Catholic women married to Waldenses have attended religious instructions, and we have had the joy of receiving them into the Church. The holy conversation of the children of God, far from making us forget the evil and sin in which many take pleasure, is rather the light which makes us notice it. Worldliness, profanation of the Lord's day, the scandals which take place at the very door of our churches, are a spectacle well fitted to humble us. There are yet near 200 families which, from indifference or poverty, give nothing for any Christian work."

VILLAR-PELIS.—"Religious feeling continues in the great majority of the members of the parish. But, on the other hand, we see with pain a certain number of persons keeping themselves away from every place of worship; others committing acts of immorality and intemperance, and troubling the peace of families. The figures of expulsions and re-admissions is far from giving one an idea of the extent of the evil which exists in the midst of the population, or of the labour of warning and reproof which has been accomplished."

BOBI.—"Thirteen persons excluded from the church, a certain number of years ago, have not yet sought re-admission, though although almost all frequent the meetings pretty regularly. Ten others keep themselves away from places of worship, though their names still appear in the registers. Several persons have been the subject of disciplinary measures more or less rigorous. The exercise of discipline is, certainly, one of the most painful parts of the work of the ministry. But we are always more convinced that laxity on this point is very hurtful, and draws the church into confusion with the world, which, already, is but too plain.* The catechumens, very attentive to their lessons be-

† Fault is found with the electors spoken of, not for voting, but for voting on the Sabbath. As is stated in the report from Rora, a few lines before, the elections took place, this year, on that day.

* Compare this with what is said on the same subject in the returns from Pomaret (p. 64). Many professing Christians look on the exercise of discipline in the church, as they do on preaching about an eternal hell of consciences suffering—something fitted to do far more harm than good. They would have ministers preach only about the love of God, keeping His holiness and justice altogether out of sight. So, in like manner they would have rulers in the Church, either take no notice at all of inconsistency in members, or, at most, say a few soft words to them, "and nothing more," as Eli did to his sons Hophni and Phinehas who were a disgrace to the priesthood. Our Waldensian brethren are of a very different opinion. Bishop Ryle very

fore being received into the church, forget, too often the engagements into which they have entered, in order to mingle in hurtful amusements. Before their departure for the army, the conscripts are invited, all together, to the pastor's house, where each one receives a New Testament, which, it is to be hoped, does not always sleep at the bottom of his knapsack. The 305 families of the parish divide themselves, as to contributions, into three classes : Those who do not give—and they form more than half ; those who give, after much entreaty, to rid themselves of the collector ; and, finally, the small number of those who give with a joyful readiness."

TURIN.—"At Christmas and Easter the church is crowded, though a good third of the Protestants belonging to the parish be not present. There is nothing to prevent this being the case during a great part of the year. Unfortunately, people take advantage of the Sabbath to go out of the city, and that not always from lawful motives. A communion service was, for the first time, established on the evening of December 31. This innovation seems to suit real wants, and, at any rate, it allows persons at service to avail themselves of this means of grace. To lessen the regiment of professional beggars, and systematize the distribution of help, a special rule has been adopted by the Consistory, and tickets for lodging and admission to cheap bakeries has been substituted, in several cases, for help with money."

These extracts are somewhat lengthy, but, I hope, interesting. I come now to the educational and charitable institutions belonging to the Waldensian Church.

First. The Educational Institutions. They are 1.—A Theological College at Florence. Three years course, 3 Professors, 12 students during the session of 1884-5. 9 others completed their course abroad. The College was removed from La Tour (Torre Pellice) to Florence in 1860 and established in the Salviati

justly says on this subject that while the extreme of harshness on the one hand, and that of laxity on the other, are both to be avoided as evils, the Church will suffer more from the latter than from the former. The Free Italian Church, to form a union between which and the Waldensian, great efforts have been made, is not less alive than the latter to the importance of discipline. In its Report for 1885, there are the following passages :

"FLORENCE.—Our losses have been heavy, through death and departure from Florence, and the discipline of those who were not walking uprightly.

MILAN.—We hold it to be not only enjoined by Scripture, but practically an excellent thing, to purge the Church of its evil elements. Two brethren, therefore, who were living in disobedience to the Divine commands were expelled, two emigrated to other countries, and there have disappeared, nobody knows where. Sooner or later, they would have been expelled, had they not gone of themselves. ROME.—Two persons who were living in sin, were expelled. The act of discipline, though most unpleasant was salutary, and strengthened the spiritual life of the brethren. VENICE.—Eleven were expelled as unworthy."

