

The HISTORY of the  
EVANGELICAL CHURCHES  
of the VALLEYS OF PIEMONT

*by* SAMUEL MORLAND

*Revised by*  
Eduardo Irizarry

# The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont

© 2024

Revised by Eduardo Irizarry

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, except for brief quotations in printed reviews, without written permission from the publisher.

ISBN 978-1-7347210-3-4

Published by  
Armored In Truth Press, LLC

Mailing Address  
373 E. Shaw Ave. #117  
Fresno, CA 93710

[armoredintruth.com](http://armoredintruth.com)  
[armoredintruth@gmail.com](mailto:armoredintruth@gmail.com)

Morland, S. (Samuel), Sir, 1625-1695.

The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of  
Piemont; revised by Eduardo Irizarry, 1963- .

# Preface

The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont was originally written in what is known as Modern English. Though not the Modern English of today, it is the Early Modern English of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, several differences stand out between the English we know today and the English Samuel Morland knew in 1658, most obvious of which is the spelling of common words. However, it's not just the spelling, for one can easily adapt to words such as “finde” for “find,” “pour” for “power,” or “battel” for “battle.” It's when one comes to words expressed with unfamiliar characters, most notable the Latin long s: “f” (normal font); “ſ” (italic font) – both of which are the same for upper and lower case, the reading can become a bit challenging and wearisome. *ſpirit/ſpirit* (spirit), *myſtery/myſtery* (mystery), *princeſ/princeſ* (princess), *houſe/houſe* (house), *Auſtria/Auſtria* (Austria), *counſels/counſels* (counsel), *conſcience/conſcience* (conscience), are just some examples. This wearisomeness, which often accompanies the average reader after just a few pages, has been the experience of many accustomed to such differences, causing most to abandon this important volume of Christian history after about fifteen to twenty pages of “laborious” engagement. For this reason, I have taken it upon myself to revise the text, but not the context. In other words, I have updated the spelling of words but not the words themselves; my intention is not to interpret the author's meaning but to simply update the spelling for 21<sup>st</sup> century readers.

As such, archaic words will be encountered, words which are absent from most, if not all, modern dictionaries. Thus, making it necessary to access the much older and extensive Oxford English Dictionary (a PDF version can be found by searching the Internet Archive Library @ <https://archive.org>).

Some readers may notice differences in grammar usage. This was purposely left untouched, as most will not find it too challenging in understanding thoughts and concepts.

It should be said that because this book was written not long after the King James Version of the Bible (KJV) was published, that a similarity to the artistic literacy of the KJV will be observed. Again,

this was intentionally left alone so as not to detract from the author's own witness and testimony.

The original text of Mr. Morland's book contains copies of manuscripts and other documents in languages other than English. In most cases, he did also include a side-by-side English translation. In such instances, the English translation is retained.

Finally, some readers may wish to skip forward to Chapter VI of the Second Book where Samuel Morland lists several descriptive accounts of the slaughters which took place in the Valleys of Piemont, along with illustrations. This is understandable given the seemingly tedious attention to detail with which Morland lays out the many factors leading up to the massacres. Those factors prove to be a significant part of the story that I believe readers will find to be advantageous in understanding the level of personal love and commitment those of the churches of the Valleys of Piemont had for the truth and for Christ, a love that truly loves and a commitment that is truly committed. A love and commitment that needs reawakening now more than ever, as the Day of Christ's appearing is nearer than ever.





SAMUEL MORLANDIVS. SEK<sup>ND</sup> D<sup>N</sup>  
GALLIAE. DVCEMQUE SABAUDIAE  
INTERVENTIVS. ET DEINDE



PROTECTORIS. AD REGEM  
DE REBVS VALLENSIVM  
EXTRA ORDINEM COMMISSARIVS

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
The Evangelical Churches  
of the Valleys of  
PIEMONT

CONTAINING a most exact *Geographical* Description of the Place,  
and a faithful Account of the Doctrine, Life, and Persecutions of  
the Ancient Inhabitants.

TOGETHER, with a most naked and punctual Relation of the late  
BLOODY MASSACRE, 1655. And a Narrative of all the  
following Transactions, to the Year of Our LORD, 1658.

All which are justified, partly by divers Ancient *Manuscripts*  
written many hundred Years before CALVIN or LUTHER, and partly  
by other most Authentic Attestations: The true Originals of the  
greatest part whereof, or to be seen in their proper Languages by  
all the curious, in the Public *Library* of the famous University of  
*CAMBRIDGE*.

Collected and compiled with much pains and industry By  
SAMUEL MORLAND, Esq.; During his abode in *Geneva*, in  
quality of HIS HIGHNESS *Commissioner Extraordinary* for the  
Affairs of the said VALLEYS and particularly for the *Distribution* of  
the *Collected Moneys*, among the remnant of those poor distressed  
People.

REVELATION 6:9

*And when he had opened the fifth Seal, I saw under the Altar the  
souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the  
testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice saying,*

*How long O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge  
our blood on them that dwell on the earth?*

LONDON.

Printed by *Henry Hills*, one of His Highnesses Printers, for  
*Adoniram Byfield*, and are to be sold at the three Bibles in  
*Cornhill*, next to *Popes-head Alley*, 1658.

# Contents

Preface

The Authors Epistle Dedicatory

INTRODUCTION

FIRST BOOK

CHAPTER I: *The Situation and Extent of the Valleys of Piemont.*

CHAPTER II: *A Description of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.*

CHAPTER III: *The Antiquity of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont, from the days of Christ and his Apostles, down to the present Age.*

CHAPTER IV: *The ancient and modern Belief of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.*

CHAPTER V: *The ancient Discipline of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of PIEMONTE.*

CHAPTER VI: *Extracts of several very authentic and rare Treatises, composed by the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys of Piemont, a great part whereof were written about four hundred and twenty, others above five hundred and fifty Years ago, and the rest in all probability are of a far more ancient date.*

CHAPTER VII: *An extract of those famous Treatises which were written by the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys, concerning Antichrist, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments.*

CHAPTER VIII: *A particular Discourse concerning the Barbes or ancient Pastors of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont.*

SECOND BOOK

CHAPTER I: *The Several Troubles and Persecutions of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont from time to time, because of their Religion.*

CHAPTER II: *A Description of the Marquisate of Saluces, with its several Troubles and Persecutions.*

CHAPTER III: *The cunning Artifices, and wicked Practices both formally and at present used, to consume and destroy the remainder of the Faithful and the Valleys of Piemont.*

CHAPTER IV: *The Grounds or Motives of the late Persecution, in the Year 1655, with the publication of that bloody Order of Gastaldo, and the Flight of the Protestants in the midst of Winter.*

CHAPTER V: *The most humble, and earnest supplications of the Evangelical Churches, in the Valleys of Piemont, to their Prince, for justice against the inhumanity of the Order of Gastaldo.*

CHAPTER VI: *A brief and most authentic Narrative of some part of those extraordinary Cruelties which were exercised against the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, during the heat of the late Massacre, in the Year of our Lord 1655, in the Month of April.*

### THIRD BOOK

CHAPTER I: *The Court of Savoy's Factum, or Narrative of the several Transactions in the Valleys of Piemont in the Year 1655, upon occasion of the Report that was spread abroad of a Massacre of the Protestants in those parts, printed and published in the Italian, Latin, and French Tongues.*

CHAPTER II: *The Animadversions of some able and knowing Friends of the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, upon the Court of Savoy's Factum and Reasons, set down at large in the foregoing Chapters.*

CHAPTER III: *A Faithful and most Authentic Narrative, of the Continuation of the War in the Valleys of Piemont, between the Popish and Protestant party, upon the occasion of the Massacre.*

CHAPTER IV: *General Animadversions of Some able and knowing Friends of the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, upon the Court of Savoy's Grounds and Reasons, for justification of the Order of Gastaldo.*

### FOURTH BOOK

CHAPTER I: *The mediation of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland with the Duke of Savoy, and their Letters to the States General of the United Provinces, in favor of the poor distressed Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont.*

CHAPTER II: *The Negotiation of Mr. Gabriel Weis, The Deputy of the Evangelical Cantons, in the Court of Savoy, in the behalf of the poor distressed Protestants and the Valleys of Piemont.*

CHAPTER III: *The several pathetic Letters of his Highness the Lord PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England, etc. to his Protestant Neighbors, in favor of the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont.*

CHAPTER IV: *Mr. Moreland's Negotiation in quality of his Highness Envoy to the King of France, and Duke of Savoy, in the year 1655.*

CHAPTER V: *A brief Account of the notable and famous Collection in England, Wales, and Ireland, for the Relief of the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont, in the Year 1655.*

CHAPTER VI: *The Notable effects of the Intercession of His Highness The Lord Protector of England, etc. for the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont, upon the spirits of the Neighboring Princes and States of the Protestant Profession, with divers of their Letters upon that subject, with the intended Negotiation of the Commissioners Extraordinary from His Highness the Lord Protector, and the States General of the United Provinces.*

CHAPTER VII: *The Negotiation of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland, in the Court of Savoy, and the Treaty concluded at Pignerol. Together with a Copy of that Relation which they themselves sent their Superiors the same time.*

CHAPTER VIII: *The many Grievances and sad effects of the Treaty concluded at Pignerol, with a true Description of the present state and condition of those poor People.*

# The Authors Epistle Dedicatory

*To His most Serene Highness,*

## OLIVER,

By the Grace of God,

*Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc.*

*May it please YOUR HIGHNESS,*

When I consider the great presumption of the *Age* we live in, and how even the meanest Writers think it's an undervaluing to their Works, if they have not the Greatest of *Princes* for their *Patrons*, I am loath to press and with the crowd to importune *Your Highness* by a *Dedication* of the following *History*; but when I call to mind how exceeding precious in *Your* thoughts the lives and liberties of those poor distressed *Members of Christ* have been (who are the only subject of my discourse) and how deeply their bleeding condition hath always affected *Your* very heart, I cannot but hope *You* will vouchsafe to on the week endeavors (though of the on worthiest of *Your* servants) for preserving the name and memory of those Ancient and *Primitive Professors* to future Generations: Especially considering that my design herein is very subservient to that great end, which *You* have professed to *your Self* ever since *Providence* blessed these *Three Nations* with *Your* happy Government, Namely, the promoting of the general interest of God's people throughout the *Christian* world. It is an observation of that Excellent Prince, the *Duke of Rohan*, that *The Interest of the chief Magistrate of England is, by all means to become Head of the Reformed Party throughout Europe*; And it is *Your Highness* Glory and Crown, that *You* have formed all *Your* Council in Order thereunto, and laying aside all other Reasons of *State*, have adhered only to this, that *Your own Interest may appear one and the same with the Universal Interest of the Evangelical Churches in their respective Nations*. The Piety of which Resolution *The Lord* himself hath borne witness to, by a continued series of wonderful

Providences and Heavenly benedictions that have always accompanied *You* in *your* most honorable and Heroic Enterprises; Whereas those other *Princes* that went before *You*, who had little regard in the administration of their Government, either to the honest Maxims of *Human Policy*, or to the wholesome Rules of the *Holy Scriptures* (which they ought to have *bound about their necks, and to have graven upon the Tables of their hearts*) but miserably spent the best of their powerful Interests, and precious talents in persecuting tender consciences in their own Dominions, and most treacherously betrayed the *Protestant Cause in Germany, France, and other Countries*, did at last to their great astonishment, even in the height of those their oppressions, and in the midst of all their jollities, behold with their eyes a MENE TEKEL upon the *Walls* of their *Palaces and Banqueting Houses*, and of late years and all the branches of their *Families* have tasted the bitter fruits of their own unrighteous doings. This is a Doom which was long since pronounced against them by the most pious *Pastors and Professors* of foreign *Churches*, who oft times heretofore have been heard to say, *That God would one day render a recompense to that House for all their perfidious dealings towards his poor servants*, and now many of those godly men, who have lived to see the execution of those his righteous judgments, considering on the other side the wonderful passages of *Divine Providence* leading the way to the extirpation of *that Family*, and to the placing of *your Highness* in the *Princely Dignity*, have of late frequently declared (as I myself have been diverse times an ear witness) with tears of joy in their eyes, *that they looked on You as a man miraculously raised up by God, and endowed with an extraordinary Spirit of Wisdom and Courage, to plead the Cause of his afflicted ones against the Mighty, that they may no more oppress.*

Who is there so ignorant in these Our days who knows not, that all the Peace, Tranquility, and Privileges, which those of the *Reformed Religion* and joy at present in any part of the *European World*, does some way or other owe *your Patronage and Protection*? And who is there likewise that knows not that when first *You* were called forth in the view of the World, and singled out as a chosen Instrument to *go forth to the help of the Lord against the Mighty, and to fight His Battles* against the great Persecutors, the estate and



condition of the *Church Militant* was but at a very low ebb? The mighty floods of *Popery* and *Atheism* were broken in upon the *Isles* of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and the poor *Protestants* in all other parts were even sinking down under the *heavy burdens* laid upon their shoulders by those cruel *Taskmasters* of the *Church of Rome*; Yea the *Plowers* were almost everywhere *plowing and making long furrows upon the backs* of the faithful ones in all the *Quarters* and *Corners* of their *Habitations*! It was a time when the *Enemies of the Lord* took *crafty counsel together against His people, and were confederate against His hidden ones* (*The Tabernacles of Edom and the Ishmaelites! Amalek and the Philistines, with them that dwell at Tyre!*) *They said one to another, Come and let us cut them off from being a people, that so their name may be had no more in remembrance.*

And the truth is, they had undoubtedly compassed their hellish designs, had not the *Shepherd of Israel* awoke as a man out of sleep, and found out a man (I mean your *Highness*) to stand in the gap, girding You with strength unto the Battle, and putting his own sword into Your hand, to smite those his enemies in the hinder parts, and put them to a perpetual reproach.

The *Spaniards*, that old Enemy of *England* and *Religion*, is sufficiently able even already to give the world a very clear account of the blessed fruits and happy success of Your Noble and Princely undertakings; For here indeed You seemed to lay the axe to the root of the tree, when that ancient Quarrel revived again, which had lain asleep ever since the days of *Queen Elizabeth* of glorious memory. That Princess, looking upon this branch of *The House of Austria* as the main pillar of the *Romish* power and persecution, did set her whole shoulder to the work of overturning it, in hope to have put an end to the great *Mystery of Iniquity* and Tyranny exercised upon the bodies and consciences of mankind; But the measure of their iniquity being not yet filled up, She was not permitted by God to accomplish her design: And now after the long Reign of two unhappy Kings, the *Martial* spirit and renown of *Our Nation* being raised again under the auspicious Name and Counsels of Your *Highness*, equal to the best and most victorious of Our Ancestors, all things seem to work, as if the final accomplishment of what she intended, were reserved for Your Triumph and Trophies. You have

*Your Naval Forces*, in a manner held him shackled, and shut him up within his own Dominions for several years, In a word his treasures are almost exhausted, and the *Veins* which should supply him, are intercepted, besides in credit he is almost become bankrupt; so that if it please the *Almighty* to crown Your endeavors with a few more successes, a fair stroke will be given in a short time for excluding him from any considerable interest or influence in these *North* parts of the World. The fear of this, is that which made him of late betake himself to the same ignoble practices and attempts by *Assassinations*, and plotted *Insurrections* against the person and Government of *Your Highness*, as He practiced of old against the person and Government of *That Renowned Queen*; But as God was graciously pleased to make *Her* fortunate in the discovering and apprehending such *Assassinates* and *Traitors* from time to time, and to continue her in a long and prosperous Reign, so Your *HIGHNESS* having hitherto been no less remarkably happy in having always Your eyes as it were miraculously enlightened, by the *God of light and truth*, to *foresee the mischief, and pass by*, while the intended *Actors* thereof have happily perished upon the points of their own swords, and *fallen headlong into the very pit of destruction which they had digged for others*, We are encouraged to hope, that the same *God* will vouchsafe to us this great blessing, that You likewise may long sway the Scepter of these Nations, and go in and out before us, for the perfecting of those blessed purposes, which he has put into Your heart for the good of his people, both here and in foreign parts; that so You may (as You have done upon all occasions) *deliver the poor that cry, and the fatherless, and him that hath none to help him; that you may continue to be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame; to break the jaws of the wicked, and to pluck the prey out of his teeth; to loose the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free*. Though Your *Highness* delights more to do these things than to hear of them, yet give me leave to tell You, that these *Your actions of Mercy and Righteousness* are the true *Walls and Bulwarks* of these Your Islands! these are the very *Weapons* wherewith you have so oft *run through a Troop, and broken the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder*! Yea I am bold to add, that *the blessing of the poor Waldenses* which were *ready to perish*, together with *that of the Polonian and Bohemian Exiles*, is already visibly *come upon You*, and had no small influence in all your late successes. *May the God and Father*

*of Mercies still go on to open the treasures of His grace, and rain down His blessings upon Your Princely Person and pious undertakings, for the honor of His great Name, and the good of His poor afflicted Church and People: for which end and purpose all honest and true hearted English souls ought to bow their knees daily to the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that so (if it be his good pleasure that our eyes shall see those happy days) the glory of his Gospel may by Your means be more highly advanced, and that the Top stone of that Heavenly building being at last laid, all the people may cry grace, grace unto it. This is the unfeigned prayer of,*

Your Highness most humble and most faithful Subject and Servant,

SAMUEL MORELAND.

# An Advertisement to the *READER*

Though it be the custom of *Printers* to prefix their *Errata* to the Books they publish, I hope the want thereof here, will not make this be thought the more imperfect. Where the *Reader* find a different *Orthography* in some of the *French* and *Italian Manuscripts*, from that of later times, his judgment will tell him that it's an Argument of their *Antiquity*; where he meets with any real mistake, (which will be no wonder in such variety of matter, and Languages) his ingenuity will easily prompt him to correct them.

The Authors

# INTRODUCTION

to the following

# HISTORY

by way of Apology for the  
EVANGELICAL CHURCHES  
in the Valleys of Piemont.

Against the bitter Calumnies and Reproaches of their bloody Persecutors.

Directed principally to all the faithful and compassionate souls of the *English Nation*, who have been grieved for the Afflictions of *Joseph*.

But withal intended for the enlightening and edifying of the more moderate and ingenuous Spirits among the *Roman Catholics*.

Christian and courteous reader,

I am not ignorant, that both the nature of my Employment, and the principles which I profess, may at the first sight beget some prejudice in the spirits of divers against the ensuing Treatise, and cause them to look upon it as a thing composed and brought forth upon the Stage of the World, by one, whose interest (as they will suppose) being always in his eye like the Yellow Jaundice, must needs make him judge all objects to be of the same color with it, and whose affection hath an influence upon his hand, and leads him unawares to draw now and then an oblique and displeasing Line, notwithstanding, so much do I presume upon the generous disposition of the candid and ingenuous Reader, that when he shall have thoroughly weighed in the *Balance of the Sanctuary* those most authentic Attestations, whereby the truth of each essential part of the following Discourse is so manifestly justified, that he that runs may read it, I shall find so much favor in his eyes, as to be accounted by

him, in the number (though not of the most able, yet) of the most sincere and faithful Historians, (I expect the Penman of the holy Scriptures) that ever yet appeared in public. Yea, that which I desire of thee, whoever thou art, is but to proportion and measure out thy Censure, according to the Evidence of the Matter therein contained. And then, if thou thinkest that I owe thee ten thousand Talents of Truth, only have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

There are now more than nineteen Months past, since the voice of the Blood of the poor *Protestants* in the Valleys of *Piemont* was heard in all the Corners of the *Christian* World, especially throughout the *English* Nation, where there then arrived Letters upon Letters, just like *Job's* Messengers, one at the heels of another, with the sad and doleful Tidings of most strange and unheard of Cruelties for which I almost dare to challenge the best furnished Historians, (as well ancient as modern) to find me their Parallels. Some of their Women were ravished, and afterwards staked down to the ground through their Privities; others strangely forced, and then their Bellies rammed up with Stones and Rubbish: the Brains and Breasts of others sodden and eaten by their Murderers, (as if the Design of those bloody *Cannibals* and barbarous *Anthropophagi* had been not only to extirpate those poor Creatures out of this World, but also as much as in them lay, by such a strange commixtion and confusion of substances, to hinder them from having a being in the World to come). Others had their Flesh sliced from off their Bones, while they were yet alive, till such time as they were become mere Skeletons or Anatomies. Many impotent and aged persons of ninety and an hundred years of age most cruelly burned in their Beds, without any respect had to their snowy Heads and hoary Hairs, upon which notwithstanding the All-wise Creator has set so frequent Marks of Honor in his sacred Word. And if two She Bears out of the Wood were commanded to tear in pieces *forty and two little children* for abusing the *old Prophet*, barely by the term of *Bald Pate*, Lord, what shall be the end of these Murderers of ripper years, who took so much pleasure and delight in torturing and tormenting so many poor, impotent and aged persons, by Fire and Sword?

There is none, there is none, who knows what it means, to be *grieved with the Afflictions of Joseph*, but will here easily conceive how nearly this bloody and barbarous Massacre then touched all the

tender hearts of the *English Nation*, especially the heart of that most serene Prince and *Heroic Captain*, the dimensions of whose most *Christian* bowls of compassion for the poor afflicted Saints of *Jesus*, are in no wise to be measured by any of my slender and short Expressions.

The truth is, he has been a victorious Prince in all his undertakings, yet I am confident it would be much easier to outgo him in anything than in tenderness and compassion towards the poor Members of *Christ* in misery and affliction. The News of this *Massacre* no sooner came to his Highness ears, but he *arose like a lion out of his place*, and by divers pathetical and quickening Letters, awoke the whole *Christian World*, and moved their hearts to pity and commiseration. Of these his Highness Letters, the meanest of his Servants had the honor to be the Bearer of Two, the one to the King of *France*, to engage (if possible) his *most Christian Majesty* to improve his Power and Interest in the behalf of the Remainder of those miserable People. And the other to the *Duke of Savoy*, which I according to his Highness Commands delivered, together with an earnest Intercession by word of mouth in his Highness Name, That the said *Duke* would be pleased to recall those merciless and inhumane Edicts and restore his poor afflicted Subjects to their ancient Liberties and Habitations.

Now when I had according to my weak and slender capacity executed his Highness (my Master's) Commands at *Turin*, I retired myself to the city of *Geneva*, a place not more pleasant by reason of its lovely situation, than eminent for the sincere, constant, and painful Preaching of the *Word*, and Administration of the Sacraments, in no less than three several Languages, (*French, Italian, and High Dutch*) the which also, to make up the heavenly Harmony, is accompanied with a singular Piety and *Christian Behavior* in general, both of Governors and People.

I had not remained many Months in this place, before I received a letter from the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary *Thurlo*, wherein he was pleased to intimate unto me, *how useful both for the present age and future Generations, I might employ my vacant hours during the time of my Retirement; Namely, by drawing into an exact History all that had lately happened to the poor Protestants in the Valleys of*

Piemont, *beginning with the order of Gastaldo, and so proceeding and setting down all particulars in a distinct and clear method.*

Now when I had sat down and seriously considered the Contents of this Letter, joined to the strict Charge given me by the late deceased *Lord Primate of Ireland*, one of the Wonders of this hour later Age, touching the same subject, I began to persuade myself, that as there were many sincere hearted *Christians* of the *English Nation*, so were there also many ingenuous Souls and other parts of the World, yea and that among the more moderate Party of the Adversaries themselves, who were exceeding curious in inquiry, and almost impatient to know more particularly *who* those people were, *and what was their fathers house*, whose Lives and Liberties have been so exceeding precious in the thoughts of *His Highness*, and whose bleeding miseries effectually so moved him to improve his utmost Interest both at home and abroad for their Deliverance.

And indeed upon these and the like Considerations (Providence having then blessed me with a singular Opportunity) I knew not how better to serve my Generation, or succeeding Ages, then in the collecting and reducing into an exact and entire History, whatsoever concerns either the Antiquity, Doctrine, Life, or Persecutions of those poor *Evangelical Churches*, even from the Days of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, to this very time; and the truth is, I promised myself no small pleasure and satisfaction in the beginning of this my undertaking. But alas, I had no sooner made a considerable entrance into the work, but I found it to be, even from one end thereof to the other, one of the saddest Tragedies that ever has been acted in the *Christian World*; a Story so lined and interwoven with horrible Attempts, such bloody Edicts, such profound Stratagems, and barbarous Persecutions, against the poor harmless and innocent Flock of the great Shepherd of our Souls, that the Reader cannot fix his eyes almost upon any part thereof, without finding matter of weeping and lamentation; I say, which way soever he turns he shall find Treacheries plotted, Desolations fore-determined, the *Pit digged*, and the *Net of Destruction spread*; in conclusion, whole Families miserably ruined, and the innocent *Blood of the Saints poured out and spilt as Water upon the Ground*. In so much that my spirit has oft waxed cold within me, and my heart even failed me, yea my very hand has trembled as with a Fit of the Palsy in the



writing thereof. And the truth is, I should soon have been disheartened from proceeding in this my Design, had it not been a Work that I knew might justly be expected from me by his Highness, and all the good People of the *English* Nation, to whom I am bound by all the Obligations, both of Nature and Conscience, to give an Account of my Time and Opportunities: as likewise I knew it to be a Work that would be most acceptable, satisfactory, and useful to the whole *Christian* World, both as to themselves, their Children, and their Children's Children in future Generations: yea besides all this, the Example of *Moses* and the Prophets, of the Evangelists and Apostles, as likewise of the greatest Doctors, as well ancient as modern, who have published to the World, and left in writing the several Dispensations of Divine Providence toward his People in this World, are more than abundantly sufficient to authorize and encourage me, (how unequal soever I be to follow them) in so important and undertaking. Sure I am, whosoever shall read with an answerable understanding and due attention, the treacherous Stratagems and horrid Cruelties therein contained, must have an Heart of Adamant and Bowls of Brass, should they not be touched with a fellow-feeling of their Brethren's misery: yea I am much mistaken if they remain not astonished and amazed to think, that a Prince (or rather indeed his royal Mother) who ought to be as a nursing Father and a nursing Mother of their Subjects, should so miserably comply with the spirits of malicious men, wholly transported with rage and passion, and inflamed with a vehement thirst after Blood; And should so far do violence to their more moderate inclinations, as to lend an ear, yea and countenance those importunate Solicitations, which tend to the ruin of their Country, and the division of their people; which has not only rendered them unlovely to all the Princes and States of the Reformed Churches, but has also procured unto themselves no small blame from those of the very same Religion with themselves.

Not to mention any other than that of *France*, who certainly cannot but see, that this late Attempt in the Valleys, was a mere Stratagem to gain *Pragela* in possession, and thereby to stop his *most Christian Majesties* passage into *Italy*; As likewise the more easily to deprive him of those places which he holds in *Piemont*, and all this by the subtle suggestion of the *Spanish Monks* and *Friars*,

who know how to palliate their politic Designs under false pretexts, as cunningly as *Rachel did her Father's images*, and disguised their murderous practices, with the mask of Religious, and zealous intentions.

Neither is it probable that such Actions of violence committed by the *Pope* and his *Emissaries* are offensive to *France* alone, but that it is as ill taken likewise by all the politic Catholics themselves, who know right well that this can do no less than unite the *Protestant* party more firmly, and consequently, when there shall be a fair opportunity offered, may very probably put all into a confusion, and prove their utter overthrow. However it be, it cannot but melt the bowels of all tender and compassionate souls towards the poor afflicted Saints of *Jesus*.

This is that O ingenious Reader, this is that which I am bold to present thee with at present, and that out of a real affection to thy immortal soul (though it's possible thy Principles and mine may be different) hoping that the undoubted truths herein contained, may prove as a precious *eye-salve* to anoint thine eyes, that so thou mayest see and discover the many remarkable passages of Divine Providence towards his poor *Christian militant* in this world, and likewise that it may persuade thee *in this thy day of visitation, to come out of Babylon, that so thou mayest not be partakers of her sins, nor receive at length of her plagues*; I mean that generation of *Vipers*, who by their barbarous and unheard of cruelties have plainly discovered themselves to be the Firebrands of Hell itself, and Fields of Infernal darkness. *There is a vast difference between Butchery and godliness, neither has truth any accord with violence, or cruelty with righteousness*, has *Lactantius* elegantly expressed himself upon this Subject. Believest thou this O tender-hearted Reader? I know that thou dost believe it, and therefore it is that I am desirous to lay before thee the ensuing History, beseeching the God of Truth and Righteousness to remove all the stumbling-blocks, and prejudicial thoughts, which either the frailty of the Authors understanding and youth, or the seeming inconsiderableness of the poor people of the Valleys, who are the subject of his discourse, may at the first fight suggest unto thee.

The truth is, if thou regardless the outside only of these poor wretches, and the form of their countenance, thou wilt be ready to cry out, *Lord, what are these men, that thou shouldest be mindful of them?* Or their posterity, *that thou shouldest have any regard unto them?* As likewise, if thou visiteth their ancient houses and habitations in so dark and blind a corner of the world (being as it were divided from the rest of the habitable earth) in deserts and solitary places, among the craggy Rocks and snowy Mountains; They may seem unto thee to have been lightly esteemed by the great Creator of the world, as the most inconsiderable part of his handiwork; But when thou shalt *enter into the sanctuary of God*, and consider seriously the manner of these peoples life and conversation, together with their Principles and practice of Religion, in all Ages and Generations, and that from the Ample testimony of their professed enemies; when thou shalt consider their Loyal submission to their Sovereign Prince their Christian patience and magnanimity in their afflictions, and the redoubling of their heroic zeal in the deepest of their tribulations, (as not esteeming the same *worthy to be compared with the joys which are to be revealed*) when likewise thou shalt consider on the other side, how the Lord has many times chosen these *foolish things to confound the wise: and these weak things to confound the mighty, and these base things, and things which were despised, yea, and which in a manner were not, to bring two not things that were;* When thou shalt have seen how these have been always preserved *as Lambs among Wolves*, though they have been oft times most furiously assaulted by the *Anakims* and sons of violence, insomuch that neither the deliverance of the *Israelites* in the Red Sea, nor of *Jonas* and the Whales belly, nor of *Daniel* in the Den of Lions, nor of the three *Children* in the fiery Furnace, was ever more miraculous; I say when thou shalt have well considered and laid to heart all these things, Then it may be thou wilt conclude with me, that these are not the people that have been represented to thee by their black-mouthed enemies, and that they have not in anywise deserved to be so cruelly handled by their persecutors. Thou wilt then conclude with me, that all the bitter accusations both of their Doctrine and Manners, are no other than mere impostures. And that the description of this late Massacre hath fallen very short of what it ought to express the rage and horror of the same; As likewise that subtlety hath not been wanting in any kind of artifice, nor is

there any contrivance of falsehood, nor passionate part of fury, which the Court of *Rome* and their adherents have not devised and acted for the total expiration of *Christian Religion*: which should be a strong motive for us to unite ourselves and better to resist their bloody force, and countermines their Stratagems; then also thou wilt conclude with me, that the All-wise Creator did certainly from the beginning, designed this remote and obscure part of the world, to hide and lock up therein some Rich and Inestimable Treasure; That this is the *Desert whether the woman fled* when she was *persecuted by the dragon with seven heads and ten horns*. And where she had a place prepared by God, that they should feed her one thousand two hundred and sixty days: That here it was that the Church fed, and where she made her Flocks to rest at noon, in those hot and scorching seasons of the ninth and tenth Centuries; Then it may be thou wilt begin to believe with me, that it was *in the clefts of these Rocks, and the secret places of the stairs* of these Valleys of *Piemont*, that the Dove of Christ then remained, where also the *Italian Foxes* then began to spoil the Vines with their tender Grapes, although they were never able utterly to destroy or pluck them up by the roots, according to that excellent Character which the learn *Beza* gives to them in his Treatise of the Famous Pillars of Learning and Religion, in these following words,

*As for the Waldenses, give me leave to call them the very seed of the Primitive and purer Christian Church, being those who have been so upheld (as is clear and manifest) by the admirable Providence of God, that neither those infinite storms and tempests whereby the whole Christian World has been shaken for so many Ages together, and at length the Western parts so miserably oppressed by that Bishop of Rome, falsely so called, nor those horrible persecutions which have been directly raised against them, were ever able so far to prevail upon them, as to make them bend or yield a voluntary subjection to the Roman Tyranny and Idolatry.*

Here thou shalt find, besides the Arguments which may be drawn from the Ancient confessions of Faith, and several other Authentic Manuscripts, which have been in former times so miraculously preserved from the flames during their hottest persecution, I say besides all these, thou shalt find even the most

eminent and the most bitter of their professed enemies, to have let fall many seasonable passages in those their very writings, which were directly composed against these poor faithful ones, whereof some by a manifest deduction, others in plain terms avow the Antiquity of their Religion under the name of Heresy, even from the Apostles time; So that now *what need we any further witness? we have heard themselves speak*, and justify sufficiently what we assert.

They will certainly henceforward blush, and be ashamed to upbraid us as formerly, by demanding of us where our Religion was before the days of *Calvin* and *Luther*? If they do, we call *Jonas Aurelianensis*, *Prior Rorengo*, *Samuel de Cassini*, *Rainerius Sacon*, *Belvedere*, *Bellarmin*, and other most renowned Catholics, to witness for us, that it was in the Valleys of *Piemont*. Yea, I am bold to proceed and affirm (as before) that it is very probable that this was the *place prepared of God for the persecuted Woman and the Remnant of her seed* in those dark and gloomy days, when *the smoke out of the bottomless Pit* had so darkened the face of the Universe, that it was not easy to distinguish with the eyes of fleshly reason the Little Flock of Christ Jesus, and when *that great Red Dragon, and old Serpent called the Devil and Satan, had power given him to make War with the Saints, and to overcome them, and to compel all, both small and great, Rich and Poor, Bond and Free, whose names were not written in the Book of Life, to receive a mark in their Right Hand and in their Foreheads*.

The truth is, if we had no other Light to guide us in this dark and cloudy night, yet the fires were with those *Cadmeans* or *generations of Vipers* have burned the bodies of the Saints, would serve us as so many Torches to keep us from losing our way between the days of the Apostles, and those of *Calvin* and *Luther*.

I beseech you, O ye worshippers of the *Beast and Antichrist*, suffer me that I may speak, and after that I have spoken, then mock on! May it not be righteously said of you, that *ye have gone in the way of Cain*, that you have *slain your Brother Abel as he was talking with you in the Field*, and that now ye make strange of it, as though ye had never seen him, or at least new not at all what was become of him.

I say you have *slain your Righteous brother Abel*, because *his sacrifice* of a broken spirit, *was more acceptable to God*, than your Idolatrous and Human Inventions: and by this means you had thought to have even blotted out the very name and memory of the true Church of Christ Jesus in the world. But let me tell you, that as the Church which was then in part slain by that murderer in the person of Abel, was by Divine providence revived in the person of Seth (whose very name in the *Hebrew* signifies *Substituted*) so the Church which you have so cruelly massacred in part, in the persons of so many Noble and Renowned Martyrs in those dark Intervals after the *number of the Beast 666*. God has always renewed in the person of others his chosen Saints and Servants, according to that of the Poet—

*...With one torn off, the other is not lacking.*

*Aureus—*

I say there have been famous Worthies in all Ages, ever since the first rise of our main differences, during the Reign of Charles the Great, who like the ancient Heathen Racerunners, having finished their course, have always delivered the Lamp of their Doctrine to the next runner. Thus in the Valleys of *Piemont*, *Claudius Archbishop of Turin*, and he to his Disciples, and they to their succeeding Generations in the ninth and tenth Centuries: in another part of the world, *Bertram* to *Berengarius*, *Berengarius* to *Peter Brus*, *Peter Brus* to *Waldo*, *Waldo* again to *Dulcinus*, *Dulcinus* to *Gandune* and *Marselius*, they to *Wycliffe*, *Hus* and *Jerome of Prague*, and their Scholars the *Thaborites* to *Luther* and *Calvin*.

Wherefore I pray you suffer me a little, and hearken to my words, you that have *lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton and have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter, you have condemned and killed the just, and he has not resisted you, you have persecuted* the poor Saints in those dark ages of the World from *City to City*, *yea ye have stoned them, ye have sawed them asunder, ye have tempted them, ye have slain them with the Sword, ye have caused them to wander in Deserts, and in Mountains, in Dens and in Caves of the earth*, and now ye demand of us a *Sign* to prove their Succession and glorious visibility. May not we justly answer you, as our Savior did the *Scribes and Pharisees* (and yet not exceed the

bounds of modesty or charity) *A wicked and adulterous Generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall be no sign given unto it, but the sign of the Prophet Jonas* (a true Emblem in this case of the Church)! For as God suffered *Jonas* for a time, because of his unbelief in fleeing to *Tarshish*, to be *cast forth into the Sea* and to be *swallowed up by a mighty Whale*, but yet afterwards commanded the Fish to *vomit him out upon the dry Land*, even so has he sometimes dealt with his Church, in suffering her to be exposed to the violence of the boisterous Waves of the See of *Rome*, yea sometimes for her backslidings and unbelief to be *swallowed up* by that *Leviathan of Popery* the *Antichrist*: But yet still he has commanded that huge *Fish* to *vomit out the same upon the dry Land*: neither has he suffered her to be digested by the cruel Monster. According to that excellent passage in *Hosea*, *Come let us return unto the Lord, for he hath torn us, and he will heal us, he hath smitten, and he will bind up; after two days he will revive us, and the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight.*

True it is I say, that the Church of Christ, as it has been *traveling from Jerusalem to Jericho*, has *oft-times fell among Thieves* who have *robbed* her, and *stripped* her, and *left her naked*, and *wounded*, and *half dead*; But yet still the good *Samaritan* has *passed* by, and had *pity* on her; and *bound up* her *Sores*, and *poured Oil* into her *Wounds*. And by that means saved her from perishing in her misery; And thus she has been *troubled on every side*, but yet *not distressed*: *perplexed*, but *not to despair*! *persecuted*, but yet *never forsaken*! *cast down*, but yet *not destroyed*! Thus many have been the *afflictions of the poor Church Militant of Christ* in this world, but still the *Lord* hath *delivered her out of all*! Alas she has always had her conversation in this world, in *much weariness and painfulness*, in *hunger and thirst*, in *cold and nakedness*, in *stripes and imprisonments*, in *laborers*, in *watchings*, in *fastings*, in *perils of waters*, in *perils of robbers*, in *perils by the Heathen*, in *perils among false brethren*: She has been *reviled*, when she has *blessed*! she has been *defamed*, when she has *entreated*! yea she has been *made as the Filth and Off-scoring of all things*. But yet behold he that has *carried her down to the Grave*, has *brought her back again*! and has never suffered the *gates of Hell* to prevail against her. When her children have *forsaken the Law of their God*, and not walked in his

*judgments, then he has visited their Transgressions with a rod, and their iniquity with stripes: although for his loving kindness he never hath utterly taken it from them, nor suffered his faithfulness to fail.*

Go to now therefore ye that boast of the invisibility of the true Religion in all Ages! Come, let us reason together, and see whether in truth and reality, this external Pomp and glory has been always an inseparable companion of the Church!

Let us first look back into the old World before the *Flood* (which yet we have sufficient ground to believe to be as well peopled as ever it has been since) and see how many more we can find than *Abel, Seth, and Enoch*, who had the Characters of men of uprightness. Yea, on the contrary, we have God himself complaining (before whom all things are naked, and open, and who certainly had reason to know the number of his faithful ones) That *all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth*, yea, there was only found *Noah* and his Family that were accepted by him! which certainly was no more to the whole world, than a small dust to the balance, or the Grape-gleaning to the Vintage.

Again, after the *Flood*, when the Face of the Universe was more cleanly washed from its filthiness, we find no other Church for several hundreds of years, than what was confined within the single Families of the Ancient *Patriarchs*. Yea when the Commonwealth of the *Jews* was very much settled in all appearance, it was not certainly for nothing that the good Prophet *David* cried out, *Help Lord for there is not one godly man left, for the faithful are failed from among the Children of men*. Where, I pray you was the glory of the *Jewish Church*, when *they were for a long season without the true God, and without a teaching Priest and without a Law?*

Thou that boastest of the constant visibility of the Church, *Tell which in the earth, and you will be a great Apollo to me.*

Tell me what was the external glory thereof, when *Uriah the Priest* built an Altar according to all that King *Ahaz* had sent to *Damascus*. And when the Children of Israel walked in the Statutes of the Heathen, and built them high places in all their Cities, from the Tower of the Watchmen, to the fenced City, and set them up Images, and Groves in every high Hill, and under every green Tree,



*and made them Molten Images, and worshipped all the Hosts of Heaven, and serve the Baal, and caused their Sons and Daughters to pass through the fire, and used Divination and Enchantments, and sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord, and to provoke him to anger. When they shut up the doors of the Porch, and burned not Incense in the holy place?*

I beseech you where was the visibility of the Church, (if ye can answer me, and set your words in order before me) then when the *Prophet Elias wrapped his face in a Mantle, and went out and stood at the entering of the Cave, and made such bitter complaints before the Lord, That the children of Israel had forsaken his Covenant, thrown down his Altars, and slain his Prophets with the sword, and he, even he alone was left, and they sought his life to take it away?*

Again, what means the *Prophet Isaiah*, when he cries out in so lamentable, and as it were a despairing manner, *The whole head is sick, and the whole heart is heavy, from the soul of the Foot, even unto the head, there is nothing whole therein.* Neither do I believe that the good *Prophet Jeremiah* was distracted, or besides himself, when he used those strange expressions in the following words, *Run ye to and fro by the streets of Jerusalem, and behold now and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man that executeth judgment, and seeketh the truth.* Again, what ails the *Prophet Micah* to complain so grievously, *Woe is me, for I am as the Summer gatherings, and as the Grapes of the Vintage. There is no cluster to eat, the good man is perished out of the Earth, they all lie in wait for blood, every man hunteth his neighbor with a Net.* Nay, have we not the Lord himself complaining by the mouth of his *Prophet*, that he sought for a man to stand in the Gap before him in the Land, that he should not destroy it, but he found none.

To all this we may add the divers bitter complaints throughout the whole Book of *Psalms*, touching the sad and declining condition of the Church, in one place, *That the Lord himself looked down from Heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand and seek after God: And that they were all gone aside, and that there was none that did good, no not one!* In another place, *That they had cast fire into his Sanctuary, and burned up all the Synagogues of God in the Land.* In another, *That the Heathen were*

*come into his Inheritance, and had laid Jerusalem on heaps. That they had given the dead bodies of his Servants to be meat to the Fowls of Heaven, and the flesh of his Saints unto the Beasts of the Earth. That they had shed their blood like water round about Jerusalem, and that there was none to bury them, and that the Remnant of his servants were become a reproach to their neighbors, and a scorn to them that were round about them. In another place, That the hedges of his Vine that he had brought out of Egypt were broken down, That the Boar out of the wood had wasted it, and the wild Beast of the Field devoured it. In another, That they sat down and wept (as they had good reason) by the waters of Babylon, when they remembered Sion.*

I beseech you what means such expressions, if the Sun of the visible Church had not at least seemed in those Intervals to have been Eclipsed.

True it is, that the Lord had even in those days many of his chosen servants, whom he reserved in secret, and covered with the skirts of his Garment, as he did those seven thousand in *Israel* in the days of *Elias*, whom neither their enemies, nor the Prophet himself were able to discern. But alas, what doth this speak to external pomp and glory of the church, when as both Princes and people had corrupted their ways, and the very Temple was now become a mere sink of sin and profanation.

Neither is it here sufficient for the Adversaries of the Truth to answer us, that these were only the Old Testament Dispensations, and so shuffle all the above said instances out of doors, let me tell you, that there are many and large promises under the Old Testament for the lasting of the *Jewish Church*, till the coming of *Messiah*, as there are in the New, for the *Evangelical Churches* duration till the end of the world.

For example, it is said of *Jerusalem* (which saving the Babylonish Captivity was the only set place of God's eminent Worship and public Service) *this is my rest for ever, here will I dwell, etc.* And in another place, *In Jerusalem shall be my name for ever.* The like whereof I hardly believe is promised to the City of *Rome* in any part from the first of *Matthew*, to the last of the *Revelation*.

But however for a better satisfaction of the uninterested Reader, it will not be amiss to examine a little this Question, and beat up the Quarters of our gainsaying Adversaries throughout the New Testament, as we have already through the Old.

Upon the Birth of our Savior, is it not said, that *all Jerusalem was troubled at it*? Had not *Annas and Caiphas* the highest Spiritual promotions? Were not *the Scribes and the Pharisees Hypocrites in the uppermost seats in the Synagogues*? Were they not men of this gang who had the Law and the Altars, and all the Sacred things in their custody? Yea, was not the Priesthood long before bought and sold? And not long after that, is it not said that the *Jews had agreed that if any did confess that Jesus was the Christ, he should be put out of the Synagogue*? You that are so sharp sighted to discern things that are not, nor ever were, tell me of whom do ye find mention in those days, upon whom you can righteously fasten the Character of Saints and Believers, unless *Simeon and Anna*, who had each of them one foot in the grave? As also *Joseph, Mary, Zachary, Elizabeth*, and the few *Shepherds in the field* abiding in their Tents.

When our blessed Lord and Savior had selected out his Apostles, he himself stiles them by the name of a *little Flock*. At his death, when his Body *hung on the Cross*, and *his disciples were all fled*, alas, *Joseph and Mary and a few women* were all the faithful that appeared then upon the earth.

After the days of Christ and his Apostles, during the ten bloody Persecutions, till the conversion of the Emperor *Constantine*, for the space of three hundred years, we shall find no other than an invisible visibility of the Church.

Again, when the *Arian* persecution began, how sad a posture was the Church then in, when St. *Jerome* sticks not to say, that after the Council at *Rimini*, *all the world groaned and wondered to see itself become Arian*. And *Athanasius* in his Epistle *ad vitam solitariam agentes*, gives but a mournful description of the calamity of his time. *What Church* (says he) is there now a days that worships Christ with Liberty? for if any make a profession of piety, he is thereby exposed to danger, etc.

And in another place of the same Epistle, *O who is able to write this History? or who is he that will undertake to declare these things to Posterity? Who can possibly believe that those Eunuchs who are not capable of the charge of a private Family, should come to be Governors of the Church!*

Saint *Ambrose* likewise in a certain Oration of his, makes a bitter complaint in the following words. *Whither can I turn me to find a place that is not filled with mourning and tears, when they begin to cast out of doors the Catholic Priests, and to put to the sword all those who make resistance, etc.* It were not difficult to run through all Ages and Generations, and to show that very oft the Church has been brought to a very low ebb. I shall only content myself with this one, which is confirmed by our Adversaries themselves, I mean in the ninth and tenth Centuries, during which time the corruption of the Church was so great, that *Baronius* himself calls the year 900. The true *Iron Age* as to the sterility of goodness, and the *Leaden Age* as to the abundance of heavy and enormous crimes, and also gives the reason thereof, in the following words, *Least any of the weak ones should be troubled, when he should see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.* And again, *Nowadays there are thrust into the Chair of Peter, the Seat of Christ himself, even monstrous men, of a most base life, and most corrupt manners, and altogether filthy.* And *Genebrard* in his Chronicle of the year 907. complains that *this Age had been unhappy, that for the space of 150 years, about 50 Popes had degenerated from their Ancestors, being rather Apotactics and Apostates, than Apostolics.* Wherefore I shall conclude this point with the same argument for our Religion that *Baronius* brings for his in his Annals 897. *Although the Sun and the Moon be always the same, yet sometimes by the interposition of Clouds, the very same Stars shine with less splendor, and by the Eclipses become more obscure. Do not therefore with over much rigor exact more from the Apostolical See, than what has been divinely revealed in the Symbolical Signs.* So say I, do not, O ye professors of the Roman Catholic Religion, exact more of our Religion than what *Baronius* pleads for yours.

Neither are these things at all this disconsonant to the illusions and Predictions of the New Testament: Mark I pray you what a tacit description Christ himself gives of the faithful ones under the notion

of his own person. *I was an hungered, I was thirsty, I was a stranger; I was naked, I was sick, and I was in prison.* So again he describes them in another place, to be such as have no other habitation nor abode than *in the highways and Hedges?* And in a third he seems to describe the men of the world by a *certain rich man clothed in purple and fine linen, and fairing deliciously every day,* And the Saints by a *certain Beggar lying at the Rich man's Gate full of Sores, and the Dogs licking the same.* Neither does he only speak these things in Parables, but also in plain terms he forewarns his Disciples upon several occasions, That *whoever would come after him,* they must of necessity *take up his Cross and follow him.* And that upon this account *he sent them forth as Lambs among Wolves:* He told them plainly that they *should be delivered up to be afflicted, and to be killed, and should be hated of all Nations for his Name's sake;* (which expression intimates and universal defection from the true Religion) yea, that *the time should come, that whosoever should kill them, should think to do God an acceptable Service.*

This was the Language of our blessed Savior, and this was the Language of his Disciples after him, as appears by many Pathetical expressions of theirs to this purpose, wherein they labored to fortify all believers against suffering times, exhorting them *not to think it at all strange concerning the fiery trials;* As likewise minding them, that *all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution:* and that if *in this Life only we had hope, we were of all men most miserable.*

By this time, I hope the ingenuous Reader is fully persuaded, that misery and the affliction is much rather the mark of the true Church, than outward glory and prosperity. And by consequence that the Religion which both the poor *Waldenses* and we profess, has much better evidences for its truth and Antiquity, than that of our Adversaries and Antagonists. And if after all we should as boldly demand of them, as they have done of us, where was their Religion during the first six Centuries; I say, if we should demand of them *where their Church then fed, and where she caused her Flocks to rest at noon?* I much fear they would be extremely confounded, and not able to give a categorical and distinct answer. Certainly it was not on Mount Sion, but rather on Mount Gerazim and Mount Seir, in the Pastures of Paganism, Judaism, etc. whence they had raked

and scraped together whatsoever the Rabble of the *Pharisaical* Tribe had formerly brought into the *Synagogue*, or the vain Philosophy of the *Greeks* into the *Academy*.

The Pope had his *Holiness* given him by that *Parricide Phocas*, who permitted *Boniface* to assume the Title of *Universal Bishop*, and by virtue of his Commission to pardon sins, and give Laws to men's Conscience in the year 606. Though Gregory his predecessor had declared openly, that whosoever should presume to arrogate the title of universal Bishop, was the forerunner of Antichrist; See his own very words, *I say with all confidence, whoever calls himself a universal priest, or desires to be called, runs with the Antichrist in his exaltation, for in pride he sets himself as the head. And in another place, To agree to accept this forbidden term, is nothing except the loss of faith.*

Their *Adoration of Images* was only established in the second *Nicene Council* in the year 767.