Palace.* II.—A Preparatory College for theological studies at La Tour (Torre Pellice). Founded by Dr. Gilly in 1835. † Eight years course, 7 Professors, 1 Tutor, Session 1884-5, 61 students. III.—A Latin School at Pomaret. A preparatory school for the College at La Tour. Established here by the late General Beckwith in 1842. ‡ Three years course, 1 Professor, 1 Tutor, Session 1884-5, 23 students. § IV.—A Normal School to train schoolmasters at La Tour. Four years course, average number of students 30. I am unable to give the number of Professors and of the students last session. V.—A Normal School for young women at La Tour. Founded by General Beckwith in 1837. Five years course, 5 of the Professors of the Preparatory College teach here, along with 2 lady teachers. Session 1884-5, 46 students.

In every parish there are a male and a female elementary parochial school. These are dependent on the Consistory.

Second. The Charitable Institutions. They are I.—An Hospital for the sick at La Tour. Founded in 1826 by Madame Geymet. Directed and administered by a Synodical Commission. II.—An Hospital for the sick at Pomaret, founded in 1834. Also under the management of a Synodical Commission. III.—A Female Orphanage near La Tour, founded in 1854 by Mrs. Bracebridge and some of her friends. Under the direction of the Waldensian Table. IV.—An Hospital for the Sick at Turin. Under the management of the Consistory of the parish. From Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1884, the number of patients received into it was 108. V.—The Artigianelli Institute at Turin. For poor boys who wish to learn a trade. Founded in 1856 by Pastor G. P. Meille. Among the qualifications necessary for ad-

*The material Divinity Hall is adorned with two very large oil paintings representing dead game and fruit, certainly little in keeping with the place in which they are. Well, "how came these pictures there?" The hall was formerly a dining room. The pictures are too large to be taken out conveniently. It is thought a pity to destroy them, so they are allowed to remain. Very probably, like Pat's big pig which was not carried upstairs for it was born there, they were painted in the room.

†A life-size painting of Dr. Gilly adorns the walls of one of the rooms of the College. In another room, used as a Museum, are a few relics of the persecuting times.

‡ General Beckwith took a very deep interest in the Waldenses. He closed his earthly course at La Tour, where he is buried. He married a Waldensian lady. His widow and daughter live at La Tour. A full-length, life-size portrait of him is in the College there. He lost a leg in battle—at Waterloo, I think. He once lived in Montreal. A township in Ontario or Quebec, I forget which, is named after him.

§ This school occupies a beautiful building given for the purpose by Dr. Stewart, minister of the Free Church of Scotland, at Leghorn, and some of his friends.

mission into it are poverty, good conduct, and *having been vaccinated*. Number in it 30. VI.—A Society of Protestant Ladies for the benefit of poor children, founded in 1858. Every year, twenty children suffering from scrofula, or other diseases of a like kind are taken to the seaside, or into the country. The more needy are attended to during the winter.

The church at Milan has one hospital. The church at Genoa has one in common with the other Protestant Churches of that city.

As far as I can learn, the Waldensian Church has no foreign mission of her own. She is doing a great work in the evangelization of Italy, and would do more there had she more means. Yet, though she considers it to be her duty to "preach the Gospel, beginning at Jerusalem," she does not consider it to be so to stay there. During the last meeting of Synod, a young man, Signor Luigi Jalla, "who had given himself to mission work in Africa on the banks of the Zambesi," was ordained to that work. He has given his services to the Paris Committee. The Director of the Parish Mission presided on the occasion. "All the ministers present, including the deputies, took part in the ordination. The young missionary received the right hand of fellowship from some sixty or seventy brethren. This is now the second of her sons that the old Church of the Valleys has set apart for 'the dark Continent.'" The parishes contributed last year for Missions distinct from Evangelization. The churches and stations in the Evangelization field contributed the year before last for "different objects," of which, very probably, Missions were one. The parish of Pomaret is said to have given 200 francs—about \$40 for the Zambesi Mission last year. The children of the parish of Turin are said to have sent during the said time, a box of goods to Labrador, and 180 francs—about \$36, to the society of Paris, thereby showing their interest in missions.

At the opening of the Synod last year, four were ordained to the ministry. There are now 73 ministers in active service of one kind or another.

"There is little wealth among the Waldenses any where. Until recently, the salaries of none of their ministers exceeded £60—about \$300—a year, which, with a small glebe, constituted their sole support. And they have never asked help for themselves: their errands to England and America were always simply to secure assistance for their work in Italy. But at the Presbyterian Council held in Edinburgh in 1877, the story of the poverty of the Vandois Church was so effectively told that deep feeling was awakened, culminating in practical results. The sum of £13,500—about \$67,500—was obtained, £4,000 of it—

about \$20,000—from the Vandois valleys, the interest of which is used to augment the pastors' stipends, so that they now average about £90—about \$450."

"Lying between France and Italy, the Waldenses speak the languages of both countries, and publish their papers in both French and Italian." French is, however, really, their mother tongue. During a short stay in their Valleys, last year, I attended two meetings. French was the only language used at them. I went into the pulpit of their church at La Tour (Torre Pellice), All the books in it were in French. The translation of the Bible by Olivetanus, already referred to, which was printed in 1537, at the expense of the Waldensian churches, is in that language. Signor Prochet, the Depository of the British and Foreign Bible Society at Rome, who often preaches in Italian, said to me that when he speaks in that language, he at first thinks in his mother tongue—French, and then translates. The French which I heard in the Valleys did not seem to me to have the *hurr* or rough sound of "r" which is used so much in France, and the French-speaking part of Switzerland.

The Italian Government, very naturally, desires to have only one language for the whole kingdom, but it uses no oppressive means to bring about this end. The Waldenses, however, have feelings towards French, akin to those which French Canadians have towards it. In the report of the Table, from which I have already quoted very fully, we find the following language:—"The only general observation which has struck us in the reports of some Consistories, is the fact; unhappily true, that the teaching of the French language always occupies less space in the programme of our parish schools. If, besides the knowledge of the national language, whose rapid progress everyone among us has hailed with joy, we wish to preserve to our children that of the French, which is so useful to us, it is absolutely necessary that school commissioners consider what means should be used to ward off the danger which we have pointed out."

Their church courts resemble the Ottawa and Quebec Parliaments in the use of two languages. The minutes of Synod are a curious mixture of French and Italian. I have a copy of them for this year. In some places in them, there is a fitness for the use of one of these languages rather than the other. But, taking them as a whole, they are, as far as I can see, an unnecessary mixture of two languages. In no case does one translate another. They are very much, on a large scale, what the following sentences are on a small one:—"Bon morning, Monsieur Smith. Je suis very glad de vous voir. Je hope que vous are well." Take, for example, the final Resolutions in the Minutes for this year. Art. 39.—Praying God to bless the King of Italy, his

Famliy, and his Government (*Italian*). Art. 40.—Arranging about the meeting of Synod next year (*French*): Art. 41.—Vote of thanks to the people of Torre Pellice and neighborhood for their hospitality (*Italian*). Art. 42.—Vote of thanks to the office-bearers of the Synod for the manner in which they have discharged their duties (*Italian*). Art. 43.—Stating that the acts of the Synod have been read and approved (*French*). Statement when and where the Synod met and was closed (*French*). I may remark that the Minutes of Synod begin with these words: “In the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one only God, blessed for ever. Amen!”

Union among professing Christians, when vital truths are not sacrificed to obtain it, is most desirable everywhere. It is, of course, specially so in a country like Italy. Take, for example, the city of Rome, where “The Man of Sin” has his seat. How painful it is to see there, as great variety among Protestants, as there is in the dress of the priests, students, monks and nuns which swarm in the streets! For a considerable time, efforts have been put forth to bring about a union between the Waldensian and the Free Italian Churches. It is greatly to be desired that these two instrumentally life-giving streams would mingle their waters together, and flow on in one. The signs that they will do so, and that soon, are now very hopeful. The question of Union with the Chiesa Libera (Free Church) engaged almost the whole attention of the Waldensian Synod at its meeting last September. It was discussed in the best spirit. When the vote was taken on the articles of union as a whole, as presented by the Committee, the roll was called. It was then found that sixty-seven voted for them, not one against them, and only three did not vote. Interesting though the subject be, I cannot enter into particulars regarding the debate, as to do so would make this Appendix too long. There is a very good account of it by Dr. Gray of Rome, in the *Voice from Italy* for last month, from which I shall make one or two extracts. The greatest difficulty—the “burning question,” was the *name* to be borne by the United Church. In this instance there was a great deal in a name. “One fact was clear, that in existing circumstances the whole property of the United Church must be held under the old title of ‘Chiesa Valdese’ (Waldensian Church).” The following is, in full, the article relating to the name to be borne by the United Church, which was unanimously adopted by the Synod:—