As for their Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, I am bold to say that their past more than 1200 years before there was any mention made thereof. For all agree in this, that was only brought in by in *Innocent 3* in the Council of *Lateran* in the year 1215, where was established the following Article, *Christ's body and blood are truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar under the form of bread and wine, Transubstantiated into the body of Christ.*

The *Communion under one species* only was not before the *Council of Constance*, where in the 13 Session they deprive the people of the *Cup*, contrary to Christ's Institution.

It was only in the year 1220 that Pope *Honorius* ordained, *That in the celebration of the Mass the Host should be lifted up, and the people do low obedience.* The which superstition *Gregory 9* his successor screwed a peg higher, and made a Decree that *at the lifting up of the Host a Bell should be rung, and that all those which heard the sound thereof should fall down upon their knees, and lifting up their hands toward Heaven, worship the same.*

Their *Doctrine of Purgatory* never past for an Article of Faith before the Council of *Florence*, under *Eugene 4* in the year 1439.

It was only in the *Council of Trent* that it was decreed that their Traditions should be observed *with the same pious affection and reverence with the Holy Scriptures*.

The Jesuit *Coton* confessed plainly, That the *Canonization of Saints* began 800 years after Christ.

Lastly, the pretended Empire of the *Pope*, which his Parasites the *Jesuits* (who may well be so-called from the Sorcerer Bar-Jesus) would fain give him over all the Kings and Emperors of the Earth, not only to excommunicate them, but also to dispense their Subjects from the Oath of fidelity. Which is much contrary to the stile of the ancient Bishops of *Rome*, who stiled themselves the Emperors *Humble and obedient Servants*, and submitted to their Laws. And is quite of another strain than that profession of *Tertullian* in the name of the Christians, *We honor the Emperor as a man second to God, and inferior to God alone. Though he is greater than all, yet he is inferior to God alone*. And that of *Optatus* likewise in his 3 Book, *No one is above the Emperor but God who alone makes Emperors*. The foundation of this tyranny was indeed laid in the 8 and 9 Century, but it break forth by the fury of Pope *Hilderbrand*, who deprived the *Emperor Henry* of His Empire, and absolved his Subjects of their fidelity. And then it also was, that the same who took on him the name of *Gregory 7* assembled a Council at *Rome* in the year 1076 where among other Articles, these were concluded; That there was no other name under Heaven but that of the Pope. That *no Book was Canonical without the Pope's Authority. That all Kings ought to kiss the Pope's feet. That the Pope ought to judge all the world, and to be judged by none. That he had power to depose Kings, Emperors, etc.* Nay I have horror to blaspheme the blasphemy of *Bellarmino* in this particular, *That He may make that which is sin to become no sin, and that which is no sin to become sin*.

Thus were it very easy to demonstrate the disproportion of the Pret. Catholic Religion with that of the Primitive Church in an infinity of points, which the Ringleaders thereof have foisted in from time to time, And by consequence that their Religion compared with ours is but a thing of yesterday, and no ways derived either from the Doctrine or Practice of Christ and his Apostles.

The truth is, I deny not but they may challenge some sort of Antiquity for their Religion, and that a great part of their Traditions have been a long time practiced in the world, whereby they have beguiled many millions of poor souls: Which I cannot better express than by the subtlety of the *Gibeonites*, who when they had designed to betray the men of *Israel*, and to make them believe that they came from a very far Country, *They did work wilily, and made as if they had been Ambassadors, and they took old Sacks upon their Asses, and Wine-bottles old and rent, and bound up, and old Shoes clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them, and all the bread of their provision was dry and moldy; And in this posture, They went to Joshua unto the Camp at Gilgal, and said unto him, and to the men of Israel, We be come from a far Country, now therefore make ye a League with us.* So say I, These *Gibeonitish Catholics* have taken the *old Sacks of Jewish Ceremonies*, and the *old clouted Shoes of Paganism*, together with the *dry and moldy bread of the Arian heresy*, whereof they have made a Medley of Religion; And now to the and that they may daily gain more and more Proselytes, they pretend with confidence, yea and would fain make us believe, that these their traditions are derived from *Christ* and his Apostles, whereas the contrary is as clear as the Noonday.

Whence is it that *Pope John 22* assumed the title of *Dominus Deus noster*, as in the following Verses—

*By the oracle of the voice of the world you control,*

*You will be rightly called a God in the lands,*

If not from *Domitian*? Who as *Sueton* observes, was stiled *Dominus Deus noster*, in the very same terms.

From whence, if not from the Pagans, comes the *Adoration of the Pope*, and the *kissing his foot*, as also his being *carried upon men's shoulders*? For even they also after the election of their *Sovereign Pontifex*, clothed him with their *Pontificalibus*, and put a *Mitre* upon his head, and worshipped him, as *William du Choul* observes in his discourse concerning the Religion of the Ancient *Romans*. In like manner for the ceremony of *kissing his foot*, *Polydoro Virgilio* observes that the very same was done to the *Pontifex* of the *Pagans*, and that some Emperors caused the same honor to be done them; as for Example; *Caligula* thrust out his left foot to *Pompeius Pennus* (a person of honor, and invested with the



*Consular* dignity) and made him *kiss the same*. As likewise *Dioclesian* set forth a solemn Edict; whereby he commanded all men of what quality or degree soever, *That they should fall down before him and kiss his feet*.

Again As for the *Canonization* and *Invocation of Saints*, what is it but purely in imitation of the Heathens *Dii minorum gentium*? to whom they dedicated their Temples, erected their Altars, consecrated their Images, committed the protection of their Kingdoms, Commonwealths, and families, addressed their prayers and supplications, etc. *Lord Vives* cannot hold from confessing so much in his learned Comment upon *Augustine's de Civitate. Dei*. *Many Christians do for the most part err in a good matter, because they worship the Saints of both Sexes no otherwise than God; I do not see that there is any difference between their opinion concerning the Saints, and that which the Heathen conceived touching their gods*.

Thus Idolatry remains still upon the stage of the world, but it is presented under other disguises. *Janus* has surrendered his charge of the Gates and Keys of heaven to *St. Peter*! *Lucina* has surrendered her care of women and childbearing to *St. Margaret*! *St. George on horseback* has supplanted *Mars*, as to conducting warlike Affairs! *St. Margaret* succeeds *Minerva* for the Sciences! The *Physicians* have renounced *Æsculapius*, and received *St. Cosme*, and *St. Damien*! And thus every place, person and family, have some Saint or other for their *Guardian*, or *Tutelary Deity*.

Demand of *William du Choul*, whether or no your *Nuns*, or Religious Virgins, be not the same with the *Virgins vestals* among the Heathen? And the Ceremonies to which they were obliged, the very same with yours?

Whence comes that custom of whipping and lashing yourselves on *Good Friday*, etc. If not from the Priests of *Baal*, 1 Kings 18. *Who cut themselves with Knives and Lances till the blood gushed out upon them*? Or from the Priests of the Goddess *Cybele*, of whom *Apuleius* makes mention, who *whipped themselves till the very blood ran down*. I am sure you have not learned it from the Holy Scriptures, neither have you any command of God for it, who has

commanded to the contrary, *Leviticus 19:28, Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh, nor print any marks upon you.*

The Heathens of old, in the buildings of their Temples, placed them towards the *East*, and so likewise their Altars, as *Polydoro Virgilio* observed; And do not Ye the same?

From whence have you received the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, if not from the same Source and Fountain? *Plato* in his Dialogue of the soul entitled *Phadon*, speaks plainly in this point, as also *Eusebius* observes in his last Chapter of his second Book, *de Praeparatio Evangelica* (*Preparation for the Gospel*), *those who have lived indifferently well, come to this pool and abide there, and after they have been purged, and suffered the penalties of their sins, they are dismissed; Virgil* likewise pursues this point in the 6 Book of his *Aeneads*.

*...Others are annulled  
Suspended by the wind, or under gurgling waste  
Crimes are washed away, or burned with fire.*

It is more than clear that the Heathens were the first that kindled the fire of *Purgatory* in the world; And the truth is, *Bellarmino* himself confessed so much, when he proves the Doctrine of *Purgatory* from the testimony of *Plato*, *Cicero* and *Virgil*.

If we do but consider a little your Prayers and Services for the dead, we shall find that you are as much beholding to the Heathen for them, as any of the former (as the same *Polydoro Virgilio* observes) For as the Heathen had very solemn services performed the ninth day after their friends decease, and entertained the Priests of their false gods with such magnificence; Even so do you seven days after the decease of yours, ye solemnize the Service of trespasses, and entertain the Priests so liberally, that there was once a *Canon* made, whereby Priests are prohibited to be drunk, when they are called to such meetings.

From whence have you the Institution of all your Feasts? True it is, many of them are in imitation of those of the *Jews*, but your own Doctors will not deny, but that a great part of them are borrowed from the *Heathen*.

*The Feast of Candles, or the Purification of our Lady*, had it ye not from the *Februal Ceremonies* of the Romans, which was the *Feast of the Purification* of *Februa* Mother of *Mars*? from whence comes also that word *Februarius*, i.e. purging the Reins, as is manifest in one of the Books of *Tertullian contra Marcionem*.

The *Lent-Masques* with other fopperies of that nature, have succeeded the *Bacchanalia* and *Saturnalia*.

The *Rogations and Processions*, etc. have succeeded the *Ambanalia*.

Your *Agnus Dei* hanging on the neck, is no other than in imitation of the Heathens, who were wont to hang little Balls or Bottles upon the neck of their Children, to preserve them from enchantments, and sorceries, as *Baronius* himself grants in his *Annals*.

I should never make an end, if I should run over all the instances that might be brought upon this subject; and therefore what I have already said, shall suffice: Now let us see whether they have not been as bold with the ancient *Jewish Ceremonies*, which yet notwithstanding have been long since abolished by *Christ* himself. True it is, that he hath rent the veil of the Temple, and also declared by the mouth of his Apostles, That the *shadow* ought to give place to the *substance*, and the *figures* and *types* to the real truth, That it was not reasonable to light the Candles of the *Law*, when the light of the *Gospel* shined so bright, by the *rising of the Sun of righteousness*. But however there has been no hindering the Devil from foisting in several things into the Church, and to attire the Christian Religion after the *Mosaic Mode*, thereby to diminish the virtue of the *Cross of Christ*, and corrupt the simplicity of the Gospel. Regard I pray you the *Roman* worship, and see if it does not smell of the *Law*, and the ancient *Pedagogie*! As for example, who is there that when he well observes those huge swarms of your Ceremonies, the glittering Ornaments of your Chapels, and your Altars, your great *Wax Candles*, and your *Sacrifices*, your *Salt*, your *Water*, your *Oil*, with a thousand other devices, that would not immediately think you had revived the *Mosaical* worship, or at the least counterfeited the same. And thus you will needs rake out of the

grave the body of the *Synagogue*, that was so gloriously buried by *Christ* himself.

In the third and last place, if we consider the ancient Heresies which have troubled the Church, we shall find that a great part of your Religion is very near of kind to the most of them. Where have you any foundation of your *distinction of Meats*, your *regular Fasts*, your *Law for Virginity*, unless from the (a) *Montanists*, the *Manichees*, the *Encratits*, the *Tatiens*, and the *Eustatiens*, Which both taught and practiced the same thing? To whom will you attribute your *Monastic vows*, if not to the (b) *Euchetes*, and *Pattalorintebites*, and those whom they call *Apostolics*, and *Nudipedales*? To whom do ye owe the *Service of Angels*, of the *Blessed Virgin*, and of the *Cross*, if not to the (c) *Angelics*, the *Collyridians* and the *Staurolatres*?

It is from the (d) *Carpocratians* and the *Basilidians* that ye have received the *use of images*! From the (e) *Ossenians* the unknown language of your services! From the (f) *Cathares* the presumption of your *merits, and works of supererogation*! From the *Pelagians* and the *Demipelagians* your *Free-will*, the *perfection of Righteousness*, and the *exaltation of Nature* above *Grace*. From the (g) *Manichees* and *Nazarens* the prohibition of the *Cup in the Sacrament* of the Lord's Supper and Communion under one *species*. From (h) *Simon the Magician* that infamous *Simony*, which is practiced in the distribution of your ecclesiastical charges, insomuch that *Durand* complains openly, *It would be no sin for Simony to reign in the Roman Church*. And *Baptista Mantuanus de Calamitatibus temporum* l. 3 does the like,

... for sale to us

*Temples, Priests, Altars, Shrines, Crowns*

*Fire, Thunder, Prayers; Heaven is for sale, Forever.*

From (i) *Marcionites* and *Pepusians* it is that you have learned the *baptizing of Women*. From the (k) *Cnosimachi* the praise of Ignorance, the exultation of blind Obedience; And in sum, of all the Heretics in General, the necessity of Traditions, and the decreeing of the Scriptures, has not sufficient to Salvation.

See now I pray the goodly Antiquity of your Church, after that you have with so much confidence demanded of Us where was Ours before *Luther*, and tell me if it be not a thing merely borrowed, partly of the *Jews*, partly of the Heathens, and partly of the Ancient Heretics, whose corrupt Doctrines and Practices you have compounded together, and made-up the *Mystery of Iniquity*.

Lo, these are the righteous Grounds upon which you have proceeded miserably to murder and massacre so many poor innocents, of all Nations, tongues, and people, and amongst others, the poor *Protestants of the Valleys*! Yea, the Lord knows how many millions of those innocent Lambs you have most cruelly slaughtered in several parts of the World, *the souls* of whom are now *under the Altar, crying*., *How long O Lord, holy and true, wilt thou cease to avenge our blood upon them who dwell upon the earth?* It's more than evident that those bloody men are too clearly convinced in their minds and understandings of the vanity of their Ceremonies, and Superstitions, and know well enough, That such like fopperies of themselves are never able to prevail upon men's consciences, and by consequence they might hazard the losing and depriving themselves of the pleasures and profits of this world (which are their chiefest aim), if they should not endeavor to force their way by fire and sword, as they have always hitherto done; just like the *Mahometans*, the *Heathens*, and ancient *Heretics*; Against the last of which St. *Hilary* complains in the following words against the *Arrians*: *What powers did assist the Apostles in the preaching of Christ? Did Paul gather a Church unto Christ under the countenance of a royal Edict, when as he himself was made a spectacle to the world? He defended himself (I warrant you) by the patronage of Nero, or Vespasian, or Decius, etc. when the more he preached Christ, the more he was forbidden to preach. But now, alas, faith in things Divine is carried by most voices in the world; and Christ is reproached, as if he had no power of his own, while his name is supported by Ambition. The church terrifieth men with Exiles and Imprisonments, and so she compelleth them to believe in her, who herself was left exposed to the danger of Banishments and Bonds. She who was founded under the terror of Persecutors, subsisteth now by the dignity and greatness of those that hold Communion with her: she who was propagated by Priests in*

*banishment, now banisheth Priests: she glorieth in being loved by the world, who could not have belonged unto Christ, if the world had not hated her, etc. It must needs be, that we are fallen into the very time of Antichrist.*

St. *Athanasius* in like manner observe that the true Church has always suffered persecutions, but itself has persecuted none, thereby to force them to embrace their Religion; And that this was the practice of the *Arrians*, the Ecclesiastic History assures us! And *Athanasius* himself confirms the same in the following words: *Let them tell us from whence they learned to persecute; for, they cannot say they received this from the Saints, but from the Devil, who said, I will pursue and overtake; whereas truly the Lord hath commanded to flee, and the Saints have fled, but persecution is a device of the Devil.*

Again, in his Epistle: *Filthy and abominable is the Heresy of these men when it falleth, being put to shame by Truth itself; then those whom she cannot persuade by reason, she endeavoreth to draw by force, and stripes, and imprisonments, knowing herself, and so, that she is anything rather than godly: For truly, it is the property of godliness not to necessitate, but to persuade, even as the Lord himself, not using force, but offering himself with good will, hath said; If any man WILL come after me; whereas she is utterly stranger to godliness, and knoweth not what she ought to do, besides such things as are contrary to our Savior, being as a Fighter against Christ, a Ringleader of impiety, and who hath entitled or characterized Constantius as it were the Antichrist himself.*

And before that in the same Epistle: *It is a very unbeseeming course to force and compel such as are not willing, for so the Devil who hath nothing of Truth, making his attempts with the Axe and Iron Crow, breaketh open the doors of them that receive him. But our Savior is so gentle, that he teacheth; If any WILL come after me, but that when he cometh to any man the man is not forced: For, Truth is not propagated by Swords or Spears, nor by Soldiers, but by Persuasion and Counsel. What kind of persuasion therefore is there where there is the fear of a King? or what Counsel, wherein he who gainsayeth finds the end to be banishment, or Death?*

Again, *It is indeed the manner of Christians to be beaten but to scourge Christians; It is the bold act of a Pilate, or Caiphas.*

And in the same place, That the *Arrian* Bishops, forasmuch as they persecuted the true Christians, to make them renounce their Religion, were not *Bishops*, but *Spies*: And that such proceedings against the Church, were *the Proem and Preparation of Antichrist*: And that *Constantius* the Persecutor deserved not the name of a Christian, but was rather, *the Image of Antichrist*.

*Du Haillan*, an ancient Historian, and exceedingly renowned among the Papists, describes the horrible butcheries executed by the *Popes* Order against the poor *Albigenses*, having published the *Crusade* against them, promising those who would assist in this Persecution, the remission of all their sins, (as the Historian *Gaguinus*, and the Catholic *Rouyian*, observes), And likewise *Bellarmin*, *de Notis Ecclesia*, amongst other Bravado's of the *Church of Rome*, boasts, that the *Papal Army* slew at one time *An hundred thousand poor Albigenses*. And as touching the Massacres done in *France* in the year 1572, *Pope Gregory 13* was not only the Author of them, but also glories in it, as those of whom the Prophet *Ezekiel* speaks, That they poured it forth upon the top of a rock, and not upon the ground to cover it with the dust. This is he, who caused his money to be stamped with his own picture and name on the one side, and the picture of an *Angel* on the other side, holding in one hand a *Cross*, and in the other a *Sword*, killing a multitude of men and women with this Motto: *Destroy the Huguenots*. And *Pope Matthew*, although a *Roman Catholic*, yet in one place of his History observes, that in the war of the Catholic League for the extirpation of the Reformed Religion, Three *Spaniards* made them a *Chappelet* of an hundred *Lutherans* ears, to show their extraordinary devotion.

The abovesaid *Haillan*, amongst other horrible cruelties exercised against the *Albigenses*, *Many Prelats* (says he) *Knights and others*, received the *Crusade* to go against the *Heretics*, the *Albigenses*, with a potent Army, their *Ensigns* being adorned with the *Cross*. They went to besiege the *City of Beziers*, wherein lived the Lord *Roger*, a famous Abettor of the said *Heretics*. In the end the said *City* was taken, and sixty thousand of them that were found therein put to the sword; The same Author likewise observes, that

fifty men of *Castelnaudarri* were burned alive: That *Vaur* also was taken by assault, where certain obstinate Heretics were burned, the Captain of the City *Amaulri*, a brave Soldier, hanged, and 80 Gentlemen beheaded. Neither was the female Sex at all spared! *Girarde* a certain Lady of the same City was cast into a deep Well, and afterwards a multitude of stones thrown upon her: In sum, there was very great cruelty exercised in that City. And a little after, says he, Our forces were a long time before *Moissac*, which at length was taken and great butcheries were there committed. The City of *Thoulouse* was taken with great slaughter of men, where a great number were slain by the sword and yet a greater cast into the River; whereof there perished above twenty thousand; which is confirmed by *William Brito* a Roman Catholic, *Philipidos Library* 8.

*But little virtue in the time of the Catholics  
He broke it, and when they entered, they slaughtered both sexes,  
A thousand times three times ten...*

As also by *Paulus Æmilius*, who saith, not even toward women! to show, That this their cruelty was not unaccompanied with such like sordid actions committed upon the bodies of the female Sex, The abovesaid *Sieur de Haillan* in the place formerly cited, specifieth, That several Prelates, Knights, and others, having received the Crusade, etc. after that they had taken the City of *Beziers*, and exercised their cruelty, went from thence to *Carcassonne*, whither all the Inhabitants of the Country (men, women, and children) had retired themselves, And the City being surrendered, it was concluded by a Treaty, that all that were within should retire out of the City stark naked, their very privities being uncovered, This *Gaguin*, in his History, also confirms, in these very words; From there they are forced to leave completely naked. Let the ingenuous Reader here judge, whether this were according to the Chastity of the Spouse of Christ, or of her whom St. John calls the great Whore, and the mother of Whoredoms. See the lively Description which *Petrarcha* gives thereof in his Sonnets.

#### SONNET 108

*Vengeance must fall on thee, thou filthy whore  
Of Babylon, thou breaker of Christs fold,*



*That from acorns, and from the water cold,  
Art rich become with making many poor.  
Thou treason's nest that's in thy heart dost hold  
Of cankered malice, and of mischief more  
Than pen can write, or may with tongue be told,  
Slave to delights that chastity hath sold;  
For wine and ease which sitteth all thy store  
Upon whoredom and none other lore,  
In thy palace of strumpets young and old  
There walks Plenty, and Belzebub thy Lord:  
Guides thee and them, and doth thy reign uphold:  
It is but late, as writing will record,  
That poor thou wert without land or gold;  
Yet now hath gold and pride, by one accord,  
In wickedness so spread thy life abroad,  
That it doth stink before the face of God.*

WYATT

SONNET 109

*Coverage is Babylon of wrath divine  
By its worst crimes has drained the full cup now,  
And for its future gods to whom to bow  
Not power nor wisdom taken, but love and wine.*

MACGREGOR

SONNET 110

*Spring of all woe, Odin of cursed ire,  
school of error; temple of heresy;  
thou Pope, I mean, head of hypocrisy,  
thou and thy church, and unsatiated of desire,  
Have all the world filled full of misery;  
well of deceit, thou dungeon full of fire,  
that hides all truth to breed idolatry.  
Thou wicked Wretch, Christ cannot be a liar,  
behold, therefore, by judgment hastily;  
thy first founder was gentle poverty,  
but they're against is all thou dost require.*

*Thou shameless beast where hast thou thy trust,  
in thy whoredom, or in thy rich attire?  
Low! Constantine, that is turned into dust,  
shall not return for to maintain thy lust;  
but now his heirs, that might nor set the higher,  
for thy great pride shall tear thy seat asunder,  
and scourge thee so that all the world shall wonder.*

WYATT

And *Mantuan* the *Carmelite*, in his Verses touching the calamities of his times, deplores the same in the following Verses.

*...through the towns he rages,  
Mars' work, and the house of Polluted Peter flows.  
It has decayed with luxury, yet I reveal no secrets here.  
I speak of things not unknown!  
Let me recount the common tale.  
The sacred field scurries, venerable by the Cydnus River,  
It serves, and honor to the divine Ganymedes is given.  
Why do we marvel at wealth and roofs rising again?  
Incense sells fragrant globules and cinnamon,  
Soft Arab fabrics and purple dye,  
Indian ivory, saffron from Cilicia, and the scent of Tmolus,  
Sicilian honey,  
Chalybes' iron, and fine silk from the Seres,  
Soft Cretan wines, and the Tanager bird, Partridges trade  
horses.  
Temples! Priests! Altars! Sacred things! Crowns!  
Fires! Incense! Prayers! Heaven is for sale, and so is God*

But alas! What need we search any further then the *late* bloody *Massacre* to furnish the Reader abundantly, as touching these two points of cruelty and luxury, the like whereof I can hardly persuade myself can be found in any History: Certainly, The ancient *Heretics*, *Mahomedans* and *Pagans*, had they now lived, would have been very much ashamed to have seen themselves so out-stripped by the bloody butchers of these our days, in the invention of so strange and unheard of cruelties! yea such, as *the Lord the righteous judge* will

most certainly one day repay into the Authors bosom, with as great variety of punishments, either in this world, or that which is to come! *Shall not God avenge his chosen Elect, that cry day and night unto him? I tell you, that he will avenge them, and shall speedily! Though the Kings of the earth may for a time set themselves, and the Rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed, yet he shall one day break them with a rod of iron, and dash them in pieces like a Potters vessel. Though the wicked in his pride may for a time persecute the poor, and though they may eat up the Saints, as they eat bread, and call not upon the Name of the Lord, yet when he maketh inquisition for blood, he will surely remember them; yea upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire, and brimstone, and an horrible tempest, and this shall be the portion of their cup: when they spring up as the grass, and flourish, as the green herb, alas! it is, that they shall be destroyed forever! For lo, thine Enemy (O God) for lo, thine enemies shall perish; And all the workers of iniquity shall be scattered, but the Righteous shall flourish like the Palm-tree, and grow like the Cedar in Lebanon.*

Most certain it is, though it be not a thing so commonly taken notice of, that God seldom lets go unpunished the shedding of blood (especially the blood of his Saints) even in this world! and if we search narrowly into History, and trace the foot-steps of Divine Providence, we shall really find, that few of the eminent and bloody Persecutors of his Church and people have *gone down to their graves in peace, But God has cast the fury of his wrath upon them, and their end has been miserable. Though their excellency has mounted up to the heavens, and their glory to the clouds, yet they have perished like their own dung, and their remembrance from off the earth: Their branches above have been cut off, and their roots beneath have been dried up: their candle has been put out, and the light has been dark in their tabernacles: they have flown away as a dream, and been chased as a vision of the night: their eyes have seen their own destruction, and they have drunk of the wrath of the Almighty: Terrors have made them afraid on every side, and brimstone has been scattered upon their habitations: they have been driven from light into darkness, and chased out of the world. And thus God avenges at length his elect, that cry day and night unto him, Though he bear very long with their Persecutors.* That passage

in the *Revelation* is exceeding remarkable, When *the voice went out of the Temple to the Angels to pour out the Vials of the wrath of God upon the earth. The first went, and poured out his Vial upon the Earth, and there fell a noisom and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the Beast, and upon them which worshipped his image. The second Angel poured out his Vial upon the Sea, and it became as the blood of a dead man: and every living soul died in the sea. The third Angel poured out his Vial upon the Rivers and Fountains of Waters, and they became blood. And I heard the Angel of the waters say, thou art righteous O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of thy Saints and Prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy.*

But to come more closely to what we have in hand, let us see what has been the end of the famous Persecutors of the Church of Christ Jesus! Cain slew his righteous brother Abel, but what was his end? He fell into the hands of the living God, and was *cursed from the earth, and became a fugitive and a Vagabond!* yea (which was a thousand thousand times more) he was tormented, and wracked by his own conscience, till such time as he *went to his proper place. Pharaoh dealt cruelly with the Egyptians, but God dealt as cruelly with him in the end, overwhelming both him and his, after ten remarkable plagues, in the midst of the Red Sea. Ahab was a most vehement murderer, but he was in the end most miserably slain, yea the very Dogs, licked up his blood at the Pool of Samaria where they also licked the blood of Naboth! Yea, the Lord brought evil upon him, and took away his posterity, and cut off from Ahab him that pissed against the Wall, and him that was shut up and left in Israel; And made his house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the son of Abijah; And as for Jezebel, the Dogs did also eat her by the walls of Jezreel.*

*Antiochus the Noble*, was so swollen with anger against the Jews, that he threatened to make Jerusalem *their burial place, but the Lord smote him immediately after he had uttered these words with an incurable disease in his bowels; And as he was hastening thither he fell from his Chariot, and bruised his body; And afterwards the very Worms rose out of his body, and the filthiness of his smell was noisom to all his Army, and he was constrained to*

confess (says the Story) when he could not abide his own smell, in the following words. *It is meet to be subject to God.* And thus the grievous pains of this murderer and blasphemer increasing every moment, at length *he died a most miserable death in a strange Country in the Mountains.* *Herod the Great* stunk alive! *Herod Antipas* was miserably confined! And *Herod Agrippa* was eaten up of Worms!

That grand Persecutor *Nero*, when he had filled up the measure of his wickedness, Not only all his Provinces revolted from him, but even his own Lifeguard forsook him, and in this forlorn condition, as he was fleeing for his life (being already sentenced to suffer an ignominious death, as an enemy to the *Roman Empire*) he confessed to those few which bare him company, *That as he had lived a wicked life, so now he must dye a wretched death.* And the words were no sooner out of his mouth, but he thrust his Dagger into his throat, with this expression, *Ecce fidem!* And that he might not go to Hell without company, the story tells us, that there were in those days no less than thirty thousand of his faithful and true subjects, swept away with the Pestilence.

At this time were elected Emperors, *Galba* in *Spain*; in *Germany Vitellius*; and *Vespasian* in *Syria*; the first whereof was slain by *Otho*, who afterwards stabbed himself! The *second*, after he had suffered an ignominious death, had his carcass thrown into the River *Tiber*! The brethren of the *Third*, together with the *Flavii* his Allies, were burned alive in the *Capitol*!

The Jews had indeed a reward for crucifying their *Savior*, and such a one as they themselves desired! but what was it? That *his blood might be on them, and on their children*! And indeed they were not bated an ace, as to the performance of what they had bargained for, of Divine Vengeance! there being destroyed of them in *Vespasian's* days during that long siege, no less then eleven hundred thousand souls by famine and pestilence, and an hundred thousand of them taken captives, and their goodly City also, *Jerusalem*, was burned down to the ground, according to the prediction of *Christ*, and the *Prophets*! And as for the remnant of them, who were left alive, with their feed, and their feeds feed, they have been from that time to this, no other than a scorn and byword to all Nations; yea

they have been as Vagabonds upon the face of the earth, and in most places driven from the society of men.

What was the end of *Domitian*, *Vespasian's* son? He persecuted the *Christians* without mercy, and was himself buried without honor! For he was not only slain by his own people, but the *Senate* likewise strictly commanded, that his very name should be blotted out, and all his statues thrown to the ground, and broken in pieces.

In the time of *Trajan* the Emperor, the very River *Tiber*, was swollen with anger against the *Romans*, for so much *Christian* blood which they had spilt, overflowing in a most furious manner their goods and houses! The gilded house of *Nero* was turned into ashes! Lightning fell upon the *Pantheon* and burned the Temple with the Idols! Four Cities in *Asia*, two in *Greece*, and three in *Galatia* were ruined by an horrible Earthquake! *Antiochia* became almost a ruinous heap! And the whole Empire was punished with Famine and the Pestilence, as *Orosius* relates.

In the time of the Emperors, *Antonin* surnamed *The True*, and *Lucius*, a great number of Towns and Villages in *Italy*, were depopulated by an horrible plague, and became a mere desolate Wilderness.

The Emperor *Severus* was worse than his name to the *Christians*, but it cost the City of *Rome* three strange Civil Wars by *Julian*, *Pescenius Niger*, and *Claudius Albinus*, which sent an incredible number of those murderers to their proper places.

*Julius Maximinus* a famous Butcher of the poor *Christians*, had so often shown his people the way, that at last they cut their own Masters throat, at the siege of *Aquila*; And that in such a rage, that several in the Camp were heard to say, *there ought not any soul of that wicked race (great or small) to be left alive*. Whereupon they cut off his head, and the head of his son *Maximian the younger*, and fixing them upon the ends of their Pikes, showed them first in a public manner to those of that City, and afterwards sent them to *Rome*, where they were burned with great disdain and mockery.

What was the end of that wicked *Decius* for all the innocent blood that he shed? Historians credibly report, that he was slain by the *Barbarous Scythians*, or *Tartars*, and that his body was

immediately after, conveyed away by the *Devil* ('twas but equal, that he who had such an interest in the soul of *Decius*, should lay claim to his body also)! *Paul Orosius* adds further, and says, That at that very time there was such an horrible Plague throughout the whole *Roman Empire*, that there was neither Province, City, nor House free from it. And indeed these and the like judgements upon *Decius*, and his successor *Gallus*, (who was likewise massacred by *Æmilian*) occasioned St. *Cyprian* to write that excellent *Treatise of Death and Mortality*, which is at this day extant amongst the rest of his Works. In this Treatise, he speaks of the Persecution of *Decius* in the following terms. *We know assuredly, That what we suffer, will not last always, but by how much more terrible the persecution is, so much more notorious, and terrible shall be the vengeance. We need not trouble ourselves to search Antiquity for this truth; the experience of latter times may suffice, Namely, that in one instant, and that in an admirable manner, the equity of our cause has appeared by the horrible death of Kings, ruins of States, death of Soldiers, and loss of Battles!*

*Valerian*, the Author of the eighth Persecution, who rode upon the backs of so many good men, was at last fain himself to become *Sapores* his footstool, or at least, to hold the Reins, when he got on horseback. And after a long imprisonment in his *Cage*, was at last by *Sapores* commandment, fled alive, as *Eusebius* writes.

Neither did the judgement of God rest here, but immediately after the Captivity of *Valerian*, the whole Empire was embroiled in a thousand troubles and distractions! At one and the same time, there were no less than thirty several persons in several places, which took upon them the Title and Authority of *Emperor*! The *Persians*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians* and others, pillaged and ruined divers Countries! Many Cities bordering upon the Seacoasts, were swallowed up! and *Galienus*, *Valerian's son*, together with a son or brother of his, was slain in the City of *Milan*.

*Claudius*, one of *Valerian's* creatures, and a great Persecutor of the Church, was afterwards possessed with an evil spirit, which having torn his tongue in pieces, choked him.

*Aurelian*, when as a Thunderbolt from Heaven falling just in his way before him, could not restrain him from his bloody resolutions

against the Church of *Christ*, and his poor members, The Lord turned the sword of his own domestics against him, (as some Historians report) by whom he was slain between *Byzance* and *Heraclea*. Though others say, that he fell down dead suddenly, in the very instant that he was signing a Letter against the *Christians*. A judgement not inferior to this, befell likewise *Antiochus* one of *Aurelians* Provosts, having tortured *Agapetus*, a faithful witness of the truth, fell suddenly from his judgment seat, crying out in a most fearful manner, *My bowels are on fire! My bowels are on fire!* and so gave up the ghost.

In the days of *Dioclesian* and *Maximilian*, there were put to death in the space of seventeen days, (besides a world of other inhumane usage) no less than thirty thousand *Christians*, and as many more bound in chains, and fetters, and condemned to work in their Mines, and Quarries (torments much resembling the *Galleys* which are at this day used by the *Turks*)! yea some say, that *Dioclesian* was in such a rage against them, that he put to death his own Wife, because she was a *Christian*. *Maximinian* commanded to set fire on a Church where were twenty thousand *Christians* assembled together, and so burned alive every mother's child of them. The City of *Phrygia* was likewise consumed to ashes with all its inhabitants, not sparing the very Magistrates, Captains, or Governors under the Emperor, and all because they owned the true doctrine of *Christ*, and would not yield to abjure the same. When they saw this availed nothing for the abolishment of their Profession, they caused them to assemble by thousands, and putting out each man's right Eye, and burning his left knee with an hot iron, they sent them to work in their Mines. This was the daily work of those two Tyrants! But now mark their wages! *Dioclesian's* body being wafted with a violent flux, became as a dry stick, and the vermin bred in his tongue with such a noisom smell, that no man durst approach him, and in this manner he departed this life, with horrible blasphemies in his mouth. And as for *Maximinian*, being driven out of *Rome* by his own son *Maxence*, he fled to *Marseille*, where he was hanged for conspiring the death of his son-in-Law *Constantine*.

During the persecution above-mentioned, there happened a very great Earthquake in *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where many thousands were slain by the fall of Houses. The like also happened at *Rome*, and in



divers other places of *Italy*. *Flaccus*, Provost of *Spolette*, after he had put to death *Gregory* Bishop of the place, was smitten by God in a very remarkable manner, his soul and his bowels quitting his body at the same time. And *Dioscorus* was smitten to death with a Thunderbolt, soon after he had put to death his own daughter.

*Galerius Maximinus* that Horse-leech of the *Eastern Churches*, was at last smitten with an incurable disease, his guts being strangely swollen, and the Worms continually creeping out of all parts of his body, insomuch that he became so noisom, that his own very Physicians chose rather to suffer death (as by his special command several of them did) then to abide the stench of his rotten carcass.

His Lieutenant General *Maximinus*, was so enraged against the *Christians*, that he caused their condemnation to be graven in Tables of Brass, and fixed upon Pillars in all the public places of his Dominions, which caused such a fearful havoc of those poor Churches, that there were numbered in those days no less than eighty thousand Martyrs, who suffered for the name of *Jesus*. At the length, as he had prepared his Army against *Constantine*, and *Lucinus*, and was upon the very point to assault them, he was surprised with such horrible pains in his bowels, that he could take no rest, and ever and anon threw himself against the ground in despairing fits. In the end the extremity of his torment, made him loath both the sight of meat, and the smell of wine, and so his body being by little and little consumed, he closed his eyes, being forced to acknowledge frequently in his sickness, *that it was the just judgement of God upon him for his cruelties*.

*Julian the Apostate*, (President of the *Devils* Privy-Council) was a sworn enemy to the *Christians*, whom he called *Galileans* in derision. The truth is, many Persecutors had done famously, but this surpassed them all! He restored to the *Heathens* all their *Temples*, which *Constantine* had caused to be shut up! He robbed both the Churches and Ministers of the *Christians* of all those Privileges which *Constantine* had granted them! He prohibited their Schools, for the instructing of their youth, and wrote himself many Books against their Religion. He confiscated all the goods belonging to their Churches, saying by way of scoff, that *Jesus Christ* had prohibited the *Christians* from *laying up treasures in this world*, and

had commanded, *if any took away their Coat, they should give him their Cloak also*, and that they should *suffer all manner of reproaches patiently*, because their *Master* had so commanded them: He caused the Images of *Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury*, to be put in the Standard of the Empire, and suffered none to go to the Wars, except they had first done sacrifice to *Idols*, And ordered that no *Christian* should be admitted into any charge whatsoever. He permitted the *Jews* to return to *Jerusalem*, and there to rebuild their *Temple*, (which they would have done, had not Lightning from heaven hindered them, and slew a great number of them). Having thus fought against *Jesus Christ*, he went to make a War with the *Persians*, swearing that at his return he would extirpate all the *Christians*; But as the Proverb is, *he reckoned without his Host*: For he was smitten with a deadly stroke, no man knowing whence it came, but the greatest part thinking that it was rather an Angel than a man. And as he was dying, he took with his hands the blood that ran down his side from his wound, and in despite towards *Jesus Christ* once for all, he threw the same in a great rage against Heaven, with these words *O Galilean* (meaning *Jesus Christ*) *thou hast overcome*. And thus he died most desperately in the thirty-second year of his age as some report, though *Gregory Nazianzen* Writes in his Oration against *Julian*, That he had heard by some, that *the Earth opened herself, and swallowed up the carcass of this miserable wretch*.

The uncle of this *Apostate* named also *Julian*, having out of scorn pissed upon the Table on which the Christians of *Antioch* used to celebrate the *Lord's Supper*, and beaten with his Fist the Bishop named *Euzoius*, who reproved him for this Villainy; was a little afterwards seized with a grievous and loathsome disease in his bowels, insomuch that he could by no means make Water, nor void his Ordure, any otherwise then through his filthy mouth, and so ended his wicked days. *Sozomene* adds, that his flesh was corrupted and turned into Worms, which never left gnawing his body, till they had consumed it. In like manner, A certain Treasurer of *Julian*, seeing the Vessels of this Church of *Antioch*, which were used in the administration of the *Lord's Supper*, began to mock, saying, *These are the Goblets wherewith they serve that son of Mary*: But soon after all the blood of his body came out at his mouth in a little space

of time, and so he died, being indeed worthy to be inserted among the number of *Apostates*, together with his Master. As also did *Elpidius* a great man in the Court of *Julian* the *Apostate*, Who after many blasphemies uttered against *Jesus Christ* in divers manners, and upon divers occasions, was accused of being too highly interested in the Affairs of State, whereupon he was clapt up close prisoner, and there tormented to purpose, and at length died an ignominious death. These judgements are described at large by *Theodoret*, *Sozomene*, and *Nicephorus*, in their *Ecclesiastic Histories*, speaking of *Julian* and his followers.

*Valens* the *Arrian* Emperor, caused to be drowned at one time no less than four score Ministers of several Churches by a stratagem, as *Socrates* relates, and this he did about the year of Our Lord 371. *Theodoret* tells us, that he would have forced the *Christians* to become *Arrians*, but was punished accordingly; For, they say, he was wounded with an Arrow in the Battle which he lost against the *Goths*, and thinking to save himself in a certain little Hut in the field, was there surprised by his Enemies, and burned alive.

It's almost incredible, how much *Christian* blood was spilt by the *Vandals*, *Huns*, *Goths*, and other savage, and barbarous people, within the compass of those eighty or an hundred years, wherein they overran *Africa*, and *Europe*. But in the fifth year of *Gilimer* their last King, *Bellisarius* Lieutenant General to the Emperor *Justinian*, discomfited, and wholly extirpated them, to their great ignominy and everlasting confusion, in the year of Our Lord 533. And likewise, during the time of this their tyranny, their Kings and Governors, did not always escape the stroke of Divine vengeance.

*Eucherius* the son of *Stilicon*, in hopes to be one day made Emperor, according to his father's promise, engaged himself to the *Vandals* to ruin and extirpate all the *Christians*, and what was his reward? no other than this! that both he and his father were murdered by the Soldiers of *Honorius*.

*Croscus* King of the *Vandals* after *Stilicon*, as he would have besieged *Arles*, was taken prisoner, and after he had been caried openly through all the Cities and places, where he had persecuted the faithful, and endured great variety of torment, he suffered an ignominious death.

*Gunderic* was possessed with an evil spirit! in the second year of the Emperor *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius* the younger.

*Hunneric* after a good part of his rotten carcass had been gnawn by the Worms while he was yet alive, the rest was torn in pieces by the Devil, as *Sigebert Victor* and *Gregory de Tours* do relate.

*Proculus* Lieutenant to *Genserich* successor to *Gunderic*, a notorious ran sacker of Churches, and burner of Bibles, grew mad, and having bitten his tongue to pieces, died with rage.

*Rhadagaisus* King of the *Goths*, a professed enemy and horrible Persecutor of the *Christians*, as he was making strange preparations to destroy them and their Churches, was delivered up himself with his whole Army into the hands of his Enemies, who after a thousand disgraces, put him to a cruel death; And the prisoners taken with him, were so many, that a great company of them were sold but for a Crown, as *Paulus Diaconus*, and *Orosius* relate.

*Attila* that fearful Rod of God, and terrible Tyrant (if ever there was any) to whom *Theodosius* the younger, was for a time tributary, to preserve the *Eastern Churches*, after the shedding of a Sea of blood, in the sixth year of his Reign, and upon his very Wedding day, having made himself drunk, was stricken with an Apoplexy, and choked (by a just and visible judgement of God) with his own blood, having been all his life so thirsty of other men's.

*Theodoric* King of the *West Goths*, an *Arrian*, and great enemy of the faithful, seeing one day a Fish upon his Table with its mouth open and gaping, did really believe it to be the head of one of those whom he had unjustly put to death, and thereupon fell into an extreme fit of melancholy and despair, and died not long after.

*Amalaric*, a Prince amongst those Nations, and a vehement Persecutor of his own Wife, for being a *Christian*, was overthrown and killed, with the most part of his Army by *Childebert* the King of *France* his Brother-in-Law, as *Procopius* and *Gregory de Tours* observe.

The *Germans* who were confederate with the *Goths*, after they had destroyed and desolated the Churches of *Italy*, part of them were killed in the War, part of them being laden with booty, were slain and cast headlong down the Mountains by the *Huns*, and others; And

the remainder died of the Plague in those places whither they had retired: As for their Captains likewise, namely, *Lutarius* and *Bultinus*, The *first* grew mad, and having with his own teeth torn himself, died drunk with his own blood; The *second*, was overthrown and slain with his Army of thirty thousand men, whereof five only escaped, who fled betimes.

*Antharis* King of the *Lombards*, a great adversary of the *Christians*, was poisoned in *Pavia*, as a just judgement of God for his cruel actions.

If I should here undertake to reckon up all the fearful judgements of God upon the Persecutors of his Church and people, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh Centuries, I mean the *Persians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and Other Nations, it would require a Volume as big as that of the Book of *Martyrs*.

What shall we say of *Mahomet* the Eastern, and *Phocas* the Western *Antichrist*? The *first* whereof left nothing but an abominable stink behind him, and though he boasted that his body should have no need of burial, forasmuch as it was to rise the third day, yet notwithstanding his carcass rotted upon the earth, that none were able to endure it. The *second*, after he had most traitorously put to death the Emperor *Maurice* his Wife, the *Senate* of *Rome* and his own son-in-Law conspired against him, and cutting off his hands, feet, privities and head, they put him into a brazen Oxe, together with all his children and kindred. And this was the end of this execrable murderer, who had granted to *Boniface* the third, Bishop of *Rome*, the title of *Primate* and *Supreme* over all the Churches, about 600 years or thereabouts after the death of *Christ*.

I beg the Christian and Courteous Readers patience to add a word concerning the Disciples and followers of the above-mentioned Mahometans, I mean the *Saracens*, who being a most cruel people towards the *Christians*, were sometimes rewarded and that seven-fold for their actions. To instance but that one Battle of *Abdiram* with *Charles Martel* near *Tours*, where there were slain three hundred seventy-five thousand upon the place, which happened in the year of *Our Lord* 730. After this, in the year 736, *Athin* King of the *Saracens* got into *France* with an innumerable company, but *Charles* overthrew him and his Army near *Avignon*.

Finally, *Amorrheus* another of their Kings, bringing succor to *Athin*, was killed, and his troops utterly defeated. The truth is, it is a fearful thing to read of the end of the Kingdom of the *Saracens*, wherein may be seen, as in a glass, an evident testimony of the wrath of God: *Selym* the first, father to *Solyman*, who was the man that destroyed and extinguished that Kingdom, first of all won two Battles against the *Sultan Tomumbei* under the conduct of *Synan Bascha*, one near *Gaza* in *Syria*, the other in *Egypt* near *Grand Cairo*. Afterwards *Selim* led all his forces to *Cairo*, where was another Battle in the very City, which continued two days and two nights, before he could get all the Forts thereof: It is hard to believe how great the effusion of blood then was, and how horrible the cruelties acted upon the *Saracens*! The Castle of the Town abovementioned being won the 25<sup>th</sup> of *January* in the year 1517. The *Sultan* fled, and hid himself amongst the Reeds in the *Moors*, from whence he was drawn, and brought before *Selym*, and after many exquisite tortures, was put upon a Camel, and led through all the streets of the Town, for greater ignominy, and at last hanged at one of the Gates. This happened in the year 1517 upon the 13 of *April*. I leave the Reader to think how woeful a spectacle it was then to see that mighty Emperor of *Syria* and *Egypt*, so ignominiously hanged in the sight of his own people. (This *Sultan* was the last Prince of the *Saracens* and The *Mamalucks*): So did the just and righteous God make them feel the power of his hand, in revenging upon them the blood of his beloved ones! And he will certainly one day remember the *Turks* themselves, *when he makes inquisition for blood*, for all their inhumane Butcheries of his faithful servants.

But here it may be, the *Popes* of *Rome*, and successors of *Boniface* may take offense, that in so prolix a discourse of God's judgements against the Persecutors of the Church, there should be no notice taken of their *Holinesses*. The truth is, they have a long time been a scourge to the true Professors of the Gospel, yet they have not always escaped scot-free, but have felt the heavy hand of vengeance upon them; yea, when they have wanted enemies from abroad to mischief them, they have run one against another with their *Bulls* horns, which have begotten all kinds of violence, wars, murders, and other strange contusions: *Onuphrius* in his abridgement of the History of the *Popes*, enumerateth from *Gregory*

the seventh till *Urban* the sixth (in the space of 294 years) seven great Schisms in the *Roman Church*, during which time there were no less than seven times, two *Popes* at once, and towards the latter end three, everyone notwithstanding calling himself the true *Pope*, and accordingly excommunicating, and condemning the other his Competitors.

After that came the eighth and great Schism, which began in the time of *Urban* the sixth, and *Clement* the seventh, and lasted thirty nine years, until the Council of *Constance*: During which time, the *Popes* bandied themselves one against another, with such impudence and fury, by *Bulls*, *Briefs*, and defaming *Libels*, that if any other had done so, he had endangered his life; calling one another Schismatics, Heretics, and other odious names. If any has a desire to see their doings, let him read *Theodore* his 5 Books, who was a servant, and very familiar with the *Popes*, and consequently a man whose relation is the more to be credited. But neither is this all! if we cast our eyes upon the Histories of the *Popes*, we shall find that a great number of them have not been very long lived; for, from *Gregory* the 7 to *Gregory* the 13 there were near 68 *Popes*, during which time, from *Henry* 4 to *Maximilian* 11 there were but 26 Kings or Emperors of the *Romans*: thus were their lives extreme short, but yet not very sweet, for we find that most part of them were tormented with grievous diseases, and many surprised by sudden death! Some were driven out of their seats, and taken prisoners; others made away by poison: *Lucius* the second was stoned by his own people. *Lucius* the third was banished the City, and his domestics beaten to death; *Adrian* the fourth, was choked by a fly. *Pope John* the eighth, or rather *Joan* the first (if we may give any credit to *Platina*, and many other of their own Writers of note) after she had made a very apt and complete exposition upon the 17th of the *Revelation*, concerning the GREAT WHORE and THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, that is to say, after she had been in travail and brought forth a child, in the time of a *Procession*, as she was going to the Church of *Lateran*, in the view of the people, she died immediately, and that with as much ignominy, and disgrace, as she had lived in villainy and wickedness. This accident (as the same Historians tell us) occasioned the making of that *Trying-stool* called the *Porphyrie Chair*, for her successors; although the truth is, the greatest part of

them ever since, have given sufficient proofs of their abilities in that kind, by a multitude of *Nephews*, who have called them *Fathers*. *John* the twelfth was stabbed by a *Roman* who by chance caught *His Holiness* in bed with his Wife (a great Argument without doubt of that Popes *packability*, to commit such a sin, and a greater of his *fallibility*, to be so caught in the manner)! *Pope John* 21 was slain with the fall of a Vault. *Boniface* the eighth who came to the Popedom like a Fox, and governed like a Lion, at last died like a Dog.

I suppose it is now high time to draw to a conclusion, I shall therefore only make a very brief reflection upon some few of those cruelties that have been exercised against the Professors of the Gospel, in our neighboring Countries.