5th, “The United Church conserves the name of Evangelical Waldensian Church, leaving, however, to individual congregations the power to call themselves simply the Evangelical Church of ———, and expressing the desire that the day may come when the great increase of its members, or its union with other Italian

evangelical denominations, will admit of its taking the name of the Evangelical Church of Italy."

The eleventh article is the only other about which there was any great difficulty. It seemed to lead to an abridgment of the Confession of Faith. But when it was explained, it was unanimously adopted.

"The feeling in favour of union turned out far stronger than could have been looked for, even among the deputies from the parishes. The results cannot but be considered as highly satisfactory by the friends of union."

"And now the one question is, what will the Free Italian Church say to the articles as approved? The only important modification made by the decision of Synod relates to the name, and yet, even that must be held to be a wise decision in all the circumstances. The name by which the property of the church must be held, is retained; at the same time, that name is not imposed on any single congregation of the Free Italian Church. I cannot believe that these negotiations must come to nought, simply because the Waldensian Church has refused to surrender its historic name, while it expressly repudiates the desire to impose it on any. There is even ground for saying, from the satisfaction with which the action of the Synod has been received by brethren of the Free Italian Church, that its Assembly will accept the articles as adopted, and take steps to consummate the union." But enough has been said on this subject. I therefore now pass on to others.

The connection in which I have spoken of in the Free Italian Church, makes it quite in place to give some account of it here. This I am enabled to do by means of a copy of last year's Evangelization Report of that Church which the Rev. Mr. McDougall of the Free Church of Scotland at Florence, very kindly sent me. That gentleman has taken a foremost place among those who have striven to bring about the union. I am sure that he is very much pleased with the present appearances of his desires for it being soon realized.

The Free Italian Church has 7 ordained pastors, 19 unordained evangelists, 32 elders, 76 deacons, 22 deaconesses, 3 colporteurs, 1,220 average Sabbath morning attendance, 1,880 average evening attendance, 1,680 average week-day attendance, 1,580 communicants, 254 catechumens, 55 Sabbath School teachers, 756 scholars, 30 Day and Night school teachers, 898 scholars, 28 churches, large and small, and 43 out-stations. Last year, about 2,950 francs—about \$590 were contributed for Evangelization, and fully 10,000—about \$2,000 for all objects. One of the foremost preachers is Signor Gavazzi. He is stationed at Rome, where "his discourses are listened to by crowded audiences of

all ranks and conditions. Many a time the place of worship is too small to contain them." The church does not look very like one, but no matter for that. Right in front of it, is the St. Angelo Square. Here, the Romish Church burned alive seven of Christ's servants, and first beheaded, and then burned other two. One of the latter was the celebrated Aonio Paleario, author of the treatise on "The benefits of Christ's death." At the opposite side of the square, is the bridge of St. Angelo which spans the Tiber, at the far end of which is the Castle of the same name. Between the Castle and the Vatican, is a covered passage built in days of yore, to enable the Pope and his cardinals to go safely from the latter to the former in the event of the subjects of the "Holy Father" showing a desire for a change of government. The schools of the Free Italian Church are the only Evangelical day schools in Rome. Around them have been placed not fewer than thirteen Romish ones, "where priests and nuns hold out every inducement of food and clothing. Yet the former prosper."

In the report for the year 1884-5, on the Evangelization Work of the Waldensian Church, there are several anecdotes, some interesting, others very curious. I give the following ones to show the gross ignorance and superstition with which it has to contend :

The priest of the little village of Coazza in Piedmont, was, not long ago, explaining to his people the parable of the labourers in the vineyard who were, at different hours, called to labour. Here is what he said : "The master comes to him who came at the eleventh hour, and says : 'Friend, I cannot give you much. Why did you not come sooner !' 'Because,' says the latter, 'I was at mass before I came.' 'Ah, indeed ! Well, then, you deserve more than your companions.'" Then, turning to his hearers, the priest said :—See, Christians, why the master gave this servant as much as any of the others."

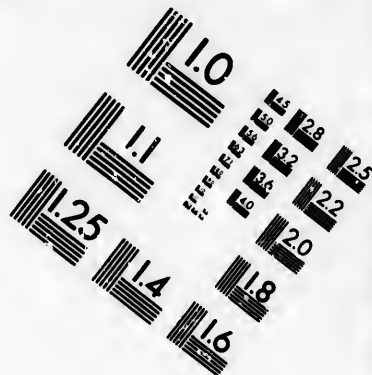
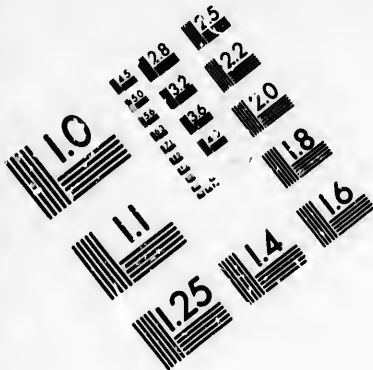
The following conversation took place between a Bible woman and a mother in Rome : B. W.—How is your little daughter ? M.—Just fancy what has happened ! Yesterday she fell from the balcony, and was not at all hurt. Neighbour-women have said to me that it was a favour from Our Lady, but another has said to me that it was one from the Devil. B. W.—How could it be the latter ? Does Satan ever bestow favours ? M.—Certainly, he does. The devil always comes to the help of children, because if they die quite young, not having yet committed mortal sin, they go straight to Paradise, consequently, he helps them to grow up that he may, afterwards, become master of their souls. (The Devil is thus the guardian angel of children !—but from the very opposite of love to them.—T. F.)

A young seamstress once said to a member of the Waldensian Church at Rome, that she would not come to her house on the following day. M.—Why not? Y. S.—Because there are two festivals in immediate succession, Sabbath, and the Immaculate Conception, and, consequently, I must work on Sabbath. M.—But why to-morrow, rather than Monday? To-morrow is the Lord's day. Y. S.—That is true, but the Sabbath comes once a week, and Immaculate Conception day once a year. You see, then, that there is less sin in my working on the Sabbath, since I can keep another in the year, than on the day of a festival which does not come round so often.

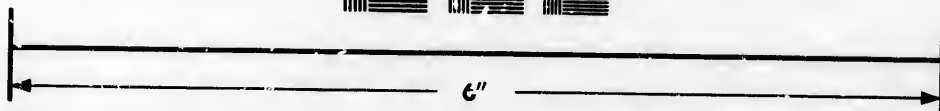
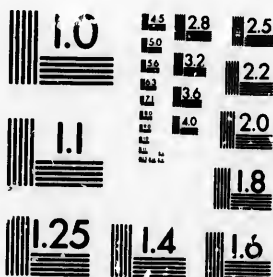
A poor woman, the wife of a man who works in the sulphur mines, came one day with her husband to the Waldensian service in Caltanisetta, in Sicily. People had made her believe that at an appointed moment, every one who attended, trampled under his feet the image of the Virgin Mary, and at a signal given by the pastor, a horse's head was set up which every one had to adore. See her with her eyes wide open, waiting for the sacrilegious act to take place! But she heard only hymns, prayers, and words of peace and blessing. She went out crying:—"God is of a truth with those persons. The priests have deceived me."

The following extract from the Report on Evangelization by the Waldensian Church for the year ending June 30, 1885, is somewhat lengthy. I hope, however, that it will not weary the reader. I give it as showing the spirit in which that Church is carrying on the work. "Our object," the Report says, "is not so much to reform or enlighten the opinions of the masses, as to lead souls to Christ. Such has been the principal laid down since the beginning of the work by the Synod in 1855 which declared, 'that the only motive which impels the Waldensian Church to evangelize, is obedience to the Lord's command: 'Preach the Gospel to every creature;' and, consequently, it has no desire to impose on any one its ecclesiastical forms;' and in accordance with this principle, our work has been carried on to the present day. Conversion and not merely conviction, that is what we seek. By controversy one can draw crowds, but not hearts. Excepting some occasions on which it cannot be avoided, it generally serves, by the ridicule which it casts on the Romish religion, only to justify in the hearts of two-thirds of our population, the scepticism which they have taken as their standard. We must substitute for what one calls 'the fleeting faith,' the faith which remains, something positive, a new life, without mixing with it political principles, or social theories in order to render ourselves agreeable to those who listen to us. It is not war against the priest, that we wish to wage, but against





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sin. It is not Protestants that we wish to have, but Christians. For thirty-five years we have lighted here and there, with the torch of the Word of Life, small centres of light which may, perhaps for a long time, remain as it were hidden under the ashes, but from which shall burst forth, at a given moment, and by means which God keeps in reserve, the spark which shall overspread all our dear country with the flames of awakening."