It is observed that *Henry* the second of *France*, being incensed against the Protestants by the Dutchess of *Valentinois* his Concubine, took once an oath that he would see with his own eyes the burning of *Du Bourg*; But the wife God had otherwise disposed of affairs, for a splinter of *Count Montgomeries* Lance, as he was running with him at Tilt, rebounding, and glancing into his eye, wounded him so sorely, that he died within a few days after. And which is yet more remarkable, as they carried him off the place, he turned his face toward the Bastille, and with a deep sigh confessed, that *he had most unjustly persecuted and afflicted the honest and good people that were within that place*.

*Philip* the second of *Spain*, who married *Elizabeth* of *France*, daughter of *Henry* the second, after the death of *Charles* the fifth his Father, being arrived in *Spain*, caused a summons to be made of all the prisoners in all parts of *Spain*, upon the account of Religion, caused them all to assemble by two Acts, the first whereof was promulgated at *Valdolid*, where a certain Doctor *Caca*, preacher to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, in all his *German* expeditions, and one of his Advisers in his Retirement was degraded, and had his mouth gagged in a most cruel manner, as likewise a multitude of other eminent persons, being disguised in yellow habits painted with Crosses and Devils (which they call *St. Benedicts* habits) were burned alive in the Month of *May*.



The second Act was proclaimed at *Seville*, in the Kings presence, where were burned *Pome of Lyons*, son to *Roderic* Count of *Bayley*, *John Baley* a Divine of *Seville*, *Garsias Arias*, a man esteemed the most excellent and able Doctor of *Spain*, together with a great number of men and women; amongst others, *Constantine* Bishop of *Drosse*, Confessor to the Emperor, and also his privy companion in his Retirement, dying with the cruel torments which he endured in prison, was carried about in *effigy*, in the habit of a Minister, and thus presented to public view.

This King having reigned about 40 years, caused to be put to death his only son, and his Wife *Elizabeth*, by the advice of the Inquisition! But now mark his end! he was seized by four Apostemes in the four corners of his stomach, which being opened, cast forth such a prodigious quantity of Lice, that the Surgeons could never find any remedy for him; and thus he died most miserably, being eaten up of lice.

*Francis the second*, son to *Henry the second*, having by the instigation of the *Guisars* persecuted the *Protestants*, as also seized upon the *Prince of Conde*, and was very near cutting off his head, after he had made a vow (which he intended to confirm by oath to the *Virgin Mary*) for the extirpation of the *Protestants*, and all their Abettors, or who any way had favored that party, being surprised by a fever, and having an Aposteme broken in one of his ears, died suddenly in the Month of *December*.

*Charles the ninth*, son to *Francis the second*, having contrary to the faith of his promise, caused the execution of the Massacre of St. *Bartholomew* (which they call the *Parisian Matins*) about eight days after, there came such a prodigious multitude of Crows making an hideous noise upon the great *Lanthorn* of the *Louvre*, that both the King and all the Court were not a little affrighted; And the very same night, the *King* about two hours after he had been in his bed, leapt up on a sudden, caused those of his Chamber to rise immediately, and call his Brother-in-Law amongst others, to hear a strange and hideous noise in the air, being as it were a great multitude of voices, some crying and groaning in a most lamentable manner, others threatening and blaspheming, being not unlike that confused noise that was heard the night when the *Massacre* was executed.

After this *Bartholomew-tide* this Prince took no true rest, but was always interrupted with startings, and groanings, which ended in words of dissidence and despair, and most extreme pains of a disease which seized on him; yea the very blood was observed to spring forth from almost all the passages of his body, insomuch that he died thus wallowing and weltring in his own gore.

It's said, that he had resolved a little before his death, to have banished out of his Council, all the Authors of the *Massacre*, together with his Mother, however some of them were met with as followeth.

*Henry the third*, his Brother, received his deaths wound by *James Clement*, a *Jacobin*, in the very same house, chamber, and place of the chamber, as also the very same Month, that 17 years before he had treacherously plotted, violently solicited, and absolutely determined the above-said *Massacre* of *St. Bartholomew*.

*Francis of Lorrain*, Duke of *Guise*, having executed the *Massacre* of *Vassi*, and afflicting *Orleans*, to the end he might exterminate the Protestants, was assassinated by one *Poltrot*.

*Henry*, his son, one of the Authors of the *Massacre* of *St. Bartholomew*, together with the *Cardinal* his Brother, were both put to death at *Blois*, by the commandment of King *Henry the third*.

*Du Haillan* reports in the life of *Charles the ninth*, that the King visibly declined in those days, and that in the very flower of his age. And after the departure of the King of *Polonia*, he was found to be as much altered in mind as body, being in an especial manner provoked and incensed against the Authors and contrivers of the *Massacres*, as he also plainly told some of his Court, who were enemies of injustice, and as appeared likewise by several Letters which he wrote into foreign parts, for which Authors of the *Massacres* he had prescribed a very strange Potion, if Divine Providence had not prevented him, who reserved them as instruments of those after-chastisements which he had appointed to bring upon the Kingdom.

The same Author observeth a little after, that having languished during the Months of *February*, *March*, and *April*, he was so wafted in his body by such furious storms and tempests, that his bed became

irksome to him, and the 30 of *May* he took his last sleep in his Castle *du Bois de Vincennes*, after a strange effusion of blood, which forced its way through several parts of his body, during the two last Weeks of his sickness, in all which time he endured all the most violent assaults and combats, that the vigor and force of his age could possibly furnish him with strength to undergo.

*Du Serres* relates of him, that raging and raving under the just, judgements of God, he was seen to wallow in his own blood, (the just recompence and reward of one, who had wallowed all his lifetime in the blood of his subjects throughout all his Dominions).

*Stanislaus* of *Znoyme*, as he was going to *Constance* to bear false witness against *John Hus*, was remarkably smitten by the hand of God himself.

Count *Felix* of *Wartenberg* one of the Emperors Captains, as he was sitting at Supper with many of his companions and brethren in iniquity, in the year 1530 swore in the presence of all that were at Table, that before he died he would ride aux esperons up to the horse-belly in the blood of the Lutherans; But that very night, he was choked with his own blood, and wallowed miserably in the same.

*John Menier*, after a thousand mischiefs which he had done to the poor *Protestants*, was seized by a bloody flux, which did so afflict his privy members, and engendered such a retention of urine, that he died thereof with most horrible and despairing cries, feeling also a fire already in his body, as an earnest of those eternal flames that are prepared for such fire-brands of the *Church*.

*Gaspar de Renialme* one of the Magistrates of the City of *Antwerp*, having adjudged to death certain poor *Protestants*, was smitten by God in the very place, insomuch that being led home as it were almost desperate, he died in a terrible manner, often crying out and saying, that *he had condemned innocent blood*.

The Chancellor *du Prat*, who was the first that gave jurisdiction to *Parliaments* to proceed against the poor *Protestants*, died in his own house, swearing and cursing against God himself; But his very stomach was afterwards found to have been gnawn and eaten through by Worms.

*John Morin, Lieutenant de la Prevosté de Paris*, a strange and cruel monster, having put to death a great number of Martyrs, was smitten with the disease called the *Wolf* in both his legs, of which he died, blaspheming and renouncing God in a most hideous manner.

The same Author makes mention of a certain Counsellor who having had a hand in certain Processes which were made by the *Lieutenant du Chastelet de Paris*, died a very strange death, and in his sickness he would often cry out to those that visited him, in the following terms; *Why do we put to death these poor people, who pray to God so well?*

During the cruel executions at *Amboise*, issued out against those who assembled themselves to discover to the King the secret machinations that were then plotting against him, *Oliver the Chancellor*, who had drawn the Process against these poor people, and who also had proceeded in the former persecutions directly against his own conscience (which for a long time had been enlightened by the knowledge of the truth) was at length seized by a grievous disease, during the which he sent forth most lamentable sighs and bitter groans. In this torment he was visited by the *Cardinal of Lorrain*, to whom he cried out in these words. *Ha! Cardinal! Thou causest us all to be damned:* It is said moreover, that he mentioned with profound regret the death of *M. Ann à Bourg*, who not long before, had been burned for the testimony of the truth.

The *Baillis of Nancy in Lorrain*, having without any form of legal proceeding, caused to be hanged one *Florentin*, a native of *Cologne*, a faithful servant and Minister of *Jesus Christ*, and likewise demolished the Church where the said *Florentin* was wont to preach and administer the Sacraments, It happened that as he was walking out after dinner, (not knowing the place where this poor Martyr had been executed) he lighted just upon the very place where he was hanging; But as soon as he beheld him, he was struck with such a dismal affrightment, that it accompanied him to his grave. His Body not long after became dry as parchment rolled upon wood; Besides this, he was grievously tormented in his conscience, insomuch that he often demanded of divers honest people during the time of his languishment, *Whether God would pardon unto a man those sins that he repented of, without confessing at all the cause of*

*this his remorse?* (it is likely out of fear of displeasing the Princes and great ones). However, when he came to make his last Will and Testament, he plainly discovered the cause of this his torment and horror of conscience, assigning 500 Francs to the daughter of the above-said Martyr *Florentin*, which was also afterwards really given her by His Executors.

*John de Roma*, an Inquisitor in *Provence*, who had found out a strange invention to torment the poor Saints, which was to cause them to draw on a certain kind of Boots filled with boiling grease, thereby (if possible) to make them despair through excessive pains, Was afterwards surprised by a terrible and loathsome disease, insomuch that none durst approach him by reason of the stench and putrefaction of his malady; And all his consolation was a desire to die, in the meantime uttering nothing but words of despair. His complaints were such as these. *Alas, to what a miserable state and condition am I brought! What is it that I suffer! I remember indeed the evils that I have done to those poor people, and knew full well for what cause I am thus afflicted on every side. Who shall deliver me from this distress? O kill me speedily, that I may no longer languish in this misery.*

One Dr. *Lambert Priour* of the *Augustin Friars*, as he was preaching with open mouth against the faithful flock of Christ, (whom he called by the name of *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*), all of a sudden became mute in his Pulpit, and his senses failed him in an odd and strange manner, insomuch that he was immediately carried out of the Assembly, and a few days after he was found dead in a ditch.

*Poncher Archbishop* of *Tours*, pursuing the execution of a famous Martyr, was burned by a fire from Heaven, which began at his heel, and he was forced to cut off one member after another, till at last he died most miserably, no man being ever able to know the cause of his disease.

Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, that gave sentence against the Lord Cobham (that ancient witness of the Truth) died notwithstanding before him, having his tongue so swollen in his mouth, before his death, that he could neither eat, nor speak.

Dr. *Foxford Chancellor* to *Stokesley Bishop of London*, had his guts fallen out of his body as he sat in his Chair.

*Morgan Bishop of St. Davids*, who sat upon *Farrar the Martyr*, and usurped his place, was smitten with a loathsome disease, his meat that he ate still rising up again, sometimes through his mouth, sometimes through his nose, till he died.

*Justice Morgan*, who sat upon the *Lady Jane*, fell mad, and cried out always in his raging fits, *Take away the Lady Jane! Take away the Lady Jane!* and so he died.

The Wife of *John Fettle* betrayed her own husband, and then fell mad.

*Alexander the Keeper of Newgate* in the days of the Martyrs, died in a most formidable manner, his Body being swollen, and become as monstrous as his Actions, and as rotten as his Principles.

*Gardiner the Bishop of Winchester*, the Devils chief *Courier du Cabinet*, would by no means go to dinner that day that *Ridley* and *Latimer* were burned at *Oxford*, till such time as his Man came Post from thence, with the News that he saw Fire set to them at the Stake, but ere this cursed Murderer had sat long at the Table, he was taken with such an intolerable Pain in his Bowels, and the Heat within his Body was so violent, that his Tongue was swollen, and become black in his Mouth. This wicked Wretch when he was put in mind by one of the Bishops that stood by him, of the Death and Merits of *Christ*, made answer thus, *Open that Door to the People, my Lord, and all's gone! You may speak it to such as are in my condition, but open that Door to the People, and all's gone.*

I shall end all with that Reproach of her Sex, *Queen Mary*, who never prospered after once she began to persecute the Saints, and at last died of a Tympany. This miserable Wretch told one of her Maids of Honor, that *if they opened her after she was dead, they should find Calais lying at her heart*. But I am persuaded she was mistaken, and that it was rather the *Fire*, the *scalding Lead*, and *red-hot Irons*, wherewith she had put to death the poor Martyrs.

The truth is, the instances that might be alleged for the confirmation of this truth, are almost innumerable, And I do verily believe that there hath hardly been any famous Persecutor of the

Church almost in any Age, or Place of the World, that hath gone down to his Grave without some remarkable Tokens of Divine Vengeance upon him, in some respect or other.

I might here in the conclusion of this Discourse (and it would not be at all besides my purpose if I should) descend to some particular Instances in *Savoy* itself, whereby it would plainly appear to all the World, That even they also, as they have in a very eminent manner acted their parts in the Persecution of the Saints, have likewise been met with by Judgments from Heaven. I say, I might instance in several persons of quality and note, some whereof had had their *Candles* strangely *put out*, and others who are now living, and have already tasted in some measure the first fruits of their bloody Deeds, as an earnest of a heavier Curse, without a serious and timely Repentance. I would not be here mistaken or thought bluntly to strike at, or fall foul upon the princely persons of their *Royal Highnesses*, (I mean the *Duke* and his *Mother* now reigning) the tender years of the one, and those few Observations I myself have sometimes made of the candor and mildness of the natural tempers and dispositions of both, forbidding me to believe them to be otherwise, or any further guilty of those horrid Cruelties and Persecutions, than by giving ear (the more's the pity) to the black calumnies of malicious men, and by suffering themselves to be made believe, that whosoever kills and destroys those their poor *Protestant* Subjects, do thereby save their own Souls, and do God a singular and meritorious service; and upon those grounds most unhappily set their hands to many a cruel and bloody Edict. No! they are a generation of Jesuitical Spirits to whom I direct this Discourse, who love Cruelty in the Abstract, and hunt after Blood as naturally as the Eagle after her Prey. But I shall rather be sparing and tender in this regard, and only pray for them, as *Stephen* did for his Murderers; *Lord, lay not this Sin to their Charge!* Or in the words of our *Savior* for the *Jews*, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*. But with all let me tell them, That strong and loud is the Cry of those *Souls* who are now *under the Altar*, whom they have so cruelly and barbarously *slain for the testimony of Jesus*; And let them take heed that they prevail not at length with the *Lord Holy and true, to judge and avenge their blood upon them that dwell on the Earth*.

These are the Introductory (and I hope seasonable) thoughts  
and intimations

(Christian and Courteous Readers)

OF

*Your faithful Servant in*

*CHRIST:*

SAMUEL MORLAND.



# The Contents and Heads of the following History of the *Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.*

The Contents of the First BOOK.
---------------------------------

## CHAPTER

1. *The Situation and Extent of the Valleys of Piemont.*
2. *A Description of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.*
3. *The Antiquity of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont, from the days of Christ and his Apostles, down to this present Age.*
4. *The Ancient and Modern Belief of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.*
5. *The Ancient Discipline of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.*
6. *Extracts of several Authentic, pious, and rare Treatises, composed by the Ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys of Piemont, a great part whereof were written above 420, others above 550 years ago, and most of the rest in all probability of a far more ancient date.*
7. *An Extract of those famous Treatises which were written by the ancient Evangelical Professors inhabiting the Valleys of Piemont, concerning Antichrist, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments.*
8. *A particular discourse concerning the Barbes or ancient Pastors of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.*

The Contents of the Second BOOK.
----------------------------------

CHAPTER

1. *The several troubles and persecutions of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont, from time to time, because of their Religion.*
2. *A Description of the Marquisate of Saluces, with its several Troubles and Persecutions.*
3. *The cunning Artifices, and wicked Practices formerly and at present used, to consume and destroy the remainder of the faithful in the Valleys of Piemont.*
4. *The Grounds and Motives of the late Persecution in the Year 1655, with the Publication of the Bloody Order of Gastaldo, and the flight of the Protestants in the midst of Winter.*
5. *The most humble and earnest Supplications of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont to their Prince, for justice against the inhumanity of the Order of Gastaldo.*
6. *A brief and most authentic Narrative of some part of those extraordinary cruelties which were exercised against the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, during the heat of the late Massacre in April 1655.*

The Contents of the Third BOOK.
---------------------------------

CHAPTER

1. The Court of Savoy's FACTUM, or Narrative of the several Transactions in the Valleys of Piemont in the Year 1655 upon occasion of the Report that was spread abroad of a Massacre of the Protestants in those parts, printed and published in Italian, Latin, and French Tongues.
2. The Animadversions of some able and knowing friends of the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, upon the Court of Savoy's FACTUM and REASON, set down at large in the foregoing Chapters.
3. A faithful and most Authentic Narrative of the Continuation of the War in the Valleys of Piemont, between the Popish and Protestant party, upon the occasion of the Massacre.
4. General Animadversions of Some able and knowing Friends of the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, upon the Court of Savoy's Grounds and Reasons, for justification of the Order of Gastaldo.

The Contents of the Fourth BOOK.
----------------------------------

## CHAPTER

1. *The Mediation of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland with the Duke of Savoy, and their Letter to the States General, in favor of the poor distressed Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont.*
2. *The Negotiation of Mr. Gabriel Weis, the Deputy of the Evangelical Cantons in the Court of Savoy, in the behalf of the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont.*
3. *The several Pathetic Letters of His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, etc. to his Protestant Neighbors, in favor of the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont.*
4. *Mr. Morlands Negotiation in quality of His Highness Envoy to the King of France, and Duke of Savoy, in the year 1655.*
5. *A brief Account of the notable and famous Collection in England, Wales, and Ireland, for the relief of the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont, in the year 1655.*
6. *The notable effects of the Intercession of His Highness the Lord Protector of England, etc. for, the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont, upon the spirits of the Neighboring Princes and States of the Protestant Profession, with divers of their Letters upon that subjects, as also the intended Negotiation of the Commissioners Extraordinary from His Highness the Lord Protector, and the States General of the United Provinces.*
7. *The Negotiation of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland, in the Court of Savoy, and the Treaty concluded at Pignerol. Together with a Copy of that Relation which they themselves sent their Superiors at the same time.*
8. *The many Grievances and sad effects of the Treaty concluded at Pignerol, with a true description of the present state and condition of those poor people.*

Here follows a Catalogue of the *Manuscripts*, and other pieces inserted, or at least mentioned in the following *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont*; The greatest part and most essential whereof are either *Originals*, or otherwise most Authentic *Vidimated* for the justification of that Work to Posterity.

Presented by the Author (together with divers other Manuscripts relating to the late troubles of *Switzerland* upon the Account of *Religion*) as his free gift, to the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*, in *August* 1658.

The Volume marked with the Letter *A*, contains in it the following Treatises.

1. *The History of the Creation and Deluge, written in their own Language.*
2. *An excellent Treatise of sundry profitable Instructions which a man ought to learn from the nature of divers Animals.*
3. *Lo tracta di la pecca, or a Treatise of Sin, which is an allegorical and moral Explanation of the Beast described, Revelation 13.*
4. *A Treatise of the Word of God, and the power and efficacy thereof; as also how it ought to be received; at the end whereof there is affixed the Date, either of the Work, or at least of the Copy of it, namely, Anno Domini 1230.*
5. *Several Latin Pieces, which are certain Rhapsodies concerning Priests and Friers.*
6. *A Treatise against Tramettement, or Traditions and Ordinances of Men, as not consonant to the Holy Scriptures.*
7. *An Exhortation to Herman, to convert himself to God, and not to the creatures.*
8. *Concerning Pharisaical Plantations which the Father hath not planted, namely, the Orders and Sects of Monks, Franciscan Friers, Dominicans, and the like, which are not ordained by God.*
9. *A Latin Treatise, De Officiis Conjugum, Viri & Uxoris.*

10. *A Latin Treatise, De Symbolo Apostolico.*
11. *A Latin Treatise, De Ædificatione Urbium, Idololatriæ ortu & progressu, ejusque eversione per Evangelii predicationem.*
12. *A Latin Treatise, Quibus Modis peccatum fiat.*
13. *A Latin Treatise, De vera peccati purgatione.*
14. *A Latin Treatise entitled, Uni Deo placere studeamus.*
15. *A Latin Treatise entitled, Tres Veritates. 1 Doctrinæ. 2 Justitiæ. 3 Vitæ.*
16. *A Latin Treatise entitled, Sola Dei Lege scripta definiri Fidei Controversias.*

In the Volume marked with the Letter *B*, are contained the following Treatises, all written in that which is called the *Waldensian* Language, in Parchment, and that in a very ancient, but excellent Character,

1. *Glosa Pater, or the Explication of the Lord's Prayer.*
2. *Trecenas, or divers passages of the Evangelists, and Epistles.*
3. *Doctor, that is, divers Sentences and Testimonies of the Fathers, touching Repentance.*
4. *Penas, or a Treatise concerning the punishment of sin.*
5. *Li Goy de Paradis, a Treatise concerning the Joys of Paradise.*
6. *An Epistle to all the Faithful.*
7. *A Poem entitled, Novel Consort.*
8. *A Poem entitled, Novel Sermon, containing many wholesome Instructions to the People.*
9. *A Poem entitled, La Noble Leyçon.*
10. *A Poem entitled, Pair eternal.*
11. *A Poem entitled, Barca, concerning the misery and shortness of man's life, and his arriving at the haven of Salvation.*
12. *An Explanation of the Ten Commandments.*
13. *An Explanation of the Articles of the Apostles Creed.*
14. *A Treatise concerning Vice, and Mortal Sins.*
15. *A Treatise concerning the seven Gifts of the Spirit, Isaiah 11.*
16. *A Treatise concerning the three Theological, and the four Cardinal Virtues.*
17. *A Treatise concerning the Goods of Fortune, Nature, and Grace.*
18. *A Treatise concerning the six honorable things in this World.*
19. *Several Sermons Upon several Texts of Scripture; Namely,*

- A. *A Sermon upon the second of Matthew touching idle words.*
- B. *A Sermon upon Ephesians 4 touching the putting on of the New Man.*
- C. *A Sermon Del Fantin Jesus, or concerning the little Child Jesus, during his abode in Jerusalem, Luke 2.*
- D. *A Sermon touching Christ's being tempted in the Desert, Matthew 4, and Luke 4.*
- E. *A Sermon upon Matthew 8:25, Save us, or else we perish.*
- F. *A Sermon touching the Rich Man, Luke 16.*
- G. *A Sermon upon the sixth of John.*
- H. *A Sermon upon the Parable of the Sower, Matthew 13.*

In the Volume marked with the Letter C, are contained the following Treaties.

- 1. *An Exhortation to confess our Sins one unto another, and unto God.*
- 2. *A Sermon touching the Fear of the Lord.*
- 3. *A Sermon touching the Accusation of Sinners before God, in judgment.*
- 4. *A Treatise touching Tribulations.*
- 5. *A Treatise touching the Martyrdom of the Maccabees, and others.*
- 6. *A Treatise concerning the Sufferings and Constancy of Job.*
- 7. *An Extract of the History of Tobias.*

In the Volume D, are many excellent and Heavenly Meditations, touching the Miseries, Tribulations, and Shortness of this Life; as likewise of Repentance, Good works, and the like; written in the language of the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys, in Parchment, but the Letter almost worn out with age, which according to many probable circumstances of the place and manner of its preservation, is judged to have been written at least six or seven hundred years ago.

In the Volume marked E, are contained.

- 1. *A Latin Grammar of the ancient Barbes or Ministers.*

2. *The Proverbs of Solomon and Ecclesiastes.*
3. *A pious piece of Poesie in the language of the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys.*
4. *A Treatise concerning the Love and fear of God, and the manner of Life which Christians ought to live.*
5. *A Treatise of Morals in Latin.*
6. *A Treatise of Arithmetic.*

In the Volume *F*, are collected and written in Parchment, in that which is called the *Waldensian* Language, of a very ancient, but fair and distinct Character.

*The Gospel of Matthew.*

*The first Chapter of Luke.*

*The Gospel of John.*

*The Acts of the Apostles.*

*The first Epistle to the Corinthians.*

*The Epistle to the Galatians.*

*The Epistle to the Ephesians.*

*The Epistle to the Philippians.*

*The first Epistle to the Thessalonians.*

*The second Epistle to Timothy.*

*The Epistle to Titus.*

*The eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

*The first and second Epistle to Peter, but imperfect.*

The Volume marked with the Letter *G*, containeth the following Manuscripts.

1. *A verbal Process against the Waldenses, by the Archbishop of L'Ambrun, in the years 1497, and 1502, written in the French tongue.*
2. *A Bull of Pope Innocent, against the Waldenses, in the year 1487, in Latin.*
3. *A Latin Treatise called, Origo Valdensium & processus contra eos facti. A.D. 1501.*
4. *Divers informations and examinations taken by the Archbishop of Evereux and others of the Popes Commissioners, against the Waldenses of Fraissinere and other places, in the years 1478,*



1479, 1483, 1486, and 1501. *Wherein are very many passages very remarkable, and worthy to be diligently perused by all the curious.*

In the Volume *H*, are contained the following Manuscripts.

1. *Divers ample and very remarkable Processes and cruel Inquisitions against those of Fraissinere, and other places, in the years 1487, 1488, 1489, 1492, and 1494.*
2. *A Bull of Pope Alexander, bearing date the first of April, in the year 1501, for absolution of the Waldenses, etc. to encourage them to revolt and abjure their Religion.*
3. *A Bull of the same Pope Alexander, bearing date the fifth of April 1501, for absolution of Usurers, etc.*
4. *A Bull of the abovesaid Pope Alexander, bearing date the seventh of October 1501, for absolution of all sorts of crimes and sins, and particularly that of Heresy.*
5. *An Edict of Louis, King of France, bearing date the 12 of October 1501, for the restitution of the goods of those of Fraissinere.*
6. *Letters Patents obtained of Louis King of France by those of Fraissinere, bearing date the twelfth of October 1501.*
7. *An Arrest du Grand Conseil of the 27 of May 1502, in favor of those of Fraissinere, Val Loyse, Argentiere, and other inhabitants of Dauphine, who turned Catholics.*

In the Volume *J*, are contained the following Manuscripts.

1. *The Agreement made between Henry the fourth of France, and the Evangelical Professors of the Valleys of Piemont, in the year 1592.*
2. *A Petition of those of Val Perosa, presented to His Majesty of France, with the Kings Answer thereunto, upon the sixth of June 1630.*
3. *Several Articles of Capitulation accorded by the King of France to those of Val Perosa, bearing date the eleventh of April 1630, to which are annexed His Majesties Letters Patents.*
4. *The Kings Letters Patents in favor of the Evangelical Professors of Val Perosa, issued forth the tenth of March 1648.*

5. *The Kings Letters Patents in favor of the Evangelical Professors of Val Perosa, issued forth the 18 of August 1653.*

In the Volume K, are contained the following Manuscripts.

1. *The Concessions of the Duke of Savoy to the Evangelical Professors of the Valleys of Piemont, in the year 1561.*
2. *The Concessions of the Duke of Savoy to the Evangelical Professors of the Valleys of Piemont, in the years 1603, and 1620.*
3. *The confirmation of the abovesaid Concessions, bearing date the second and fourth of June, and 29 of December 1653.*

In the Volume L, are contained the following Manuscripts,

1. Several Memorials concerning the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont, in the year 1644.
2. A Letter from the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland to the Duke of Savoy, the 5/15 of March 1655.
3. A Letter of the Duke of Savoy to the Evangelical Cantons, sixth of April 1655.
3. A Letter from the Ministers of Zurich to those of N. N. touching the Negotiation of Mr. Duræus, for the Unity of the Churches, together with a Relation of the beginning and progress of the late Persecution in Piemont; As also two other Letters touching the same subject.
4. A Letter, from the Pastors of Zurich to those of Shass-houzen, concerning the Massacre in the year 1655, bearing date the first of May 1655.
5. The Evangelical Cantons to the Duke of Savoy, the sixth of May 1655.
6. The Duke of Savoy to the Evangelical Cantons, 13 June 1655.
7. The Evangelical Cantons to the Duke of Savoy, 17 June 1655.
8. Major Weis his account of his first Negotiation in the Court of Savoy, in the behalf of the poor Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.
9. The Duke of Savoy to the Evangelical Cantons, received by their Ambassadors at Aigle the 9/19 of June 1655.

10. The Duke of Savoy to the Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, the 29 of July 1655.
11. Major Weis his account of his cold reception in the Court of Savoy, upon his intimation of the Evangelical Cantons Embassy, in the behalf of the abovesaid Exiles.
12. The first Proposition of the 4 Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons to the Duke of Savoy, in the behalf of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, together with the said Dukes Answer thereunto.
13. The first Relation of the Negotiation of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons in the Court of Savoy, bearing date the 8/11 of August 1655.
14. The second Relation of the said Ambassadors, bearing date the 9/19 of August 1655.
15. The third Relation bearing date the 11/21 of August 1655.
16. A Memorial given by the Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland to the Baron of Greisy 16/26 August 1655.
17. Their fourth and last Relation bearing date the 21/31 of August 1655.
18. The second Proposition of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons to His Royal Highness of Savoy the 24 of August 1655.
19. The Duke of Savoy's Answer to the Request of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, written in Italian, bearing date the 6 of September 1655.
20. The Baron of Greisy to the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, the 30 August 1655.

In the Volume *M*, are contained the following Manuscripts.

1. Marquess a Sancto Thoma his Letter to Mr. Morland, during his abode at Turin, bearing date the tenth of July 1655.
2. The said Marquess his Letter to the said Mr. Morland, the 17 of July 1655.
3. A Letter from Major Weis to Mr. Morland from Pignerol to Geneva, the 1/11 of August 1655.
4. A second Letter from the said Major Weis to the said Mr. Morland from Pignerol, the 9/19 of August 1655.

5. A Letter from the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons, to Mr. Morland, dated from Pignerol the 9/19 of August 1655.
6. A second Letter from the said Ambassadors to the said Mr. Morland, the 11/31 of August 1655.
7. A third Letter from the abovesaid Ambassadors to the abovesaid Mr. Morland, dated from Turin the 21/31 of August 1655.
8. The Attestation of Thomas Guiot and Fra. Pra. concerning the eating of the Protestants Brains, during the heat of the Massacre.
9. The Attestation of Mr. Tho. Tronchin of Geneva, concerning the Manuscripts mentioned in the History of Mr. Paul Perrin.
10. The Declaration of Mr. de Petit Bourg, first Captain of the Regiment of Grancey, touching the cruelties that were exercised upon persons of all ages and Sexes, among the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, subscribed with his own hand at Pignerol, the 27 of November 1655, in the presence of two other Commanders.
11. The Attestation of Mr. Andrew Schmidt Under Secretary of State at Zurich, touching Ambassador Stockar, and his dissenting from the other three Ambassadors in the hastening of the Treaty at Pignerol, made at Geneva the 17/27 of September 1655.

In the Volume *N*, are contained Authentic Copies of several excellent Letters of Consolation, from divers *Protestant Churches* in other parts, to their poor afflicted Brethren in the *Valleys of Piemont*.

In the Volume *O*, are contained the following Edicts, all printed by the Printers to their respective Highnesses, excepting only the Court of *Savoy's Factum and Reasons*.

1. *Several Edicts of Charles Emanuel, Christina, and Emanuel Philiberto, some against, others by way of answer to the Petitions, and in favor of their poor Protestant Subjects: Namely, of*
  - A. Emanuel Philiberto, *given at Vercelli*, 1561.
  - B. Carlo Emanuel, *given at Turin*, 1582.
  - C. The Interination, *at Turin*, 30 May 1585.
  - D. Carlo Emanuel, 3 January 1584.

- E. Carlo Emanuel, *at Turin*, 2 July 1608.
  - F. Carlo Emanuel, *at Turin*, 4 March 1623.
  - G. V. Amedeo, *at Turin*, 26 February 1635.
  - H. Christiana *Dutchess of Savoy*, *at Turin*, 16 January 1642.
  - I. Christiana *Dutchess of Savoy*, *at Fassiano*, 17 February 1644.
  - J. Carlo Emanuel, *at Turin*, 30 June 1649.
  - K. Carlo Emanuel, 20 February 1650.
  - L. Carlo Emanuel, *at Rivoli*, 21 June 1653.
2. *The Court of Savoy's Factum in the year 1655, in the Latin, Italian, and French Languages.*
  3. *The Court of Savoy's Reasons for the justice of the order of Gastaldo, etc. in the year 1655, in the Latin, Italian, and French Languages.*
  4. *The Duke of Savoy's Patent, granted to the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, the 17 of August 1655.*

In the Volume *P*, are contained the following Manuscripts.

1. *The Epistle of Scipio Lentulus to a Friend of his, concerning the persecution of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys, in the year 1561.*
2. *A large and solid justification of a certain Book written in French 1655, concerning the persecution of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont; Entitled, La Relation Veritable, etc.*
3. *A Manuscript, Entitled, Brevis Resutatio Dissertationis de jure expellendi Religionem Evangelicam ex Italia & Sabaudia.*
4. *The Duke of Rittenberg's Letter to the Duke of Savoy, in the behalf of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, the 14 of July 1655.*
5. *The Prince Elector Palatine's Letter to the Duke of Savoy upon the same subject, the 14 of July 1655.*
6. *The Grievances of the Treaty concluded at Pignerol, which was delivered into the hands of Monsieur de Bais, to present to His Majesty of France.*
7. *The several gratulatory Letters, which were sent in the names of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont, immediately upon the conclusion of the Treaty at Pignerol.*

*Namely, to His Highness the Lord Protector, the States General, etc.*

8. *Several sharp Letters from Ambassador Servient, Monsieur de Bais etc. to the poor people of the Valleys, to make them accept and rest contented with the Treaty at Pignerol, together with their respective Answers.*
9. *The Reasons of the poor Protestants of the Valleys, offered to Ambassador Servient, the 21 of April 1656. why they ought not to be debarred the privilege of entertaining Foreign Ministers.*

In the Volume *Q*, are contained the following Manuscripts.

1. *H. R. H. Order concerning the Tax due from His Protestant Subjects for the year 1655, after which follows a Copy of the Injunction. The first bearing date the 26 of April 1656. and the other the 6 of October 1656.*
2. *The poor peoples Reply, of the fifth of September 1657, to the Marquess of Pianezza's Answer to one of theirs, sent them by Mr. de la Londe, bearing date the 2 of August 1657.*
3. *The humble Remonstrance of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Lucerna, etc. to Madame Royale the 20 of August 1657. Concerning the Grievances of the Treaty made at Pignerol.*
4. *An humble Remonstrance of the poor people of the Valleys of Piemont, Professing the Reformed Religion, which they put into the hands of Mr. de la Londe, to present to His Majesty of France in August 1657. concerning the Grievances of the Treaty at Pignerol.*
5. *The humble Reply of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Lucerna, etc. to a Paper sent them from Madame Royale, through the hands of Monsieur de la Londe, upon the 2 of August 1657, bearing date the fifth of October 1657.*
6. *The humble Supplication of the poor people of the Valleys to the Duke of Savoy, together with the Dukes Answer at Turin, the sixth of October 1657.*
7. *The poor peoples Request the 26 of October 1657.*
8. *A Letter from the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons to Ambassador Servient, Count Truchi, and the Baron de Greisy,*

*in favor of the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, the 30 of November 1657.*

9. *An Order of Andrea Gastaldo, the 20 of December 1657, summoning the poor people to Turin, for having public exercises of their Religion at San Giovanni.*
10. *Another Order of Andrea Gastaldo, etc. in the same Month, summoning those of the poor people who refused to sell their Possessions, to appear before him at Lucerna, under pain of being proceeded against as contumacious, etc.*
11. *The poor peoples Letter to Ambassador Servient the 28 of December 1657.*
12. *The poor peoples supplication to H. R. H. of the eight and twentieth of December 1657.*
13. *The poor peoples supplication to H. R. H. together with His said R. H. Answer thereunto, given at Turin the 25 of January 1658.*

In the Volume *R*, are contained the following Manuscripts.

1. *An ancient Italian Manuscript, Entitled, Historia breve e vera de gl' Affari de i Valdesi delle Valli.*
2. *A brief Confession of Faith published by the Reformed Churches of Piemont, Anno Domini 1655.*
3. *The sentence of the Arbitrators and Judges Catholics, of the two Cities of Fryburg, and Soleure, (in High-Dutch and French) given at Olten the 30 of January 1657.*

The Volume *S*, is the *French Bible*, printed by the people of the *Valleys* at *Neuf Chastel*, in *June* Anno Domini 1535, mentioned in the first Book, and third Chapter of the following *History*.

In the Volume *T*, are contained the rest of those Original pieces which are mentioned in the following *History of the Evangelical Churches*, which yet are not specified in the foregoing *Catalogue*, nor in that *Black Box* hereafter mentioned, marked *W*.

In the Volume *V*, are contained the following Manuscripts.

1. *A brief but exact Relation in English, of the occasion and grounds of the late War in Switzerland, between the Protestant and the Catholic Cantons, bearing date the 14 of December 1655.*
2. *A large History written in the French Tongue, of all passages and Transactions between the Evangelical, and the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, in relation to the Nicodemites, or poor Exiles of the Cantons of Switz, compiled with much pains and industry, by Samuel Morland Esq.; during his abode at Geneva, the which History consists of the following parts or branches;*
  - A. *The beginning of the troubles in Switzerland, in the year 1655, upon account of Religion, with their several Assemblies upon that occasion.*
  - B. *The Rupture.*
  - C. *The effects of the said Rupture.*
  - D. *The Peace concluded at Baden, the 26 February – 7 March 1656.*

In the Volume W, are contained the following Authentic *High-Dutch* Manuscripts, for the justification of the abovesaid *History*, concerning the differences in *Switzerland*, about the poor Exiles of *Switz*, etc. All signed by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, Under-Secretary of *Zurich*.

1. *Their Citation, in September 1655.*
2. *The Nicodemites Letter to those of Switz, written from Zurich the 15 of September 1655.*
3. *A Letter from the Canton of Zurich to those of Switz, in favor of the said Nicodemites, the 15 of September 1655.*
4. *A Letter from the Nicodemites of Art to the Canton of Switz, the 24 of September 1655.*
5. *A Letter from the Canton of Zurich to that of Switz the 24 of September 1655.*
6. *The Answer of the Canton of Switz to that of Zurich, 27 September 1655.*
7. *A Letter from Zurich to that of Switz and the other four Catholic Cantons, the 28 of September 1655.*



8. *A brief description of those persons who were cruelly executed and put to death for the Truth at Switz, in November, in the year 1655.*
9. *A Letter from the Canton of Bern to those of Switz, the 13 of October 1655.*
10. *The Proposition sent in writing to those of Switz, by the hands of the Deputies of the Evangelical Cantons.*
11. *The Answer of the Council of Switz, to the abovesaid Proposition of the Evangelical Cantons.*
12. *The Answer of those of Switz to Messieurs de Beon, the 27 of October 1655.*
13. *A Deposition of Articles of those of Art touching their Confession of Faith, which are concerning,*
  - A. *The Holy Scriptures.*
  - B. *Divine Service and Invocation.*
  - C. *The worship of Saints, and particularly of the Virgin Mary.*
  - D. *Justification.*
  - E. *Good Works.*
  - F. *The Sacrifice of Reconciliation.*
  - G. *The Mass.*
  - H. *The Bread and Wine in the Lord's Supper, and so of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.*
  - I. *Baptism; and there in*
    - 1) *Who ought to baptize?*
    - 2) *Who ought to be baptized?*
  - J. *Salvation of Infants.*
  - K. *Purgatory.*
  - L. *Confession of sin.*
  - M. *Peters Keys.*
  - N. *Fasts.*
  - O. *Pilgrimage.*
  - P. *Marriage.*
  - Q. *Images.*
  - R. *The Tenents of Anabaptists.*
  - S. *Lawful Oaths.*
  - T. *The Office of the Magistrate.*
  - U. *The Office of the Minister.*
  - V. *The Lawfulness of War.*

14. *Copy of the Memorial of the Nicodemites of Switz, touching their coming out of Babylon, in the year 1655.*

In the black Box marked *X*, are contained the several printed Tickets and other Papers and Pictures, which were found in the pockets of some of the soldiers in *Piement*, who had before massacred the *Protestants*. *Namely*,

In the Paper *A*, are several forms of blessing, consecrated to be carried about them for preservation; As for example,

1. *Power. God the Father, the Wise God the Son, the Power of the Holy Spirit, through the intercession of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, mother of God, Saint Francis, and the Blessed Teacher and Savior, may the Lord deliver you from all Fever, Pestilence, and sudden death. Amen.*
2. *Make men sit down, from the Catholic Seat. 1649.*
3. *There is One boy here, from the Catholic Seat. 1648.*

In the Paper *B*, is a certain Powder which they call *Latte della Madonna*; Or, *The Milk of the Virgin Mary*.

In the Papers *C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K*, are enclosed small pieces of the dead bones of several Martyrs, etc. with the following inscriptions on the backside of the Papers.

- C. Sancti Justine Vierge Martyre.*
- D. Sancti Lucii Eremita.*
- E. Sancti Dindari Martyris.*
- F. Sancti Blasii Episcopi Martyris.*
- G. Sancti Antonii Abbatis.*
- H. Sancti Antonii Martyris.*
- I. Sancti Pancratii.*
- K. De la Sancta Sepulcra.*

In the Paper *L*, are the Pictures of several Saints, as also of *Christ* and the *Virgin Mary*, among which there is one remarkable, whereof the Title or Superscription is, *PRO CONVERSIONE*

HÆRETICORUM (FOR THE CONVERSION OF HERETICS); all painted in a bloody color.

Besides these Papers and Tickets, there are in the said black Box, these Original pieces.

1. *The Marquess of Pianezza's grant of Indemnity, and divers Privileges, to a certain person for renouncing his Religion.*
2. *The Certificate of Prospero da Tarano, delivered to the Marquess of Pianezza, that the person abovesaid had certainly abjured his Religion.*

Books Printed, and are to be sold by *Adoniram Byfield*, at the three Bibles in Cornhil; next door to Popes-head Alley.

1. Divine Characters, in two Parts, acutely distinguishing the more secret and undiscerned differences; Between, (1) the Hypocrite in his best dress of seeming virtues and formal duties, and the true Christian in his Real Graces and sincere Obedience. As also between, (2) the blackest weeds of daily infirmities of the truly Godly, eclipsing saving grace, and the reigning sins of the unregenerate that pretend unto that godliness they never had: By that late burning and shining Lamp, Master Samuel Crook, B. D. late Pastor of Wrington in Somerset, in Fol.
2. A Commentary upon the three first chapters of Genesis, by that Reverend Divine Mr. John White, late Preacher of God's Word, at Dorchester, in Fol.
3. An Exposition upon the 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 chapters of Ezekiel, by Mr. Williams, being the second Volume, in Quarto.
4. An Exposition upon the 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 Chapters of Ezekiel, by the same Author, the third Volume, in Quarto.
5. The humbled Sinner resolved what he should do to be saved, or, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, the only way of Salvation: By Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, in Quarto.
6. The Riches of Grace displayed, in the offer and tender of Salvation to poor sinners, upon Rev. 3:10. By the same Author in 12°.
7. The Fountain opened, and the Water of Life flowing forth, for the refreshing of thirsty sinners, in several Sermons Preached at Covent Garden on Isa. 55:1, 2, 3 by the same Author, in Quarto.
8. A short Catechism by the same Author.
9. Hidden Manna, or the Mystery of saving Grace, by Mr. William Fenner, in 12°.

10. Safe Conduct, or the Saints guidance to Glory, at the Funeral of Mrs. Thomasin Barnardiston: By Mr. Ralph Robinson, in Quarto.
11. The Saints longing after their heavenly Country. A Sermon by the same Author, in Quarto.
12. A Sermon at a Fast, by Mr. Nathaniel Ward, in Quarto.
13. A full Discovery and Confutation of the wicked and damnable Doctrines of the Quakers: By Mr. Jonathan Clapham, in Quarto.
14. Moses his Death, opened and applied in a Sermon at Christ-Church, London, at the Funeral of Mr. Edward Bright Minister there, by Mr. Samuel Jacomb, M. A. Pastor of Mary Woolnoth, London, in 4<sup>o</sup>.
15. A short and plain Catechism, instructing a learner of Christian Religion, what he is to believe, and what he is to practice, by the same Author.
16. The Hypocritical Nation described in a Sermon preached at St. Maries in Cambridge, with an Epistle prefixed: By Mr. Samuel Jacomb.
17. A Sermon of the Baptizing of Infants, Preached in the Abby Church, By Mr. Stephen Marshal, in Quarto.
18. The Unity of the Saints with Christ the Head, and especially with the church the Body, in a Sermon at the Spittle: By the same Author, in Quarto.

Map of the Three Valleys of Piémont



THE  
FIRST BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
EVANGELICAL CHURCHES  
OF  
The Valleys of *PIEMONTE*

---

CHAPTER I: *The Situation and Extent of the  
Valleys of Piemont.*

For as much as it is my purpose in the ensuing Discourse to make a faithful and exact Relation of those many, signal and remarkable Passages of Divine Providence, which have almost in all Ages accompanied the poor Protestants of *Piemont*, (otherwise known by the name of *Waldenses*), and especially of that bloody and cruel *Massacre*, in the Year of our Lord, 1655. (the woeful cry whereof has been heard throughout all the Christian World) I shall intreat the courteous Reader to spend with me a few minutes in viewing the situation of those *Valleys*, where not only those poor people then inhabited, but where, in all Humane probability, their Forefathers and Ancestors have both had their abode, and professed the same Religion, ever since the days of the *Apostles*.

Now because the said valleys are for the most part enclosed within the Confines of *Piemont*, it will not be amiss in the first place to give a brief Description of the whole *Province*, which indeed is but a little Spot of Earth in comparison, and of a very small Extent, yet as pleasant for situation, and likewise by its incredible fruitfulness, bringing in as great a Revenue (in proportion) to its Prince, as any Province of *Europe*.

This Province of *Piemont* (so called, because situated *a pede montium*, or at the feet of the *Alps*, which separate Italy from *France*) the County of *Nizza*, being thereto adjoined, has for its Confines, on the East, the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Montserrat*, and the Commonwealth of *Genoa*; on the Southside it has for a Trench, the *Mediterranean Sea*; on the West and the North part, it has the *Alps* for a Wall or Bulwark, and is by them separated on the Westside from *Provence* and *Dauphine*, and on the Northside from *Savoy*, and the Country of *Valley*.

Its longest extent from East to West, is from the Valley of *Barcellona*, (which is three Leagues from *Ambrun*) to *Cairo*, which is upon *Bornia*, towards *Montserrat* and *Gennois*. It is almost all covered with high Mountains, and the *Alps*, *Pinines*, *Graies*, or *Greques*, and *Cotionnes*, (which now have their name *de la Val d' Aosta*), *Mont Senii*, *Mont Geneure*, as also the *Appenin Hills*.

It is traversed with four great Rivers, namely, the River *Po*, (which has its source or head near *Mont Visol*, one of the highest Mountains of *Europe*) the River *Tanaro*, the River *Stura*, and the River *Dora*. But besides these four, there are about eight and twenty other Rivers great and small, wherewith it is watered like a pleasant Garden, and which render it exceeding fruitful in Cattle, Wine, Corn, Hay, Nuts, and almost all other things in great abundance.

The truth is, this is a part of the World where are many things very remarkable, and which, if particularly treated of, would swell into a large Volume. But my Design being not to enlarge much upon this subject, I shall content myself, for brevity sake, to give only a general Description of the *Valleys* of *Piemont*; and this to prepare the ingenuous Reader the better to comprehend the situation of that part of them, which before the late *Massacre*, was inhabited by the Protestants.

The principal Valleys which enrich *Piemont*, are on the North part, those two of *Aosta* and *Susa*, on the Southside the Valley of *Stura*, and certain others, and in the midland, *Lucerna*, *Angrogna*, *Roccapiatta*, *Pramol*, *Perosa*, and *S. Martino*.

The Valley of *Clusone* otherwise called *Pragela*, that is to say, the High and the Low Communalty, (although it beat the descent of



the *Alps* on the Eastside, and discharge its River *Clusone* in the Valley of *Perosa*, which is on the Westside of *Pignerolio*) in ancient times has been, and yet is apart of *Dauphine*, as far as *La Capella*, which is seat at the lower end thereof, and divides it from *Perosa*, As likewise it was the ordinary Passage of the *French Armies* into *Italy*.

These Valleys, especially that of *Angrogna*, *Pramol*, and *S. Martino*, are by nature strongly fortified, by reason of their many difficult Passages, and Bulwarks of Rocks and Mountains, as if the All-wise *Creator* had from the beginning designed that place as a Cabinet, wherein to put some inestimable Jewel, or (to speak more plainly) there to reserve many *thousands of souls*, which should not bow the knee before *Baal*.

But to come more closely to our purpose; of these Valleys of *Piemont*, there were several inhabited and peopled by those Protestants, who have now, for something above five hundred years, been stiled *Waldenses*, as namely, *Lucerna*, *Perosa*, and *S. Martino*.

The Valley of *Lucerna*, (which also bears the name of a County) contains in length fifteen miles of *Piemont*, or seven *French* miles, that is to say, from the lowest part thereof Eastward, which is bounded by *Garcigliana* and *Campiglione*, to the highest part Westward, where is the Fort of *Miraboco*. The highest Communalty thereof, namely, *Bobio*, *Villaro*, and *La Torre*, are the greatest part of them mountainous, the Valley being not very large; but the lowest parts thereof, namely, *Lucerna*, *S. Giovanni*, *Fenile*, *Campiglione*, and *Garcigliana*, although they have both on the North and Southside a little of the Mountains, do extend themselves into a very fair Plain.

*Angrogna* which is but a little Valley by itself on the Northside of *Lucerna*, as also *Rorata* and *Vallon*, which are Meridional to the Valley of *Lucerna*, are wholly within the Mountain: so is also *Roccapiatta*, and *Pramol*, which are enclosed between the Valleys of *Lucerna* and *Perosa*.

The Communalty of *La Torre*, took its name from an ancient and high Tower, which stood upon a little Hill near *Bourg. Francis* the first, King of *France*, considering the great prejudice that this

*Citadel*, being so near the conflux of the two Rivers of *Lucerna* and *Angrogna*, in the very center of the said Valley of *Lucerna*, might bring to the affairs and interest of *France*, and the safety of *Pignerol*, caused it to be demolished. And this is the place where the *Duke of Savoy* did rebuild that *Citadel*, 1652. which served before as a Slaughterhouse to murder and make away so many innocent Souls.