This is the only spirit in which evangelization should be carried on. It is the spirit expressed by the Apostle Paul, when he says:—"We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord." (II. *Corinthians*, iv., 5.) Those who labor in it, shall not labor in vain. God says:—"Them that honor Me, I will honor." (I. *Samuel*, ii., 30.) He is faithful who has promised. (*Hebrews*, xi., ii.)

Of course, the events in their history two hundred years ago, have been commemorated by the Waldenses this year. In the Report presented by the Table to the Synod, from which I have already quoted, it is said:—"The most of our churches have, of their own accord, and in different ways, called to mind the painful events of that fearful year 1686. Historical lectures, and more solemn commemorative services have sketched again, before numerous and affected assemblies, the picture of the struggles and sufferings of our fathers, in the last great persecution which threatened the existence of the Waldensian people. * *

The contrast between the prosperity of the present, and the sufferings of two hundred years ago, was well fitted to produce sentiments of deep humiliation and lively gratitude, which should be the signal of a general awakening of the faith and piety of the fathers among the children. To this end were directed the special appeals which were addressed to our people at numerous meetings. * *

Has this awakening, the object of all our wishes, begun to show itself among us? If we consult the reports of the Consistories, there is, unfortunately, reason to doubt it. Many souls have been seriously impressed, and the piety of several has been quickened, but the masses have not been moved. Far from being discouraged, let us not be weary in calling for the powerful breath of the Spirit, which alone gives life in our churches."

Since I began to write this Appendix, I have received the *Illustrated Missionary News* for October. It contains an article on "The Vaudois Church," in which is the following:—"It has been a common error to attribute the origin of this church to Peter Waldo of Lyons, but the Vaudois Church repudiates it. They claim that they have never been either 'Protestant or Reformed,' and that their church has been evangelical from the beginning * *

Their own uniform account of the mat-

ter has been that their religion has descended from father to son, by uninterrupted succession, from the time of the Apostles." The writer is here mistaken. While the Waldenses all agree in saying that their church is by far the oldest European Evangelical Church, they are not all agreed regarding the date of its origin. Proof thereof is given in the beginning of this Appendix.

I originally meant to close with the last words of the foregoing. I wrote them in October. But, since then, I have received the November number of the *Voice from Italy*, to which I have already referred. In it there is a story, which, besides being most interesting and beautiful in itself, forms a very fitting close to the former part of this book. I shall, therefore, add it to this Appendix. It is told by Professor Tron of Rome, in whose words I shall give it. He says :—

"Having mentioned the bi-centenary celebration of the Exile, I cannot pass over in silence the presentation made to the Synod (Waldensian) by the pupils of the Genoa evening school, the most of whom are Roman Catholics. They wished in this way to express their gratitude, and at the same time to mark the change in the state of Italy at the present time. The descendants of the persecuted exiles are receiving tokens of affection and gratitude from the descendants of the persecutors, in recognition of the benefits bestowed on them ! It is a beautiful red banner with golden fringes, on which noble hands have embroidered in letters of gold the following inscription :—

To the Venerable Synod
of the Evangelical Churches of Italy,
1686—1886.

The Genoese Pupils offer
this tribute.

During the last days of the Synod, this banner was unfurled, and was placed at the right hand of the Moderator's chair—a conspicuous object."

Elders Mills, Ont., Dec. 15, 1886.

T. FENWICK.

P. S.—Since writing the foregoing, I have received a letter from the Rev. Signor Pons of Torre Pellice, in which he, of course, refers to the action of the Synod of his Church on the question of union with the Free Italian Church. He says that the former has yielded as much as it conscientiously can, and, therefore, if the latter do not accept its decision, the two must remain separate. It is to be hoped that these Churches which, so plainly, ought to be joined together, shall not much longer be kept asunder.—T. F.

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