*Bricher* as being adjoined to the Valley of *Lucerna*, is on the East of *Angrogna*, and *S. Giovanni*, and on the Southside of *Roccapiatta*, almost all in the Plain.

The Valleys of *Perosa* and *S. Martino* are on the North of *Lucerna*, *Angrogna*, and *Roccapiatta*, situated in such sort, that the Valley of *Perosa*, being at the lower end, and on the East of the Valleys of *S. Martino* and *Pragela*, receives their two Rivers, namely, *Clusone* and *Germanacha*.

The Valley of *Perosa*, being about six miles long, is distributed part in Mountains, part in fair Plains, and very fruitful Hills. At the lower part thereof it hath the Communalities of *Porte*, *S. Germano*, and *Villaro*; in the middle, *Pinachia*, and in the higher part, that of *Perosa*, where there is the City and *Citadel* of *Perosa*, from whence the Valley takes its name, this Valley of *Perosa* being divided by the River into two parts. The Duke, upon Agreement, put the King of *France* in possession of the North part, which is the greater, and more fertile, by reason of the passage and *Appenage* of *Pignerolio*, and reserved for himself the South part, to which is annexed *Pramol* in the Mountain.

The Valley of *S. Martino* containing eight miles in length, is on the West of the Valley of *Perosa*, enclosed between the Valley of *Lucerna* and *Clusone*, in the highest part of the *Alps*, which Confine with the Valley of *Queyras*, and comprehend eleven Communalities, namely, *Rioclairet*, *Faet*, *Prali*, *Rodoreto*, *Salsa*, *Macel*, *Maneglia*, *Chabrans*, *Traverses*, *Bovili*, and *S. Martino*, which gives the name to this Valley. This is the poorest of all, but yet the strongest by reason of its situation, wherein for this reason the *Barbes* or Ministers (of whom we shall hereafter speak), had anciently their chief residence, or abode, for security and preservation against the rage of their malicious Adversaries, who were always hunting them with a Net, and thirsting after their blood.

## CHAPTER II: *A Description of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.*

Before the late horrible dispersion of those poor Protestants in the Year 1655 There were in the said Valleys which were peopled with *Waldenses*, fourteen *Churches*, which composed two *Classes* or *Colloques*, and those two *Classes* one *Synod*.

The one of these two was called the *Colloque* of the Valley of *Lucerna*, comprising the Churches of *S. Giovanni*, *La Torre*, *Villaro*, *Bobio*, *Rorata*, and *Angrogna*, which belong to the Valley of *Lucerna*, and the Church of *Roccapiatta*, which is between the Valley of *Lucerna*, and *Perosa*, situated upon those little Hills which separate the two Valleys, and is annexed to the said *Colloque* of the Valley of *Lucerna*.

The other *Colloque* which was called the *Colloque* of the Valley of *Perosa*, and *S. Martino*, contained the other seven Churches, namely, four in the said Valley of *Perosa*, and three in the Valley of *S. Martino*. Those of *Perosa* were *Villaro* and *S. Germano*; joined together and making one only Church, *Pinachia*, *La Capella*, and *Pramol*; And those of *S. Martino* were *Villa Secca*, *Maneglia*, and *Prali*.

The Church of *S. Giovanni* contains within itself a very fair Plain, and little Hills, very fertile and abounding in Grain, Vines, Chestnuts, Figs, Olives, and all sorts of Fruits. But for as much as the whole is thus employed in Husbandry, there is want of Pastures and Woods, which is the reason that they have not there much Cattle, save only Oxen to till their Ground, and to carry their Wine to *Turin*, and other places of *Piemont*, to sell.

The said Church has yet annexed unto it the places of *Lucerna*, *Lucernetta*, the Vineyards of *Lucerna*, *Fenile*, *Bubiana*, and *Bricheras*. In the City of *Lucerna*, which gives the name to the whole Valley, a third part of the Inhabitants were of the Reformed Religion. As also in *Lucernetta*, in the Vineyards of *Lucerna* almost all the Inhabitants, professed the Reformed Religion time out of mind.

*Fenile* also is yet lower on the other side of the River *Pelice* towards the South, being a more fat and fertile Soil, than any place of *S. Giovanni*, in all sorts of Fruits and Grain.

*Bubiana* as to the Plain, is the same with *Fenile*, and close adjoining to it. But the Protestants have heretofore been chased and driven out of a great part thereof by little and little; And that which they then possessed in this Communalty, was for the most part in Hills, which were terminated at *Fruzzasca*, *Bagnolo*, and *Barge*, where grows but little Corn or Wine, being all covered with Chestnuts; The Protestant In habitants of this place (which were about fifty five Families), were the greatest part of them poor, chiefly living upon mere industry, and of the profit they made by Wood, which they carried to sell at the Towns of *Bubiana* and *Lucerna*.

The Hills of *Bricheras* (where there have always been Protestant Families), are like to those of *S. Giovanni*.

The Church of *La Torre* is the same for situation and quality with that of *S. Giovanni*, containing one Plain, where is the Town of *La Torre*, and also Hills adorned with the same kinds of Fruits as the said Church of *S. Giovanni*.

The Church of *Villaro* is adjoined to that of *La Torre*, but is a little higher towards *Dauphine*, containing a little Plain, where the Town is seated, and the residue of Hills abounding with Vines and Chestnuts.

The Church of *Bobbio* confineth with that of *Villaro*, being a little higher towards the Mountain on the West, but as fertile every way as that of *Villaro*. And as the said places are environed with a multitude of Mountains and fat Pastures, so the Inhabitants had a very great number of Oxen, Kine, and smaller Cattle, together with Milk and Wool in abundance, which returned them a considerable profit, as also the Chestnuts which they dried and cleansed to sell, or exchange for other Commodities.

The Church of *Rorata* is a little Dale or Valley situated on the other side of the River *Pelice*, on the West of *Lucerna*, being bounded by the Mountains of *Villaro*. The said place abounds in Pastures, and is otherwise very fertile, especially in Chestnuts.

The Church of *Angrogna* is North-West to that of *S. Giovanni*, inclining towards *Perosa*, in a mountainous Country, but fertile in Chestnuts, Grain, and Pastures, encompassed with very beautiful and fertile Mountains for Pasturage in the Summer season.

The Church of *Roccapiatta* contains four parts or parcels, namely, the said place of *Roccapiatta*, *S. Bartholomeo*, *Perustine*, and *L' Inverso delle Porte*. In the three latter, which are lower towards the Plain of *S. Secondo*, grows abundance of rich Wines, Chestnuts, and other good Fruits. In *Roccapiatta*, which is somewhat higher inclining towards *Angrogna*, they have Grain, Pasture, and other Fruits, but no Wine.

The Church of *Villaro* and *S. Germano*, is situated in the lowest part of *Perosa*, about a mile from *Pignerolio*; the West and North part of *Villaro* being on this side the River *Clusone*, within the obedience of the King of *France*, and *S. Germano* on the South and East of *Villaro*, within the Duke of *Savoy's* Dominion, on the other side of the said River, which running along the whole length of the said Valley, separates the *Kings* Territories from those of the *Duke*. These two places of *Villaro* and *S. Germano* contain a little Plain both on the one side and the other, the rest is in Hills, generally affording Corn, Wine, and other Fruits.

The Church of *Pinachia* stands within the *French* Dominion, being on the West part thereof contiguous to that of *Villaro*, and contains a very fair and beautiful Plain, fenced on the North side with pleasant little Hills, having on the West the Town and Fort of *Perosa*, on the South the River *Clusone*, and on the other side thereof in the same South side, other Hills, but scarce any Plain at all, belonging to his *Royal* Highness. It generally abounds in Grain, Wines, Nuts, Grass, and all sorts of Fruits.

The Church of *La Capella* is West to that of *Pinachia*, in the upper most part of the Valley of *Perosa*, close adjoining on the West part thereof to the Valley of *Pragela*, or *Clusone* (which belongs to the King of *France*, and so has done from all antiquity), and to the Burrough or *Citadel* of *Perosa*, on the East. This *La Capella* has several little Hills exceeding fertile in all things, in a manner just like unto that of *Pinachia*, and it has annexed unto it *Pomare*, and another called *Inverso de Perosa*, separated from the said Confines

of Perosa, the one by the River *Clusone*, the other by the River *Germanasca*, which comes from the Valley of *S. Martino*. Moreover, it has other small Villages called *Le Mean*, constituting a little Communalty, at the foot of the Valley of *Pragela*, and having its dependance upon it, but in reference to all Ecclesiastical Affairs, always adjoined to the Church of *Capella* or *Perosa*.

The Church of *Pramol*, is situated upon a Mountain, between the Valley of *Lucerna* and *Perosa*, at the feet whereof grows a little quantity of Wine, and very good Fruits, but in the highest part thereof (grows nothing but Grain, and abundance of Wood, and there is also Pasture-ground; this is the Native Country of Captain *Jaher*, of whom we shall hereafter speak at large, as one whose name ought to be very memorable to posterity.

The Church of *Chiotti* or *Villa Secca*, is at the lowest part of the Valley *S. Martino*, where there is almost no Plain, save only there where the River *Germanasca*, takes its course. The little Hills which lie South from the said River side are very cold, so that there grow no Vines near them. But those that lie North, whose sides open towards the South, are hot, and by that means have on them store of Vines. In sum, all the parts thereof are tolerably fruitful in Grain, Fruits, and Pasture.

The Church of *Maneglia*, which is on the West part of that of *Chiotti*, comprehends three little Communalities, namely, *Maneglia*, *Macel*, and *Salsa*. The whole is in a Mountainous place, but exceeding fruitful in Grain, Pasture, and the like, save only in the highest parts thereof.

The Church of *Prali*, is situated in the upmost part of the Valley of *S. Martino*, and contains two Communalities, namely, *Prali* and *Rodoret*, which are confined on the South, by the *Alps*, with the Valley of *Lucerna*, on the West by the Valley of *Queyras* in *Dauphine*, and on the North by the Valley of *Pragela*: there grows here nothing but Hay, and a great quantity of Herbage.

Generally in all these Churches (unless it be on the tops of the Mountains) there is found great plenty of Fruits, but especially Chestnuts; yea, there are some places thereof where are vast spaces of Ground yielding almost nothing else; as for example, in the little

Hills of *Bubiana*, and all along the Valley of *Lucerna*, and the South parts of the Valley of *Perosa*, which look towards the North; in so much that the Inhabitants of those places dry and cleanse great quantities of them, a part whereof they lay up for their own spending, and the rest they sell or exchange for Corn, and that, quantity for quantity, with the Inhabitants of the Plain (this being a great part of their food in Piemont). They likewise make of these Nuts, dried in an Oven, or upon a Kiln, an excellent sort of Biscuit, which in *France* they call *Marrons*, which they first of all string, as they do their *Chapelets*, or Beads, and then hang them up in some humid place the better to preserve them; These they frequently make use of, instead of *Macqueroons*, or such other kind of Confects.

### CHAPTER III: *The Antiquity of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont, from the days of Christ and his Apostles, down to the present Age.*

The foregoing Chapter presents to the *Readers* eye, the beautiful Situation of the *Valleys* of *Piemont*, with the great abundance of Fruits which the Earth there brings forth, both for the necessity and convenience of the body: This gives him as pleasant a prospect of the heavenly situation of those Evangelical Churches, together with the spiritual and divine *Fruits* of *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Patience*; which were long since planted by *Christ* and his *Apostles*, and cultivated by their Successors in following Generations, down to this present Age.

True it is, That a great part of the most ancient Records, and Authentic Pieces, treating of, and discovering the Antiquity of those Churches, have been industriously sought after, and committed to the flames, by their bloody Persecutors, in the Years 1559, and 1560, that so the truth of their affairs might lie forever smothered under those ashes, and be buried in perpetual silence; nevertheless God has been so gracious to his Church, both in preserving, as it were by miracle, many Authentic Pieces relating to this particular, compiled and written by the ancient Inhabitants in their own proper Language, as also by suffering even the most eminent and bitter of their Adversaries, ever and anon unwarily to let fall many remarkable passages to this purpose, in those very Writings which they composed expressly against them; That by the help of these two *Mediums*, it will be easy to produce such Arguments for the antiquity of that Religion, which both they and we at this day profess, as are sufficient to convince any sober person, who does not willfully shut his eyes against a noonday truth.

But before we fall directly upon this point, it will be necessary to premise this, namely, that it is a truth generally received by all those who profess to be versed in *Ecclesiastical History*, that before the year 800, the differences between the *Catholic* and *Reformed* Churches (excepting some few *clouds* of *Ceremonies* which were



yet no bigger than a *man's hand*) did not at all publicly appear (at least, so as to be established by *General Councils* or decrees) in any part of *Italy*. As for the first 500 years, Bishop *Jewel* will undertake, that not any one clear sentence can be produced out of any one *Father* or *Council* for the *Papist* against the *Protestants*. And therefore we may take the generality of the *Fathers* and Writers in those Ages to be on our side, in all points then controverted and now maintained by us against *Rome*. So that the main of the *Quere* will fall upon the 2 next Centuries, which was a period most barren of Authors, and of those few that wrote, *Italy* had but a small proportion, yet we may instance in one or two of note. *Gregory* the first entitled the *Great*, who died *A.D.* 605. (besides his detecting and rejecting the title of *Oecumenical Bishop*, which was the next year after his death, claimed by *Boniface* the third, consented to by *Phocas* the Emperor, and confirmed by a Council at *Rome A.D.* 607), is ours in very many points against the present Church of *Rome*, some whereof *Illyricus* in his *Catalogus Testium* hath collected, and more might be gathered, had not the *Papists* so abominably corrupted him, as Dr. *Thomas James* in his *Bellum Gregorianum* hath made to appear in some hundreds of places. Also *Paulinus* Bishop of *Aquileia* in the year 790, held the truth in many of the controverted points, as appears out of the same *Illyricus*. In the year 794, the Synod of *Frankfort*, at which were present many *Italian* Bishops, condemned the second *Nicene Council* for decreeing *Image worship* (though *Binius* and others would fain evade it) for confirmation whereof there are cited *Aventinus* l. 4, *Aimonius* l. 4, c. 85, *Hincmarus* in *Lugd. Episcop.* c. 20. *Abb. Urspergensis*, whole testimonies are related by *Hospinian de Origine Imaginum*, c. 10, printed *Tiguri* 1603, and partly by *Vignier* in his *Recuel del l' Histoitre de l' Eglise*, ad Anno 794.

These things being premised, in the first place therefore it may be affirmed, That these Churches of the *Valleys* of *Piemont* remained united with the other *Christian Churches*, and particularly with that of *Rome*, so long as it retained the true Religion, which was planted throughout all *Italy*, by the *Apostles*, their *Disciples*, and *Successors*. But when as the Church of *Rome* began to corrupt itself, and would by no means be persuaded to retain the purity of that *Apostolical* Doctrine and Divine worship, then those of the *Valleys*

began to separate themselves from them, and to *come out from amongst them, that so they might not be partakers of their sins, nor receive of their plagues*. And this is evident by divers very ancient Manuscripts, long since laid up and preserved in the Valley of *Pragela*, which do directly strike at and oppose the Errors of the *Church of Rome*. Among these Manuscripts there are three very considerable: The first is entitled, *Qual cosa sia Antichrist?* that is to say, *What thing is Antichrist?* which was written in the year 1120. The second was written (as is supposed) much about the same time, Entitled, *Purgatori Soima*, that is to say, *The Dream of Purgatory*: The third is as ancient as the other two, and Entitled, *La causa del nostre departiment de la Gleisa Romana*, That is to say, *The cause of our separation from the Church of Rome*. These Manuscripts are not only made mention of by that famous and learned Mr. *Paul Perrin* in his *History Des Vaudois*; but likewise averred by Mr. *Thomas Tronchin* the chief Minister of *Geneva* (a person of known probity and learning), whose formal Attestation is here inserted.

*The Attestation of Mr. Thomas Tronchin, the chief Minister of Geneva, a person of known probity and learning, concerning certain Manuscripts, touching the ancient Doctrine and Worship of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont, inserted in Mr. Paul Perrin's History.*

*The true Original of which Attestation, is to be seen, together with the rest of the Original Papers and Pieces of this present History, in the public Library of the famous University of Cambridge.*

I Whose Name is here under-written, Minister of the Holy Gospel, and Divinity Professor at *Geneva*, do attest, that *Sieur Jean Paul Perrin* coming into this City to print the History of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* by him compiled, did then communicate to me that his Work, and divers Original Manuscripts, out of which he had extracted the ancient Doctrine and Discipline of those People, which Manuscripts I then saw

and perused, in faith whereof I have given this present Attestation, to the end that it may serve and bear witness to the truth, when and wherever there shall be occasion. Made at *Geneva*, November 19, 1656.

THO: TRONCHIN.

Now then I say, These Churches of the *Valleys* of *Piemont*, separating from the Church of *Rome*, do not upon this account either begin or cease to be the true Church of God; but rather did hereby manifest their perseverance in that ancient Doctrine of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, from which the Church of *Rome* was now departed. Even as the *Jewish* Church of old separated itself from the ten idolatrous *Tribes*; and so, the faithful *Jews* believing in *Jesus Christ*, and retaining the ancient Doctrine of the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*, when they were persecuted by the *High Priests* of the unbelieving *Jews*, separated themselves from them; But yet neither did the one or the other by this separation, lose their ancient right of succession; nay, on the contrary, they did hereby retain the same in its first canal, and primitive purity.

In the second place, and in confirmation of the former, the *Ecclesiastical* History that treats of *Charles* the Great and his Followers, tells us, That both that Emperor and the *Western Churches* did jointly strive and use their utmost endeavor in the Council held at *Francfort* in the Year 794 to have drawn Pope *Adrian* and the Church of *Rome* out of that Gulf of Superstition, into which it had precipitated itself, by persuading them to embrace the true Doctrine of *Christ* and his *Apostles*. Moreover, that one of the chief Counsellors of the said Emperor (by name *Claudius* Archbishop of *Turin*, and consequently of the *Valleys* of *Piemont*), was exceeding active, and did very much stickle in this business. This *Claudius* was one of the most learned and renowned Worthies of his Age, he was one of the chief Founders of the Academy of *Paris* (as the Bishop *de Meaux* in his Preface to the Books of *Charles* the Great touching *Images*, abundantly testifies). And about the Year of our Lord 815 the Emperor *Louis Le Debonair* Son of *Charles* the Great, preferred him to the Archbishopric of *Turin*, that so he might furnish his Dioceses with the Doctrine devoted *Italica*

*plebi, to the people of Italy*: the which he in truth did with all his might (as his famous Adversary *Jonas Aurelianensis* confesseth), as well by frequent Writings, as by painful and constant preaching to, and instructing the Flock committed to his charge: for, indeed, this holy man finding that he was not able to withstand that mighty torrent of the *Romish* Superstitions in other parts, employed all his endeavors, to preserve his own Dioceses from being infected with those idolatrous principles; and to this end he ceased not to instruct his people by all ways and means, That *they ought not to run to Rome for the pardon of their sins, nor have recourse to the Saints or their Relics; That the church is not founded upon St. Peter, much less upon the Pope, but upon the Doctrine of the Apostles; That they ought not to worship Images, nor so much as have them in their Churches.* And this he observed throughout his whole Dioceses, as is confessed by the abovesaid *Jonas Aurelianensis*, in a Book that he wrote expressly against him, in the Year 820. The same is likewise reported by *Bellarmino*, from whence I conclude (and it is exceeding remarkable as to the proof of the matter in hand), that the same Belief which was publicly taught and professed in those Valleys of *Piemont* in the Year 820 was the very same that is at this day professed and owned by the *Reformed Churches*; that is to say, the true, ancient and *Evangelical* Doctrine. To this I shall add, that not the most bitter Adversaries of this *Claudius* Archbishop of *Turin*, were ever able to lay to his charge any fundamental Error, for as much as he always retained *Fidei Catholica Regulam, the Rule of the Catholic Faith*; and did not express any opposition, save only against the (pretended) *Traditiones Ecclesiasticas, Ecclesiastic Traditions*. These are *Jonas Aurelianensis* his own expressions, yet in the mean time he dexterously gives himself the Lie, for that calumny of *Arrianism* wherewith in other parts of his Writings he had unjustly branded that worthy Bishop and his Disciples, merely for their not complying with the idolatrous and superstitious Inventions of the Church of *Rome*. And this is all likewise that *Rainerius Saccon* has to object against the *Waldenses*, who succeeded this Archbishop and his Disciples; For saith he, *All other Sects render themselves horrible, by reason of their Blasphemies against God himself, but on the contrary, this hath great appearance of piety, for as much as they live justly in the sight of men; they believe well, as concerning God, in all things, and hold all the*

*Articles of the Creed; there is only one thing against them, that is, they hate and blaspheme the Church of Rome, and hereby they easily gain credit and belief among the people.* In like manner Samuel de Cassini a Frier of the Franciscan Order, writing against the Waldenses, inhabiting the Valleys of *Piemont*, declares plainly in the beginning of his Book, entitled, *Vittoria Trionfale*, printed at *Coni cum privilegio*, in the Year 1510. *That all the* (pretended) *Errors of those Waldenses consisted in this, that they denied the Church of Rome to be the holy Mother Church, and would not obey her Traditions.* As touching other points, he confesseth, that the Waldenses did acknowledge the Christian Church, whereof likewise he reckons and esteems them as true members.

By this then, say they, First, it plainly appears, that the Inhabitants of those *Valleys* have professed and taught the same *Evangelical* Doctrine which they now own, before the Dukes of *Savoy* had any possession of *Piemont*; and therefore he has no justifiable pretext to deprive them of their ancient Liberties and privileges, upon the account of Religion.

Again it is as manifest, and necessarily follows, that the Waldenses who escaped the Massacres in *France*, in the Year 1165, and came from thence into the Valleys of *Piemont*, were not the first Founders of that Religion, but rather that they joined themselves to those their faithful Brethren, for the better fortifying and mutual edification of each other's Faith, just as those other Waldenses did, who having recourse to *Bohemia*, closed with the faithful Professors of the *Greek* Church there, who had retained the ancient and true Religion, (not the *Papal*) as *Stranchi Reip. Bohem. testifies*. Neither is it at all probable, that it could be otherwise; for the Waldenses knew right well, that the seat of their chief Adversary was in *Italy*; and therefore they would not have been so void of all sense and common prudence, as to have undertaken so long and tedious a Journey over the *Alps*, had they not been well assured that the Natives of those Valleys who professed the same Religion with them, would receive and embrace them as their Brethren. *D' Aubigné* a very judicious Historian seems to be clearly of this opinion. And Mr. *Perrin* amongst his other Manuscripts makes mention of a certain Epistle of the Waldenses, inscribed. *La Epistola al serenissimo Rey Lancelau, à li Ducs, Barons, & à li plus veil del*

*Regne, Lo petit tropel de li Christians appella per fals nom falsament P. O. V. That is to say, An Epistle to the most serene King Lancelau, the Dukes, Barons, and most ancient Nobility of the Realm. The little troop of Christians falsely called by the name of poor people of Lyons, or Waldenses.* By which it is most evident, that they had not their original from the said *Waldo*, but that this was a mere nickname or reproachful term put upon them by their Adversaries, to make the world believe, that their Religion was but a Novelty, or a thing of yesterday. Thus those who escaped the Massacres in *France*, were by the *popish* party surnamed either according to the places where they inhabited, or the chief of their Leaders; for example, from *Waldo* a Citizen of *Lyons*, they were named *Waldenses*, and from the Country of *Albie*, *Albigenses*. And because those who did adhere to the doctrine of *Waldo* came out of *Lyons*, naked and stripped of all their Goods and Estates, they were in derision, styled, *The Poor of Lyons*. In *Dauphine* they were nicknamed in mockery *Chaignards*. And for as much as part of them went over the *Alps*, they were called *Tramontani*. In *England* they were known by the name of *Lollards*, from one *Lollard* who was one of their chief Instructors in that Isle. In *Provence* they were usually termed *Siccars*, from a vulgar word then in use, which signified *Cut-purses*. In *Italy* they had given them the title of *Fratricelli*, or *Men of the Brotherhood*, because they lived together like Brethren. In *Germany* they were named *Gazares*, a word which signifies *execrable*, and *wicked in the highest degree*. In *Flanders* they went under the name of *Turlepins*, that is to say, *Men inhabiting with, or companions of Wolves*, because those poor people were oft times constrained in the heat of persecution, to inhabit in Woods and Deserts, amongst wild and savage beasts. Sometimes to render them more execrable, their Adversaries borrowed the names of several ancient Heretics to brand them with. Thus for as much as they made profession of purity in their Life and Doctrine, they were called *Cathares*, that is, *Puritans*. And because they denied the *Host* which the Priest holds up at *Mass*, to be God, they were called *Arrians*, as those who denied the Divinity of the eternal Son of God. And because they maintained that the Authority of the Kings and Emperors of the World, did not depend upon the Jurisdiction of the Pope, they were called *Manichai*, as men asserting *two first Principles*. And for such like causes as these they were surnamed

*Gnostiques, Cataphrygians, Adamites, and Apostolics.* Yea sometimes their Adversaries were outrageous, *Matthew Paris* calls them *Ribaux*, that is, *Rogues, Rascals, Scoundrels, Varlets, or base Fellows.* The Author of the *Thresor des Histoires*, calls them *Bougres*, that is, *Buggerers or Sodomites.* *Rubis* reports, that the word *Sorcerer* was in those days expressed by the term *Valdensis.*

Now the lapse of time between *Claudius* Archbishop of *Turin*, and *Waldo*, does not at all hinder the continual Succession of those Churches and that Religion, no more than those dark Intervals which were in the Church before and after the Deluge, those Intervals of the *Egyptian* Bondage, the Judges, the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the like in after ages, did hinder or interrupt the continual Succession of the *Jewish* Religion; no more than the *Sun* or *Moon* do cease to be, when their light is eclipsed or withdrawn from the eye by the interposition of other Bodies; no more than the Rivers, *Po*, the *Rhene*, or *Guadiana* in *Spain*, do lose their continual current, because for some time they run under ground, or among the Rocks, and appear not; so for the Church of God, though sometimes it has not been so visible to the eyes of men, it hath notwithstanding continued in a constant uninterrupted Succession through all Ages and Generations. Thus the good Prophet *Elijah* in his days thought he had been *left alone*, but yet God had reserved at that very time seven thousand souls of the very same principles and profession with himself.

Although this be a truth that is by many thoughts sufficient of itself against the fiercest objections of the gainsaying Adversaries, yet I shall proceed a step further, and make bold to allege moreover, that *Marc. Aurelio Rorenco* Priour of *Lucerna* in his *Narratione del Introduzzione de gl' heretici nelle Valle di Piemonte*, printed at *Turin*, Anno Dom. 1632, with approbation and privilege, confesses that it continued to the ninth and tenth Century, which is the very interval between the said *Claudius* and *Peter Waldo*, or rather the retreat of certain of his Disciples into the said *Valleys*. For the said *Rorenco* testifies in express terms pag. 16. *Nel nono è decimo secolo continuarono l' heresie antecedenti*, that is, *The abovesaid Heresy continued throughout the ninth and tenth Centuries.* And to remove all scruples, that this Doctrine which he calls Heresy (as *S. Paul* speaks *Acts 24:14*, and which the Enemies of the *Christian Religion*

call Heresy), continued in the Valleys of *Piemont*, the same *Rorencio* in his *Historical Observations* printed at *Turin*, 1649, with approbation, and dedicated to the *Duke* himself, confesseth pag. 3. That the said *Claudius* Archbishop of *Turin* (and consequently of the *Valleys*, which were within that Diocese), maintained this very Doctrine in the ninth Century. Wherefore seeing the Succession of the *Evangelical Religion* is manifest from the time of the *Apostles* to that of *Claudius* Archbishop of *Turin*, which was in the eighth Century, and that his Doctrine continued in the ninth and tenth Centuries; and that in the beginning of the eleventh Century the *Waldenses* or Disciples of *Peter Valdo* came into the *Valleys* to reside with their Brethren, where they have professed and taught the same ever since; The professors of the *Reformed Religion* may clap their hands in token of an absolute Triumph forever against all the Disciples of the Church of *Rome*, and say, that they are now able manifestly and undeniably to prove and make good the continual Succession of their *Religion* from the days of *Christ* and his *Apostles* down to this present Age.

In the second place, the faithful people of the *Valleys* in the Year 1535, being at that time possessed of their ancient Histories and Manuscripts, testifying the Antiquity of their Churches, which were afterwards consumed to ashes by their Persecutors in the Years 1559 and 1560, caused to be printed at their own proper cost and charges the first *French Bible* that ever was put forth, or came to light, and that for the benefit of the *Evangelical Churches* where this Language was in use, and dedicated the same to God himself by the Pen of their Interpreter *Robert Olivetan*, in the Preface of the said Bible; which was a Piece most solemnly consecrated, and speaking as it were to God himself, wherein they mention, that they have always had the full enjoyment of that heavenly Truth contained in the holy Scriptures, ever since they were enriched with the same by the *Apostles* themselves. And for as much as it is a Piece so exceeding rare, and to be found in very few places of the World, I have here inserted the same at length, in the original Language, and their own words as followeth.



The Preface for *Robert Olivetan* to his Translation of the  
*French Bible*, Printed at *Neuf Chastel*, and published,  
June 3 Anno Dom. 1535.

It has been a laudable Custom in all Ages, for such as have caused Books to be published, (whether they have been the true Authors thereof, or the Translators only) to dedicate and present the same to some Prince, King, Emperor, or Monarch, or to a more supreme Power, if there were any such, to the end (as they themselves freely confess) that their Work might appear with the more boldness and confidence before men, having as it were a safe conduct, and being under the protection of that Prince, to whom it is dedicated. And this we see daily practiced, and indeed not altogether without ground: For besides that the expectation of some Royal thanks (that is to say, of a noble and Princely Reward), does allure and invite men thereunto: There are those who do verily believe, that their Inventions would not find acceptance with the People, unless they were adorned with the Livery of some most *Illustrious, Excellent, High, Mighty, Magnificent, Dreadful, Invincible, Sacred, Blessed, and most Holy* Name.

Therefore having throughly considered these things, and observed how all other Authors and Translators have their several addresses, the one to his most magnificent *Mecenas*, the other to his most Worshipful Patron, and a third to his most Reverend, I know not what, I thought it not fit to comply so much with Custom, in the setting forth of this present Translation of the Bible, which I have in hand (notwithstanding that I have been much flattered, tempted, yea importuned by her), as to bind and oblige myself to pay her that tribute which she claims and requires, I mean to entitle some Lordly, Majestic, and immortal Guide to this Book, which I now send forth, not at all intending that it should follow those *ways of the Gentiles*, neither indeed would it become a Work of this nature to play the Parasite, what glorious *Thraso* soever it meets with, for as much as it is quite of another nature than all other Books whatsoever, whose Authors seek so much after profit and merit in the dedication of them, craftily exchanging the same for rich Presents and advantageous Grants, which manner of game I hunt not after, as not

standing in need thereof, thanks be to God, who abundantly furnishes me with contentment. Now it had been also in my power to have made a fair and singular present of this Translation, but not to such as I might have been willing to choose and nominate, though never so Great, Mighty, and Absolute; for this Book needs neither the favor, support, or protection of human Powers or Principalities, nor indeed any Patronage though never so sovereign, but thine only, *O poor little Church*, together with those thy faithful ones, who have truly learned and known God in *Jesus Christ*, his only Son and our Lord; I mean not that Church which triumphs with pomp and riches; neither do I mean the Church Militant which defends itself by force of Arms: No, it is Thee alone to whom I present this precious Treasure (whereof thou mayest say מִזְחָה as the Children of *Israel*, yet hoping that it shall never create thee any trouble) in the name of a certain poor People thy Friends and Brethren in *Jesus Christ*, *whoever since they were blessed and enriched therewith by the Apostles and Ambassadors of Christ, have still enjoyed and possessed the same*: and being now Willing to gratify thee with what thou desirest so earnestly, they have given me a Commission to draw this precious Treasure out of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Cabinets, and having wrapped up the same in a *French* Mantle, to the best of my skill, and according to that talent which the Lord hath given me, forthwith to present thee with it (*O poor Church*) on whom no man bestows anything. And indeed I see no reason why it should be presented to any but thyself, For what can be given to those that have all things, and to whom everyone gives what he hath? As for this, which is of as great, yea of much greater value than all worldly wealth or riches, I say it is for thee, *O poor Church*, whose substance they would much sooner diminish than increase. To thee, I say, who art so unprovided of all things, who art so thin and lean, and out of heart, and haft nothing left thee but the voice only, no I say, Thou hast nothing left thee but voice and words (yet), the Word of Truth and Life, *The Word of God, which endureth forever*, and whereby thou hast been created and begotten: and so thou hast only the Goods which are thine by Birth-right and Inheritance, being unprovided of all other Riches, wherewith the Men of the World are painted and adorned, and wherein they so much glory. This therefore was properly due to thee, (to do thee no wrong) because it contains all thy Patrimony, thy Estate, and all that belongs to thee, that is to say,

that very same Word, by virtue whereof, and through the confidence and assurance which thou repossessed in it, thou dost esteem thyself rich in poverty, happy in misfortune, in solitude well accompanied, settled in doubts, undaunted in perils, at perfect ease in the midst of torments, honored in reproaches, prosperous in adversities, not at all distempered in sickness, and even quickened and raised to life in death itself: Accept therefore I pray thee (*O poor little Church*) this gift which I offer thee in the name of that poor People, with as much joy, and with as good a heart (notwithstanding thine afflictions, griefs and troubles) as it is sent and dedicated unto thee. Why should we be ashamed to present thee with such a royal gift? notwithstanding that thou art so desolate, so deformed and despised, and very often (yea and for the most part) hast in thy Family the blind, the lame, the halt, the deaf and the dumb, the sick of the Palsy, strangers, widows, orphans, the simple and the ignorant, all standing in great need of the consolations of *Christ*; seeing the Lord has given and communicated himself to such a *meek, lowly and humble* generation, and hath freely *declared unto them the great mysteries of the Kingdom, which have been hidden in all Ages*, as also styling himself their Evangelist, and assuring them that *the Kingdom of Heaven belongs unto them*. This is his little inexpugnable Canton, his little invincible Brigade and victorious Army, to whom he *gives a spirit of power*, and whom he animates and emboldens (like a noble General) by his own presence, and likewise dispossesses them of all fear by the force and virtue of his *living and powerful Word*.

But now, It may be thou wouldest willingly know who this thy concealed Friend and unheard of Benefactor is, who undertakes to present thee with that which is thine own (though as for giving thee what is thine own, I presume that thou esteemest thyself no less beholding unto him, than if he should have given thee something else, and yet he can give thee no better thing), seeing it is now a long time since thou hadst, nay (I believe) thou never hadst leave and leisure (at least not so full and free) to enjoy it, as thou now shalt; the Treasure is thine, and yet he gives it so to thee, that it is his also, and remains his wholly. So fruitful and advantageous is the communication of such a good. O the blessed Trade of Charity, wherewith one may make Traffic in so convenient, wise and profitable way! O happy possession of grace, which fills and

replenishes the giver and the receiver with the same joy! what other, or what equal gift can men give one to another and not sometimes want it, or not be afraid both to suffer damage by giving it, and likewise want it afterwards? I say, As for other gifts, let the giver thereof make never so fair a show, or color the business with never so fine words, and endeavor to persuade his Friends that it comes most willingly and from the heart, yet there is still in some corner or other of that heart, a reluctating kind of prudence which thus whispers in his ears, Have a care of what thou dost, and take heed lest thou come one day to want those things whereof thou are now so prodigal: but now it is not so in this business, and with this gift, which is of a far better nature and virtue than other gifts whatsoever, for thou must know, that It is to be given and communicated to everyone, and that it is the pleasure of the gracious giver (who of his free will has given it), that it should be *freely given, and without expectation of reward*; for it is of such a nature, that it makes rich those to whom it is given, and does not impoverish in the least those that are the givers of it, but rather they find and are persuaded, that they have made a good bargain, and have been no losers in finding an occasion to present it unto thee, and to give thee the possession thereof. *This poor People who presents thee with it, was driven away and banished out of thy company above three hundred years ago, and was dispersed up and down in the four Quarters of France, and have been ever since accounted and reputed to be (though without ground, only for the sake of Christ, and according to his Word) the most wicked, execrable, and ignominious Generation that ever was, in so much that their very name has been a Proverb and Byword to other People.* Nevertheless, of late time, a certain person of eternal renown (having been truly informed of the holy behaviors and integrity of that People, and understood those false and calumnious accusations wherewith they were branded by their Enemies) hath of late years taken away their name of reproach by public Proclamation, and bestowed on them a noble and royal Title, even such as he bore himself, and it is this, *The true patient People*, who by silence and hope has overcome all the assaults and violences of their Enemies, neither could those lapses and intervals of time any ways rob their just cause of its undoubted right, to the fruition whereof he now invites thee, and to the enjoyment of a sure conquest obtained by *Jesus Christ*. Dost thou not know who this person is? I

tell thee, It is thine own *Brother*, who *Joseph-like can hide himself no longer from thee*; 'tis even such another Friend as *Jonathan*, the most perfect, constant and sincere that thou ever hadst, who has been touched with the feeling of thy sufferings and hard usage, lamenting the strange and heavy bondage which thou hast formerly lived under, longing still to see thee come to the knowledge of that right, which thou hast in common with him, and which he was loath to enjoy without thee, whereof he would not have thee to be ignorant, to the end that thou mayest be enabled one day to strengthen the Brethren, and mutually to answer that love and affection which he has shown unto thee, notwithstanding that he was unknown to thee, and that thou hadst him in scorn and contempt, yea that his very name was odious and abominable unto thee, conforming thyself to the example and pleasure of thy masters, to whom thou wert and art yet enslaved; for the service of which rigid and *hard masters* (commanding a thousand several things one after another) he has observed thee, (and that indeed not without great grief and fellow-feeling) to trot up and down here and there, being evilly treated, ill accounted, and cruelly handled, all besmeared, torn, and scratched, thy hair hanging about thy shoulders, ready to starve for cold, bruised and beaten, lamed and disfigured, and in so pitiful and sad a condition, that thou mightest sooner have been taken for some poor silly and dirty drudge than for the daughter and heir (as indeed thou art) of the Lord and Possessor of the whole World, or for the well-beloved Spouse of his only Son. Therefore this thy Brother and Friend pitying thy sad and afflicted life, has many times called in, as he has passed by, saluting thee by the name of Sister, and endeavoring to make thee understand and know thy birth-right, and to give thee the (WORD) by virtue whereof thou mightest freely pass to the enjoyment of a perfect and happy liberty: but thou wert grown so stupid through the many blows, pains, and troubles, wherewith thou wert tormented by thy cruel and *hard Masters*, that thou wentest on without regarding me, and didst pursue that unacceptable, painful, yea beastlike employment, which they had set thee about: O what *Loads of heavy Ordinances* has he seen thee take up and bear, in the presence of those thy most superstitious Masters, notwithstanding thy weakness, and yet they pitied not thy pain and the sweat of thy brows so much as to *help thee with one of their fingers!* nay not so much as to try in a way of pastime the weight of

those burdens which thou didst groan under! Thou wert no sooner freed of one, but immediately they did load thee with another, and would scarce give thee time and leisure to eat or drink, nay these pious pretenders would have thee to fast for the most part, only to please and satisfy the insatiable appetite of such like Gluttons, and to fill the *slow bellies* of such like *evil beasts*. Wherefore since thou art now come to thyself again, and knowest in some measure of what quality and extraction thou art, and in what a servile condition thou art detained, and what honor and dignity thou art called unto, This People hath thought fit to draw near unto thee, and treat thee gently according to their duty, kindly presenting thee all they have: Go then *O poor little Church*, that art yet in the garb and attire of a mean Servant and handmaid, subject to furious frowns and imperious threats of so many sower and ill-looking Masters! Go I say, and shake off the filth from off thy sordid garments, which are so nasty and beastly, by reason of thy long walking to and fro through the dirty Market of vain Traditions: Go and wash thy hands that are so foul with doing the *servile work* of iniquity. Go wash thy sore and mattery eyes, which thou hast not had leisure to cleanse in former times, because thou wert wholly taken up and busied about thy *works of Superstition and Hypocrisy*; that so thou mayest be fit to receive thine own in a decent manner, answerable to the value thereof: and when thou hast once enjoyed it, thou mayest do well to advise with thyself, what course thou oughtest to steer: what wilt thou still lie under bondage, and slavery? Is it not time for thee to look after *Christ thy Husband*, who like a faithful Lover hath suffered so much for thy sake? Must he at last lose the fruit of all his labors? Is it altogether in vain that he hath loved thee? Hast thou no regard to those precious and incomparable Jewels, he himself sends thee (if thou canst but apprehend it) as an earnest of Marriage? For thus does he manage the business by means of his Friends and thine, his holy Spirit being the Solicitor) Doest thou love better the slavish fear of thy revengeful Masters, than the free love of thy gracious Husband? Is it more pleasant for thee to be where they reproach thee for displeasing the Court, than to be in his delightful company who so longs after thee? Doest thou like sophistical brawlings and confused noises more than the pleasing and sweet Discourses of thy Friend? Doest thou prefer the shadows and darkneses of Cloisters (where thou must necessarily be in perpetual silence) before his

sumptuous Tabernacles and delightful palaces? Are the secret drunken meetings of thy Master's, and the filthy Dregs of their tippling Cups more pleasing to thee than the abundant and delicious Table of thy rich Husband? Wilt thou not give him thy love and thy faith? What means this thy Delay? Wilt not thou trust him? Or is there not *enough in his Fathers House* to entertain thee? Doest thou fear he should deceive thee, who never knew fraud or malice? Canst thou fear to be evilly treated by one so mild and so gracious? Art thou afraid he should not love thee, who languishes for love? Canst thou suspect him of ever abandoning thee, who is so jealous and faithful? Will he not be able to succor and help thee, who *has power given him over all things*? Will he suffer thee to be trampled upon, who has already *exposed himself to death for thy sake*? Will he suffer thee to die, who gives immortal life? Will he leave thee one day a Widow, who lives forever? Defer no longer this *Marriage with the Kings Son*, how poor soever thou art, considering he is willing to take thee for his Spouse; Take no notice of thine own meanness, seeing he considers not (in this particular) his own greatness: If so be he be willing to favor thee, wilt thou in gratefully resist him? It is his good pleasure to *choose low things to confound and bring to nought the high*! The truth is, if the question were to match him according to his degree and quality, where should we find his equal? He is pleased to choose thee, who art nothing, for to make thee something. *Thou art a Bond-woman, he will make thee free*: Thou art *naked and torn*, he will *clothe thee*: Thou art *despised*, and he will *exalt* thee: Take no care, do but *forget thy kindred and his house*, whom thou hast called *Father*, and that base Step-mother whom thou hast hitherto owned for thy *Mother*! Abandon thy Masters; Take thy leave of them, and give them to understand by solid Reasons, that it is high time for thee to look after thine own profit, and to follow and obey the will of *Christ* thy Friend and *Husband*, who calls after thee, and whose favor thou must not lose, to do any bodies work; nor do thou let slip such an occasion to pursue thine own interest; I say, quit them freely, thy wages, and salary, and all thou mayest have gotten or deserved of them, according to their own bargain, For thy Husband needs no such Goods, neither will he suffer thee to bring all that bag and baggage which thou hast gotten in serving them, or to lay it up together with his precious and pure riches; For as much as this would be a disgrace to him. It is true, that

of thine own thou canst bring him nothing of any value: But what of that? Come notwithstanding boldly with all the Gallants and Favorites of thy Court, who have been all made an execration for *Christ*, and not for their misdeeds, and whose Titles of Honor are these, viz, *injured, reproached, fugitives, forsaken, despised, abandoned, excommunicated, anathematized, confiscated, imprisoned, tortured, banished, publicly disgraced, wearing Miters in derision, spit upon, Shown upon Scaffolds, their ears cut off, their flesh plucked off with Pinchers, decayed, drawn with Horses, dragged up and down, broiled, roasted, stoned to death, burned, drowned, beheaded, dismembered*, and other like glorious and honorable Titles of the Kingdom of Heaven, which he doth not despise, being not like to other Kings and Princes, who will suffer none in their Courts, unless they be nobly descended, well accoutred, in a good garb, well-favored, and in good plight: But for his part, he will have his Courtiers *to be like himself* while he was in this life, and he calls them friendly to him, *to ease them*, and to make them rich, to advance and exalt them, and to make them *triumph with him in his celestial Court*.

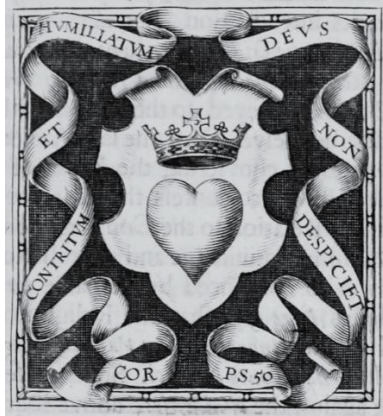
Now then, O noble and worthy Church, that art the happy Spouse of the Kings Son, accept and receive this *Word, Promise, and Testament*, which thou hast here written, word for word, and nowhere else: and where thou mayest see and learn the will of *Christ*, thy Husband, and of God his Father; according to which Word thou shalt govern thy Family, then shalt thou be *called His best Beloved*, whereas before thou didst not at all seem to have any relation to him. To present thee with a larger Preface than the Title and Face of the Book can bear (as the abovesaid arrogant custom requires), I believe it would not only be superfluous, but also temerity; For his Name, who here speaks, and who desires to be known and heard, is of such authority, that there is no ear but ought to be open to receive *the true and living Word* of his *Eternal and Immutable will, by which Word all things do subsist*; which blessed and holy will of God he will have to be entertained by the ears of our hearts, there to remain and dwell, that so instead of our wicked and depraved lusts, we may here be furnished with the holy and immutable will of God, to whose favor (*O poor little Church*) we heartily recommend thee; From the *Alps, February 12, 1635*.



God is all sufficient.

*Fear not little Flock, for it is your Fathers goodwill to give you  
the Kingdom. Luke 12:32.*

There is likewise this Divine MOTTO  
and following VERSE.



*Reader, Listen, If Truth Addresses, Come,  
Urgently Hear Its Promise, And Speak Vividly,  
Which Excellently, Wants to Assure Our Faint  
Hope.*

*The Spirit of Jesus Who Visits & Commands,  
Our Tender Manners, Here Without Fear,  
Highly Ridicules, Foaming with Filth.  
Let's Thank Eternal Nature, For Wanting to Bless  
Us Freely,  
We Seek to See Jesus Eternally.*

That is to say,

*The Evangelical Waldensian Flock,  
Have giv'n this Treasure to the public Stock.*

In the third and last place, for the more ample confirmation of  
this Truth, I shall here bring and insert the Testimonies of their most

famous Adversaries themselves touching this point, *Marc Aurelio Rorenco* Prior of *Lucerna*, and *Theodore Belvedere* chief of the Missionaries of the Valleys, and others, having undertaken to show the Original of the said Religion in those Valleys, were never able to show the very Age, even from the Days of the Apostles, when it was there introduced. The abovesaid *Rorenco* in a Book of his composed expressly to show their Original, after he had tormented himself to prove that it was not as ancient as the Apostles, confesses *Pa. 60, Non si puo haver certezza del principio del suo ingresso*. That is to say, *There can be no certainty had of its first entrance*, Because he was ashamed to confess the true Original, to wit, the Preaching of the Apostles; and the truth is, there cannot be found or produced an Edict made by any Prince, who gave permission at any time for its introduction. But *all the ancient Concessions import only thus much, that the said Princes have permitted their Subjects to continue in the same Religion that they had received from their Ancestors*, the which had been conveyed to them from Father to Son, etc. even from the Apostles themselves. Yea the said Adversaries (falling short in this their Design of convicting the Belief of the *Waldenses* of Novelty) have been forced to confess the quite contrary; as for Example, *Belvedere* in his Relation to the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, printed at *Turin* by privilege and approbation of his Superiors, Anno 1638, was so convinced by palpable evidence of this Truth, that he confesses *Page 37*, that the Religion which he calls Heresy, had been always in *Angrogna, La Valli di Angrogna sempre ò in un tempo, ò in un altro, ha havuto heretici*. So likewise, the Frier *Rainerius Saccon* writing against the *Waldenses*, above four hundred years ago; namely, 1254, confesses the Antiquity of their Religion which he calls a Sect; see his very words taken out of the *Bibliothèque des Peres* printed at Paris 1624. the Author whereof was *Jac. Gretsero, Inter omnes Sectas qua sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior Ecclesia Dei quàm pauperum de Lugduno; tribus de causis, Prima, quia diuturnior; quidam dicunt quod duraverit à tempore Silvestri, alii dicunt, quod à tempore Apostolorum*, etc. That is to say, *Amongst all the Sects which are or ever were, there is none more pernicious to the Church of God, than that of the poor people of Lyons, for three Reasons, First, because it is of a longer duration. Some say that it has remained from the time of Silvester, others, from the time of the Apostles*. And although *Gretserus* endeavors to shift off the force of

the fore-going passage by this evasion, namely, that what *Reinerius* there speaks, he speaks *not as his own opinion, but as the opinion of others*. For if *Reinerius* had not believed *that Sect* (as he calls it) had not been more ancient than the preaching of *Waldo* (which was not, as *Gretserus* himself says, above 94 years before his writing that Book) it had been a very ridiculous thing to have at all mentioned the Antiquity thereof in such a manner as he there does. This is the learned and famous *Bishop Usher*'s own Observation and Comment upon that place of *Reinerius*, in his Book *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione & statu* (*Of the Succession and State of the Christian Churches*), Chap. 8, Vol. 211, in the following expressions. *But it is in vain that Gretserus opposes, that Reinerius does not affirm from his own but from others' opinions that the sect of the Waldensians has lasted from the times of Pope Sylvester or even of the Apostles themselves. For, even if we grant this, that it was said from others' opinions: it still appears that he said it from his own; among all the sects, which are or have been, none has been longer-lasting than this one of the Lionists or Waldensians: which shows enough, that their first origin was from the most remote memory, it certainly proves (which the Jesuit demands to be shown to him) that the new doctrine was not first introduced into the world by the Waldensians and Albigenians around the year of Christ MCLX, and then multiplied by wonderful increases. For when between the year of Christ MCLX and the year MCCLIV when brother Reinerius shone, Gretserus himself shows from the Library of Antonii Senensis, only 94 years have intervened: it should have been a mockery to everyone, who would say such things about the long duration of a sect, which had arisen no more than one century before him.* And indeed this is the true Original of their Religion, on which the People of the Valleys always conserved without a public separation from the Church of *Rome* during several ages, that is to say, so long as she did not attempt to force them to embrace her Errors; but when once she began to offer violence to their consciences, and its tyranny became intolerable: then they *went out of Babylon*, and *separated themselves* from the others impieties: and from the time that the same has made any noise in the World, Historians have likewise made mention thereof in their Books of Antiquity. To this purpose, I find a certain passage in a Manuscript (which is to be seen together with the rest, in the public Library at

Cambridge) concerning the Religion of the Waldenses, *An. Dom.* 1587. where, in the first Article, when it is demanded, *Quanto tempo è, ch'è stata predicate la pura dottrina nelle Valli?* That is, *How long since is it, that the pure Doctrine has been preached in the Valleys?* It is answered. *Circa cinque cento anni come si puto raccogliere per alcune Historie, ma secondo l'opinione de gl'habitatori delle Valli il tempo è immemoriale è di Padre à figliuoli.* That is, *About 500 years, as near as can be gathered from any Histories, but according to the opinion of the Inhabitants, from Father to Son time out of mind.* Now the reason of this is, because Historians have not made any particular mention of these Valleys before the time that they were absolutely separated from the Heresies and abominations of the Church of *Rome*. However the Inhabitants of the Valleys have preserved the entire memory of the great benefit bestowed on them by God himself from the beginning, and which they and their Predecessors have enjoyed from generation to generation ever since the days of the Apostles.

## CHAPTER IV: *The ancient and modern Belief of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont.*

After all the authentic proofs that have been alleged to make good the Antiquity of the *Evangelical Churches* in the *Valleys of Piemont*, even from the time of the *Apostles*, if there yet remains any scruple in the mind of the *Christian Reader* concerning this Truth, their own Language in their Confessions of Faith from time to time, which I have here inserted in the following Form, will easily discover whether they be *Jews* or *Galileans*, the true seed of *Abraham*, or a counterfeit generation. For, if they have the, Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles of *Jesus Christ*, then they are the true successors and the legitimate *Children of Abraham*, for as much as they have the *Faith of Abraham*, *Romans* 4 and 9 and 11, as *Gregory Nazianzen* observes in his Oration, *in magnum Athanasium*.

An ancient Confession of Faith of the *Waldenses*, Copied out of certain Manuscripts, bearing date *Anno Dom.* 1120. That is to say, near 400 years before the time of either *Calvin* or *Luther*.

### *Article 1*

We believe and firmly hold all that which is contained in the twelve Articles of the Symbol, which is called the Apostles Creed, accounting for Heresy whatsoever is disagreeing, and not consonant to the said 12 Articles.

### *Article 2*

We do believe that there is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

### *Article 3*

We acknowledge for the holy Canonical Scriptures, the Books of the holy Bible, *namely*,

The First Book of *Moses* called Genesis  
The Second Book of *Moses* called Exodus  
The Third Book of *Moses* called Leviticus  
The Fourth Book of *Moses* called Numbers  
The Fifth Book of *Moses* called Deuteronomy  
Joshua  
Judges  
Ruth  
1 Samuel  
2 Samuel  
1 Kings  
2 Kings  
1 Chronicles  
2 Chronicles  
Ezra  
Nehemiah  
Esther  
Job  
Psalms  
The Proverbs of Solomon  
Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher  
The Song of Solomon  
The Prophecy of Isaiah  
The Prophecy of Jeremiah  
The Lamentations of Jeremiah  
Ezekiel  
Daniel  
Hosea  
Joel  
Amos  
Obadiah  
Jonah  
Micah  
Nahum  
Habakkuk  
Zephaniah

Haggai  
Zechariah  
Malachi

Here follow the Books *Apocryphal*, which are not received of the *Hebrews*. But we read them (as saith St. *Hierome* in his Prologue to the *Proverbs*) for the instruction of the People, not to confirm the Authority of the Doctrine of the Church, *namely*,

3 Esdras  
4 Esdras  
Tobit  
Judith  
Wisdom  
Ecclesiasticus  
Baruch with the Epistle of Jeremiah  
Esther from the tenth Chapter to the end  
The Song of the three Children in the Furnace  
The History of Susanna  
The History of the Dragon  
1 Maccabees  
2 Maccabees  
3 Maccabees

Here follow the Books of the New Testament.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew  
The Gospel according to St. Mark  
The Gospel according to St. Luke  
The Gospel according to St. John  
The Acts of the Apostles  
The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans  
The First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians  
The Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians  
The Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians  
The Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians  
The Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians  
The Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians  
The First Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians

The Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians  
The First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy  
The Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy  
The Epistle of St. Paul to Titus  
The Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon  
The Epistle to the Hebrews  
The Epistle of St. James  
The First Epistle of St. Peter  
The Second Epistle of St. Peter  
The First Epistle of St. John  
The Second Epistle of St. John  
The Third Epistle of St. John  
The Epistle of St. Jude  
The Revelation of Jesus Christ to St. John

#### *Article 4*

The Books abovesaid teach this, That there is one God, Almighty, all-wise, and all-good, who has made all things by his goodness, For he formed Adam in his own image and likeness, but that by the envy of the Devil, and the disobedience of the said *Adam*, Sin has entered into the World, and that we are Sinners in *Adam* and by Adam.

#### *Article 5*

That *Christ* was promised to our Fathers who received the Law, that so knowing by the Law their sin, unrighteousness, and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of *Christ*, to satisfy for their sins, and accomplish the Law by himself.

#### *Article 6*

That *Christ* was born in the time appointed by God the Father. That is to say, in the time when all iniquity abounded, and not for the cause of good works, for all were Sinners: but that he might show us grace and mercy, as being faithful.

#### *Article 7*



That *Christ* is our life, truth, peace, and righteousness, as also our Pastor, Advocate, Sacrifice, and Priest, who died for the salvation of all those that believe, and is risen for our justification.

#### *Article 8*

In like manner, we firmly hold, that there is no other Mediator and Advocate with God the Father, save only *Jesus Christ*. And as for the Virgin *Mary*, that she was holy, humble, and full of grace: and in like manner do we believe concerning all the other Saints, *namely*, that being in Heaven, they wait for the Resurrection of their Bodies at the Day of Judgment.

#### *Article 9*

*Item*, we believe that after this life, there are only two places, the one for the saved, and the other for the damned, the which two places we call *Paradise* and *Hell*, absolutely denying that *Purgatory* invented by *Antichrist*, and forged contrary to the truth.

#### *Article 10*

*Item*, we have always accounted as an unspeakable abomination before God, all those Inventions of men, *namely*, the Feasts and the Vigils of Saints, the Water which they call holy. As likewise to abstain from Flesh upon certain Days, and the like; but especially their Masses.

#### *Article 11*

We esteem for an abomination and as *Anti-Christian*, all those human Inventions which are a trouble or prejudice to the liberty of the Spirit.

#### *Article 12*

We do believe that the Sacraments are signs of the holy thing, or visible forms of the invisible grace, accounting it good that the faithful sometimes use the said signs or visible forms, if it may be done. However, we believe and hold, that the abovesaid faithful may

be saved without receiving the signs aforesaid, in case they have no place nor any means to use them.

### *Article 13*

We acknowledge no other Sacrament but *Baptism* and *the Lord's Supper*.

### *Article 14*

We ought to honor the secular powers, by subjection, ready obedience, and paying of Tributes.

A very ancient Confession of Sins commonly used among the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*.

Translated out of their own Language.

O God of kings, and Lord of lords, I make my Confession to thee, for I am a Sinner which have grievously offended thee by my ingratitude: Excuse myself I cannot, for thou hast *showed me what is both the good and the evil*. I have understood thy power, I have not been ignorant of thy wisdom, I have known thy justice, and tasted of thy goodness. And yet notwithstanding all the evil that I do proceeds from mine own naughtiness; Lord pardon me, and give me repentance, for I have slighted thee by my great presumption, and have not believed thy wisdom, nor thy Commandments, but have transgressed the same, for which I am heartily sorry. I have not feared thy Justice nor thy Judgments, but have committed many evils from the very beginning of my life, neither have I had that love to thy great goodness which I ought to have had, and as I was commanded, but I have too much complied with the Devil through mine own perverseness I have been delighted in pride, rather than in humility. If thou doest not pardon me, I am utterly undone, so much is covetousness rooted in my heart, so much do I love avarice, and seek after applause, and bear so little love to those who have obliged me by their kindness. I say, if thou doest not pardon me, my soul

must needs go down into perdition. Anger likewise reigns in my heart, and envy gnaws upon me, for I have no charity at all; Lord pardon me for thy goodness sake. I am rash, slow to do good, but bold and industrious to do evil; Lord grant of thy grace that I may not be numbered among the wicked. I have not returned thee thanks as I ought, and as thou hast commanded, for the good which thou hast out of love given and bestowed upon me; yea I have been disobedient through my naughtiness. Lord pardon me, for I have not served thee, but on the contrary, I have offended thee. I have too much served mine own body, and mine own will, in many vain thoughts and wicked desires, wherein I have taken pleasure. I have blinded myself, and I have had many evil thoughts against thee, and have hunted after many things contrary to thy will. Have pity on me, and give me humility. I have cast mine eyes upon vain delights, and have seldom lifted them up towards thy face. I have lent an ear to empty sounds, yea and to many evil speakings, but to hear and *understand thy Laws and thy Statutes* has been grievous and irksome to me. I have committed great faults as to my understanding, having taken more pleasure in the noisome sink of sin and evil, than in divine sweetness and heavenly honor, having worshipped sin, and taken more contentment therein, whereby I have committed many evils, and left undone much good: I have endeavored to conceal mine own guilt, and cast it upon another. I have not been moderate as I ought to have been in my eating and drinking. I have often recompensed violence for violence, and therein taken immoderate pleasure; both my body and mind are wounded. I have stretched forth my hands to take hold of vanity, and most perversely labored to gain another's goods, and to smite my Neighbor, and do him a displeasure; yea my heart has been delighted in these things that I have mentioned, and much more in very many foolish and unprofitable objects: Lord pardon me and give me chastity. I have evilly employed the time which thou hast given me in vanity, and the days of my youth in pleasures. I have turned aside into by-paths, and have by my lightness given an ill example unto others. I find in myself no good, but much evil. I have displeased thee by my naughtiness, and have condemned mine own soul, and have reproached my Neighbor. Lord preserve me from condemnation. I have loved my Neighbor only because of temporal Goods. I have not behaved myself faithfully in matters of giving and receiving, but

have had respect to persons according to my affection. I have too much loved the one, and hated the other. I have rejoiced for the prosperity of the good, and been too much lifted up at the adversity of the wicked. And over and above all the evils which I have committed for the time past to this present moment, I have not had a repentance or remorse proportionable to the offense. I have oftentimes by my transgression returned to the same sin which I had confessed, for which I am exceedingly grieved. Lord God, thou knowest that I have not confessed all, and that there are yet many evils in me which I have not reckoned up. But thou knowest all the evil thoughts, and all the evil words, and all the perverse actions which I have ever been guilty of: Lord pardon me, and give me space to repent in this present life, and grant me of thy grace, that for the future I may hate those evil things, and commit them no more, as likewise that I may love the good, and preserve them in my heart. That I may love thee above all things, and that I may fear thee in such a manner, that at the Day of my Death I may have done that which is acceptable unto thee. And give me such a firm hope concerning the Day of Judgment, that I may not fear the Devil, nor any other thing that may affright me, but that I may be received at thy right hand without spot or blemish. Lord accomplish all this according to thine own good pleasure. *Amen.*

Another Confession of Faith of the *Waldenses*, extracted out of *Charles du Moulin de la Mon: des Francois.* Page 65.

#### *Article I*

We believe, that there is but one God, that he is a Spirit, Creator of all things, God of all, who is overall, and through all, and in us all, who ought to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, whom alone we serve, and to whom we give the glory of our life, food, raiment, health, sickness, prosperity, and adversity; and we love him as one who knoweth our hearts.

## *Article 2*

We believe that *Jesus Christ* is the Son and Image of the Father. That in him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead, by whom we have knowledge of the Father. That he is our Mediator and Advocate. And that there is no other name under Heaven given unto men, by which we can be saved; in whose Name alone we call upon the Father, and use no other Prayers than those which are contained in the holy Scripture, or such other as are conformable unto them for substance.

## *Article 3*

We believe that the Holy Spirit is our Comforter, proceeding from the Father and the Son, by whose Inspiration we make our Prayers, being by him renewed, who works in us all good works, and by whom we have the knowledge of all truths.

## *Article 4*

We believe that there is one Holy Church, which is the Congregation of all the Elect and faithful ones from the very beginning of the World to the end, whereof our Savior *Christ* is the Head: the which is governed by his Word, and conducted by his Spirit, wherewith all good *Christians* ought to hold Communion: for, she prays for all without ceasing, and the Word which she hath is agreeable to God himself; without which Church no man can be saved.

## *Article 5*

We hold that the Ministers of the Church, as Bishops and Pastors, ought to be irreprehensible, as well in their life as Doctrine. And that otherwise they ought to be deprived of their Office, and others substituted in their places. As likewise, that none ought to presume to take upon him this honor, but he who is called by God as was *Aaron*, feeding the Flock of God, not for the sake of dishonest gain, nor as having any Lordship over the Clergy, but as being sincerely an Example to his Flock, in Word, in Conversation, in Charity, in Faith, and in Chastity.

### *Article 6*

We confess, that Kings, Princes, and Governors, are ordained and established as Ministers of God, whom we ought to obey. For they bear the Sword for Defense of the Innocent, and for the punishing of evil Doers, for which cause we are bound to give them honor, and to pay them tribute; from whose power none can exempt himself; it being likewise forbidden by the Example of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, who was willing to pay tribute, not pretending jurisdiction over the temporal powers.

### *Article 7*

We believe, that in the Sacrament of Baptism, Water is the visible and external Sign, which represents unto us that which (by the invisible virtue of God operating) is within us; namely, the renovation of the Spirit, and the mortification of our members in *Jesus Christ*; by which also we are received into the holy Congregation of the People of God, there protesting and declaring openly our faith and amendment of life.

### *Article 8*

We hold, that the holy Sacrament of the Table or Supper of our Lord *Jesus Christ* is an holy commemoration, and giving of thanks for the benefits which we have received by his Death and Passion; that we ought to assemble together in Faith and Charity, examining ourselves, and *so to eat of that Bread*, and communicate of *that his Blood*, in the very same manner as he hath prescribed in the holy Scripture.

### *Article 9*

We confess, that Marriage is good, honorable, holy, and instituted by God himself; which ought not to be prohibited to any person, provided that there be no hindrance specified by the Word of God.

### *Article 10*

We confess, that those who fear God follow those things which are well pleasing to him, and do those good works which he hath prepared, to the end that we should walk in them; which are Love, joy, peace, patience, meekness, goodness, brotherly kindness, temperance, and other the like works contained and commended in the holy Scriptures.

### *Article 11*

On the contrary, we confess, that we ought to take heed and beware of false Teachers, whose scope and aim is to turn aside the People from the true Worship, which belongs to our only God and Lord, and to lean upon Creatures, and to trust in them: as likewise to forsake those good works, which are contained and required in the holy Scriptures, and to do those which are only invented by men.

### *Article 12*

We hold for the Rule of our Faith, the Old and New Testament, and agree to the general Confession of Faith, with the Articles contained in the Apostles Creed, namely, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*, etc.

A brief Confession of Faith, made with general consent by the Ministers, and Heads of Families of the Churches of the Valleys of *Piemont*, assembled in *Angrogne* the 12 of *September* of the Year 1532.

The following Articles having been then framed, read, approved, and signed by all that were present, they with one accord did swear to believe, hold and observe them inviolably, as agreeing with the holy Scriptures, and containing the sum of the Doctrine, which was taught them from father to son according to the Word of God, as was done by the faithful in the time of *Esdras* and *Nehemiah*, *Esdras* 10, *Nehemiah* 9 and 10.

### *Article 1*

That Divine Service cannot be performed but in spirit and in truth: because God is a Spirit, and whosoever will speak to him, must do it in spirit.

### *Article 2*

All those that have been, and shall be saved, have been elected of God, before the Foundation of the World.

### *Article 3*

It is impossible that those that are appointed to salvation, should not be saved.

### *Article 4*

Whosoever upholds Free-will denieth absolutely *Predestination*, and the *Grace of God*.

### *Article 5*

No work is called good, but that which God hath commanded, and no work is bad but that which he forbiddeth.

### *Article 6*

A *Christian* may swear by the Name of God without contravention to what is written, *Matthew 5*, provided that he that sweareth doth not take the Name of God in vain. Now it is not in vain, when the Oath tendeth to God's glory, and the salvation of a man's Neighbor: moreover, one may swear before Magistrates, because he that exerciseth the Office of a Magistrate, whether a believer or unbeliever, holdeth his power from God.

### *Article 7*

Auricular Confession is not commanded of God, and it hath been determined according to holy Scriptures, that the true Confession of a *Christian* is, to confess to God alone, to whom belongeth honor



and glory: there is another kind of Confession, which is, when one reconcileth himself to his Neighbor, of the which mention is made in St. *Matthew* and in St. *James* 5. The third manner of Confession is, when one having offended publicly, and to every man's knowledge, doth also publicly confess and acknowledge his offense.

#### *Article 8*

We ought to cease on the Lord's Day from our Works, as men zealous of the honor and glory of God, also out of Charity towards our Servants, and to apply ourselves to the hearing of the Word of God.

#### *Article 9*

It is not lawful for a *Christian* to take Revenge upon his Enemy in any manner whatsoever.

#### *Article 10*

A *Christian* may exercise the Office of a Magistrate over *Christians*.

#### *Article 11*

There is no certain Determination of time for any *Christian* Fast, and it cannot be found in the Scripture, that God hath commanded and appointed any special Days.

#### *Article 12*

Marriage is not forbidden to any, of what quality and condition soever he be.

#### *Article 13*

Whosoever forbiddeth Marriage teacheth a Diabolical Doctrine.

#### *Article 14*

Whosoever hath not the gift of Chastity is bound to marry.

*Article 15*

The Ministers of the Word of God ought not to remove from place to place, except it be for some great good to the Church.

*Article 16*

It is not a thing repugnant to the Apostolical Communion, that Ministers should possess some Estate proper to themselves, for the subsistence of their Families.

*Article 17*

Concerning the matter of the Sacraments, it hath been determined by the holy Scripture, that we have but two Sacramental Signs left us by *Jesus Christ*, the one is *Baptism*, the other is the *Eucharist*, which we receive, to show that our perseverance in the Faith is such as we promised when we were baptized being little children, and moreover, in remembrance of that great benefit given to us by *Jesus Christ*, when he died for our Redemption, and washed us with his precious Blood.

A Declaration of the *Waldenses* of the Valleys, Maties, and Meane, and Marquisate of *Saluces*, etc. made in the year 1603.

Whereas our Predecessors, from Father to Son, time out mind, have been taught and brought up in the Doctrine and Religion of which we from our childhood have made open profession, and in the same have instructed our Families, as we learned it from our Fathers, yea and which, while the King of France held the Marquisate of Saluces, it was permitted us to make profession of without being troubled or molested, as well as our Brethren of the Valleys of Lucerne, Perouze, and others, who by a special Treaty made with our sovereign Prince and Lord have enjoyed to this day the free

exercise of the Reformed Religion; and whereas his Highness led rather by evil counsels and passionate men, than by his own will, hath resolved to molest us, and to that end hath set out an Edict: therefore to the end it might appear unto all men, that it is not for any crime committed, either against the person of our Prince, or for Rebellion against the Laws, or that we have been guilty of Murders or Thefts, that we are so tormented and spoiled of our Houses and Goods. We declare, that being very confident and certain, that the Doctrine and Religion taught and followed by the Reformed Churches of *France, Switzerland, Germany, England, Scotland, Geneva, Denmark, Sweden, Holland*, and other Kingdoms, Nations, and Dominions, of which we hitherto have made open profession under the obedience of our Princes and sovereign Lords, is the only true Doctrine and Religion ordained and approved of God, which alone can render us acceptable to God, and bring us to salvation, we are resolved to stand to it to the hazard of our Lives, Honors, and Estates, and to continue in it the remnant of our Days; and if anybody pretendeth that we are in an Error, we intreat any such to let us see our Error, offering to abjure it without delay, and to follow whatsoever shall be showed us to be more excellent, desiring nothing more than with safe conscience to render that true and lawful service which we poor Creatures owe to our Creator, and by this means to obtain true and everlasting felicity: but if by mere violence and constraint, they will compel us to leave and forsake the true way to salvation, to go after Errors, Superstitions, and false Doctrines, invented by men, we choose rather to part with our Houses, Estates, and Life itself; right humbly beseeching his Highness (whom we acknowledge to be our lawful Prince and Lord) not to suffer us to be molested without cause, but rather to grant that we may continue the remnant of our Lives, and our Children and Posterity after us, in that obedience and service which we have hitherto yielded unto him, as his true and faithful Subjects; since we entreat nothing else at his hands, than that yielding faithfully to him whatsoever we are bound to, by express commandment of God, we may be also suffered to give to God that homage and service we owe unto him, and which he requireth of us in his holy Word. And in the mean while in the midst of our calamities and exile we request the Reformed Churches to hold and acknowledge us, as true Members of theirs, being ready to sign with our own Blood, (if God calleth us

to it) the Confession of Faith by them made and published, which we acknowledge every way agreeing with the Doctrine taught and registered by the holy Apostles, and therefore truly Apostolical, promising to live and die in it; and if for so doing we be afflicted and persecuted, we return our thanks unto God, who hath vouchsafed us the honor to suffer for his Names sake, committing the issue of our affairs, and the justice of our cause into the hands of his Divine Providence, who will deliver us when and by what means it shall please him; most humbly praying, that as he hath the hearts of Kings and Princes in his hands, he will be pleased to bend the heart of his Highness to pity, towards those who never offended him, and are resolved never to offend him, that so he may hold and acknowledge us more true and faithful to his service, than those that endeavor to persuade him to such Persecutions: and for ourselves, that he will be pleased to strengthen us in the midst of these temptations, and give us patience and constancy to persevere in the profession of the truth to our lives end, and our Posterity after us.  
*Amen.*

An Abbreviation of that Confession of Faith which was presented to *Ladislau* King of *Bohemia*, etc. *Anno Domini* 1508. By his Subjects falsely called *Waldenses*, wherein they declare the Reason of their Separation from the Church of *Rome*.

And since that time amplified and explained by the same People. And presented to *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, etc. *Anno Domini* 1535.

### The Preface.

Although our Ministers and Ecclesiastics in former Ages have oft times given an account of that Faith, Religion, and Doctrine which we now hold and profess, to several Kings and Princes, and in a word, to all who by virtue of either their Ecclesiastical or secular power have demanded a Reason thereof; yet notwithstanding it

seems to us to be a thing very needful, (and that for many considerable Reasons) to present your royal Majesty in as brief and compendious a method as the nature of the thing will permit, an account of that Doctrine which we have received from those our Ancestors, in the following Articles, which we look upon, and esteem (especially in this conjuncture of time) to be of the more general concernment, and of greatest consequence. And this we do, to the end that all men may know and see, how unjustly we have been hitherto persecuted by the Adversaries of this Doctrine, and are now wrongfully accused before your Royal Majesty, by this means to render both us and ours obnoxious to further sufferings and violence.

## ARTICLE I.

### Concerning the holy Scriptures.

In the first place, all those of our profession do with an unanimous consent teach and hold forth, that the holy Scriptures which are contained and comprehended in the *Bible*, and which have been received by the Fathers, and established by *canonical* Authority, are to be accounted as undeniably and without all controversy, most true and certain; and in all things and upon all accounts ought to be preferred before any other Writings whatsoever, as far as holy things ought to be preferred before profane, and divine before human, as likewise to be entirely and absolutely believed, and all the Rules of Truth which concern our Justification and Salvation by Faith, are to be sought for there, and to be derived thence. And furthermore, that they were delivered and inspired by God himself, as is affirmed by *Peter, Paul*, and others, and are publicly read and recited in all our Churches (especially the Epistles and Gospels) and that in our mother and vulgar Tongue, after the manner and custom of the *Primitive* Churches, to the end chiefly that they may be understood by all; and lastly, that from thence arise points of Doctrine and Exhortation answerable to all affairs and occasions; and Sermons are frequently made in public to the People.

## ARTICLE II.

## Concerning Catechisms.

From hence they derive the Catechism, that is, the Catholic and Orthodox Doctrine of the Fathers, which is one and the same with the Decalogue of God's Commandments, and with the *Apostles Creed*, digested into *twelve Articles*, and delivered in the *Symbol* by the Council of *Nice*, and so likewise expounded and confirmed by others; and lastly, it contains also the *Lord's Prayer*. Now all these things they constantly affirm to be most holy, good, and well-pleasing in the eyes of God.

Moreover they teach that all these things ought to be observed in deed and with the whole heart, seeing the Law is spiritual; as also that the Articles of Faith ought undoubtedly to be believed, and confessed with the mouth, and to be manifested by works, which Articles they likewise enforce and corroborate by the Scriptures with all their might, endeavoring to teach the genuine sense of them; and where there occurs anything abstruse or difficult, to unfold the true scope and meaning thereof fully and plainly.

They teach likewise, that God alone is to be prayed to, and invoked only through the Name of *Christ* the Mediator. As also that Prayers and Supplications ought to be made for all Governors of the Church, and all others who are constituted in places of Eminency and Authority for the Government of others.

## ARTICLE III.

### Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

Furthermore they teach, that God is known by Faith in the Scriptures, to be one as to the substance of the Divinity, and three persons, namely, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. That as to the persons there is a difference; but as to the essence and substance, coequality and indistinction: and this the Catholic Faith, the consent of the Council of *Nice*, with the Decrees and Sanctions of other Councils, and *Athanasius* his Confession or Creed do clearly testify.

Hence they also teach the great power, wisdom, and goodness of this one only God, as likewise those his three most excellent works agreeable to him alone, and which are applicable to none but him,

namely, the work of Creation, Redemption, and Conservation or Sanctification: Moreover they teach, that this true God in one essence of Divinity and blessed Trinity of persons, is alone to be worshipped, *Deuteronomy* 6, etc.

## ARTICLE IV.

### Of Sin, and the Fruit thereof, and the knowledge of oneself.

Here they teach, that so we may not be ignorant of our sins which are committed and acted both against God and our Neighbor:

First, that men ought to acknowledge themselves to be conceived and born in sin, and so to be sinners forthwith and naturally from the womb, and thus prevaricating from their childhood against the Law of God in heart and deed, to be pressed and burdened with the weight of sin, as it is written, *The Lord looked down from Heaven to see whether there was any one that was wise, or sought after God: but they are all gone out of the way, they have all corrupted themselves, there is none that doth good, no not one.* Again, *God saw that the wickedness of man was great upon the earth, and that all the thoughts and imaginations of his heart were wholly evil, and that continually.* And again the Lord saith, *that the conception and thought of man's heart is evil from his youth.* And *Paul* likewise, *We were* (saith he) *by nature the Children of wrath even as others.*

In the next place, they teach from the Scriptures, that men ought to acknowledge that for this their depravation and corruption, and for the sins arising and springing up from this Root of Bitterness, the fearful vengeance of God and utter perdition deservedly hangs over their heads; and that according to those their deeds the Pains of Hell are most justly laid before them; For (as *Paul* saith) *the wages of sin is death.* And the Lord in the Gospel, *They that have done ill shall go into eternal punishment, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.* They teach further, that it is necessary all should consider and know their infirmity, with their extreme want, and the mischiefs into which they are fallen for their sins, and that they can no way save or justify themselves by any works or endeavors of their

own, nor have anything to trust unto but *Christ* alone, whereby to redeem and free themselves from sin, Satan, the wrath of God, and eternal death. As also, that there is nothing in man whereby one may help another before God, seeing all are equally void of the righteousness of God, and obnoxious to his wrath by sin.

## ARTICLE V.

### Of Repentance.

In this place they teach Repentance to be that which cometh from the acknowledgment of sin and God's anger, which through the Law of God first: strikes the conscience with sorrow and terror: for as much as by the Word of God they are inwardly convinced of sin, and the mind becomes affected with an evil conscience, unquiet, exceeding sorrowful and despairing; the heart anxious, broken, and contrite, so that a man by himself can by no means be raised up, or get comfort, but is altogether afflicted, his spirit being dejected, trembling, shaken and shattered with exceeding great horror through the sight of God's wrath, (as *David* saith of himself) *There is no health in my flesh because of thine indignation, neither is there any rest in my bones by reason of my sin.* I am become miserable, *and am bowed down, and go mourning all the day long.* But yet notwithstanding they teach, that being thus affrighted, they ought nevertheless not to despair, but rather to return to God with the whole heart, by faith in *Christ*, which is also a part of Repentance, taking hold of Mercy, and grieving that they have sinned: for although they be void of Righteousness, yet ought they to implore Divine Grace and Mercy, that he would have mercy on them, and that he would pardon their sins for *Christ* and his merits sake, *who for our sake was made sin, and a curse that he might satisfy the justice of God for our sins,* etc.

## ARTICLE VI.

### Of the Lord Christ, and Faith in him.

First of all, they teach, that we ought to have a certain and firm Faith concerning the Lord *Christ*, namely, that he is true God by nature, and also true man, by whom all things were made, visible



and invisible, in Heaven and Earth; whom *John* calling the *Eternal Word*, interprets to be *God, Light, the only begotten, abiding in the bosom of the Father, full of grace and truth*. The same in his former Epistle and fifth Chapter, saith, *This is the true God and Eternal Life*.

They also declare concerning his works showed forth for our Salvation, his Incarnation, Nativity, Passion, Death, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension into Heaven, sitting at the right hand of God, and his returning to judge the Quick and the Dead; and that by the Word and Sacraments good fruits are derived to us, through which we may be saved, as the Scriptures show.

They teach further, that *Christ* is not now in the World, nor will he ever appear until the World be ended, in the same sensible and corporal manner, wherein he heretofore conversed as man upon the Earth, and suffered himself to be betrayed, tormented, crucified, put to death, and afterwards rising again in a glorious manner, made his way through the hard Rock, and the sealed Door of the Sepulcher. But that now he is in such a manner in Heaven, that every tongue ought to confess, and all the godly to worship him together with the Father. To this the Article of Faith clearly beareth witness; *He ascended into Heaven, where he sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead*. Even as saith *Paul* in the 4 to the *Thessalonians*, *The Lord himself shall descend from Heaven with a shout, and the voice of an Archangel, and the Trump of God. Peter* likewise in the *Acts*, saith, *Whom the Heaven must receive until the times of the restitution of all things*. And in the last of *Mark*, *Therefore the Lord, after he had spoken to them, was received up into Heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. And the Angels which stood by, said unto them, This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come, as ye have seen him going into Heaven, etc.*

They teach also, that the Lord *Christ*, in this his other manner of Being, which we call Invisible, is present in the Ministers of his Church, the Word, and the Sacraments, and through these means all men hereafter ought so to receive him by faith, that he may dwell in them, and abide in them by the Spirit of Truth, concerning whom he hath said, *He shall be in you*. And again, *I will come unto you, etc.*

Moreover also they hold, that by faith in Christ men are, through mercy, freely justified, and attain Salvation and Remission of sins by *Christ*, without any human help and merit, etc.

They hold likewise, that all confidence and hope is to be fixed in him alone, and that all our care ought to be cast upon him; and to these they further add, that for his sake only, and for his merits alone, God is pacified and reconciled, doth love and preserve us, and adopt us to be his Children; and that Life Eternal is in him, and as many as believe in him shall through him enjoy it, *John 6, He that believeth on me, hath Life Eternal*, etc.

They teach also, that no man can have this Faith by any power, will and pleasure of his own: it is indeed the gift of God, who when, and where it pleaseth him, worketh it in man by his Spirit, to the end he may receive whatsoever shall be rightly administered to him by the outward Word, and the Sacraments instituted by *Christ*, in order to Salvation.

Of this saith *John the Baptist*, *Lord, no man can have anything, unless it be given him from above*. And, saith *Christ* himself, *No man can come unto me, unless the Father, who sent me, draw him*. And a little after he addeth, *Unless it be given him of my Father*; that is to say, by the Holy Spirit.

Furthermore, they teach, that men are justified before God, by faith alone, or confidence in *Jesus Christ*, without their endeavors, merits and works, according to that saying of *Paul*, *Moreover, to him which worketh not, but believeth on him who justifieth the ungodly, is his faith reckoned for righteousness*. Again, *But now the righteousness of God is manifested without the Law, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets. And this righteousness is through the faith of Jesus Christ*.

## ARTICLE VII.

### Of Good Works

To these they add, that those men who are justified only by the grace of God, and through faith in *Christ*, do perform those good works which God commandeth, and do every man walk therein as

becomes them according to their Calling, in any kind of life, condition, and age whatsoever; for so saith the Lord in *Matthew*, *Teach them to observe all things which I have commanded you*. But seeing there are many things in several places of the Scriptures concerning this matter, we forbear to enlarge.

Yea and they teach also, upon what account especially and with what purpose, good works are to be done; not to such an end, as that men should conceive they can obtain Justification, Salvation or Remission of sins by them: for even the Lord himself saith, *When ye shall have done all things which are commanded you, say ye, We are unprofitable Servants*. Again, *Paul* saith, *By the works of the Law shall no flesh be justified in his sight*. So also saith *David*, *Lord, enter not into judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified*.

But they teach, that good works are therefore to be done, that faith may be approved by them: for, good works are sure Testimonies, Seals, and Evidences of a lively faith lying hid within, and fruits of the same, whereby the Tree is known to be good or bad, *Matthew* 7. Also, to the end that men may by them make their Calling sure and certain, and be saved therein without sin; according to what *Peter* saith, *Epist. 2, Chap. 1. Brethren give diligence that ye may make your Calling and Election sure*.

But they teach, that we should know there is a difference between works ordained by men, and works which are commanded by God, and by what means both may be done and observed, for as much as the works commanded by God, are in no wise to be neglected for the sake of human Traditions; for, the Lord severely reproveth them that do the contrary, *Wherefore do ye transgress the Commandment of God for your Traditions? And, In vain do they worship me, teaching for Commandments the Doctrines of men*.

They teach moreover, that there is no man that can indeed perform the works commanded by God. Also, that there is no man who sinneth not, although he carefully exercise himself in good works and in the Law of God; as it is written, *There is none upon earth who doth good, and sinneth not*, etc.

## ARTICLE VIII.

### Of the Holy Catholic Church.

They teach first, that the Lord Christ, by his own merit, grace, and truth, is the Head and Foundation of the Church, in whom she is built up through the Holy Spirit, by the Word and Sacraments; as *Christ* saith unto *Peter*, *And upon this Rock (that is, myself) I will build my Church.* And *Paul* 1 *Cor.* 3, *Other Foundation can no man lay, beside this which is laid, that is Jesus Christ.* So saith the same Apostle in another place, *He is the Head of the Church, who filleth all in all.*

They teach likewise, that we must believe and confess, that the holy Catholic Church, as it is at present collected, consisteth of all *Christian* men throughout the world, in what Nations soever they live, or wheresoever they be dispersed, who by the sacred Word of the Gospel are gathered together, out of all Nations, People, Tribes, and Languages, of what Degree, Age, or Condition soever they be, into the same Faith of *Christ*, and the holy Trinity; according to what is written by *John* in the *Apocalypse*, *After these things I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man was able to number*, etc. And the Lord saith, *Where two or three shall be gathered together in my Name (in any Nation or People whatsoever) there am I in the midst of them:* for, wheresoever *Christ* is preached and received, wheresoever his Word and Sacraments are, and are dispensed and received according to his appointment and will, there is a holy Church and *Christian* Society, and the People of God, whatsoever their number be. But where *Christ* is absent, and his Word rejected, there can be neither a true Church, nor People pleasing God.

But as touching their own Congregation, they thus conceive and teach, that it, even as other Congregations, be they great or small, is not the holy universal Church, but only a part and member thereof, as the *Corinthians* were, of whom saith the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 12, *Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular*, etc.

Besides, they teach, that those who are manifestly impious, impenitent, and obstinate, that is to say, who do not give ear to the Admonitions of the Church, may be constrained by that her Censure and Punishment, which in the usual acception is called *Anathema*,

or Excommunication. And that this ought to be done without respect of persons, against all those whose impiety is known, and who are addicted to the more notorious sins, and who having been often admonished do yet persist in their sins.

But they teach, that *Antichrist*, that man of sin, doth sit in the Temple of God, that is, in the Church, of whom the Prophets, and *Christ* and his Apostles foretold, admonishing all the godly, to beware of him and his Errors, and not suffer themselves to be drawn aside from the Truth, etc.

## ARTICLE IX.

### Of the Ecclesiastical Order, or the Overseers, or Ministers of the Church.

They teach, that the Ministers of the Church, to whom the Administration of the Word and Sacraments is committed, ought to be rightly ordained, according to the Rule prescribed by the Lord and his Apostles. And that for the undertaking this Office, there may be called from among the godly and faithful People, men full of faith and without blame, such as have gifts necessary for this Ministry, being also of honest life and conversation; and that these be first of all tried, then after Prayer made by the Elders, that they be by Imposition of Hands for this Office, confirmed in the Congregation, etc.

Wherefore indeed, no man among us is permitted to perform the Office of a Priest, unless he shall, as is meet, be called, and ordained according to this kind of Rule. Next they teach, that it is the duty of those who are thus chosen to the Ministry of the Church, to have a diligent care of the souls committed to their charge, and faithfully to administer to them the Word of the Gospel, and the Sacraments, according to *Christ's* Institution, and to show forth themselves a good Example unto all men for Imitation, and to pray for them unto God, that they may be delivered from their Errors and Offenses, etc.

## ARTICLE X.

### Of the Word of God.

Furthermore, they teach that the preaching of the Word of God or the Gospel is a Ministration appointed and commanded by Christ, in the last of *Matthew*, *Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature*. *Peter* also saith, *Acts* 10, *The Lord commanded us that we should preach*, etc.

They teach also, that we ought to hold a difference betwixt the power and efficacy of the Law and of the Gospel, that the former is indeed the Administration of Death, but the latter the Administration of Life and Glory by *Christ*, *2 Cor.* 3, *The Letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive*. And *John* 6, *The words which I speak unto you are Spirit and Life*.

They believe moreover, that no man can attain true Faith, unless he hear the Word of God, according to that of *Paul*, *Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God*. And again, *But how shall they believe on him, of whom they have not heard?* Therefore ours do use all their endeavor, to teach and preach in the Church, the Word of the Gospel without any mixture of human Traditions: for that cause they in their Churches do read the Gospels themselves, and the other Scriptures also in the vulgar Tongue.

## ARTICLE XI.

### Of the Sacraments.

First, they teach, that the Sacraments ordained by *Christ* are necessary to salvation, by means whereof Believers are made fellow-partakers of the merits of *Christ*: but in case any man shall willfully contemn, or not worthily esteem them, or use them in any other manner whatsoever, than as *Christ* hath willed and commanded, they declare that he grievously sinneth against *Christ* the Author of them.

But if it so come to pass, that any man truly desire to communicate by the Sacraments, according to the mind and command of *Christ*, yet being hindered by some sickness, or carried away captive into foreign parts, or being oppressed by the Adversaries and Enemies of the Faith, etc. he be not able to satisfy his own pious desire, then in such cases without doubt he shall, if so

be he sincerely and entirely believe the Gospel, be saved by the Faith of *Christ* alone.

They teach next, that the Sacraments of themselves, or (as some speak) *ex opere operato*, do not confer grace, nor justifying faith, upon those who are not first endued with good inclinations, and inwardly quickened by the Holy Spirit, etc.

## ARTICLE XII.

### Of Baptism.

They teach also that Baptism is a saving Administration, instituted by *Christ*, and added to the Gospel, by which he purifieth, cleanseth, and sanctifieth his Church in his own Death and Blood, as *Paul* saith, *Christ loved his Church, and gave himself for it: that he might sanctify it, being cleansed by the washing of water through the Word*, etc.

Likewise they teach, that Children are to be baptized unto Salvation, and to be consecrated to *Christ*, according to his Word; *Suffer little Children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God*, etc.

## ARTICLE XIII.

### Of the Lord's Supper.

They teach, that the Lord's Supper, or Sacrament of the Eucharist, was a Ministration appointed by *Christ*, afterward by his Apostles, and by them, through his grace and goodness, delivered to the whole Church, for the common use and Salvation of all men, as the Evangelists do bear witness, and the Apostle, whose words are used by all the Church, *For I have received from the Lord, that which also I have delivered to you, how that the Lord Jesus, in the same night wherein he was betrayed, took Bread*, etc. And a little after, *Therefore my Brethren, when ye come together to eat, (to wit, this Supper) stay one for another*.

Yea and they teach here also, that men must believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth, that the Bread of the Lord's

Supper is the true Body of *Christ*, which was delivered for us, and that the Cup is his true Blood, which was shed for us for the Remission of sins, as the Lord *Christ* expressly saith, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, etc.

They further teach, that in the Administering this Sacrament nothing else is to be done, but what is set forth and commanded by these express words of *Christ*, who giving Bread to his Disciples, said, *Take, eat, This is my Body. And taking the Cup, he gave thanks and said, Drink ye all of this, for, This is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the Remission of sins.* And so, according to this Command of the Lord, they teach, that his Body and Blood ought to be taken by all promiscuously, under both kinds, even as they were apart and by themselves by him instituted and ordained, and as the Primitive Church also used this whole Sacrament. But if any man, out of presumption attempt anything contrary to this Institution of *Christ*, he sinneth against *Christ* the Author thereof, and against his will expressly revealed in the Scripture.

## ARTICLE XIV.

### Of Ecclesiastical Power, or the Keys.

And here they teach, how it ought to be believed, that the Keys were delivered by *Christ* to the Church, concerning which he said unto *Peter*, instead of all, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.* And that these were an Administration delivered to the Church of *Christ* and the Ministers thereof, which continueth therein to this present day, and is not to have an end before the dissolution of the World.

The duty and authority of this Administration, according to the Command and Intent of *Christ*, is, as the Scriptures do express, to correct and bind such as are wicked and impenitent in the Church, and to shut the Kingdom of Heaven against them, which is, to exclude them from *Christ*, and from the use and communion of the Church. And on the contrary, to absolve such as are truly penitent, restore them to peace of Conscience, place them in a sure hope and belief of Salvation, and so to open unto them the Kingdom of



Heaven, and instruct and strengthen them against all the Temptations, Assaults, and cunning Devices of that Enemy. And this they ought to do, not by their own power and pleasure, but as Dispensers of the Mysteries of God, Ministers and Servants of *Christ*, by his authority, through the Word and Sacraments, etc.

## ARTICLE XV.

### Of human Traditions.

They teach, that human Traditions, Rites, and Customs, which are not against piety, are to be observed in public Congregations, etc.

But they teach, that such Traditions, Rites, and Ceremonies, which obscure the glory of *Christ* and his grace, lead the People away, and draw them back from the truth and faith, and are made equal or preferred to Divine Institutions, or if any man transgress these upon the account of the other, and relinquish the sincere use of the Word of God, are to be avoided and rejected, etc.

They teach next, that because of the Differences of Ceremonies, Customs, and Rites, which are to be seen in several Churches among *Christians*, and are not prejudicial or hurtful to piety, they ought not to be offended one with another, or contemn, hate, and persecute one another, etc.

## ARTICLE XVI.

### Of the Secular Power.

We teach here according to the Scriptures, that the higher Power or Secular Magistrate, is an Ordinance of God, to the end the People may be governed in those things which are Political and Temporary. Concerning this, excellent is that place of *Paul*, *For there is no Power but of God, the Powers which are, are ordained of God.*

They teach moreover, that those who are in power, or bear public Office and Magistracy, of what degree soever they be, should understand, that they do not their own, but the work of God, and that he is sovereign Lord and King over them and others; to whom also

they ought to remember that they are to give an account of their Stewardship at the last Day.

They teach also, that it is commanded in the Word of God, that all men should in all things be subject to the higher Powers, provided they be such, as are not contrary to God and his Word, etc.

But as touching those things which concern Souls, and Faith, and Salvation, they teach, that we ought to give ear unto God's Word only, and his Ministers, as *Christ* himself saith, *Give ye unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.*

And if any man endeavor to compel them unto such things as are against God, and repugnant to his Word, which endureth forever, they teach, that we ought to follow the Example of the Apostles, who gave this Answer to the Magistrate at *Jerusalem*, *We ought* (say they) *to obey God rather than men.*

## ARTICLE XVII.

### Of the Worshipping of Saints.

They teach first, that since the Creation of Mankind, there never was any one of them, nor is there now, nor ever will there be hereafter, who can be holy or righteous, by any strength, merits, endeavors, and works of his own. Even as holy *Job* saith, *What is man, that he should be pure, and he that is born of a woman, that he should appear righteous?*

But what good things soever there are in the Saints, they ought to be acknowledged as received from the bounty and goodness of God. For, in that they are holy and acceptable to God, it is a matter that befalls them without all merit, through his divine will and pleasure only, etc.

They teach moreover, that the Honor and Worship due unto God, is not to be transferred unto the Saints, nor to their Images; as it is written in *Isaiah*, *I am the Lord, This is my Name, I will not give my glory to another,* etc.

## ARTICLE XVIII.

## Of Fasts.

The men of our persuasion teach, that Fasts are a kind of outward Worship among the Godly, to be given only to God himself, and such as are to be observed, according to the circumstance of persons, nations, places, and affairs, by all, and by every man also, without Superstition and Hypocrisy.

They teach next, that Fasting doth not consist in a difference of Meats, but in a sparing use of them, Sobriety, and Temperance, and afflicting of the Body, and Humiliation before God. But it is a matter altogether of concernment, with what mind or purpose any man doth fast, for as much as Fasting is then good, when it is pleasing and acceptable to God, as you may read *Matthew* 6, and *Isaiah* 58.

## ARTICLE XIX.

### Of Celibate, or The Unmarried State.

They teach, that no man ought to be constrained unto a single Life, or withdrawn from it, because God hath commanded, or forbidden it to no man, but hath left it to every man's will and pleasure, to live unmarried, or to marry.

They teach moreover, that no man ought to choose a single Life with this intent, that he should think thereby to merit Remission of Sins and Eternal Life, for himself or others. For, neither Single Life, nor any work of ours procureth these things for us, but only the Death and Grace of *Christ* alone.

## ARTICLE XX.

### Of the Time of Grace, wherein the Favor of God ought to be sought, and may be found.

Lastly, they teach in this place, that men are to understand, that so long as they live in this World, there is a time given them by God, which is a time of grace, to the end they may seek him, and his grace, goodness, mercy, and gentleness, and so through his promise may find, and by that means attain blessedness and salvation, etc. to the end also that every man, while this time of grace doth last, may

repent of his life past, be reconciled to God, and pacify, quiet and secure his own conscience through faith in *Christ*, and by his Ministry in the Church. Hereupon firmly believing, that his sins are pardoned, and that God is reconciled for the sake of *Christ*, in whose grace being established, walking and persevering in good works, he ought assuredly to expect, that his Soul being loosed from the Prison of the Body, he shall pass, not into any punishment, but be carried like poor Lazarus into eternal happiness, and there remain with the Lord *Christ* forever, etc.

### A Testimony taken out of Dr. *Martin Luther's* Preface before the Confession of the *Waldenses*, *Anno Domini* 1533.

But among these I observed also those Brethren, whom they called *Fratres Pighardi* or *Picardi*, who are not now odious to me, as they were in the days of my Popery. In a word, I found among them that one great and wonderful thing, scarce ever so much as heard of in the Popes Church, to wit, that laying aside the Doctrines of Men, so far as they were able, they meditated in the Law of the Lord night and day: and that they were skilled and ready in the Scriptures, whereas in the Papacy our Masters themselves wholly neglected the Scriptures; with the name of which they were puffed up, but some of them had not so much as seen the *Bible* at any time. But yet it could not otherwise be, but that divers places must needs remain obscure to them, because not only the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Tongues, but the *Latin* also, were in a manner lost. And that continued a fault among them, that while they endeavored to avoid the Briars and Bogs wherein the Sophisters and Monks were entangled, they wholly abstained from all study of the Arts, being withal pinched by poverty, which they relieved by the labor of their hands.

But now they appear, not a little better instructed and more free, I may say also more enlightened and better, so that I hope they will be neither unwelcome nor displeasing to such as are truly *Christian*; wherefore it behoveth us to give very great Thanks to God the Father

of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, who according to the Riches of his Glory, hath commanded this Light of his Word to shine out of Darkness, thereby to destroy Death in us, and restore Life; and we ought to rejoice also, both on their behalf and our own, that we who were among ourselves also at a distance, are now, upon throwing down that partition-wall of Jealousy, whereby we seemed Heretics to each other, made near, and reduced together into one Sheep-fold, under that one Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls, who is blessed forever. *Amen.*

The Testimony given by *Philip Melancthon* to the *Waldenses*, in an Epistle of his inscribed:

To the Reverend Brother in *Christ* Mr. *Benedict*, and the rest of the Waldensian *Brethren* in *Bohemia*.

Grace and Peace, etc. I suppose, worthy Sir, that your Brethren in this our Meeting, have known and thoroughly discerned my opinion in many things, better I think than I myself understood your affairs heretofore. Wherefore seeing we are agreed about the chief Articles of the *Christian* Faith, let us mutually embrace each other in love, for as much as no difference and variety of Rites and Ceremonies ought to disunite our minds. The Apostle *Paul* speaketh often touching Ceremonies, and forbiddeth *Christians* to disagree, because of the variety of Ceremonies, although the World quarrels vehemently about Ceremonies. Indeed, I do not dislike that severer way of Exercise or Discipline used in your Churches; I would to God it were a little more severely observed also in our Churches: As concerning mine own affection towards you, I would have you so to think, that I earnestly wish that those who love the Gospel, and desire the Name of *Christ* may be glorified, would follow one another with mutual love, and so with joint-endeavors improve their Learning to the glory of *Christ*, lest they destroy themselves by mutual and private Enmities or Dissensions, especially about those things, for which there needeth no contention. Farewell, pray for me, and for the Glory of *Christ*.

Given at *Wittenberg*, in the year 1553,

*Philip Melancthon.*

Another out of *Bucer's* Book, entitled, *Scripta duo Adversaria Latomi*, etc. in that Chapter which treateth of the Authority of the Church, *p.* 159.

That certainly is a very good course which is observed by our Brethren the *Waldenses*, who have set forth in Print that Confession of their Faith which they lately presented to King *Ferdinand*, *Anno* 1533, together with a Preface. They have also retained the Discipline of *Christ* among them; which commendation the thing itself constraineth us to give them, to the end we may praise the Lord, who so worketh in them, although those Brethren be despised by some men perversely learned. But the course which they observe in this matter is this.

Besides Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, they have a certain College of men, excelling in prudence and gravity of spirit, whose Office it is to admonish and correct offending Brethren, to compose such as disagree, and judge in their Causes, etc.

A brief Confession of Faith published by the Reformed Churches of *PIEMONTE*, *Anno Domini* 1655.

The Original whereof is to be seen, together with the rest, in the public Library of the famous University of *CAMBRIDGE*.

Having understood that our Adversaries, not contented to have most cruelly persecuted us, and robbed us of all our Goods and Estates, have yet an intention to render us odious to the World, by spreading abroad many false Reports, and so not only to defame our persons, but likewise to asperse with most shameful calumnies that

holy and wholesome Doctrine which we profess, we look upon ourselves as obliged, for the better information of those, whose minds may perhaps be preoccupied with sinister opinions, to make a short Declaration of our Faith, such as we have heretofore professed and held, and do at this day profess and hold, as conformable to the Word of God; that so every one may see the falsity of those their calumnies, and also how unjustly we are hated and persecuted upon the account of our Profession.

We believe.

1. First, that there is one only God, who is a spiritual Essence, Eternal, Infinite, All-wise, Merciful, Just, and in sum, All-perfect, and that there are three persons in that one only and simple Essence, namely, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

2. That the same God has manifested himself unto us by the Works of Creation, and Providence, as also in his Word revealed unto us, first by Oracles in several manners, and afterwards by those written Books which are called *The holy Scriptures*.

3. That we ought to receive those holy Scriptures (as we do) for sacred and canonical, that is to say, for the constant Rule of our Faith and Life: as also to believe, that the same is fully contained in the *Old and New Testament*; and that by the *Old Testament* we must understand only such Books as God did entrust the *Judaical Church* with, and which that Church always approved and acknowledged to be from God namely, the five Books of *Moses*, *Joshua*, the *Judges*, *Ruth*, 1 and 2 of *Samuel*, 1 and 2 of the *Kings*, 1 and 2 of the *Chronicles*, the 1 of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, *Job*, the *Psalms*, the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Song of Songs*, the four *great*, and the twelve *minor Prophets*: the *New Testament* contains only the four *Evangelists*, the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, the *Epistles* of *St. Paul*, 1 to the *Romans*, 2 to the *Corinthians*, 1 to the *Galatians*, 1 to the *Ephesians*, 1 to the *Philippians*, 1 to the *Colossians*, 2 to the *Thessalonians*, 2 to *Timothy*, 1 to *Titus*, 1 to *Philemon*, and his *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*, one of *St. James*, 2 of *St. Peter*, 3. of *St. John*, 1 of *St. Jude*, and lastly the *Revelation*.

4. We acknowledge the Divinity of these Books, not only from the Testimony of the Church, but more especially because of the

eternal and undoubted Truth of the Doctrine therein contained, and of that most divine Excellency, Sublimity, and Majesty, which appears therein; besides the testimony of the Holy Spirit, who gives us to receive with reverence the testimony of the Church in that point, and opens the eyes of our understanding to discover the beams of that celestial Light, which shines in the Scripture, and prepares our taste to discern the divine favor of that spiritual Food.

5. That God made all things of nothing by his own free will, and by the infinite power of his Word.

6. That he governs and rules all by his providence; ordaining and appointing whatsoever happens in this world, without being Author or cause of any evil committed by the Creatures, so that the defect thereof neither can nor ought to be any ways imputed unto him.

7. That the Angels were all in the beginning created pure and holy, but that some of them are fallen into irreparable corruption and perdition; and that the rest have persevered in their first purity by an effect of divine goodness, which has upheld and confirmed them.

8. That man was created clean and holy, after the Image of God, and that through his own fault he deprived himself of that happy condition, by giving credit to the deceitful words of the Devil.

9. That man by his transgression lost that righteousness and holiness which he received, and is thereby obnoxious to the wrath of God, Death, and Captivity, under the jurisdiction of him who has the power of Death, that is, the Devil; in so much that our free will is become a Servant and a Slave to Sin; and thus all men (both *Jews* and *Gentiles*) are by nature the Children of wrath, being all dead in their trespasses and sins, and consequently incapable of the least good motion, or inclination to anything which concerns their salvation; yea incapable to think one good thought without God's special grace, all their Imaginations being wholly evil, and that continually.

10. That all the Posterity of *Adam* is guilty of his disobedience, and infected by his corruption, and fallen into the same calamity with him, even the very Infants from their mothers womb, whence is derived the word of *original sin*.



11. That God, saves from that corruption and condemnation those whom he has chosen from the foundation of the world, not for any disposition, faith or holiness that he foresaw in them, but of his mere mercy in *Jesus Christ* his Son; passing by all the rest, according to the irreprehensible Reason of his free will and Justice.

12. That *Jesus Christ* having been ordained by the eternal Decree of God, to be the only Savior, and Head of that Body which is the Church, he redeemed it with his own Blood in the fulness of time, and communicates unto the same all his benefits, together with the Gospel.

13. That there are two natures in *Jesus Christ*, namely, Divine and Human, truly united in one and the same person, without either confusion, separation, division, or alteration; each nature keeping its own distinct proprieties; and that *Jesus Christ* is both true God and true man.

14. That God so loved the world, that is to say, those whom he has chosen out of the world, that he gave his own Son to save us by his most perfect obedience, (especially that obedience which he expressed in his Suffering the cursed Death of the Cross) and also by his Victory over the Devil, Sin, and Death.

15. That *Jesus Christ* having fully expiated our sins by his most perfect Sacrifice once offered on the Cross, it neither can, nor ought to be reiterated upon any account whatsoever, as they pretend to do in the *Mass*.

16. That the Lord having fully and absolutely reconciled us unto God, through the Blood of his Cross, by virtue of his merit only, and not of our works, we are thereby absolved and justified in his sight, neither is there any other *Purgatory* besides his Blood, which cleanses us from all sin.

17. That we are united with *Christ*, and made partakers of all his benefits by Faith, trusting and confiding wholly to those promises of life which are given us in the Gospel.

18. That that Faith is the gracious and efficacious work of the Holy Spirit which enlightens our Souls, and persuades them to lean and rest upon the mercy of God, and so thereby to apply unto themselves the merits of *Jesus Christ*.

19. That *Jesus Christ* is our true and only Mediator, not only redeeming us, but also interceding for us, and that by virtue of his merits, and intercession we have access unto the Father, for to make our Supplications unto him, with a holy confidence and assurance that he will grant us our Requests, it being needless to have recourse to any other Intercessor besides himself.

20. That as God has promised us, that we shall be regenerated in *Christ*; so those that are united unto him by a true Faith, ought to apply, and do really apply themselves unto good works.

21. That good works are so necessary to the faithful, that they cannot attain the Kingdom of Heaven without the same, seeing that God hath prepared them that we should walk therein, and therefore we ought to avoid vice and to apply ourselves to *Christian* virtues, making use of Fasting, and all other means which may conduce to so holy a thing.

22. That although our good works cannot merit anything, yet the Lord will reward or recompense them with eternal life, through the merciful continuation of his grace, and by virtue of the unchangeable constancy of his promises made unto us.

23. That those, who are already in the possession of eternal life by their faith and good works, ought to be considered as Saints, and as glorified persons, and to be praised for their virtue, and imitated in all good actions of their life, but neither worshipped nor prayed unto, for, God only is to be prayed unto, and that through *Jesus Christ*.

24. That God has chosen unto himself one Church in the World For the Salvation of Mankind, and that same Church to have one only Head and Foundation, which is *Christ*.

25. That that Church is the Company of the Faithful, who having been elected before the Foundation of the World, and called with an holy Calling, come to unite themselves to follow the Word of God, believing whatsoever he teaches them, and living in his fear.

26. That that Church cannot err, nor be annihilated, but must endure forever, and that all the Elect are upheld and preserved by the power of God in such sort, that they all persevere in the Faith

unto the end, and remain united in the holy Church, as so many living members thereof.

27. That all men ought to join with that Church, and to continue in the communion thereof.

28. That God does not only instruct and teach us by his Word, but has also ordained certain Sacraments to be joined with it, as a means to unite us unto *Christ*, and to make us partakers of his benefits; and that there are only two of them belonging in common to all the members of the Church under the *New Testament*, to wit, *Baptism*, and the *Lord's Supper*.

29. That God has ordained the Sacrament of *Baptism* to be a testimony of our Adoption, and of our being cleansed from our sins, by the Blood of *Jesus Christ*, and renewed in holiness of life.

30. That the *Holy Supper* was instituted for the nourishment of our souls, to the end that eating effectually the Flesh of *Christ*, and drinking effectually his Blood, by the incomprehensible virtue and power of the Holy Spirit, and through a true and living Faith; and so uniting ourselves most closely and inseparably to *Christ*, we come to enjoy in him and by him the Spiritual and Eternal Life. Now to the end that every one may clearly see what our Belief is as to this point, we have here inserted the very Expressions of that Prayer which we make use of before the Communion, as they are written in our Liturgy or Form of Celebrating the holy Supper, and likewise in our public Catechism, which are to be seen at the end of our Psalms: these are the words of the Prayer.

Seeing our Lord has not only once offered his Body and Blood for the Remission of our sins, but is willing also to communicate the same unto us as the Food of Eternal Life, we humbly beseech him so to give us of his grace, that in true sincerity of heart, and with an ardent zeal we may receive of him so great a benefit; that is, that we may be made partakers of his Body and Blood, or rather of his whole self, by a sure and certain Faith.

The words of the Liturgy are these, Let us then believe first, the promises which *Christ* (who is the infallible Truth) has pronounced with his own mouth, namely, that he will make us truly partakers of his Body and Blood, that so we may possess him entirely, and in

such sort that he may live in us, and we in him. The words of our Catechism are the same, *Nella Dominica* 53.

31. That it is necessary the Church should have Ministers, known by those who are employed for that purpose, to be learned, and of a good life, as well to preach the Word of God, as to administer the Sacraments, and wait upon the Flock of *Christ*, (according to the Rules of a good and holy Discipline) together with Elders and Deacons, after the manner of the Primitive Church.

32. That God hath established Kings and Magistrates to govern the People, and that the People ought to be obedient and subject unto them, by virtue of that ordination, not only for fear, but also for conscience sake, in all things that are conformable to the Word of God, who is the King of kings, and the Lord of lords.

33. Finally, that we ought to receive the Symbol of the Apostles, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue, as Fundamentals of our Faith, and of our Devotion.

And for a more ample declaration of our Faith, we do here reiterate the same Protestation which we caused to be printed in the year 1603, that is to say, that we do agree in sound Doctrine with all the Reformed Churches of France, *Great Britain*, the *Low Countries*, *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, and others, as it is represented by them in their Confessions; as also we receive the Confession of *Augsbourg*, and as it was published by the Author, promising to persevere constantly therein with the help of God both in life and death, and being ready to subscribe to that eternal truth of God, with our own Blood, even as our Ancestors have done, from the days of the Apostles, and especially in these latter Ages.

Therefore we humbly entreat all the Evangelical and Protestant Churches to look upon us as true Members of the mystical Body of *Christ*, suffering for his Name sake, notwithstanding our poverty and lowness, and to continue unto us the help of their Prayers to God, and all other effects of their charity, as we have heretofore abundantly found and felt for the which we return them our most humble thanks, entreating the Lord with all our heart to be their

Rewarder, and to pour upon them the most precious Blessings of Grace and Glory, both in this Life and that which is to come. *Amen.*

A short Justification, relating to those Points, whereof the Doctors of the *Roman Church* are wont to accuse us and other Reformed Churches, which nevertheless are condemned by us all, as being full of impiety, and to be abominated of all *Christians*.

First, we are ordinarily accused:

1. That God is the Author of sin.
2. That God is not Omnipotent.
3. That *Christ* was not impeccable.
4. That *Jesus Christ* being upon the Cross fell into Despair.
5. That Man is like a Stock or a Stone in the Actions whereunto he is moved by the Holy Spirit for his own Salvation.
6. That upon the account of Predestination, it is an indifferent thing whether we live well or no.
7. That good works are not necessary to Salvation.
8. That Repentance and Confession of Sins are absolutely condemned amongst us.
9. That Fastings and other Mortifications ought to be rejected, and that we ought to live dissolutely.
10. That it is lawful for everyone to interpret the Scripture according to his own mind, and the motions of a private spirit.
11. That the Church may fall absolutely, and be reduced to nothing.
12. That Baptism is a thing not at all necessary.
13. That in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper we have no real communion with *Jesus Christ*, but only in figure or type.
14. That we ought not to submit ourselves to any Kings, Princes, or Magistrates whatsoever, nor yield obedience to them.
15. Because we do not pray to the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, we are accused of despising them, whereas on the contrary, we account them happy, and also worthy of praise, and imitation; and

do more especially esteem the glorious Virgin to be blessed above all other Women.

All these things being falsely imputed unto us, are held for heretical and damnable by our Churches: and we do with all our heart denounce *Anathema* against all those who maintain and hold the same.

## CHAPTER V: *The ancient Discipline of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of PIEMONTE.*

Extracted out of divers Authentic Manuscripts, written in their own Language several hundreds of years before either *Calvin* or *Luther*.

### ARTICLE I.

#### Concerning Discipline.

Discipline contains in itself all moral Doctrine, according to the teaching of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, showing after what manner each one ought to live in his Calling by Faith, and walk worthily in present righteousness.

The holy Scripture reciteth divers Doctrines touching this Discipline, and sheweth not only how everyone in particular ought to live, of what estate, age, or condition soever he be, but also what ought to be the union, consent, and bond of love in the Communion of the Faithful. Now if so be any one desire to have a knowledge of these things, let him read what the *Apostle* saith in his *Epistles*, and he shall find it there amply set down, especially in what manner everyone is bound to keep himself in unity, and to walk in such sort, that he be not an occasion of scandal and ruin to his neighbor, either by sinful words or actions; and in that sort he is bound not only to avoid evil, but the occasion also and appearance thereof; and when any is fallen, to use his best endeavor to restore him, and to bring him to amendment of life.

By divers such general Doctrines, those who are of the household of faith ought to be instructed, that so they may walk worthily in the house of the Lord, and not make it a *Den of Thieves* by their profane and perverse conversation, and by their toleration of evil.

### ARTICLE II.

## Concerning Pastors or Ministers.

All those which are to be received as Pastors amongst us, while they remain with their Brethren they are to intreat our People to receive them into the Ministry, as likewise that they would be pleased to pray to God for them, that they may be made worthy of so great a Charge; and this they are to do, to give a proof or evidence of their humility.

We also appoint them their Lectures, and set them their Tasks, that they may get by heart all the Chapters of St. *Matthew* and St. *John*, with all the *Epistles* which are called *Canonical*, and a good part of the Writings of *Solomon*, *David*, and the *Prophets*.

And afterwards having good Testimonials, and being well approved of, they are received with Imposition (*or laying on*) of hands and preaching.

He that is received the last ought to do nothing without the permission of him that was received before him; and in like sort the former ought to do nothing without the consent of his Associate, that so all things may be done amongst us in good order.

Our daily food, and that raiment wherewith we are covered, we have ministered and given to us freely and by way of alms, sufficient for us, by the good People whom we teach and instruct.

Amongst other Privileges which God hath given to his Servants, he hath given them this, to choose their Leaders and those who are to govern the People, and to constitute Elders in their Charges, according to the diversity of the work in the unity of *Christ*; which is clear by that saying of the *Apostle* in the Epistle to *Titus*, chap. 1. *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee.*

When any one of us the foresaid Pastors falls into any gross sin, he is both excommunicated and prohibited to preach.

## ARTICLE III.

### Of the Instructing of their Youth



Those Children which are born of Carnal Parents, ought to be made Spiritual towards God by Discipline and Instruction, as it is said in *Ecclesiasticus*, *He that loveth his Son causeth him oft to feel the Rod, that so he may have joy of him in the end, and may not be ashamed before his Neighbor. He that instructeth his Son, shall have praise in him, and shall gain commendation in the midst of his household. He that teacheth his Son maketh his Enemy jealous, and getteth honor among his Friends. Though his Father die, yet he is as though he were not dead, for he leaveth behind him one like unto himself: while he lived, he saw and rejoiced in him, and when he died he was not confounded or sorrowful before his Enemies: For he left behind him such as shall uphold his house against his Enemies, and Children that shall requite kindness to his Friends.*

Instruct thy Son in the fear of the Lord, and in the ways of the Customs, and of the Faith.

Despair not of thy Child, when he will not receive willingly thy correction, and though he be not speedily good, for the Laborer gathereth not all the Fruit of the Earth so soon as he casts the seed into the ground, but waiteth the appointed time.

In like manner, a man ought to correct and keep in his Daughters. Hast thou Daughters? keep their Bodies that they wander not, for *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob* was ravished by showing herself abroad to Strangers.

## ARTICLE IV.

### The Catechism of the ancient *Waldenses* for the Instructing of their Youth.

*The Minister.*

If one should demand of you, who are you, what would you answer?

*Child:* A Creature of God, reasonable, and mortal.

*Minister:* Why has God created you?

*Answer:* To the end that I might know him and serve him, and be saved by his grace.

*Minister:* Wherein consists your salvation?

*Answer:* In three substantial virtues, which necessarily belong to salvation.

*Minister:* Which are they?

*Answer:* Faith, Hope, and Charity.

*Minister:* How can you prove that?

*Answer:* The Apostle writes, 1 Cor. 13, *Now abideth, Faith, Hope, and charity, these three.*

*Minister:* What is Faith?

*Answer:* According to the Apostle, *Heb. 11*, It is the *substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen.*

*Minister:* How many sorts of Faith are there?

*Answer:* There are two sorts, namely, a Living and a Dead Faith.

*Minister:* What is a Living Faith?

*Answer:* It is that which works by charity.

*Minister:* What is a Dead Faith?

*Answer:* According to St. *James*, It is *that which without works is dead.* Again, Faith is null without works. Or, a Dead Faith is, to believe that there is a God, to believe on God, and not to believe in him.

*Minister:* What is your Faith?

*Answer:* The true Catholic and Apostolic Faith.

*Minister:* What is that?

*Answer:* It is that which in the Result (or Symbol) of the Apostle, is divided into twelve Articles.

*Minister:* What is that?

*Answer:* *I believe in God the Father Almighty, etc.*

*Minister:* By what way can you know that you believe in God?

*Answer:* By this, that I know and I observe the Commandments of God.

*Minister:* How many Commandments of God are there?

*Answer:* Ten, as is manifest in *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*.

*Minister:* Which be they?

*Answer:* *Hear O Israel, I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have none other Gods before me. Thou shalt not make any graven Image, or any likeness of anything, that is in Heaven, etc.*

*Minister:* What is the sum (or drift) of these Commandments?

*Answer:* It consists in these two great Commandments, namely, Thou shalt love God above all things, and thy Neighbor as thyself.

*Minister:* What is that Foundation of these Commandments, by the which everyone may enter into life, and without the which Foundation none can do anything worthily, or fulfill the Commandments?

*Answer:* The Lord *Jesus Christ*, of whom the Apostle speaks in the 1 *Cor.* *Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.*

*Minister:* By what means may a man come to this Foundation?

*Answer:* By Faith, as saith St. *Peter*, 1 *Pet.* 2:6, *Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious, and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded.* And the Lord saith, *He that believeth, hath eternal life.*

*Minister:* Whereby canst thou know that thou believest?

*Answer:* By this, that I know him to be true God, and true Man, who was born, and who hath suffered, etc. for my Redemption, Justification, And that I love him, and desire to fulfil his Commandments.

*Minister:* By what means may one attain to those essential Virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity?

*Answer:* By the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

*Minister:* Do'st thou believe in the Holy Spirit?

*Answer:* Yes, I do believe. For the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is one Person of the Trinity: and according to the Divinity, is equal to the Father and the Son.

*Minister:* Thou believest God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, thou hast therefore three Gods.

*Answer:* I have not three.

*Minister:* Yea, but thou hast named three.

*Answer:* That is by reason of the difference of the Persons, not by reason of the Essence of the Divinity. For, although there are three Persons, yet notwithstanding there is but one Essence.

*Minister:* In what manner dost thou adore and worship that God on whom thou believest?

*Answer:* I adore him with the adoration of an inward and outward worship. Outwardly, by the bending of the knee, and lifting up the hands, by bowing the body, by hymns and spiritual songs, by fasting and prayer But inwardly, by an holy affection: by a Will conformable unto all things, that are well pleasing unto him. And I

serve him by Faith, Hope, and Charity, according to his Commandments.

*Minister:* Do'st thou adore and worship any other thing as God?

*Answer:* No.

*Minister:* Why?

*Answer:* Because of his Commandment, whereby it is strictly commanded, saying, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* And again, *I will not give my glory to another.* Again, *As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow before me.* And *Jesus Christ* saith, *There shall come the true worshippers which shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.* And the Angel would not be worshipped by *St. John*, nor *St. Peter* by *Cornelius*.

*Minister:* After what manner prayest thou?

*Answer:* I pray, rehearsing the Prayer given me by the Son of God, saying, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, etc.

*Minister:* What is the other substantial virtue appertaining to salvation?

*Answer:* It is Charity.

*Minister:* What is Charity?

*Answer:* It is the gift of the Holy Spirit by which the soul is reformed in the will, being enlightened by faith, whereby I believe all that ought to be believed, and hope all that ought to be hoped.

*Minister:* Do'st thou believe in the Holy Church?

*Answer:* No, for it is a creature, but I believe that there is one.

*Minister:* What is that which thou believest concerning the Holy Church?

*Answer:* I say, that the Church is considered two manner of ways, the one Substantially, and the other Ministerially. As it is considered Substantially, by the Holy Catholic Church is meant all the Elect of God, from the beginning of the World to the end, by the grace of God through the merit of *Christ*, gathered together by the Holy Spirit, and foreordained to eternal life; the number and names of whom are known to him alone who has elected them; and in this Church remains none who is reprobate; but the Church, as it is considered according to the truth of the Ministry, is the company of the Ministers of *Christ*, together with the People committed to their Charge, using the Ministry, by Faith, Hope, and Charity.

*Minister:* Whereby dost thou know the Church of *Christ*?

*Answer:* By the Ministers lawfully called, and by the People participating in truth of the Ministry.

*Minister:* But by what Marks knowest thou the Ministers?

*Answer:* By the true sense of Faith, by sound Doctrine, by a Life of good Example, by the preaching of the Gospel, and a due Administration of the Sacraments.

*Minister:* By what Mark knowest thou the false Ministers?

*Answer:* By their fruits, by their blindness, by their evil works, by their perverse Doctrine, and by their undue administration of the Sacraments.

*Minister:* Whereby knowest thou their blindness?

*Answer:* When, not knowing the truth, which necessarily appertains to salvation, they observe human Inventions as Ordinances of God. Of whom is verified what *Isaiah* says, and which is alleged by our Lord *Jesus Christ*, *Matt. 15, This People honor me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for Doctrines the commandments of men.*

*Minister:* By what Marks knowest thou evil works?

*Answer:* By those manifest sins of which the Apostle speaks, *Gal. 5*, saying, *That they which do such things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.*

*Minister:* By what Mark knowest thou perverse Doctrine?

*Answer:* When it teacheth contrary to Faith and Hope; such is Idolatry of several sorts, namely, towards a reasonable, sensible, visible or invisible Creature. For, it is the Father alone with his Son and the Holy Spirit, who ought to be worshipped, and not any creature whatsoever. But when on the contrary they attribute to man and to the work of his hands, or to his words, or to his authority in such a manner, that men ignorantly believe that they have satisfied God by a false Religion, and by satisfying the covetous Simony of the Priests.

*Minister:* By what Marks is the undue Administration of the Sacrament known?

*Answer:* When the Priests not knowing the intention of *Christ* in the Sacraments, say, that the grace and the truth is included in the external Ceremonies, and persuade men to the participation of the Sacrament without the truth, and without faith. But the Lord chargeth those that are his to take heed of such false Prophets,

saying, *Beware of the Pharisees*, that is to say, *of the Leaven of their Doctrine*. Again, *Believe them not, neither go after them*. And David hates the Church or the Congregation of such persons, saying, *I hate the Church of evil men*. And the Lord commands *to come out from the midst of such people*, Numb. 16. *Depart from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest you be consumed in their sins*. And the Apostle 2 Cor. 6:14, *Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers. For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness, and what concord hath Christ with Belial, or what part hath he that believeth with an Infidel. And what agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols, wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you*. Again, 2 Thess. *Now we command you, Brethren, that you withdraw yourselves from every Brother that walketh disorderly*. Again, Rev. 18. *Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues*.

*Minister*: By what Marks are those People known who are not in truth within the Church?

*Answer*: By public sins, and an erroneous faith. For, we ought to flee from such persons, lest we be defiled by them.

*Minister*: By what ways oughtest thou to communicate with the Holy Church?

*Answer*: I ought to communicate with the Church in regard of its substance, by Faith and Charity, as also by observing the Commandments, and by a final perseverance in well doing.

*Minister*: How many things are there which are ministerial?

*Answer*: Two. The Word and the Sacraments.

*Minister*: How many Sacraments are there?

*Answer*: Two, namely, *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*.

*Minister*: What is the third virtue necessary to salvation?

*Answer*: Hope.

*Minister*: What is Hope?

*Answer*: It a waiting for Grace and Glory to come.

*Minister*: How does a man wait (or hope) for Grace?

*Answer*: By the Mediator *Jesus Christ*, of whom St. John saith, *Grace comes by Jesus Christ*. Again, *We have seen his Glory, who is full of Grace and Truth*. And *we all have received of his fulness*.

*Minister*: What is that Grace?

*Answer:* It is Redemption, Remission of sins, Justification, Adoption, and Sanctification.

*Minister:* Upon what account is this Grace hoped for in *Christ*?

*Answer:* By a living Faith, and true Repentance, saying, *Repent ye, and believe the Gospel.*

*Minister:* Whence proceedeth this Hope?

*Answer:* From the gift of God, and the promises of which the Apostle mentioneth, *He is powerful to perform whatsoever he promiseth.* For he hath promised himself, that whosoever shall know him, and repent, and shall hope in him, he will have mercy upon, pardon, and justify, etc.

*Minister:* What are the things that put us beside this hope?

*Answer:* A dead faith, the seduction of *Antichrist* to believe in other things beside *Christ*, that is to say, in Saints, in the power of that *Antichrist*, in his authority, words, and benedictions, in Sacraments, Relics of the Dead, in Purgatory, which is but forged and contrived, in teaching that faith is obtained by those ways which oppose themselves to the truth, and are against the Commandments of God, As is Idolatry in divers respects. As also by wickedness and Simony, etc. Forsaking the fountain of living water given by grace, and running to broken cisterns, worshipping, honoring, and serving the creature by Prayers, by Fastings, by Sacrifices, by Donations, by Offerings, by Pilgrimages, by Invocations, etc. Relying upon themselves for the acquiring of grace, which none can give save only God in *Christ*. In vain do they labor, and lose their money and their lives, and the truth is, they do not only lose their present life, but also that which is to come; wherefore it is said, that *the hope of fools shall perish.*

*Minister:* And what dost thou say, of the blessed Virgin Mary, For she is full of grace, as the Angel testifies, *I salute thee full of grace.*

*Answer:* The blessed Virgin was and is *full of grace*, as much as is necessary for her own particular, but not to communicate to others, for, her Son alone is full of grace, and can communicate the same as he pleaseth, and *We have all received of his fulness, grace for grace.*

*Minister:* Believest thou not the Communion of Saints?

*Answer:* I believe that there are two sorts of things wherein the Saints communicate, the first Substantial, the other Ministerial. As

to the Substantials, they communicate by the Holy Spirit, in God through the merit of *Jesus Christ*; as to the Ministerials or Ecclesiastics, they communicate by the Ministry duly performed, namely, by the Word, by the Sacraments, and by Prayer: I believe both the one and the other of these Communions of Saints. The first only in God, and in *Jesus Christ*, and in the Holy Ghost by the Holy Spirit. The other in the Church of *Christ*.

*Minister*: Wherein consists eternal life?

*Answer*: In a living and operating faith, and in perseverance in the same. Our Savior says, *John 17, This is life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. And he that endures to the end shall be saved.*

## ARTICLE V.

### Concerning Elders, the Distribution of Alms, and Ecclesiastical Assemblies.

Rulers and Elders are chosen out of the People, according to the diversity of the work, in the unity of Christ, And the Apostle proveth it in the Epistle to Titus 1, For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee.

The Money which is given us by the People, is by us carried to the general Council, and there delivered publicly in the presence of all; and afterwards the same is taken and distributed by our Stewards, part thereof being given to such as are sent upon journeys for occasion, and part thereof to the poor.

We that are Pastors, assemble once a year, to treat of our affairs in a general Council.

## ARTICLE VI.

### Of Ecclesiastical Correction or Discipline.

In like manner, Correction (or Discipline) is to be used to retain the People under a reverence, that so those which are not faithful, may be punished, and excommunicated, either for their ungodly conversation, or erroneous Doctrine, or transgressing the Rules of



Charity, or for failing in point of Hope, or for being guilty of any of those the forementioned evils, which may possibly be all found together in some one particular person. Now that the use of such Correction as this is necessary, the Lord *Jesus Christ* teacheth us, saying, *If thy Brother sin, go and rebuke him between thee and him alone, if he hearken to thee thou hast gained thy Brother.* The Apostle likewise in his Epistle to the *Galatians* confirmeth this, saying, *If a man be taken in a fault (or sin) you that are spiritual, instruct such an one in the spirit of meekness.*

But for as much as all receive not correction in love, the Lord teacheth what the spiritual guides ought to do in this case, saying, *But if he hearken not unto thee, then take with thee one or two, that so every word may be established in the mouth of two or three witnesses.*

And this is the Lord's meaning in case the fault be not known to many; but it's to be understood otherwise, when the sin is manifest and known to everyone, as a sin; for in such a case, the chastisement ought to be public. And this the Apostle showeth, saying, *Rebuke those that sin in the presence of all, that so others may fear.*

## ARTICLE VII.

### Of Excommunication.

But in case all these Chastisements produce no amendment of life, nor forbearance of evil, *Christ* himself teacheth us how we ought to proceed against such an one, *If he hear not those, tell it to the church, (that is, to the Rulers by whom the church is governed and conferred) that so he may be afflicted with punishment, especially because of his contumacy.* Which the Apostle also confirmeth, *For, I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus Christ.* And if any man that is called a Brother amongst you be a Fornicator, or covetous, or an Idolater, or a Railer, or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner, with such an one you shall

*not eat, therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person. Also, if there be any that obeyeth not our word, mark such a one by Epistle, and have nothing to do with him, that he may be ashamed, (and yet count him not as an Enemy, but admonish him as a Brother).* And as the Lord saith, *Let him be to thee as an heathen man, or a Publican,* that is, let him be deprived of all benefit from the Church, or Ministry, and from the Assembly of the Church, and the Communion of Saints.

## ARTICLE VIII.

### Of Marriage.

Marriage ought to be performed according to the Rules prescribed by God, and not within those degrees which he hath forbidden. And there need no scruple of conscience be made concerning what the Pope hath forbidden, although we give him no money for a Dispensation; for that which God hath not forbidden may very well be done without his permission.

The bond of holy Marriage ought not to be made without the consent of Friends on both sides, for as much as Children ought to be wholly at the disposal of their Parents.

## ARTICLE IX.

### Of Taverns.

The Tavern is a Fountain of sin, and School of the Devil, which worketh his Miracles after his own manner. God useth to show his power in the Church, and there to work his Miracles, namely, by opening the eyes of the blind, and making the lame to walk, and the dumb to speak, and the deaf to hear, but the Devil doth the clean contrary in the Tavern. For when the Drunkard goeth to the Tavern, he goes upright, and when he returneth, he reels and staggers, and hath as it were lost his sight, hearing, and speech. Behold the Miracles which the Devil worketh in the Tavern. The Lessons which are learned in this School of the Devil are Drunkenness, Swearing, Lying, Perjury, Blasphemy, to deny God, and commit many other sins. This is the place where for the most part are raised all quarrels,

slanders, contentions, and murders; and those which keep the Taverns, and suffer this, are partakers of all those sins and evils there committed. For certainly, if any should offer to speak so reproachfully of their Father and Mother in the presence of those men, as they suffer to be spoken of God, the glorious Virgin, and the Saints in Paradise, for to sell a Penny-worth of Wine, they would never suffer them so peaceably to abide in their houses. And therefore it's said in *Ecclesiasticus*, that *he that keepeth a Tavern shall not be held guiltless*.

## ARTICLE X, Of Dancings or Balls.

A Ball is the Devils Procession, and whosoever entereth in there, entereth into his Procession. The Devil is the Leader, the Middle, and the End of the Dance. So many Paces as a man maketh in a Ball, so many Leaps he maketh towards Hell. They sin in Dancing sundry ways, first, in walking, for all their Paces are numbered, they sin in touching, in their ornaments, in hearing, and seeing, in speaking, in singing, in lies and vanities. A Ball is nothing but misery, sin, and vanity; and therefore we will show as touching Balls; first by testimony of Scripture, and afterwards by Reasons, how wicked a thing it is thus to dance. The first testimony we produce is out of the Gospel, where the dancing Damsel caused *John Baptist's* head to be cut off. The second is in *Exodus*, when *Moses* drawing near to the Congregation saw the Calf, and the Dancing, *Exod. 32:19, He cast the Tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the Mount, and afterwards were slain of the People about three thousand men*. Besides the Ornaments which Women wear in Balls, are as so many Crowns, signifying the several Victories which the Devil hath obtained by them against the Children of God, for the Devil hath not only a Sword in these Balls, but also comely persons, and well adorned; for the Tongue of a Woman is a glittering Sword; and therefore certainly that place is much to be feared where the Enemy hath so many Swords, seeing that any one of his Swords is exceedingly to be dreaded; moreover the Devil in this place smiteth with a very sharp Sword, for the Women come not willingly to Balls without painting and adorning themselves, which paint and

ornaments are like the whetting of the Devils Sword, and the Rings which are made in Balls, as the round stones whereon he sharpens them. Those which thus attire and adorn their Daughters are as they which lay dry wood Upon the fire, that it may burn the better; for such Women do kindle the fire of lust in the hearts of men: and as the Foxes of *Sampson* burned the Corn of the *Philistines*, so have these women fire in their faces, and in their actions, namely, it's in their looks, features, and words, by which they consume men's Estates. The third Reason is, that the Devil maketh use in Balls of his best Armor of proof. Now the strongest Weapons the Devil hath, are Women; which is shown in that the Devil made choice of the Woman to deceive the first Man by. And so *Balaam* made choice of Women to make the children of *Israel* to be rejected. By a Woman the Devil made *Sampson*, *David* and *Absolom* to sin. The Devil tempted the Man by a Woman three manner of ways, namely, by touching, sight, and hearing. By these three ways he tempts at Balls those men which are unwise, that is to say by touching of the hands, by a beautiful look, and by the sweetness of the voice. The fourth Reason is, that they which thus dance break that agreement which they made with God at their Baptism, when their God-fathers and God-mothers promise for them, to renounce the Devil and all his pomp. Balls are the pomp and the mass of the Devil, and who so entereth into Balls entereth into the Devils pomp and Mass. For the Woman that singeth at the Ball, is the Prioress of the Devil, and they that answer are Clerks, and they which look on are the Parishioners. As likewise the Cimbals and the Flutes are the Bells and the Musicians are the Ministers of the Devil. For as when the Swine are scattered abroad, and the Swineherd makes one cry, straightway the other flock together to him; so the Devil causeth one Woman to sing at the Ball, or play on the Music, that so all the Swine, (that is, the Dancers) may straightway draw together into a knot.

*Item*, at the Balls they violate the ten Commandments of God, namely, the first, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but me*. But,

At the Ball they adore that person whom they study to serve, and therefore St. *Hierome* saith, that the God is of every one is that which he serveth, and loveth above all things.

They sin in Balls against the second Commandment, when they make idols of that which each one loveth.

Against the third Commandment, *Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*. When at the Balls they serve the vanity of sin.

Against the fourth, for by Balls the Sabbath Day is profaned.

Against the fifth, *Honor thy Father and thy Mother*. For in Dancing the Parents are often dishonored, while many contracts and agreements are there made without their knowledge or consent.

Against the sixth, *Thou shalt not kill*. For persons are often killed at Balls; since every person who studieth to please another killeth the soul in moving her to lust.

They sin in Balls against the seventh. *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*. For the person, Male or Female, commits Adultery so often as they lust; for *He that looketh upon a Woman to lust after her, hath already committed Adultery with her*.

Against the eighth, *Thou shalt not steal*. They sin at the Ball against this Commandment, when one steals the heart of another away from God.

Against the ninth, *Thou shalt not bear false witness*. When one speaketh falsely at the Ball, contrary to truth.

The tenth, *Thou shalt not covet*. They sin against this, when the Women covet the Ornaments of others; and when Men covet the Wives, Daughters, and Servants of their Neighbors.

Moreover it might be showed how great an evil these Balls are by the multitude of sins which they that dance commit. For they do all by measure and number. And therefore St. *Augustine* said, *The miserable Dancer knoweth not that so many Paces as he maketh at a Ball, by so many leaps he draweth nearer to Hell*. They sin in their Ornaments in five respects; first, in being proud. In the second place, when they inveigle the hearts of those which look upon them in lust. In the third place, when they shame others which have not such Ornaments, giving them occasion to covet the like. Fourthly, when they make Women importunate in asking such Ornaments of their

Husbands. In the fifth place, when not obtaining them of their Husbands, they procure them by other sinful ways.

They sin in Singing and Playing on Instruments; for their Songs charm and make drunk the hearts of those which hear them with temporal joy, forgetting God, and uttering nothing in their Songs but lies and follies. Yea the very Gestures themselves which are made in Dancing, bear witness of evil.

Men ought to know that Balls are the Procession of the Devil, and that who so entereth into the Ball entereth into his Procession; the Devil is the Leader, the Middle, and the End, and many there are who enter good and wise into the Ball, which come out corrupted and wicked. *Sarah* that holy Woman was none of these.

## ARTICLE XI.

After what manner Men ought to converse with those  
without.

Not to love the World.

To shun bad Company.

If it be possible, to have peace with all.

Not to sue at the Law.

Not to avenge oneself.

To love one's Enemies.

To be willing to undergo travails, calumnies, threatenings, rejection, shame, injuries, and all sorts of torments for the Truth.

To possess their Souls in patience.

Not to yoke themselves with Infidels.

Not to communicate at all with wicked works, and more especially with those which savor of Idolatry, or the service belonging to it, and so of other things.

## ARTICLE XII.

After what manner the Faithful ought to govern their  
Bodies.

Not to serve the carnal desires of the flesh.

To keep their Members that they be not weapons of iniquity.

To govern their thoughts.

To subject the Body to the Soul.

To mortify their members.

To shun idleness.

To keep sobriety and moderation in eating and drinking, in speeches, and in the troubles of the world.

To work works of mercy.

To live by faith, and lead a moral life.

To fight against Lusts.

To mortify the works of the flesh.

To observe times which are due to Exercises of Religion.

To confer together touching the will of God.

To examine diligently the Conscience.

To purify, amend and quiet the spirit.

The End

CHAPTER VI: *Extracts of several very authentic and rare Treatises, composed by the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys of Piemont, a great part whereof were written about four hundred and twenty, others above five hundred and fifty Years ago, and the rest in all probability are of a far more ancient date.*

The true Originals of all which were collected with no little pains and industry, by the Author of this History, during his abode in those parts, and at his Return, by him presented to the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

It would now, without all question, be both nauseous, and injurious to ingenious Readers, for the Author to presume to intermingle his own private Glosses or reflections upon the subject of the foregoing Chapters. It is sufficiently evident what a Conformity both the Doctrine and Discipline of the ancient Inhabitants of these Valleys, bear to the Doctrine and Discipline of all the Reformed Churches at this very day. I must needs confess, this is a point, wherein I chiefly labored from the first beginning, to be clearly and fully informed of, partly for mine own private satisfaction, and partly to answer the earnest desire of that Pillar of Learning, and Pattern of Piety, the late Lord Primate of *Ireland* who some few days before my setting out for *Savoy*, sent for me on purpose to his Chamber, and there gave me a very serious and strict charge, to use my utmost diligence, in the inquiry after, and to spare no cost: in the purchase of all those Manuscripts and authentic Pieces which might give any light into the ancient Doctrine and Discipline of those Churches; adding, that there was nothing in the World he was more curious and impatient to know, as being a Point of exceeding great weight and moment for stopping the Mouths of our Popish Adversaries, and discovering the foot-steps of our Religion in those dark Intervals of the eighth, ninth, and tenth Centuries. This serious Injunction of that Reverend and worthy



Man, together with mine own real Inclinations, caused me to leave no stone unturned, nor to lose any opportunity during my abode in those parts, for the real effecting this thing; and though the Popes Emissaries had already gathered the more choice Clusters and first ripe Fruits, yet I met at least with the Grape-gleanings of the Vintage, I mean, divers Pieces of Antiquity, some whereof had been a long time buried under Dust and Rubbish, others had been scattered about in the Valleys, some here, some there, in desert and obscure places, and without a singular providence had never come to light. Now to insert them all at length, would make the Work in hand swell into too great a Volume, therefore I have only thought fit to insert a bare Catalogue of the whole, and out of that to pick some few, to present the Reader with, that so he may the better judge of the rest.

A Catalogue of divers Manuscripts, written by the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys (the greatest part of them in their own Language) collected by the Author of this History during his abode in those parts; the true Originals of all which are to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

The Volume marked with the Letter *A*, contains in it the following Treatises.

1. The History of the Creation and Deluge, written in their own Language.

2. An excellent Treatise of sundry profitable Instructions which a man ought to learn from the nature of divers Animals.

3. *Lo tracta de li pecca*, or a Treatise of Sin, which is an allegorical and moral Explanation of the *Beast* described. *Rev.* 13.

4. A Treatise of the Word of God, and the power and efficacy thereof; as also how it ought to be received; at the end whereof there is affixed the Date, either of the Work, or at least of the Copy of it, namely, *Anno Domini* 1230.

5. Several *Latin* Pieces, which are certain Rhapsodies concerning Priests and Friers.

6. A Treatise against *Tramettament*, or Traditions and Ordinances of Men, as not consonant to the holy Scriptures.

7. An Exhortation to *Herman*, to convert himself to God, and not to the Creatures.

8. Concerning Pharisaical Plantations which the Father hath not planted, namely, the Orders and Sects, of *Monks*, *Franciscan Friers*, *Dominicans*, and the like, which are not ordained by God.

9. A *Latin* Treatise *De Officiis Conjugum, Viri & Uxor.*

10. A *Latin* Treatise *De Symbolo Apostolico.*

11. A *Latin* Treatise *De Ædificatione Urbium, Idololatria ortu & progressu, ejusque ever sione per Evangelii predicationem.*

12. A *Latin* Treatise, *Quibus Modis peccatum fiat.*

13. A *Latin* Treatise *De verâ peccati purgatione.*

14. A *Latin* Treatise entitled, *Uni Deo placere studeamus.*

15. A *Latin* Treatise entitled, *Tres veritates: 1. Doctrina. 2. Justitia. 3. Vita.*

16. A *Latin* Treatise entitled, *Solâ Dei Lege scriptâ definiri Fidei Controversias.*

In the Volume marked with the Letter *B*, are contained the following Treatises, all written in that which is called the *Waldensian* Language, in Parchments, and that in a very ancient, but excellent Character.

1. *Glosa Pater*, or the Explication of the Lord's Prayer.

2. *Trecenas*, or divers passages of the Evangelists and Epistles.

3. *Doctor*, that is, divers Sentences and Testimonies of the Fathers touching Repentance.

4. *Penas*, or a Treatise concerning the punishment of sin.

5. *Li Goy de Paradis*, a Treatise concerning the Joys of Paradise.

6. An Epistle to all the Faithful.

7. A Poem entitled, *Novel Confort*.

8. A Poem entitled. *Novel Sermon*, containing many wholesome Instructions to the People.

9. A Poem entitled, *La Noble Leyçon*.

10. A Poem entitled, *Pair eternal*.

11. A Poem entitled, *Barca*, concerning the misery and shortness of man's life, and his arriving at the Haven of Salvation.

12. An Explanation of the ten Commandments.

13. An Explanation of the Articles of the Apostles Creed.

14. A Treatise concerning Vice, and Mortal Sins.

15. A Treatise concerning the seven Gifts of the Spirit, *Isai* 11.

16. A Treatise concerning the three Theological, and the four Cardinal Virtues.

17. A Treatise concerning the Goods of Fortune, Nature, and Grace.

18. A Treatise concerning the six honorable things in this World.

19. Several Sermons upon several Texts of Scripture; Namely,

A. A Sermon upon the second of *Matthew* touching idle words.

B. A Sermon upon *Eph.* 4, touching the putting on of the New Man.

C. A Sermon *Del Fantin Jesus*, or concerning the little Child *Jesus*, during his abode in *Jerusalem*, *Luke* 2.

D. A Sermon touching *Christ's* being tempted in the Desert, *Matt.* 4 and *Luke* 4.

E. A Sermon upon *Matt.* 8:25. *Save us, or else we perish.*

F. A Sermon touching the Rich Man, *Luke* 16.

G. A Sermon upon the sixth of *John*.

H. A Sermon upon the Parable of the Sower, *Matt.* 13.

In the Volume marked with the Letter *C*, are contained the following Treatises.

1. An Exhortation to confess our Sins one unto another, and unto God.

2. A Sermon touching the Fear of the Lord.

3. A Sermon touching the Accusation of Sinners before God, in Judgment.

4. A Treatise touching Tribulations.

5. A Treatise touching the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*, and others.

6. A Treatise concerning the Sufferings and Constancy of *Job*.

7. An Extract of the History of *Tobias*.

In the Volume *D*, are many excellent and heavenly Meditations, touching the Miseries, Tribulations, and Shortness of this Life; as likewise of Repentance, Good Works, and the like; written in the Language of the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys, in Parchment, but the Letter almost worn out with age, which according to many probable circumstances of the place and manner of its preservation, is judged to have been written at least six or seven hundred years ago.

In the Volume marked *E*, are contained.

1. A *Latin Grammar* of the ancient *Barbes* or *Ministers*.

2. The Proverbs of *Solomon* and *Ecclesiastes*.
3. A pious Piece of Poesy in the Language of the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys.
4. A Treatise concerning the Love and Fear of God, and the manner of Life which *Christians* ought to live.
5. A Treatise of Morals in *Latin*.
6. A Treatise of Arithmetic.

In the Volume *F*, are collected and written in Parchment, in that which is called the Waldensian Language, of a very ancient, but fair and distinct Character.

The Gospel of *Matthew*.

The first Chapter of *Luke*.

The Gospel of *John*.

The Acts of the Apostles.

The first Epistle to the *Corinthians*.

The Epistle to the *Galatians*.

The Epistle to the *Ephesians*.

The Epistle to the *Philippians*.

The first Epistle to the *Thessalonians*.

The second Epistle to *Timothy*.

The Epistle to *Titus*.

The eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

The first and second Epistle to *Peter*, but imperfect.

The noble Lesson written in the Language of the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys, in the Year 1100. Extracted out of a most authentic Manuscript, the true Original whereof is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

O Brethren , give ear to a noble Lesson.

We ought always to watch and pray,

For we see the World nigh to a conclusion.

We ought to strive to do good works,

Seeing that the end of this World approacheth.

There are already *a thousand and one hundred years fully accomplished*,

Since it was written thus, *For we are in the last time*.

We ought to covet little, for we are at what remains, namely, at the later end.

We see daily the Signs to be accomplished,

And that in the increase of evil, and decrease of good.

These are the perils which the Scripture mentioneth,

In the Gospels and St. *Paul's* Writings:

As also, that no man living can know the end.

And therefore we ought the more to fear, as not being certain,

Whether we shall die today or tomorrow.

But when the Day of Judgment shall come,

Everyone shall receive their full Reward.

Those that shall have done either well or ill.

Now the Scripture saith, and we ought to believe it,

That all men shall pass two ways.

The good to glory, and the wicked to torment.

But he that shall not believe this Departure,

Let him search the Scripture from the very beginning,

Since *Adam* was formed until this present time,

There he shall find, if he hath understanding,

That *few are the saved* in comparison of the rest.

Wherefore every one that will do: good works,

The honor of God the Father ought to be his first moving Principle.

He ought likewise to implore the aid of his glorious Son, the dear Son of the Virgin *Mary*,

And the Holy Ghost which lightens us in the true way.

These three (the holy Trinity) as being but one God, ought to be called upon,

Full of all power, wisdom, and goodness.

This we ought often to beg and pray for,

That he would enable us to encounter our Enemies,

And overcome them before our end,

Which are the World, the Devil, and the Flesh:

And that he would give us wisdom accompanied with goodness,

That we may know the way of life,

And keep pure that Soul which God hath given us,

Yea both Soul and Body in way of Charity,

So as we love the holy Trinity,

And our Neighbor, for God hath commanded it.

Not only those which do as good, but those also which harm us.

Having hope in the King of Heaven,

That at the end he may receive us into his glorious habitation.

Now he who shall not do what is contained in this Lesson,

Shall never enter into this house.

Though it be never so hard to be received by the wicked,

Which love Gold and Silver,

Which have the promises of God in contempt,

Who neither keep his Law and Commandments,

Nor suffer those who would to keep them,

But rather hinder them to the utmost of their power.

How came this evil to enter into mankind?

Because *Adam* sinned at the first beginning,

By eating of the forbidden Apple.

And thus the Grain of the evil Seed taking Root in others,

He brought Death to himself and all his Posterity;

Well may we say, this was an evil Morsel;

Howsoever *Christ* hath redeemed the Good by his Death and Passion.

But alas, we find in this Lesson,

That *Adam* believed not God his Creator,

Yea and we may see likewise, that nowadays

Men forsake God the Father Almighty,

And believe in Idols to their own Destruction.  
That which the Law forbids, which was from the beginning,  
Called the Law of Nature, common to all sorts,  
Which God put into the heart of that man whom he first formed.  
Giving him a power of doing good or evil,  
But commanding him to do the good, and eschew the evil.  
And this you may see was ill observed,  
For that we have left the good, and done the evil,  
As did *Cain* the eldest Son of *Adam*, who killed his Brother *Abel*  
without any cause,  
Save only for that he was good,  
And had his hope in the Lord, and not in any creature.  
Here we may take an Example of the Law of Nature,  
Which we have broken and transgressed,  
We have sinned against the Creator, and offended the Creature.  
It was a noble Law that was given us by God,  
And written in the heart of every man,  
That he might there read it and keep, and teach Righteousness,  
And love God in his heart above every Creature,  
And that he might fear and serve him without any Reserve,  
There being none to be found in the holy Scriptures.  
That he might likewise keep firm the Marriage-tie, that noble  
accord or contract,  
And have peace with his Brethren, and love all other persons.  
That he might hate Pride, and love Humility,  
And do to others as he would be done by,  
And if he did the contrary, that he should be punished.  
Now few they were which kept well this Law,  
And more were they who broke it,  
Who forsook the Lord, not honoring him,  
But believed the Devil and his temptation,  
Who loved too much the World, and too little the things of  
Heaven,  
And served the Body more than the Spirit.  
Wherefore we find that many have perished.  
Here everyone may be reprehended that saith,  
That God created not Man to suffer him to perish,  
But let everyone take heed, that it happeneth to him, as it did to  
them.



For the Deluge came and destroyed the wicked,  
But God caused an Ark to be made, in which he saved the good.  
So were the bad increased, and the good diminished,  
That in all the World there were saved but eight persons.  
We may be instructed hereby  
To keep ourselves from evil, and that all ought to repent.  
For *Jesus Christ* hath said it, and in *St. Luke* it is written,  
That all those shall perish that shall not so do.  
Now to those which escaped, God made a Promise,  
That the World should never more perish by Water;  
And they believing it were multiplied.  
But that good which God did them they soon forgot,  
Being men of little faith, and so great fear,  
That they did not throughly believe the Words of the Lord.  
But they believed that the Waters should again trouble the  
World,  
And thought of building a Tower to retire into,  
Yea and they began it (as it is written)  
Intending to make it so large, so high, and so great,  
That the top thereof might reach to Heaven, but alas they could  
not accomplish their Design.  
For they displeased God thereby, the which also he then  
demonstrated.  
This great City was called *Babylon*,  
And now it is called *Confusion*, by reason of its ruinous  
condition.  
There was then but one only Language amongst men,  
But that they might not understand each other, God made a  
division  
That so they might not finish what they had begun.  
The which Languages then spread through all the World.  
After this they sinned grievously, renouncing the Law, namely,  
that of Nature.  
For the Scripture saith, and it may be evidently proved,  
That five Cities perished which did evil,  
Being sentenced by God, to Fire and Brimstone.  
He destroyed the wicked, and the good he delivered,  
Namely, *Lot* and his Family, which the Angel brought out,  
They were four, but one was condemned,

For the Woman looked back, breaking the Command.  
Here's now an Example for all Mankind,  
That they ought to take heed of that which God forbids.  
In those days lived *Abraham* a Man well-pleasing God,  
Who begat a Patriarch of whom came the *Jews*,  
And these were a noble People in the fear of the Lord,  
Who lived in *Egypt*, amongst other wicked People,  
Where they were oppressed and straitened a long time,  
And but crying to the Lord he sent unto them *Moses*,  
And delivered his People, and destroyed the other Nations.

They passed through the Red Sea, as through a dry and pleasant place,

But their Enemies who persecuted them, perished all in the waters,

Many other Signs did God then give to his People;

Feeding them forty years in the Wilderness, and giving them the Law,

In two Tables of Stone, which he sent by *Moses*,

Which they found written, and nobly ordained.

This demonstrated that there was a Lord of all men,

Whom they ought to believe, and love with all their heart, as likewise to fear and serve him to the end,

And that everyone should love his Neighbor as himself:

That they should give counsel to Widows, and defend the fatherless,

That they should receive the Poor into their houses, and clothe the naked,

That they should feed the hungry, and conduct the Traveler;

And in sum keep carefully this his Law,

Promising to those that kept it, the heavenly Kingdom.

He forbade service unto Idols,

Homicide, Adultery, and all sorts of Whoredom,

Lying, Perjury, and false Witness,

Usury, Rapine, and evil Coveting,

As also Avarice, and all wickedness,

To the good he promised Life, but threatened Death to the wicked;

Then were they clothed in their Principality:

But those which sinned and did wickedly

They died and were destroyed without remission:  
For the Scripture says, and it is manifest enough,  
That thirty thousand were left in the Wilderness,  
Thirty thousand and more (as the Law saith)  
Died by the Sword, by Fire, and Serpents;  
And many others were destroyed in another manner,  
The Earth opening, and Hell receiving them.

And here we may have matter of reproving ourselves very seasonably,

But those which did the will of the Lord, inherited the Land of Promise;

Now there were in those days many Worthies,  
As *David*, and *Solomon* the King,  
*Isaiah*, *Jeremy*, and many others,  
Which fought for the Faith, and defended the same.

There was one only People chosen by God out of all the World.

The Enemies were in great number round about which persecuted them:

We have many things worth our learning and imitation in this Lesson:

When they kept the Law and the Commandments,  
God fought for them against the other Nations;  
But when they sinned and did wickedly,

They died, were destroyed, and taken Captives by those other Nations.

But so enlarged were these People, and so abounding in Riches,  
That they kicked against the Lord,

Wherefore we find in this Lesson,

That the King of *Babylon* put them into Prison,  
Where they were oppressed and straitened a long time;  
Then they cried to the Lord with a repentant heart;

And he restored them to *Jerusalem*, but few there were that were obedient and kept the Law,

And that feared to offend their King.

Yea some there were, men full of deceit and falsehood,  
Namely, the Pharisees and others who were versed in Scripture,  
These kept the Law (as plainly appears),

Only that the World might see it, and to be the more honored.

But little worth is this honor which soon vanisheth.

Then were the Saints persecuted, and those that were just and good;

Then they prayed unto the Lord with cries and tears,  
That he would come down on earth and save this World:

For all mankind was in the way of perdition.

Then sent God the Angel to the noble Virgin of royal Descent,  
Who sweetly saluted her according to the command of him that sent him,

And after said unto her, Fear not *Marie*,

For the Holy Ghost shall overshadow thee;

Thou shalt bear a Son whom thou shalt call *Jesus*,

He shall save his People from their sins.

Nine Months the glorious Virgin bare him in her womb,

But that she might not be made a public Example, she was espoused by *Joseph*;

Pure was this Virgin, and *Joseph* also.

But this we ought to believe, for the Scripture saith it,

That they put the Infant in the Manger when it was born,

They wrapped him in swaddling cloths, and lodged him but very meanly.

Here may be reprehended those covetous and avaricious men,  
Which never cease to heap up Riches together.

Now there were many Miracles wrought when the Lord was born:

God sent the Angel to reveal this Mystery to the Shepherds:

In the East appeared a Star to the three Wise Men.

Glory was given to God on high, and on Earth Peace to the good.

Afterwards the little Child suffered Persecution,

But the Infant increased in Grace and Age,

And in Divine Wisdom in which he was instructed,

And called the twelve Apostles, which were rightly so named,

And would change the Law which he gave before;

He changed it not, that it should be abandoned,

But renewed it that it might be better kept;

He received Baptism for to give Salvation,

And commanded the Apostles to baptize the Nations

(For then began the Renewing),

The ancient Law forbade Fornication and Adultery,

But the new reprehends looking and lusting after a Woman;

The old Law had power to make null Marriage, and that Bills of divorcement might be given,

But the new saith, Thou shalt not marry her that is put away,  
And what God hath joined let no man separate.

The old Law cursed the barren womb,  
But the new counselleth to keep virginity,  
The old Law forbiddeth only to forswear;

But the new saith, *Swear not at all*;  
And that thy speech be no more than *Yea* and *Nay*.

The old Law biddeth to fight against Enemies, and render evil for evil,

But the new one saith, *Avenge not thyself*,  
But leave thy vengeance to thy heavenly King,  
And let those live in peace which do thee hurt,  
And then shalt thou find pardon with the heavenly King.

The old Law saith, Thou shalt love thy Friend, and hate thine Enemy,

But the new one saith, Thou shalt do no more so,  
But ye shall love your Enemies, and do good to them that hate you,

And pray for them that persecute you, and seek for occasion against you,

That ye may be the Children of your Father which is in Heaven.

The old Law saith, punish Malefactors,  
But the new saith. Pardon all sorts of People,  
And thou shalt find pardon with the Father Almighty,  
For if thou dost not pardon, thou shalt not be saved.

None ought to kill or hate any person,  
Much less ought we to mock either simple or poor men,  
Nor despise the stranger which cometh from far.

For in this World we are all Pilgrims.

Thus all we that are Brethren ought to serve God.

And this is the new Law which *Jesus Christ* saith we ought to keep.

And he called the Apostles and commanded them  
To go through the World, and teach all Nations,  
To preach to *Jews* and *Greeks*, and all mankind,  
And he gave them power over Serpents,  
To drive away Devils, and heal the sick,

To raise the Dead, and cleanse the Lepers,  
And to do to others as he had done to them;  
To possess neither Gold nor Silver,  
But to be content with Food and Raiment.  
To love one another, and to be at peace.  
Then he promised them the heavenly Kingdom,  
And to those which were spiritually poor:  
But he that should know who they are, would quickly number  
those,

That would be poor of their own accord;  
Then he told them what should happen,  
How he ought to die, and afterward rise again.  
And he told them the Signs and Wonders  
Which ought to happen before the end.  
Many excellent Parables he spoke to them and the People,  
Which were written in the *New Testament*.  
But if we will love *Christ*, and know his Doctrine,  
We ought to watch, and read the Scripture,  
Where we may find when we shall read,  
That only for doing well, *Christ* was persecuted;  
He raised the Dead by Divine Power,  
He made the blind to see, which never had seen,  
He cleansed the Lepers, and made the Deaf to hear,  
He cast out Devils, working many Miracles;  
And by how much the more he did good, so much the more was  
he persecuted.

The Pharisees were they which persecuted him;  
And the People of *Herod*, and the others, namely, them of the  
Clergy:

For they envied him, because he was followed by the People;  
Because they believed in him and his Commandments,  
They sought how they might torment him and put him to death,  
And for this reason spoke to *Judas* and made an agreement with  
him.

To deliver him for thirty Pieces of Silver.  
Now *Judas* being covetous wrought the Treason,  
And betrayed his Lord to those wicked men,  
The *Jews* were they which crucified him,  
Nailing fast his Feet and his Hands,

And putting a Crown of Thorns on his Head,  
And speaking many Reproaches, they blasphemed him;  
And when he said, he was thirsty, they likewise gave him Gall  
and Vinegar to drink.

The Torments were so bitter and painful,  
That the Soul parted from the Body to save Sinners.  
The Body having suffered this, hung there upon the Cross  
In the midst of two Thieves, they gave him four Wounds, besides  
other Blows.

And after that, the fifth, to accomplish the matter;  
For, one of the Soldiers came and opened his Side,  
And immediately there issued out Water and Blood mixed  
together,

Whereupon all the Apostles fled, but one returned,  
And was there with two Women near unto the Cross,  
All were very sorry, chiefly his Mother,  
When she saw her Son dead and naked, fastened upon the Cross,  
He was buried by the good, and watched by the wicked.  
He rose out of the Grave the third Day,  
And appeared to his Disciples, as he had said unto them;  
Then were they possessed with great joy, when they saw the  
Lord,

And were confirmed, for before they feared greatly;  
And he conversed with them until the Day of the Ascension;  
Then our Savior ascended into Glory,  
And said to his Disciples and other Followers,  
That to the End of the World he would be with them.  
But at the Feast of *Pentecost* he remembered them,  
And sent them the Holy Ghost, which is the Comforter,  
And taught the Apostles by Divine Doctrine,  
And they understood the Languages and the holy Scripture,  
And then they remembered what he had said.  
They spoke without fear, of the Doctrine of *Christ*,  
They preached to *Jews* and *Greeks*, working many Miracles;  
And baptized those who believed in the Name of *Jesus Christ*.  
Then was there a People new converted;  
They were called *Christians*, for they believed in *Christ*.  
But we find here that the Scripture saith,  
That the *Jews* and *Saracins* persecuted them grievously.

But the Apostles were so fortified in the fear of the Lord,  
And the Men and Women which were with them.  
That for all that, they left neither speaking nor doing,  
Whatsoever should come of it, so that they might have *Jesus Christ*.

The Torments were great, according to what is written,  
Only because they taught the way of *Jesus Christ*.  
But as for the Persecutors we need not so much wonder,  
For, they had not the Faith of our Lord *Jesus Christ*,  
Like those who now seek occasion to persecute the Saints;  
Which men ought to be *Christians*, but appear not to be such.  
And in this they are to be blamed, for that they persecute and  
imprison the good;

For, it is not found anywhere,  
That the Saints persecuted or imprisoned any.  
Now after the Apostles, were certain Teachers,  
Who taught the way of *Jesus Christ* our Savior.  
And these are found even at this present Day,  
But they are known to very few,  
Who have a great desire to teach the way of *Jesus Christ*,  
But they are so persecuted, that they are able to do but little,  
So much are the false *Christians* blinded with Error,  
And more than the rest they that are Pastors,  
For they persecute and hate those who are better than  
themselves,

And let those live quietly who are false Deceivers.  
But by this we may know that they are not good Pastors,  
For they love not the Sheep, but only for their Fleeces.  
The Scripture saith, and it is evident,  
That if any man love those who are good, he must needs love  
God, and *Jesus Christ*.

Such an one will neither curse, swear, nor lie,  
He will neither commit Adultery, nor kill; he will neither  
defraud his Neighbor,  
Nor avenge himself of his Enemies.

Now such an one is termed a *Waldensian*, and worthy to be  
punished,

And they find occasion by Lies and by Deceit,  
To take from him that which he has gotten by his just labor.



However, he that's thus persecuted for the fear of the Lord,  
strengthens himself greatly,

By this consideration, that the Kingdom of Heaven shall be  
given him at the end of the World.

Then he shall have a weight of glory in recompence for all such  
dishonor.

But herein is clearly manifest the malice of those men,

That they which will curse, lie, and swear,

He that will frequently put his Money to Usury, kill, and whore,  
And avenge himself on those which hurt him;

This they fay is a good man, and to be accounted faithful.

But let him take heed he be not deceived at the end,

When he has received the stroke of Death, and when Death  
seizes on him, and he becomes almost speechless,

Then he desires the Priest to confess him:

But according to the Scriptures he has delayed too long, for that  
commands us

To repent while we have time, and not to put it off till the last:

The Priest asketh him if he hath any sin,

He answers two or three words, and soon has done;

The Priest tells him he cannot be forgiven,

If he do not restore, and examine well his Faults:

When he hears this, he's very much troubled,

And thinks with himself, if he restore entirely,

What shall he leave his Children, and what will the World say?

Then he commandeth his Children to examine their Faults,

And buyeth of the Priest his Absolution;

Though he hath a thousand Livers of another and a better Penny,  
yet

The Priest acquits him for a hundred Pence,

And sometimes for less when he can get no more,

Telling him a large Story, and promising him Pardon,

That he'll say Mass for him, and for his Ancestors;

And thus he pardons them be they righteous or wicked,

Laying his Hand upon their Heads

(But when he leaves them, he maketh the better cheer),

And telling him that he is very well absolved.

But alas they are but sadly confessed who are thus faulty,

And will certainly be deceived in such an Absolution,

And he that maketh him believe it sinneth morally.  
For, I dare say, and it is very true,  
That all the Popes which have been from *Silvester* to this present,  
And all *Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots*, and the like,  
Have no power to absolve or pardon,  
Any creature so much as one mortal sin;  
'Tis God alone who pardons, and no other.  
But this ought they to do who are Pastors,  
They ought to preach to the People, and pray with them,  
And feed them often with divine Doctrine;  
And chastise the Sinners with Discipline,  
Namely, by declaring that they ought to repent.  
First, that they confess their sins freely and fully,  
And that they repent in this present life,  
That they fast and gives Alms, and pray with a fervent heart,  
For, by these things the Soul finds Salvation:  
Wherefore we *Christians* which have sinned  
And forsaken the Law of *Jesus Christ*,  
Having neither Fear, Faith, nor Love,  
We must confess our sins without any delay,  
We must amend with weeping and repentance,  
The offenses which we have committed, and for those three  
mortal sins,

To wit, for the Lust of the Eye, the Lusts of the Flesh, and the  
Pride of Life, through which we have done evil;

We must keep this way.

If we will love and follow *Jesus Christ*,  
We must have spiritual poverty of heart,  
And love Chastity, and serve God humbly,  
For, so we may follow the way of *Jesus Christ*,  
And thus we may overcome our Enemies.

There is a brief Rehearsal in this Lesson,  
Of three Laws which God gave to the World;  
The first Law directeth men who have judgment and reason,  
Namely, to know God, and to pray to his Creator.

For he that hath judgment, may well think with himself,  
That he formed not himself, nor any thing else:

Then here he who hath judgment and reason may know,  
That there's one Lord God who created all the World,

And knowing him, he ought much to honor him;  
For, they were damned that would not do it.  
The second Law which God gave to *Moses*,  
Teacheth us to fear God, and to serve him with all our strength;  
For he condemneth and punisheth every one that offends.  
But the third Law which is at this present time,  
Teacheth us to love God, and serve him purely:  
For he waiteth for the Sinner, and giveth him time,  
That he may repent in this present life.  
As for any other Law to come after we shall have none.  
Save only to imitate *Jesus Christ*, and to do his will,  
And keep fast that which he commands us,  
And to be well forewarned when *Antichrist* shall come.  
That we may believe neither to his words nor to his works,  
Now according to the Scripture, there are already many  
*Antichrists*.

For, all those which are contrary to *Christ*, are *Antichrists*.  
Many Signs and great Wonders  
Shall be from this time forward until the Day of Judgment,  
The Heaven and the Earth shall burn, and all the Living die.  
After which all shall arise to everlasting Life,  
And all Buildings shall be laid flat.  
Then shall be the last Judgment,  
When God shall separate his People, according as its written,  
To the wicked he shall say, *Depart ye from me into Hell Fire,*  
*which never shall be quenched;*  
With grievous Punishments there to be straitened;  
By multitude of Pains, and sharp torment:  
For you shall be damned without remedy.  
From which God deliver us, if it be his blessed will,  
And give us to hear that which he shall say to his Elect without  
delay;  
*Come hither ye blessed of my Father,*  
*Inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the*  
*World,*  
Where you shall have Pleasure, Riches and Honor.  
May it please the Lord which formed the World,  
That we may be of the number of his Elect to dwell in his Court  
for ever.

Praised be God. *Amen.*

## A Treatise concerning the fear of the Lord.

### Of the Fear of the Lord.

The fear of the Lord drives away sin. By the fear of the Lord is procured much good. As *Solomon* saith, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.* And again, *Happy is the man that always thus fears.* For by the fear of the Lord his Soul is delivered from the pains of Hell, and by the fear of the Lord he finds the joys of Heaven. The Love of God and of our Neighbor, is Charity; and he that has Charity, is of God; and he that is of God, is weaned from the things of this World: and he which loves God, fears the Pains of Hell, and thirsts after the Joys of Heaven, of which he hopes to have the fruition, and wherein he hopes to live, where there is no fear of Death, or of Enemies, and where there is Life without Death; wherefore through the Love of God, and of our Neighbor is obtained eternal Life. And *St. Paul* saith, that the Love of God and of our Neighbor, works no evil. And he that shall do those things, shall never fall. Whereas he that lets his heart run after temporal things, departs from the Love of God. For Riches cannot be heaped up in this world without sin, because what one gaineth another loseth; and where the Gainer rejoiceth, the Loser is made sad. Now there are many who hope to give Alms out of the Sweat of other men's Brows, dripping one to clothe another, but such Alms-deeds are not at all acceptable before God, according to that of *St. Augustin*, *Those Alms are well-pleasing to God, which are given out of a man's own substance, and are not the Fruits of Rapine and Usury:* For, that Charity which proceeds from Rapine and Usury, is not a Work of Mercy, but a fomenting and cherishing of sin. O Brethren, what shall we say of these rich men that *heap up Riches, and know not for whom they have gathered them?* While they compass earthly things, they lose the heavenly: and in gaining the World, lose their own Souls. How many are there who think they are in the Light, and yet are compassed about with Darkness? O blind Covetousness, which divides the Soul from *Christ*, and joins it to the Devil! just as that Rich man, who *fared deliciously every day!* O miserable Rich men,

why are ye not afraid and dismayed? ye that covet sublunary, and lose celestial Treasures? according to that of St. *James*, *Go to now ye Rich men! weep and howl for the Miseries that are coming upon you!* Woe be to such! for a Lover of Wealth shall find no Mercy, and the covetous man who never says it is enough, is like unto Hell itself, which look how much the more it hath so much the more it still desires; Now woe be to them who shall thus be swallowed up by the infernal Pit! who while they have time and opportunity, will not repent and amend their Lives; therefore when Death shall come and seize on them, they shall leave all their Power and Riches behind them in this World; and only their miserable Souls shall depart into Hell Torments. Even as our Savior says in the Gospel, that *It is* (not only hard but) *impossible for him that trusts in his Riches, to enter into the Kingdom of God.* And the Apostle saith, that *Covetousness* (or the Love of Money) *is the Root of all evil.* It was a Saying of St. *Gregory*, that *the covetous and proud man were never found without pride and covetousness.* The truth is, it matters not at all that a man is poor, if so be that his mind be carried out with a desire to possess. Wherefore we ought not so much as to desire worldly things, since *those things which are seen, are but temporal, and those things which are not seen, are eternal.* The miserable Sinner is ashamed to confess his sin, but is not afraid of giving an account before the eternal Judge at the great Day of Judgment, where they must not only give an account of their more crying sins, but also of their *very thoughts, and idle words:* and then there will be no place found for Sinners where to hide themselves! *Then shall they say to the Mountains, Fall on us.* For this reason we ought to beware of Covetousness and Avarice, and of *heaping up to ourselves Treasures in this World;* It is our Savior's counsel in the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, *Lay not up for yourselves Treasures upon Earth, where the Moth and the Rust corrupt.* And again he saith, *What will it profit a man to gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul?* And St. *Jerome* saith, that *if all the friends or kindred of a damned Soul should give all that they have in the World, they could not possibly redeem his Soul.* For in the infernal Pit there is no Redemption. And therefore St. *John* counselleth us *not to love the World, nor the things of the World,* and saith, that *if any man do love the World, the Love of the Father is not in him: for, whatsoever is in the World consists either in the Lust of the Eye, the Lust of the Flesh, or the*

*Pride of Life, which is not of the Father, but of the World.* This should cause us to consider ourselves, and to consider where the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of the Earth now are, how they have miserably fallen from so great a height of power and jollity into such an extremity of misery and anguish, from so great riches to so great poverty, from such fulness to so much want, from so sweet pleasures to such a degree of sadness, from so short a life to so long a death, from so little a measure of health to so continued a sickness, from so little enjoyment of light to so long a night of darkness and obscurity: thus all those who are acquainted with the *Riches of this world, fall into temptations, and the snares of the Devil, into many vain and hurtful Lusts*, which draw the Soul unto destruction and perdition. And St. *Augustin* says, that *the Lust or Concupiscence of a Man cannot be satisfied, and that it hath no bounds nor measure*; wherefore it is said, O thou covetous man, thou hast no spiritual eye to see Heaven, nor hast thou any heart to know God. And *by the hardness of thy heart thou treasurest up wrath unto the day of judgment* (or *wrath*). Wherefore let us not covet after earthly, but after heavenly things, and let us set our Love upon *Christ*. For the Love of Man bringeth Sorrow, but the Love of *Christ* quencheth the Fire of Hell, and expels the Love of the World. Let us not then do our own will, but the will of him who came down from Heaven, and said, *I am not come to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me*. And again, *Thy will be done*. But there are many who are apt to say, I am yet young, and cannot break or bridle my will, but when I am older, then I will repent. Alas, this is to speak like a Fool, for the miserable wretch knows not whether he shall live till the morrow, and yet he thinks to live many years, yea till he reach old age. But what if the young man be constrained to depart this Life, for this Life is short, and this shortness is uncertain? When we rise in the Morning, we know not whether ever we shall live to see the Evening. Again, there be others who say, Our fore-fathers have lived and never repented, it is sufficient to do as they have done before us. For my part I am resolved to enjoy what I have, as long as I live, for 'tis too hard for me to part with my Goods, and give them to the Poor. O foolish man that thou art, who pleadest thus! Wherefore dost thou not better consider? Thy Fathers indeed have lived, but now they are no more; and what do those Riches profit them which they so greedily heaped up together? or what doth all their Substance

which they left to their Children, now avail them? And if thou hast regard to those things which thou leavest behind thee, why dost thou not regard those things which thou lovest? Which hadst thou rather preserve, thy Soul or thy Son, who will become a stranger to thee after Death? So then, he leads a wicked Life, who thus departs from Gods Mercy, although he be in his own person never so meek, patient, and merciful, and hopes to repent and amend: for, God doth not only pardon those who repent, but also promiseth them to be their Guardian; and to those who persevere, and hold on to the end, a Crown of Life. We have an Example in the *Thief*, who became converted even when he was *upon the Cross*, and had his Petition granted him, with a *Verily I say unto thee, This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*. Wherefore happy is he that is always in readiness, for *the Lord will come in an hour that we are not aware of*. Let us pray while we have time, and not delight ourselves in this World which is full of iniquity, and wherein our Life is full of temptations. I say, Let us repent while we have time, for as much as our Life is but short; as likewise let us shun our visible Enemies, and have recourse to the sovereign City of God which ought to be our Sanctuary. He it is *who hath redeemed us by his own Blood*, and whom we ought therefore to love above all things, and to keep his Commandments. But this thing ought not to be neglected by us, which the Lord *Jesus* hath showed by the holy Scriptures. For, the End of this World draws nigh and I trust the coming of the Lord is at hand, when he shall come to judge all the World with Fire, and all things that are here before our Eyes, For, we know that at the last Day, when the sins of men are come to their full height, then shall *Fire go forth from the Lord* and burn up all things which are found in the World; and then all the glory of this World shall vanish and turn to nothing by reason of the sin of man. Then our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and all the Angels of Heaven with him shall come to Judgment in the *Valley of Jehosaphat*, and all Nations shall be assembled before him, and they shall be separated the one from the other, as the Shepherd separates the Sheep from the Goats. Wherefore it is said in the *Revelation*, that *the days shall come, when the wicked shall call and cry for death, and shall desire to die and shall not be able, for, death shall flee from them*. And that golden mouthed St. *John* says, that *the Lord has prepared a Kingdom for*

*those* who shall resist sin, and attain unto Grace, but for those which shall not repent, are prepared the Pains and Fire of Hell.

## A Treatise of Tribulations.

### Of Tribulations.

*Many are the Afflictions of the Righteous, but the Lord will deliver them out of all;* and St. Paul saith, that *through many Tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of God;* and whosoever has not his share of Persecutions, shall not be Partaker of the Consolations. Our blessed Savior saith in the Gospel, *Love your Enemies, and do good to them that hate you;* and St. Augustin saith, *The more thine Enemy hurts thee, the more thou oughtest to love him, for, in so doing thou shalt inherit eternal Life.* For, the wicked even when he seeks to do thee harm, his Conscience accuses him before the Action, so that all the evil and mischief he deviseth against thee, returns upon his own head. And if a Thief robs thee, and takes away thy Estate from thee, he hath the greater loss of the two, for, alas, he loseth his own Soul. Those which see with the Eyes of the heart, they both know and fear the Damnation of their Souls. There are many men who are quick sighted enough to discern Gold and Silver, but have no Eyes to discern the Damnation of their own Souls. The Lord comforts the Righteous when he bids them, *not to fear those who can kill the Body only, but cannot hurt the Soul.* Our Adversaries are doubtless bereaved of sense, who neither see nor know themselves, but do just like a mad man, who having a naked Sword in his hand, first cuts off the Lap of his Neighbors Garment, and then sheaths it in his own bowels. For as the Coat is the Vesture of the Body, so is the Body properly the Vesture of the Soul. And if a just man endure Persecution in this World for the Love of God, his Reward shall be eternal in that which is to come. Consider what the Lord suffered for thee, and how loath thou wouldst be to suffer (wert thou able) for his sake, what he has sustained for thee. Thou wouldest be loath to hang on such a Cross, as that on which the Lord was hung and crucified for thy sins. Think not that thine Enemy has any power over thee, but what God gives him; do not therefore so much mind what power God gives to wicked men, as what Reward



he has promised to give thee. *O Beloved, we now see that we are the children of God, although it doth not yet appear what we shall be hereafter: we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him, for, we shall behold him as he is.* Christ is our Life, strive then to imitate Christ. Christ came into the World to suffer Martyrdom, and was afterwards exalted. Christ suffered Death for us, and rose again, as thou expectest to do; and if the work frighten thee, look upon the Recompense which God promises to give thee. How dost thou think to obtain the Joys of Heaven without labor and travail, seeing thou canst not have any earthly joy without some pain? *All that will live godly in Jesus Christ must suffer Persecution*, and shall be both despised and vilified, as if they were mad men, or fools. That Man or Woman hath no desire to be a Member of Christ's Body, that is not willing to suffer that which God himself hath endured. He that will not bear the Yoke in this World, shall never come where God is. Pray not then only for thine Enemy who persecutes thee, but even for all those which love the World, for, therefore are they wicked, because they love the World, and think to find Life and Prosperity, whereas on the contrary Death and Destruction waits for them. Therefore are the Works of the Righteous reprehended; to the end they may be approved of, for, if thou sufferest for thy good Works, thy Reward is not at all thereby lessened, but rather augmented. But if when thou art rebuked for doing good, thou dost thereupon desist, thou thereby makest it appear that thy doing good was merely to have praise of the World. He that begins to do well that so he may get praise of the World, quickly gives it over when once Persecution comes. How canst thou keep God's Commandments, if thou hast no Enemies, for, the Lord saith in the Gospel, *Love your Enemies*. By this it may be understood, that it is necessary there should be some wicked persons among the Righteous, for, as Fire is a means to try and refine Gold from the Dross, so likewise wicked men serve to try and prove the Righteous. Good Men are compared to pure Gold, and the Wicked to Stubble: therefore if thou are wicked, thou shall surely be burned like the Stubble, and shalt become as Smoke: as the Prophet speaks, *The fire shall devour the bands of wicked men*. St. Paul tells us that *he accounts not all the sufferings of this present world, worthy to be compared with the glory which is to come, and which shall be revealed in us*. And St. Augustin speaking of this glory which shall

be revealed, says, that the *Righteous are the children of God, and shall be like unto the Angels in glory*. Therefore let now the World be never so mad, and never so enraged against us, and defame us with their tongues, let the ungodly now pursue us with naked Swords in their hands; let them now breathe out all the evil they can against us, since that all the hurt they can do us, is but little in comparison of the Reward which God has laid up for us. He that kills thy Body, is not able to kill thy Soul, but rather serves as an Instrument to greaten thy Reward: Pray therefore for him, that so thy Reward be not the less. We ought for the Love of God to despise whatsoever seems to delight us most, yea not only that which affords us delight, but likewise that which may terrify and affright us, as prison, bonds, poverty, hunger, cold, sword, and even death itself. Thou must (I say) despise and lightly esteem all these; and if thou art able to overcome all, then thou hast God to be thy Reward. Think how great would be thy fear, wert thou shut up closed in Prison. Why then livest thou wickedly, knowing that for so doing thou must be one day a closed Prisoner in Hell? He that can kill thy Body cannot kill thy Soul, but thou mayest soon kill thine own Soul with thy Tongue, for the Tongue that speaks Lies is said to kill the Soul. Let us consider then what things we ought, and what things we ought not to fear. He's worthy to be counted a Mad man that fears a Prison in this World, which soon hath an end, and in the meantime dreads not to go to Hell, where he must suffer perpetual Imprisonment. That man's void of Reason, that fears the Kings, Princes, and Prelates of this World, and yet dreads not to fall into the clutches of the Devils in Hell. I say, he's a very Mad man who fears the Death of this World, which is but transitory, and does not tremble at the very thoughts of Death infernal, which lasteth forever; who would ever purchase so long a Death for so short a Life? so long a Mourning for so short a Mirth? so long and so great a Darkness, for so small and short a Light? for so short a Laughter, such bitter weepings and wailings as the wicked shall suffer in the World to come (of which our Savior speaks, when he sayeth, *Woe unto you that laugh, for ye shall weep and lament*), such ugly filthiness, for so poor and mean beauty? such great weakness and infirmities, for so small a strength? such terrors and dreadful affrightments, for so little security as the world affords? St. *Austin* says, it is but a vain fear to be afraid to lose temporal things, and not to fear to lose the heavenly; to be afraid to

lose the company of Father and Mother, and not to fear losing the blessed presence of God the Father, and of *Jesus Christ*; to be fearful to lose the company of Brothers and Sisters, and not to fear losing the blessed Fraternity of Angels; of which Brotherhood, St. *John* speaks in the *Revelations*, when he would have worshipped the Angel, who forbade him, saying, *Take heed thou do it not, for, I am thy fellow Servant, and of thy Brethren also which have the testimony of Jesus Christ, worship God.* Therefore thou that fearest Death, love thy Life, the Holy Spirit is thy Life. If thou sinnest, thou canst not please God. None but the righteous alone can be said to do so, not the wicked. A child, when he is born into the world, weeps before he laughs, the tears that come from him, bearing witness that he enters into misery as soon as he begins to breathe; so that the child may well be said to be a Prophet of his own misery. While a good man lives, he must suffer Persecution, for, the wicked do always persecute the just, if not always with the sword, stones, or other weapons, yet they do it with their bad Lives and wicked works. Wherefore St. *Peter* praiseth *Lot's* conversation, because he *suffered tribulation among wicked men*: or, as St. *Paul* calls it, *Perils among false Brethren*. All other afflictions and persecutions in this world may possibly cease, but that wherewith the ungodly do persecute the Righteous will never cease, and if thou dost not believe this to be a truth, do but once begin to do well, and thou shall quickly see how the wicked will persecute thee. The *Wise man* tells us, that the Friends of God ought to have three sorts of patience; the first whereof consists in suffering patiently all the evils that are both done, and said against them. The second, in the patient bearing their own infirmities, and whatever tribulations pleases God to inflict on them in this world. And the third in resisting the Devil, who always drives to turn them aside from doing good works. Now no man must expect to receive a Crown that hath not fought faithfully for it, and where the greatest Combat is, there's the greatest Reward, and the most noble Crown (as the *Wise man* speaks) I speak to you according to the patience of God. For he that is most patient in adversities and under the persecutions of wicked men, shall have the greater Recompence; as those Grapes yield the most Wine, which are the most pressed and bruised; or as the Olive, when 'tis most squeezed, the skins all slip aside and the Oil remains pure and clear; or, as the Wheat when 'tis well threshed and beaten, is thereby

separated from the Chaff. Therefore if thou wouldst be good, whilst thou livest in this world, patiently suffer the wicked to converse with thee. And *Solomon* says, *The true patient man hopes to converse with the Angels*, The true patient man is never in wrath. It is most certain, that God loves them that hate the world for his sake; therefore ought the righteous man to rejoice in his pains, labors, poverty, and sufferings, of what kind soever they be, knowing that God has promised to give him eternal Life. But on the contrary, the wicked ought to weep and mourn, even in the midst of all his jollity, delights, and riches, as knowing that for all the joys, pleasures and wealth which he enjoys here below, God hath reserved for him the wrath to come. That man or woman appeaseth God's anger, who bears with patience all the wrongs that are done unto them. St. *Sixtus* says, Thou oughtest not to lay hands upon thine own Life, but if another seeks to kill thee, be not displeased at it, and if the wicked annoy thee, remember that God is with thee; and golden mouthed St. *John* saith, *If Christ be with me, who shall be against me?* Although all the waves of the Sea should rise, and all the Princes of this World were bent against me, they are but as the Sand, and weaker than the Dust. I do not say this, as having confidence in mine own strength; but I trust in our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and in his Commandments, which I bear in my heart, and in my hands, that is to say, in my works, the which make me strong. Suppose all the waves of the Sea should rise up against me, and all the Princes of the World were bent to ruin me, they were not all of them able to hurt or subdue me. Whatsoever is found on the Earth, or in the Sea, cannot hurt a good man, if he himself become not his own Executioner. God's Friends have sometime been beaten and oppressed in several kinds; some of them have died by the Sword, as St. *John the Baptist*, who was beheaded in a Prison by King *Herod*, because he reprehended him for the sin of Luxury. St. *Laurence* was roasted alive. St. *James the Son of Zebedee* was beheaded in *Joppa*. St. *James the Son of Alphaeus* as he was preaching in *Jerusalem*, the Son of a Bishop knocked him down dead with a Pole. St. *Bartholomew* was beaten with Rods, and was afterwards flayed alive. St. *Peter* was crucified, his head downwards, and his feet upwards. St. *Andrew* was crucified on a Cross. St. *Matthew* was shot to death with Arrows. St. *Paul* was taken and cruelly beaten, and afterwards lost his head. Our blessed

Savior humbled himself so far for man's sake as to come down from Heaven, and enter into the Virgins womb; he who was God blessed forever, and King over the Angels, became a mortal man for our sakes, was *put into a Manger, and wrapped in swaddling cloths*, he was *carried away into Egypt for fear of Herod that sought to kill him*; he was wearied and tired with travailing, *tempted of the Devil*, suffered *hunger and thirst* for our sakes: he was called *a mad man*, and *one possessed with the Devil* by the Jews, and *the Son of a Carpenter*, he suffered for our sakes all that a man could possibly, sin only excepted; and finally, he was *betrayed* by one of his Disciples, as a *Murderer*, and an excommunicated person; he was by them sold for our sakes, he was *condemned, buffeted, and despised*, he was *crowned with Thorns, and thrust through with a Spear in his side*; and this he did to redeem us from Death by the effusion of his own Blood, even he himself who was holy, pure, and without sin, was delivered, not by force, but of his own will and consent. St. *Stephen* was stoned to death, *Isaiah* the Prophet was sawn asunder, *Jeremy* was stoned to death, *Daniel* was cast into the Lions' Den; the three Children *Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego*, were thrown into the burning fiery Furnace; several other men and women lost their limbs, and obtained the victory, receiving the reward of their Travails, and are now crowned in Heaven. And as the *Wise man* says, Let us look upon the Life of those holy Martyrs both Men and Women, which yielded themselves to be put to Death, giving up their Bodies to be martyred: and let's not think they would thus have suffered their Bodies to be put to death, and torments, if they had not been truly persuaded that from this momentary life, they were to pass to a life which is eternal. St. *Austin* says, that *in celebrating the joyful remembrance of the Saints, we ought not to pray to God for them, but rather for ourselves, to the end he would grant unto us, that we may follow the same paths which they traced out to us, and that we may sit in the Kingdom of Heaven as they do*. Therefore are the Lives of the Saints written, to the end that we may take example by them, and imitate the same.

A Gloss upon *Our Father*.

*O Thou our Father which art in Heaven.* We ought to know that amongst all the Works which may be done in this Life, none is more honorable, profitable, or easy, than to pray to God; it's most honorable, for, if it be a great honor to speak often and familiarly with an earthly King, it's then certainly a much greater honor to talk familiarly with the heavenly and eternal King, with whom we discourse in Prayer; therefore *Isidorus* saith, *He that will be often with God, let him pray and read*, for when we pray we talk with God, and when we read, God talketh unto us. Again, it's a profitable thing to pray, for as the Lord saith, *Verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall ask in Prayer, believe that ye shall receive it, and it shall be given unto you.* It's the easiest thing in the World to pray, for a man may pray in all places, and at all times. Neither is it necessary to bring anything of a man's self, seeing that to think only and desire well, is to pray. Therefore *David* saith, *The Lord heareth the desire of the Poor* (i.e. the humble); now the poor are those infirm creatures who cannot speak or do anything save only pray with desire, and God is ready to hear the Prayer of their desire; so also saith *David*, *The Lord heareth the desire of the poor.* Again, seeing that Prayer is a work so honorable, so profitable, and so easy, and also seeing it is said in the Gospel, the Apostles asked of *Christ* (as good Disciples of a good Master) *that he would teach them to pray*, (for they knew that they could not learn a better Lesson) and *said unto him, O Lord teach us to pray*, who answering said, *When you pray, do not speak much, but pray thus, O thou our Father which art in Heaven.* In this Prayer he teacheth us, first, to get the good will of God, and to ask for ourselves all things which are needful; when he saith, *O thou our Father which art in Heaven*, it is as if he had said, Thou art our Father by Creation; To the same purpose also speaks *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, *Is not he thy Father which hath possessed thee, made thee, and created thee?* But thou art our Father by Redemption, for thou hast *ransomed us with thine own Blood*, which thing is the greatest sign of love that any father can show towards his children; therefore it's said in the *Revelation*, *Which loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own Blood*, Again, *Thou art our Father*, in respect of nourishment, government, and inheritance, and therefore the Lord said to his Disciples, *Call no man father on earth, for there is one your Father, which is in Heaven.* Again, he saith, *O thou our Father*; as if he had said, Thou shouldest not refuse our Prayer, but

give us these things which we ask of thee, and thou art *our Father* which hast created, redeemed, fed, and governed us, and hast promised us thine inheritance. But as for that which followeth, *Which art in Heaven*, the Lord teacheth us to be such, that we may be worthy to be called heavenly; for, as the Lord dwelleth in material Heaven, so he dwells in spiritual Heaven, (i.e. in the Saints by the habitation of grace); therefore saith *Isidorus*, *The Heaven is my Throne*, of the which Throne saith *Solomon*, *The Soul of the Righteous is my Throne*. Again, if we be Heaven, i. e. we are enlightened within by true Faith, and without by honest Conversation. Again, it is extended and enlarged by Love towards God, and by Charity towards our Neighbor, and Mercy towards our Enemy. Again, it is high and elevated above the Earth, through contemplation of heavenly things and despising of earthly, so that we may say with the Apostle, *Our conversation is in Heaven*; in this way the Lord acknowledgeth our Prayer when we say, *O thou our Father which art in Heaven*. This is the first part of our Lord's Prayer in which he teacheth us to get first the good will of God, and then to ask of him all things which are necessary for us. But this is to be observed, that from this place to the end of the Lord's Prayer are contained seven Petitions, brief in words, but weighty and large in their sense and meaning. Again, that this Prayer can scarce be sufficiently expounded by all the Doctors in the World. In these seven Petitions or Requests, are contained all things necessary for this present Life, or that which is to come. But let us take at present for our edification a plain and down- right Exposition.

#### The first Petition.

The first Request is *Hallowed be thy Name*. In this Request we desire the Sin of Lust may be removed, and that the Virtue of Chastity may be given us, for, we bear the Name of *Christ*, and are called *Christians*, which is nothing else but to be Disciples, Servants, and Children of *Christ*: but thy name is polluted, vilified, and blasphemed in us, when we live in pollution and luxury: and on the contrary, it is sanctified and purified when we abstain from all pollutions of heart, mouth, and body; and wash and purify our sins past by true Repentance: for, so those *Christians* which do indeed bear the Name of *Christ*, are purified, that is, are made Saints; now

a Saint is such a one, who is without stain, but the sin of Lust is rightly termed a stain, because as a stain taketh from cloth or wool the natural color, so the sin of Lust taketh from the Soul the benefit of Baptism, and all Graces. Again, as a stain passeth through the cloth, within and without, so Lust defileth a man within and without, and it first of all defileth a man at the heart by base and vile thoughts, and consenting to pleasures; as likewise the eyes by unchaste looks, the ears with filthy words that heat and inflame unto sin; the nose by the unsavory smells of ointments, which serve for allurements unto whoredom, with which some women being possessed by the Devil, paint themselves to please their lovers; the mouth by unchaste words, kisses, and superfluous dainties, whereby Lust is nourished and made much of; the hands by unchaste touches; and finally, all the body by the detestable act of uncleanness, by which means the Devil leads the miserable Sinners, two by two, to Hell. Again, the sense of *Hallowed be thy Name*, is as much as to say, O Lord do us the favor, that we which bear thy Name and are called *Christians*, may be holy; that is, without spot or defilement of carnality and sin: O Lord thou wilt do these things for us, if thou please to give us the virtue and grace of continency, so that we may keep ourselves from the sin of lust; of this sanctification speaketh the Apostle, *Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord*. And again the Apostle, *This is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye abstain from whoredom*. But as for that, we cannot do it without the assistance of God; according to that which *Solomon* saith, *None can be continent except God enable him*. And this is the chief wisdom, to know from what fountain this gift cometh; for this cause we have need to cry daily to the Lord, *Our Father which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name*.

#### The second Petition.

Now followeth the second Petition or Request, *Thy Kingdom come*. In this Request we beg of our heavenly Father, that the sin of Covetousness may be removed, and that the grace of spiritual poverty, pity, and mercy, may be bestowed upon us; for, the Kingdom of Heaven is denied to the covetous and rich men of this world; therefore the Apostle saith, *The covetous shall not inherit the*



*Kingdom of God. And the Lord saith in the Gospel, The rich shall hardly enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; and it is easier for a Camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. And again he saith, Woe unto you rich men, which have your consolation in this life. But on the contrary, the Kingdom of Heaven is given to the poor; therefore the Lord saith, Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. They are fitly called Poor in spirit, that is, voluntarily, not constrained or from any necessity in this life, which is also conformable to what St. Bernard saith, that there are three sorts of poverty, namely, feigned, constrained, and voluntary. Again, we ought to shun the feigned poverty of which David speaketh; they will be poor in such sort that they notwithstanding suffer no necessity; we ought to endure patiently the constrained poverty, and embrace voluntary with all the heart, and so we shall become poor in spirit. Of this poverty St. James speaketh, Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and inheritors of the Kingdom which God hath promised to them that love him. And Augustin saith in the person of Christ, I have to sell, but what? The Kingdom of God, Heaven, the Kingdom of Heaven. After what fashion is it to be bought? by poverty; for labor and travail is to be purchased rest, and life, by death; and thus the Kingdom of Heaven belongs to the poor. Again, it must be gotten by poverty, for, such were the holy Apostles, and their Disciples that followed their steps, namely, those religious men, who forsaking all temporal things followed Christ in poverty, so that he is bought by the poor by works of mercy done to the poor, as Zacheus did, who gave the half of his goods to the poor, and if he had done wrong to any man he restored fourfold; so also do all the rich which are good, to whom it shall be said at the Day of Judgment, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. But none may excuse themselves from buying this Kingdom; for as Gregory saith, The Kingdom of God costeth as much of goods as thou hast. It cost the holy Apostles the Ship and the Nets; it cost Zacheus the half of his goods; it cost one Widow two Mites, which she put into Gods Treasury; it cost another a Cup of cold Water (so saith Gregory). And again, Nothing is more cheap to be bought, and nothing more dear, when one hath bought it. Thou mayest perhaps say, that thou canst not get a Cup of cold Water to give to the poor, but yet thou*

canst never excuse thyself from the purchase of the heavenly Kingdom, for although thou haft nothing else, yet a good will sufficeth, which God accounteth for the deed; for, as the Apostle saith, the will is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that which he hath not. And *Gregory* saith, *The hand is never empty of a gift, if the chest of the heart be full of good will.* Again, the sense of these words, *Thy Kingdom come*, is, O Lord, give us voluntary poverty, by which we may come to thy Kingdom, and give us bowels of that compassion and mercy through which thy Kingdom is purchased by the poor, and root out of our hearts concupiscence and avarice; for, the Kingdom of God shall be taken away from the avaricious and covetous.

### The third Petition.

Now followeth the third Petition, *Thy will be done*. In this Petition we request, that the sin of negligence may be taken from us, which is an enemy to all goodness, for, it begetteth lust, feeds the belly, soweth detractions, and causeth trouble for that which is good, that is, when we are troubled to do anything, or to see others do well; or if we do anything which is good, we do it idly, coldly, and unfavorily; and so instead of obtaining a blessing we get a curse, as *Jeremiah* saith, *Cursed is he that doth the work of God negligently*: wherefore heedlessness or idleness is, when we do not finish the good which we have begun; and therefore we receive not the wages; for it is the end that crowns and not the battle; Idleness is directly opposite to the Command of the Law, in which it was enjoined to offer up all the Sacrifice, (*the head with the tail*). The Sacrifice is every good work which we sanctify to God, as doing the same for his honor; the *head* is the beginning of the work, and the *tail* is the end. To God we offer the Sacrifice (*the head with the tail*), when persevering, we continue good works to the end. Now the negligent and idle would feign not do anything, but be always idle, which thing is exceeding dangerous both for body and soul. And so it is said in the Book of *Wisdom*, *Idleness begetteth much evil, for, the belly of man can scarce be idle; for, when it is not employed in good, it is employed in evil.* And *St. Bernard* saith, that *Idleness is the hold or storehouse of all evils*. The *Hold* is the lowest place in the Ship, and there are easily bred Serpents and creeping things; also it is often

seen, that in the idle soul are bred evil thoughts, consentings to and delighting in sin. And *Gregory* saith, *The reason why the heart of Solomon forsook the wisdom of God so soon was, for that no Discipline outward kept him in.* Again, it is necessary for a man to be very watchful over himself, and to look carefully unto the Castle of the Body and Soul, and to employ himself ever in some good thought, word, or work; as *Hierom* saith, *Be always doing some good thing, that so the Devil may find thee employed.* Again, we pray that this dangerous sin of Idleness may be taken from us, when we say *Thy will be done.* And we request that the Grace of Devotion may be given to us, and of true love and good works, for, devout men, and such as are inflamed with divine love, will never be idle, but study always to occupy themselves in doing the will of God on earth, as the Saints in Heaven did, and do it. But for that we cannot do this without divine Grace, we ought to pray *Thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven.* For, the will of God is done in Heaven without intermission, sorrow, murmuring, or contradiction; and thus all good *Christians* labor to do it. Also *Gregory* saith, *The approbation of the work is the accomplishment of love, and the love of God is never idle; for, it doth great things, if it be active, but if it refuse to work, it is not love.* And *St. Bernard* saith, *O blessed Jesus, thy Love is never idle; those which love thee never cool; to speak of thee is perfect consolation; to think of thee is full satisfaction; to draw near to thee is eternal Life; to depart from thee is eternal Death. O blessed Jesus, thou art Honey in the Mouth, a sweet Song to the Ear, and Joy to the Heart.* So then, in this third Petition, *Thy will be done*, we pray, that the sin of Idleness may be taken from us, and the Grace of Devotion and of good Works be bestowed upon us.

These Glosses are continued throughout the several Branches of the *Lord's Prayer*, after which likewise follows an Exposition upon the *Ten Commandments*, etc. But that the Work may not seem over tedious, I rather choose to break off abruptly, and refer the Reader to the very original Manuscripts in the University Library of *Cambridge* for the perusal of all those Pieces which are not here inserted; assuring him, that I have no other

Design, by the exclusion (or rather omission) of these, than to make place for some others of no less moment and consequence.

## CHAPTER VII: *An extract of those famous Treatises which were written by the ancient Inhabitants of the Valleys, concerning Antichrist, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments.*

### ARTICLE I.

#### Of Antichrist.

This Book concerning the *Antichrist* is extant in an old Manuscript which containeth many Sermons of the *Bardes*, collected in the Year 1120, and therefore written before *Waldo*, and about the time of *Peter de Bruis*, who taught in *Languedoc*, where he was burned, namely, at *St. Giles*, before *Waldo* came forth out of *Lyons*, and since that time this Treatise hath been preserved among the *Waldenses* of the *Alps*, of whom *Mr. Paul Perrin* procured the same, together with many other.

*Antichrist* is a Falsehood worthy of eternal Damnation, covered over with a show of Truth, and of the Righteousness of *Christ*, and his Spouse, contrary to the way of Truth, Righteousness, Faith, Hope, and Charity, as likewise to moral Life, and to the ministerial Truth of the Church, administered by the false Apostles, and resolutely upheld by the one and the other Arm of Secular and Ecclesiastical Power; or else we may say, *Antichrist* is a Deceit which hides the Truth of Salvation in substantial and ministerial matters; or, that it is a disguised contrariety to *Christ* and his Spouse, and every faithful member thereof. And so it is not any one particular person, ordained to such a Degree, Office, or Ministry, it being considered universally; but it is *Falsehood* itself, in opposition to the *Truth*, covering and adorning itself with a pretense of Beauty and Piety, not suitable to the Church of *Christ*, as by the Names, and Offices, the Scriptures, the Sacraments, and many other things may appear. Iniquity thus qualified with all the Ministers thereof great and small, together with all them that follow them, with an evil heart, and blindfold; such a Congregation comprised together, is that

which is called *Antichrist*, or *Babylon*, or the *fourth Beast*, or the *Whore*, or the *Man of Sin*, the *Son of perdition*.

His *Ministers* are called false *Prophets*, *Lying Teachers*, *Ministers of Darkness*, a *Spirit of Error*, the *Whore* in the *Revelation*, the *Mother of Fornications*, *Clouds without Water*, *withered Trees twice dead and plucked up by the Roots*, *Waves of the raging Sea*, *wandering Planets*, *Balaamites*, and *Egyptians*.

He is called *Antichrist*, because being decked and garnished with a show of *Christ*, and of his Church, and faithful Members, he doth oppose himself to that Salvation which was wrought by *Christ*, and truly administered in the Church of Christ, whereof the Faithful do partake by Faith, Hope, and Charity; Thus he opposeth himself, by the wisdom of the World, by false Religious, and by a counterfeit Piety, by Ecclesiastical Power, by Secular Tyranny, by Riches, Honors, and Dignities, and by the delights and pleasures of the World.

And therefore let everyone take notice hereof, that *Antichrist* could not come in anywise, but all these forementioned things must needs meet together, to make up a complete hypocrisy and falsehood, namely, the worldly-wise men, the Religious Orders, the Pharisees, Ministers, Doctors, the Secular Power, with the worldly people jointly together. And thus all of them together make up the Man of sin and error completely for, although that *Antichrist* was conceived already in the Apostles time, yet being but in his infancy as it were, he wanted his inward and outward members; and therefore he might then have been more easily known, destroyed, and excommunicated, as being then more raw and rude, and as yet wanting utterance. For he was then destitute of rational, defensive, definitive, decreative (or determinative), wisdom, he wanted yet those hypocritical Ministers, and human Ordinances, and the outward show of those Religious Orders. And therefore though fallen away into that sin and error, yet he had then wherewithal to cover his villainy, or the shame of his errors, or of that sin, having none of those riches yet, nor of those endowments whereby to allure unto himself any Minister for his service, or to be enabled to multiply, preserve and defend his adherents: for he wanted the secular strength and power, and could not force nor compel any from

the truth unto falsehood. And because he wanted many things yet, therefore he could not defile or scandalize any by his deceits, and thus, being so weak and tender, he could obtain no place in the Church. But growing up in his Members, that is to say, in his blind and dissembling Ministers, and in worldly Subjects, he at length became a complete man, grew up to his full age, to wit, then when the lovers of the world in Church and State, blind in faith, did multiply in the Church, and get all the power into their hands. And so it came to that pass, that as evil as they were, they would be sought unto, and honored in spiritual matters, covering their authority, malice, and sins, for which end they made use of the worldly wise, and of the Pharisees, in manner abovesaid. For, it is a great wickedness to cover and color iniquity worthy excommunication, and to go about establishing oneself by such a means as cannot be attributed to man, but belongs to God alone, and to *Jesus Christ* as Mediator. And for man to deprive God of such and such things by fraud and usurpation, and to arrogate the same unto themselves and their works appears to be the greatest Felony; as when one doth attribute unto himself the power of regeneration, of pardoning sins, of dispensing the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and to represent *Christ*, and such like matters. And in all these things to cover themselves with the cloak of authority and of the Word, thereby deceiving silly people, that follow the world, in such things as are of the world, separating themselves from God and the true Faith, and from the Reformation of the Holy Spirit, withdrawing themselves from true Repentance, pious practice, and perseverance in goodness, and turning their backs upon Charity, patience, poverty, humility, and that which is worst of all, they forsake the true Hope, and rely on all evil, and on the vain hope of the world, serving all those Ceremonies instrumental hereunto, and deceitfully causing the people to commit Idolatry with all the Idols of the World under the Name of Saints and Relics and their worship; insomuch that the people perniciously erring from the way of truth, and being persuaded they serve God, and do well, are stirred up to hate and to be enraged against those that love the truth, even to murder so many of them, so that according to the Apostle we may truly say, This is that man of sin complete, that lifts up himself against all that is called God, or worshipped, and that setteth himself in opposition against all truth, sitting down in the Temple of God, that is, in his

Church, and showing forth himself as if he were God, being come with all manner of deceivableness for those that perish. And since he is truly come, he must no longer be looked for; for he is grown old already by God's permission; nay, he begins even to decay, and his power and authority is abated: for the Lord doth already kill this wicked one by the spirit of his mouth; by divers persons of good dispositions, sending abroad a power contrary to his, and those that love him, and which disturbeth his place, and his possessions, and puts division into that City of *Babylon*, wherein the whole generation of Iniquity doth prevail and reign.

### What are the Works of *Antichrist*?

The first Work of *Antichrist* is, to take away the Truth, and to change it into Falsehood, Error, and Heresy. The second Work of *Antichrist* is to cover Falsehood over with a semblance of Truth, and to assert and maintain Lies by the name of Faith and Graces, and to dispense Falsehood intermingled with spiritual things unto the People under his Subjection, either by means of his Ministers, or by the Ministry, or any otherwise in relation to the Church. Now it is certain that these two ways of proceeding do contain so perfect and complete a wickedness, the like no Tyrant and no Power in the World was ever able to compass since the Creation, until the time of *Antichrist*. And *Christ* had never any Enemy yet like this, so able to pervert the way of Truth into Falsehood, and of Falsehood into Truth, and who in like manner did pervert the Professors of the one or the other, namely, of Truth and of Falsehood, insomuch that the holy Mother the Church with her true Children, is altogether trodden underfoot, especially in the Truth, and in what concerneth the true worship in the Truth, and the Ministry, and the exercise thereof, and the Children partaking thereof; which causeth her to weep bitterly, in the language and complaints of *Jeremy*, saying, *Ah how desolate art thou, O City of the heathen people and uncircumcised? She is become a Widow*; namely, being destitute of the Truth of her Bridegroom, Lady of People, by reason of the subjection to Errors and to sin; Princess of Provinces, by partaking with the World, and the things that are in the World; Weep and look but abroad a little, and thou shalt find those things now accomplished at this time: for, the holy Church is accounted a Synagogue of Miscreants, and the



Congregation of the Wicked is esteemed the Mother of them, that rightly believe in the Word. Falsehood is preached up for Truth, Iniquity for Righteousness, Injustice passeth for Justice, Error for Faith, Sin for Virtue, and Lies for Verity.

What are the Works that proceed from these first Works?

*Answer:* These, the first is, that it perverts the service of *Latreia*, that is, the worship properly due to God alone, by giving it to *Antichrist* himself and to his Works, to the poor creature, reasonable or unreasonable, sensible or senseless; to the reasonable, as to man, male or female Saints deceased, and unto Images, Carcasses, or Relics. His Works are the Sacraments, especially the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which he adoreth as God, and as *Jesus Christ*, together with the things blessed and consecrated by him, and prohibits the worshipping of God alone.

The second Work of the *Antichrist* is, that he robs and bereaves *Christ* of his Merits, together with all the sufficiency of Grace, of Justification, of Regeneration, Remission of Sins, Sanctification, Confirmation, and spiritual Nourishment, and imputes and attributes the same to his own authority, to a form of words, to his own Works; unto Saints and their Intercession, and unto the Fire of the Purgatory; and separates the People from *Christ*, and leads them away to the things aforesaid, that they may not seek those of *Christ*, nor by *Christ*; but only in the works of their own hands, and not by a lively Faith in God, nor in *Jesus Christ*, nor in the Holy Spirit, but by the will and pleasure, and by the works of *Antichrist*, according as he preacheth, that all Salvation consists in his Works.

The third Work of *Antichrist* consists in this, that he attributes the Regeneration of the Holy Spirit unto the dead outward work, baptizing Children in that Faith, and teaching, that thereby Baptism and Regeneration must be had, and therein he confers and bestows Orders and other Sacraments, and groundeth therein all his Christianity, which is against the Holy Spirit.

The fourth Work of *Antichrist* is, that he hath constituted and put all Religion and holiness of the People in going to Mass, and hath patched together all manner of Ceremonies, some *Jewish*, some heathenish, and some *Christian*: and leading the Congregations

thereunto, and the People to hear the same, doth thereby deprive them of the spiritual and sacramental manducation, and seduceth them from the true Religion, and from the Commandments of God, and withdraws them from the works of compassion, by his offerings; and by such a Mass hath he lodged the People in vain hopes.

The fifth Work of the *Antichrist* is, that he doth all his Works so that he may be seen, that he may glut himself with his insatiable avarice, that he may set all things to sale, and do nothing without Simony.

The sixth Work of the *Antichrist* is, that he allows of manifest Sins, without any Ecclesiastical Censure, and doth not excommunicate the Impenitent.

The seventh Work of *Antichrist* is, that he doth not govern nor maintain his Unity by the Holy Spirit, but by Secular Power, and maketh use thereof to effect spiritual matters.

The eighth Work of the *Antichrist* is, that he hates, and persecutes, and searcheth after, despoils and destroys the Members of *Christ*.

These things are in a manner the principal Works which he commits against the Truth, they being otherwise numberless, and past writing down. It sufficeth for the present, to have observed the most general, and those whereby this iniquity lies most covered and concealed.

First and chiefly, he makes use of an outward Confession of the Faith; and It is that whereof the Apostle speaketh, *For, they confess in words*, that they have known God, but by their deeds they deny him.

Secondly, he covers his Iniquity by the length or succession of time, and allegeth, that he is maintained by certain wise and learned men, and by religious Orders of certain Votaries of single Life, Men and Women, Virgins and Widows: and besides, by a numberless People, of whom it is said in the *Revelation*, *That power is given him over every Tribe, Language, and Nation, and all that dwell on Earth, shall worship him.*

In the third place, he covers his Iniquity by the spiritual authority of the Apostles, against which the Apostle speaketh expressly. *We are able to do nothing against the Truth, and there is no power given us for destruction.*

Fourthly, by many Miracles here and there, whereas the Apostle saith, The coming of them is according to the Work (or, operation) of Satan, by all manner of Miracles, and Signs, and Wonders of Lies, and by all kind of deceitful Iniquity.

Fifthly, by an outward Holiness, by Prayers, Fastings, Watchings, and Alms-deeds, against which the Apostle testifies, saying, Having a show of Godliness, but having denied the power thereof.

Sixthly, he covers his Iniquity by certain Sayings of *Christ*, and by the Writings of the Ancients, and by Councils, which they observe so far forth only as they do not destroy (or, overthrow) their wicked Life and Pleasures.

Seventhly, by the Administration of the Sacraments, in which they lay open the universality of their Errors.

Eighthly, by Corrections (or, Discipline) and mere verbal Preachings against Vices; for, they *say*, and *do not*.

Ninthly, by the virtuous Lives of some that live feignedly so, but especially, of such as live so indeed among them. For, the Elect of God, that desire and do that which is good, are detained there, as in *Babylon*; and are like unto Gold, wherewith the wicked *Antichrist* doth cover his Vanity, not suffering them to serve God alone, nor to put all their hope in *Christ* alone, nor to embrace the true Religion.

These things and many others, are as it were a Cloak and Garment, wherewith *Antichrist* doth cover his lying wickedness, that he may not be rejected as a Pagan (or, Infidel), and under which he can go on to act his villainies boldly, and like a Whore. Now it is evident, as well in the *Old*, as in the *New Testament*, that a *Christian* stands bound, by express Command given him, to separate himself from *Antichrist*. For, the Lord saith, *Isaiah* 52, Withdraw, withdraw yourselves, go forth thence, touch no unclean thing, go forth from the midst of her; cleanse yourselves, ye that bear the Vessels of the Lord: for ye shall not go forth in haste, and march not fleeing, etc.

And, *Jeremiah* 50, Flee out of *Babylon*, and come away out of the Land of the *Chaldeans*, and be like to the he-goats that go before the flock: for behold, I go to raise up against *Babylon* an Assembly of great Nations, from the North, who shall range themselves in battle array against her, that she shall be taken. In the 16 Chapter of *Numbers*, Separate yourselves from amidst this Assembly, and I will consume them in a moment. And again, withdraw from the Tabernacle of the wicked, and touch nothing of what belongs unto them, lest you be involved in their sin. In *Leviticus*, I am the Lord your God, that have separated you from the rest of the Nations; and therefore shall ye separate the clean beast from the unclean, and shall not defile your souls in beasts, nor in fowls, nor in any things that move themselves on the earth, and which I showed you that they are unclean. Again, in *Exodus* 34, Take heed you make no friendship (or, alliance) with the Inhabitants of that City, for, that would be thy ruin. And a little further, Make no agreement with the men of that Country, lest they having gone a whoring after other gods, and worshipped their Idols, they call thee and invite thee to eat things consecrated unto them. Nor shalt thou take thee a Wife from among their Daughters, lest they having played the harlot, that is to say, committed Idolatry, they cause thy children to go a whoring likewise after their gods, *Leviticus* 15. And therefore ye shall teach your children, and bid them beware of their uncleannesses, and that they may not die in them, having polluted my Sanctuary, *Ezekiel* 2. But the heart that walks on offending, and in its offenses, I will render their way upon their head, saith the Lord, *Deuteronomy* 20. When thou shalt have entered into the Land, which the Lord thy God shall give thee, take heed thou do not according to the abominations of those people: for the Lord abhorreth all those things: and by reason of such sins, he will blot them out, when thou shalt enter their Land, thou shalt be clean and without spot with thy God. Those people whose Land thou goest to possess, hearken to the Soothsayer, and Diviner; but thy God hath disposed otherwise in thy behalf. Now it is manifest in the *New Testament*, *John* 12, That the Lord is come and suffered death, that he might gather together the Children of God; and by reason of this Truth of Unity, and separation from others it is, that he saith in *St. Matthew* 10, For I am come to separate a Man from his Father, and set the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter-in-Law against her Mother-in-Law, and they of a

man's Household shall be his Enemies. And he hath commanded this Separation, saying, *Whosoever doth not forsake his Father and his Mother, etc.* And again, *Beware of false Prophets, which come unto you in Sheep's clothing.* Again, *Beware of the Leaven of the Pharisees: and Take heed lest any seduce you; for, many shall come in my Name, and seduce many.* And then, *If any tell you, Behold, Christ is here or there, believe him not, and walk not after them.* And in the Revelation he warneth by his own voice, and chargeth his, to go out of Babylon, saying, *And I heard a voice from Heaven, saying, O my people come forth out of her, and be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive none of her plagues: for, her sins are come up into Heaven, and the Lord remembereth her iniquities.* The Apostle saith the same, *Join not yourselves under one yoke with the unbelievers, for what participation hath Righteousness with Iniquity, or what fellowship is there between Light and Darkness, and what communion hath Christ with the Devil, or what part hath the Faithful with the Infidel, or what agreement is there of the Temple of God with idols? And therefore go forth from among the midst of them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing, and I will rescue you, and will be instead of a Father to you, and you shall be as Sons and Daughter to me, saith the Lord the Almighty.* Again, *Ephesians 5, Do not partake with them; for ye were in the way of darkness, but now ye are in the light of the Lord.* Again, *1 Corinthians 10, I would not have you become the companions of the Devil. Ye cannot participate of the Lords Table and of the Table of Devils.* So *2 Thessalonians 3, O Brethren, we declare unto you in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you beware of every Brother walking dishonestly, and not according to the customs, which ye received from us. For, ye know after what manner ye ought to be followers of us.* And again a little after he saith, *If there be any that obeys not our word, set down in this Epistle, have ye nothing to do with him, that he may be ashamed.* Again, *Ephesians 5, Have no communion with the works of Darkness, which are unfruitful.* And *2 Timothy 3, Be it known unto you that in the later times, there will be troublesome times. And afterwards, Having a show of piety, but having denied the power thereof, turn thyself away from such.* By what hath been said hitherto it appears clearly, what is the wickedness of *Antichrist* and his perverseness. Also the Lord commands our separating from him,

and joining ourselves with the holy City of *Jerusalem*: therefore knowing such things, the Lord having revealed them unto us by his Servants, and believing this Revelation according to the holy Scriptures, and being admonished by the Commandments of the Lord, we do both inwardly and outwardly depart from *Antichrist*, because we know him to be the same; and we keep company and unity one with another, freely and uprightly, having no other intent and purpose but purely and singly to please the Lord, and to be saved: and by the Lord's help, we join ourselves to the Truth of *Christ* and his Spouse, how small soever she appear, as far forth as our understanding is able to comprehend. And therefore we thought good to set down here for what causes we departed, and what kind of Congregation we have, to the end that if the Lord be pleased to impart the knowledge of the same truth unto others, those that receive it, may love it together with us. And if peradventure they be not sufficiently enlightened, they may receive help by this Ministry, and be sprinkled by the Lord. If someone have more abundantly received, and in an higher measure, we desire the more humbly to be taught, and to learn better of him, and to amend our defects. Now then the causes of our Separation are these ensuing.

Be it known unto everyone in general and in particular, that the cause of our Separation is this, namely, for the real Truths sake of the Faith, and by reason of our inward knowledge of the only true God, and the Unity of the Divine Essence in three Persons, which knowledge Flesh and Blood doth not afford; and for the befitting Service, due to that only God; for the love of him above all things, for Sanctification, and for his Honor above all things, and above every Name: for the living hope through *Christ* in God; for Regeneration, and the inward renewing by Faith, Hope, and Charity: for the Merit of *Jesus Christ*, with all the sufficiency of his Grace and Righteousness: for the Communion of Saints; for the Remission of Sins; for an holy Conversation, and for the faithful accomplishment of all the Commandments in the Faith of *Christ*: for true Repentance, for final perseverance, and Life everlasting.

The Ministerial Truths are these, the outward congregating of the Pastors with the People in convenient place and time to instruct them in the Truth by the Ministry, and leading, establishing, and maintaining the Church in the Truth aforesaid. The said good

Ministers press Faith and good Life, and are exemplary for manners and obedience, and watchfully follow the Example and Work of the Lord, toward the Flock.

The things which the Ministers are obliged to do for the Service of the People are these, the preaching of the Word of the Gospel; the Sacraments joined to the Word, which do certify, what the intent and meaning thereof is, and confirm the hope in *Christ* unto the faithful; the Ministerial Communion hath all things by the essential Truth. And all other Ministerial things may be reduced to the foresaid. But as to the particular Truths some of them are essentially necessary to Man's Salvation, other some conditionally. They are contained in the twelve Articles of the *Christian* Faith, and in divers passages of the Apostles. As for *Antichrist* he hath reigned a good while already in the Church by Gods permission.

The Errors and Impurities of *Antichrist* forbidden by the Lord are these, namely, a various and endless Idolatry, against the express Command of God and *Christ*. Divine Worship offered, not to the Creator, but to the Creature, visible and invisible, corporal and spiritual, rational and sensible, natural and artificial, under the name of *Christ* or Saints, Male or Female, and of Relics, and Authorities; onto which Creatures they offer the Service or Worship of Faith and Hope, Works, Prayers, Pilgrimages, Alms, Oblations, and Sacrifices of great price. And those Creatures they serve, honor, and adore several ways, by Songs, and Hymns, Speeches, Solemnities, and Celebrations of Masses, Vespers, fitted unto the same, by certain Hours, Vigils, Feast-days, thereby to obtain Grace, which is essentially in God alone, and meritoriously in *Christ*, and is to be obtained by Faith alone, through the Holy Spirit.

And indeed, there is nothing else that causeth Idolatry, but the false opinion of Grace, Truth, Authority, Invocation, Intercession, which this *Antichrist* hath deprived God of, to attribute the same to these Ceremonies, Authorities, the Works of a man's own hands, to Saints and to Purgatory. And this Iniquity of *Antichrist* is directly against the first Article of Faith, and against the first Commandment of the Law.

So also, the excessive Love of the World, that is in *Antichrist*, is that whence springs such a World of Sin and Mischief in the Church,

as well in them that govern, as in them that officiate in the same; who sin without control; they are against the Truth of Faith, and against the knowledge of God the Father. Witness St. *John* saying, *He that sinneth knoweth not, nor seeth God: for, if any love the World the Love of the Father is not in him.* The second Iniquity of *Antichrist*, lieth in the hope which he gives, of Pardon, Grace, Justification, Truth and Life everlasting, as things not to be sought and had in *Christ*, nor in God by *Christ*, but in men either living or already deceased, in human Authorities, in Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, in Benedictions, Sacrifices, Prayers, and such other things, as were before mentioned, not by a true and lively Faith, which worketh Repentance by Love, and causeth one to depart from evil, and give himself up to God. Again, *Antichrist* teacheth not to settle a firm hope in those things, namely, Regeneration, spiritual Confirmation, or Communion, Remission of Sins, Sanctification of eternal Life; but to hope, through the Sacraments, or, by means of his wretched Simony, whereby the People are greatly abused; in so much that putting all things to sale, he invented a number of Ordinances, old and new, to get moneys; giving way, that if any do but such and such a thing, he shall get Grace and Life. And this twofold Iniquity is properly called in the Scriptures Adultery and Fornication. And therefore such Ministers, as lead the simple People into those Errors, are called the Whore of the Revelation. And this Iniquity is against the second Article, and again, against the second and third Commandment of the Law.

The third Iniquity of *Antichrist* consists in this, that he hath invented, besides the matters aforesaid, certain false Religious Orders, and Rules, of Monasteries, putting men in hope of acquiring Grace by building certain Churches, as also because they do therein often and devoutly hear Mass, receive the Sacraments, make confession to the Priest (though seldom with Contrition) observe his Fasts, and empty the Purse for him, and be a professed Member of the Church of *Rome*, or if one have dedicated or vowed himself to be of such an Order, Cap or Frock; all which he doth press as Duties, contrary to all Truth. And this Iniquity of *Antichrist* is directly against the eighth Article of the Creed, *I believe in the Holy Ghost.*

The fourth Iniquity of *Antichrist* is, that notwithstanding his being the *fourth Beast* formerly described by *Daniel*, and the *Whore*



*of the Revelation*, he nevertheless adorns himself with the Authority, Power, Dignity, Ministry, Offices, and the Scriptures, and makes himself equal with the true and holy Mother the Church, wherein Salvation is to be had ministerially, and nowhere else; wherein is found the Truth of Life, and Doctrine, and of the Sacraments, and Subjects. For if he should not cover himself in this manner, his Ministers being such notorious Sinners, he would soon be abandoned by all: for Kings and Princes supposing him to be like or equal to the true and holy Mother the Church, they loved him, and endued him against the Commandment of God. And this Iniquity of the Ministers, Subjects, and ordained persons given up to Error and Sin, is directly against the ninth Article, *I believe an holy church*. Thus much for the first part.

In the second place, those that being partakers of the outward Ceremonies only, instituted by human Inventions, do believe and hope to partake of the reality of pastoral Cures and Offices, if they be but shaved or shorn like Lambs, and anointed or daubed like Walls, and made holy by touching the (*Mass*-) Book, and the Chalice into their hand, they proclaim and publish, that they are ordained lawful Priests to all intents. In like manner also the People (as is said before) subject unto them, communicating with them, by words, signs; and other outward exercises, they conceive they partake of the Truth thereon depending. And this is against the other part of the ninth Article, *I believe the Communion of Saints*. But it behooves us to depart from the wicked Communion of the Monks, by whom carnal men are easily drawn away, they through covetousness making them to trust in things of nought, be they never so riotous and wretched, provided only they give liberally unto them, and then they say, Such men are made partakers of their poverty and chastity.

The fifth Iniquity of *Antichrist* consists in this, that he doth feign and promise Pardon and Remission of Sins unto Sinners, not the truly contrite, but such as are willfully persevering in their evil practices: in the first place he doth promise them Forgiveness of their Sins, for their auricular Confessions sake, and human Absolution, and for their Pilgrimages, and this he doth out of Covetousness. And this Iniquity is against the eleventh Article of the Faith, *I believe the Remission of Sins*. For the same is in God

authoritatively, and in *Christ* ministerially, through Faith, Repentance, Charity, and Obedience to the Word, and in Man by participation.

The sixth Iniquity lies herein, that to the very end of their Lives they go on hoping and trusting thus in the forementioned Iniquities and coverings, especially till they come to the *last Unction*, and their invented *Purgatory*; insomuch that the ignorant and rude Multitude do persevere in their Error, they being taught and made to believe, that they are absolved of their Sins, though they never freely depart from them, for to hope Forgiveness of Sins and Life everlasting. And this Iniquity is directly against the eleventh and twelfth Articles of the Faith.

## ARTICLE II.

### Of the Purgatory Dream.

The Purgatory Dream which many Priests and Monks hold forth and teach as an Article of Faith, with many Lies, asserting is this; that after this Life, since the Ascension of *Christ* into Heaven, the Souls, especially of such as are to be saved, not having satisfied in this Life for their Sins, departing their Bodies, must endure very sensible Pains, and be thoroughly purged after this Life in Purgatory, and that being purged, they come forth thence, some sooner, some later, and other some not till Doomes Day, and others readily and long before it; in commiseration of which Souls, every faithful man may and ought to help them, even after this Life, by the Bond of Charity, through Prayers, Fasts, Alms, Masses. And in this Purgatory's behalf, many have, to glut their Avarice, invented abundance of uncertain things, which they taught and preached, saying, That those Souls are tormented in the said Purgatory, some up to the very Neck, others to their Middle, others by the Finger; and that sometimes they sit and eat together at Table, and make good Cheer, especially on the Day of *All Souls*, when the People do offer largely unto the Priests upon their Sepulchers. And sometime, say they, they are picking up Crumbs under the rich men's Tables. By means of all which and many other Lies, their Avarice and Simony is grown and multiplied to a great height. There are Cloisters raised, Temples costly built and endowed, Altars reared up and multiplied

above measure, and a world of Monks and Canons, who have invented many things more, whereby to relieve and release those poor Souls, making a mere Mockery of the Word of God. And the People are grievously cheated and abused about the matter of their Souls, and their substance, they being made to put their trust in such uncertain things, whiles the Faithful must heal themselves; for, if once they refuse to teach the said Purgatory as an Article of Faith, they are forthwith most cruelly condemned to death and martyred.

And therefore we stand engaged to speak of this Purgatory, and to hold forth what we conceive of it.

First then, we say, that the Souls of those which are to be saved, must finally be purged of all their uncleanness, according to God's Ordinance, declared *Revelation 21*, No unclean thing giving up itself to abomination and Lying, shall enter into Heaven. Now we do hold, that Faith and the Scriptures do promise us many and sundry ways of purging or cleansing those that are in this present Life of all their Sins. But St. *Peter* shows *Acts 15*, that the Hearts are purged by Faith, and that Faith is sufficient to cleanse evil, without any other outward means. As it is made plain by the Thief's case on the right hand of *Christ*, who believing, and sincerely acknowledging his Sins, became worthy of Paradise. The other way of purging the Spouse of *Christ*, is, by Repentance, spoken of *Isaiah 1*, the Lord commanding there, *Wash yourselves, cleanse yourselves, remove the evil out of your thoughts from before mine eyes, desist doing perverse things*. And afterwards, *Though your sins were like Scarlet, they shall be made as white as Snow; though they were as Crimson, they shall be as white Wool*. In which place the Lord presents himself unto the truly penitent in manner aforesaid, and those that were guilty of sin, shall be made as white as Snow. There is another way yet of purging Sin, mentioned by St. *Matthew 3*, where it is said, *He hath his Fan in his hand, and will purge his threshing floor clean, and gather his Grain into his Barn*. Which passage Chrysostom applies to the Church present in this Life, and the Tribulations thereof. And not only by Tribulations, but by himself also doth the Lord here in this Life cleanse his Spouse and threshing floor, as St. *Paul* saith, *Christ loved the Church, and gave up himself for it, to hallow it, cleansing it by the washing of Water, by the Word of Life, to make unto himself a glorious church, having neither spot*

*nor wrinkle, nor any such thing, but to be holy and unblameable.* Where the Apostle shows, that *Christ* so loved his Church, that he would not cleanse it by any other Washing, but by his own Blood; and that doubtless not so, as that it should be any ways insufficient, but effectually, in such sort, that there remains no uncleanness at all; he having so glorified her, that she hath no spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing remaining upon her, but is made holy, and undefiled. And this Testimony of the Washing of the Spouse of *Christ* in his Blood is not only rendered here on Earth, but Testimony is given also from Heaven by those which obtained this effectual Washing, it being said of them in the *Revelation*, *These are they, that came out of great Tribulation, and washed their Garments, and whitened them in the Blood of the Lamb, and therefore they are before the Seat of the Lamb, and serve him.* And thus ye see, how many ways may be taken forth by Faith out of the Scriptures, to show that those that sojourn in this Life, are purged of their Sins here before they leave it.

We hold in the third place, that it would be far safer for everyone so to live in this present Life, that he should not need any Purging afterwards. For, it is much better to do well in this Life, than to hope for uncertain help after it. And it is the far surer way, instead of what good others will do us after our death, to do the same ourselves while we are yet alive, it being a happier thing for a man to depart hence in a free condition, than to seek for liberty after he shall be fettered.

Besides what hath been said, we maintain, that it cannot be made out by any express passage of the holy Scriptures of the Law of God, nor any holy Teachers grounded upon the said Scriptures, without wresting them, that it hath been held by common consent, that the Faithful ought to believe of necessity, and publicly to profess as an Article of Faith, that there should be such a place as Purgatory, after this Life to be entered into for sins after the Ascension of *Christ*, by such Souls especially, as being otherwise to be saved shall not have made satisfaction in this Life for their sins committed, where they should endure most sensible Pains, being once departed their Bodies, and to be cleansed, and that thence some should come forth again sooner, and some later, some at Dooms Day, and others before. And as to the first part, namely, Scripture proofs, there is none at all to be found throughout the *Bible* for it; let us peruse the

whole Law of God, we shall not meet with any one passage obliging or binding a *Christian* necessarily to believe, as an Article of Faith, that after this Life there should be such a place as Purgatory, as some aver. There is not one place in all the holy Scriptures, to show it, neither can there be any evidence produced that ever there entered anyone Soul in such a Purgatory, and came out again from thence.

And therefore it is a thing not to be credited, nor believed: for proof whereof St. *Augustin* in the Book which he entitled *Mille verba*, writes thus, We believe by Faith universal, and by Divine Authority, that the Kingdom of Heaven is the first place, whereinto Baptism is received. The second, is that where the Excommunicated and Stranger from the Faith of *Christ*, shall suffer everlasting Torments. As for a third, we know none such at all, and find nothing certified of it in the holy Scriptures.

Again, in the same Book upon this passage [*Shall not enter into the Kingdom of God*], he writes thus, O Brethren, let none deceive himself, for there are but two places, the third is not at all: for he that is not found worthy to reign with *Christ*, doubtless must perish with Satan. To this purpose St. *Chrysostom* on the twentieth Chapter of St. *Matthew*, where it is said, *That the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a Housekeeper*: speaks in this manner, This Housekeeper is *Christ*, to whom Heaven and Earth is an House, as it were, and the Families are the Celestial and the Terrestrial Creatures: in this House he hath built three Chambers, Hell, Heaven, and Earth. The Militant or combating party are these which inhabit the Earth; those that are overcome go down to Hell; but they that have overcome, enter Heaven. Let us take heed (saith he) we that are in the middle Region, that we descend not after them which are in Hell, but rather that we may mount up to them which are above in Heaven.

Is it not plain by these Authorities, that there are but two certain places, after *Christ's* Ascension into Heaven, whither the Souls do go, departing from their Bodies, and that there is no third place at all, and none to be found anywhere in the holy Scriptures.

And therefore no express mention at all being made throughout the Law of God, of any such place as Purgatory, and the Apostles having not left us any instruction about the same; and the Primitive church also, governed according to the Gospel, and by the Apostles

themselves, having not left any Ordinance or Commandment behind about it: and seeing Pope *Pelagius* first five hundred and eight years after *Christ*, began to make this Institution, that Remembrance should be made of the Dead in the Mass; it follows, there being no one express proof for it in the Law of God, that it is needless to believe the said Purgatory as an Article of Faith, and that there should be such a thing after this Life.

But whence is it then (one might wonder) that People now adays are so much taken with this opinion of assisting the Dead? seeing that in all the Scriptures there is nothing expressly taught concerning it, unless it be in the Book of *Maccabees*, which doth not belong to the *Old Testament* nor is Canonical, and that neither *Christ*, nor any of his Apostles, nor any of the Saints, next succeeding and living after them, ever taught any to pray for the Dead; but were all of them very careful to teach that the People that lived unblameably, should be holy: therefore answering his Query, we say, that the first cause hereof is, the Deceit and Craft of the Priests, proceeding from their greedy Avarice, who did not teach and instruct the People as the Prophets and Apostles of *Christ*, well to live, but only to offer roundly, and to put their trust and hope of Deliverance and Salvation upon Purgatory.

### ARTICLE III.

#### Of the Invocation of Saints.

Now we shall speak also something of the Invocation of Saints, concerning which, some of our Masters and their Adherents preach and keep a stir, to publish it as an Article of Faith, saying, that the Saints departed, and being possessed of the heavenly Country, ought to be prayed unto by us, in such a manner as the Priests use to do, and other People by their Instruction, enjoining there many other things to further and facilitate their Invocation; by which Invocation, authorizing and magnifying of it, the People believe carnally and err greatly; conceiving, that as it is practiced in the Courts of earthly Kings, being provoked or wroth, that some about them, which are not in the like passion, do intercede for others, and mitigate their displeasure; so it must needs be also with God himself; that is to say,

that the Saints deceased must assuage God's anger, when it is kindled against a Sinner.

But we ought to believe no such matter; for, if that were true, there would be no true conformity, between the will of the Saints, and that of God. For, it would have an appearance, as if the Saints were not moved with indignation against him, that provokes God to indignation.

And secondly, by this magnifying of, and praying to the Saints, the People falls away into Idolatry, putting more trust in the Saints, than in God himself, and serving them with more affection than the only God; which they do effectually make appear by the adorning of their Altars most preciousely, their loudest Peals (of Ringing and Singing) the multiplicity of Lights and Candles, and other Solemnities about them; by all which the simple People conceives no otherwise of them, than that the Saints are more merciful than God himself, as being able to deliver from Damnation, by their Intercession to God, those whom God had already condemned. Besides to maintain this the better, the silly People are taught, that the said Saints love to have Gifts and Presents offered them, and that they are delighted to hear their Praises, and that they intercede most for those that offer, and praise, and honor them most; all which are things to be carefully shunned, and had in abomination.

This sort of Invocation it is, that we are now to treat of, and to make known what we do hold concerning this Invocation of Saints. And first and foremost we will say, what Invocation is, Invocation is an earnest Desire of all the Mind and Soul, addressed to the only God, by Voice, in Praying. Secondly, we hold, that *Christ* Man is Mediator between God and Man, and our Advocate towards God the Father, having paid for our Sins, 1 *Timothy* 2:4, approaching unto God of himself, ever living to intercede for us: *No man comes to the Father, but by him.* And, *Whatsoever* (saith he himself) *ye shall ask of the Father in my Name, I will do it.* Who giveth abundantly to all that ask him, and upbraideth no man. He is our Advocate towards God the Father, and he forgives our Sins. The Truth is, he presents himself in some sort unto us, before we stir ourselves. He standeth at the Gate, and knocketh, that we should open to him; and to obstruct all means and occasions of Idolatry, he sitteth at the right

hand of the Father in Heaven, and wills that every faithful Soul shall mind him only, and have an eye and recourse to him alone: for all the care and thought of the Faithful should be bent to *Christ*, with all the heart and affections, imitating him that is above. In which regard it is said, *If ye be risen with Christ, then seek the things that are above, where Christ is, sitting at the right hand of God.* He is the *Gate*, who soever enters by him shall be saved. No man comes to the Father (saith he) but by me. In the third place, we hold, that the Saints are not set before us to adore them, but to imitate their practice, as St. Paul saith, *Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ, and take heed to them that walk, as ye have us for an Example.* St. Peter would not suffer himself to be worshipped by *Cornelius*, nor the Angel by St. John the Evangelist. And therefore doth Saint *Augustin* write thus in his Book of true Religion. Do not (saith he there) O religious People, give yourselves to worship the Dead, for if they lived holily, they were not such, as used to seek or desire those honors, to be worshipped by us; by him, that illuminates them, they rejoyce, that we are made partakers with them. And therefore we should honor them by imitation, not worship them by Religion. All this being set down for our Foundation, we say, That no man bodily born, whosoever, but *Christ*, ought to be adored, and none other is the certain and true Advocate or Mediator between God and Man, nor Intercessor for our Sins, towards God the Father, but he alone, and there is no need at all that any such religious Address should be made unto the Saints deceased by the Living. He (namely, *Christ*) alone hath that Prerogative, to obtain whatsoever he requests in behalf of Mankind, whom he hath reconciled by his Death. He is the only and sole Mediator between God and Man, the Advocate and Intercessor towards God the Father for Sinners, and so sufficient that the Father denies nothing to anyone, which he prays and sues for in his Name; but for his sake he heareth them still that pray unto and ask in his Name. For being near unto God, and living of himself, he prayeth continually for us. For it became us to have such an High Priest, as was holy, guiltless, blameless, separated from Sinners, and exalted above the Heavens, the firstborn, who being above all men should have Power and Authority to sanctify others, and to pray and intercede for them. St. *Austin* writes concerning *Christ* on *Psalm* 64, saying, Thou art the Sacrificer, thou art the Sacrifice, thou art he that offers, and the Offering itself. *Jesus* entered not into places made



with hands, which were Figures of the true ones, but he is entered into Heaven, to appear there in our behalf, before the face of God.

And it is of him that St. *John* saith, We have an Advocate with the Father, namely, *Jesus Christ* the Righteous. And St. *Paul* saith, That *Jesus* who died for us, did also rise for us, and sitteth at the right hand of God, praying for us.

Therefore it were but a foolish part to seek for any other Intercessor; for *Christ* is always living and maketh continual Intercession for us to God the Father, and is ever ready to succor them that love him. And therefore keeping close to what he said, and is said of him, to what purpose should we address ourselves to any other Saint for Mediator? seeing he is himself far more loving and far more ready to succor and relieve us, than any of them: considering withal, that the Spirit of him that prayeth must needs be distracted and straying, through the multitude of Saints to be prayed unto, so that the affection must needs abate and grow remiss towards *Christ*, it being divided among so many. And there are many that think the addressing of ones Prayer to one alone, making him his sole Intercessor, proves more beneficial in spiritual matters; yet doubtless the Church would advance and improve much more, if she acknowledged no such multitude of Intercessors newly invented. It were great folly indeed to abandon the Fountain of Living Water, and go to the Rivulets that are nothing nigh so clear and ready at hand. Thus then it is evident, (1) That there is nothing obtainable at God's hand, but by *Christ* the Mediator, (2) That it were far more expedient to adore *Christ* alone of all men, he being absolutely the best and kindest Mediator and Intercessor, in all kind of extremities, (3) That keeping to his Word, we need not make our Address to any other Saints for Intercessors, for as much as he is much more ready to help us, than any other Saint, as being ordained by God for that very purpose, namely, that our Address and Intercession should be made by him, that is more merciful than any of the rest; for he knows for whom it is fittest to intercede, he having shed his Blood for them, which he can never forget; they are written on his hands and on his breast, (4) That it would be folly to seek for another Intercessor, (5) That in the Primitive Church men addressed their Prayers to this singular person, as Mediator for spiritual help, (6) That the Church then did profit and increase more than now she doth, since they

found so many Intercessors, which are but as so many Clouds without Water, obscuring *Christ* the Sun of Righteousness, who is the true Intercessor: for many waiting for spiritual aid, found themselves forsaken, through their vain hope. For as God is just, and we unjust, and insufficient for ourselves, he it is that pardons our sins, as well past as present: for he hath given himself for our Redemption, that is to say, he was the Oblation, whereby our Pardon was procured: God sent his Son to be the Forgiver of our Sins; he is the Remedy against Sin, to keep us from falling into Despair. We must have recourse to *Christ* the Advocate, who perpetually pleads our Cause, interceding to the Father in our behalf, being not only our Advocate, but our Judge also: for the Father hath given up all Judgment unto the Son; and therefore the penitent have great hope, being sure to have him for their Judge, that is, their Advocate. This Faith is grounded in *Christ*, as upon a Cornerstone, whereon the Saints always safely reposed, and which was held always sufficient, until the Man of Sin got power to introduce this new Intercession of Saints: which Faith all the Saints had, whiles they were here, and they confess to this day, that they are not saved by the Oblation or Intercession of any other God, and that they arrived to the heavenly Kingdom, according to that of the *Revelation* 5:9, etc. O Lord, thou art worthy to receive the Book, and to undo the Seal thereof, and to open the same. Thou that haft been slain, and haft redeemed us to God by thine own Blood, out of all Tribes and Languages, and hast made us Kings and Priests unto our God. Lo, how their humility and their acknowledgment resounds on earth still, they leaving such record behind them, that they entered where now they are, by no other means, but his Blood, and confess to have received by him all their weal and welfare there, and whatsoever they enjoyed during their abode here. In a word, that they received no kind of good at any time, but by our good Mediator and Intercessor *Jesus Christ*.

#### ARTICLE IV.

Of Baptism and the rest of the Sacraments in the Church of *Rome*.

That which is of no necessity in the Administration of Baptism, is the Exorcism, the Breathing on, the Sign of the Cross upon the Infants Breast and Forehead, the Salt which they put into his Mouth,

the Spittle put to his Ears and Nose, the Anointing of his Breast, the Capuchin, the Uncction on the Crown of the Head, and all the rest of those things consecrated by the Bishop, putting Wax in their Hands, arraying them in white, blessing the Water, plunging the Infant three times, seeking for God-fathers: all these things commonly practiced about the Administration of this Sacrament are needless, as being not at all of the substance of, nor requisite in the Sacrament of Baptism; these things giving but occasion to many that they rather fall into Error and Superstition, than that they should be edified by them to Salvation; which made some Doctors profess, that there was no virtue, nor benefit to be had by them.

### Of the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*.

The Manducation (or Eating) of the Sacramental Bread is the eating of *Christ's* Body figuratively, *Christ* having said, Whensoever ye do this, do it in remembrance of me: for if it had not been a figurative Eating, *Christ* had hereby obliged himself, to be eaten continually; for we stand in a manner always in need of feeding on him spiritually, according as *Austin* saith. He truly eateth *Christ*, that believeth in him. And *Christ* saith, that to eat him is to abide in him. In the Administration of this Sacrament, these things are profitable, Prayer, Charity, the Preaching of the holy Scriptures in a known Tongue, for Edification, and whatsoever else is instituted as tending thereunto, according to the Law of the Gospel, for the increase of Peace and Charity among the People: but as for other things, besides the Consecration of the Eucharist, such as are those which the Priests act in the Mass, or the Clergy chants in the Choir, from the beginning to the end, and the Ornaments of the Priests, such as the *Roman* Church and her Adherents now makes use of, they are not of necessity to this holy Supper.

### Of Marriage and Orders.

Concerning Marriage, it is behooove-full to make use of Prayer, of Fasting, and due Admonitions, Instructions, and warnings about it; but the Coupling of the Hands, and Tying of the Robe, and such other Ceremonies as are in common use about it, and of human

custom, besides the express Scripture, are not of the substance of, nor at all requisite to Marriage.

As touching Orders, we ought to hold, that Order is called the Power which God gives to man, duly to administer or dispense unto the Church the Word and the Sacraments. But we have nothing in the Scriptures touching such Orders as they pretend, but only the Custom of the Church. And all those Testimonial Letters, the Anointing of the Hands, the giving of the Girdle, and putting the Lamp into the Hand, and the rest usually observed in this case, besides the express Scripture, is not of the substance of, nor any necessary requisite unto Order.

#### Of the Chrism, or Confirmation.

Now to speak of the Chrism, which they also call a Sacrament, having no ground at all in Scripture, to this purpose; that first, it must be consecrated by a Bishop, and compounded of Oil-Olive, and of Balm to be applied to the person baptized, upon the Forehead with the Sign of the Cross, and with these words: I sign thee with the Sign of the Cross, and confirm thee by the Sign of Salvation, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Which is performed by imposing of Hands, and with a white Attire fastened to the Head. This is that which they call the Sacrament of Confirmation, which we find not instituted by either *Christ* or his Apostles. For *Christ* the Pattern of all his Church, was not confirmed in his person, and he doth not require, that there should be any such Unction in Baptism, but only pure Water. And therefore such a Sacrament is not found needful for Salvation, where, by God is blasphemed, and which was introduced by the Devils instigation, to seduce the People, and to deprive them of the Faith of the Church, and that by such means they might be drawn the more to believe the Ceremonies and the necessity of the Bishop.

#### Of the Extreme Unction.

The seventh Sacrament of the Church of *Rome* is the Extreme Unction of the Sick, which they go about to prove by the saying of the Apostle St. *James*. There is no ground to show, that *Christ* or his Apostles did institute any such thing. For, if this bodily Unction

were a Sacrament, as they would make us believe, *Christ* or his Apostles would not have passed over in silence the evidence of putting the same in use: upon the deliberate consideration whereof, we dare not presume to hold or profess it as an Article of Faith, that this Sacrament was instituted by *Christ* or any of his Apostles.

### Of Fasting.

It follows now to say something also of Fasting, which is twofold, namely, the bodily and the spiritual. The spiritual is, to abstain from sin; the bodily is, to abstain from meat. But the *Christian* is at liberty to eat at all times, as also to fast at any time, provided he do not observe the Fast superstitiously, as by a virtue of abstinence.

And observe, that there are some Fasts which ought not to be kept nor commended by the Faithful, but rather to be abhorred and eschewed: such as are the Fasts of the Scribes and of the Pharisees, and those instituted by *Antichrist*, favoring of Idolatry; the Fasts of Heretics and superstitious People, observed by Enchanters, Sorcerers, and Necromancers, and the Fasts dedicated unto Creatures, and not to the Creator, which have no ground in the Law of God. Those Fasts are inordinate which are kept by feeding only on rarer, costlier, and choicer Meats, such as all manner of Sea Fish, Figs, Raisins, and Almonds, of which the Poor are deprived, and with which the Rich abound, whiles Alms are withdrawn from the Poor; whereas if they fasted so, as to eat afterwards more common and less chargeable Meat, they would be able to provide the better both for their own Families, and for the Poor. So then, it being plain, that Fasting consists not in the abstaining from any bodily Meat, as unclean, because all things are clean to them that are clean; and nothing is to be refused, being taken with thanksgiving, or sanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer. It followeth, that all these Fasts aforesaid are to be detested and rejected by the Faithful; and of such things they ought to be guiltless, and remain unspotted.

## CHAPTER VIII: *A particular Discourse concerning the Barbes or ancient Pastors of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont.*

Whereto is added a Catalogue of the Names of all those who have been renowned amongst them, within the compass of 500 Years and upwards, so far as they have come to the Authors knowledge.

Having treated so largely in the foregoing Chapters concerning the ancient Doctrine and Discipline of the *Evangelical Churches* in the Valleys of *Piemont*, and presented to the Reader many rare Pieces of Antiquity, in order thereunto, it will not be amiss, now in the close of this Book to give him a brief account of the Authors and Penmen of these, and the like Treatises, who were then known by the name of *Barbes*, that is to say, their Pastors or Ministers.

The Monk *Rainerius* in a Treatise of his, doth indeed give a strange Description of the Office and Customs of those *Barbes*, namely, that they had a *Chief Bishop* amongst them, who had always two attending him, the one whereof he called his Eldest, and the other his Youngest Son; and besides these two, he had also a third that followed him in the quality of a *Deacon*; he adds likewise, that this Bishop laid his hands on others, with a sovereign Authority, and sent them about, hither and thither, as he pleased, and that in as imperious a manner as the Pope himself.

With these and the like fictitious Notions or *Chimera's* *Rainerius* would fain possess the minds of men, but all in vain, for, it is manifest by what has been already inserted in the fifth Chapter of this Book, that both the Calling of those Ministers, and the Administration of their Office, was quite of another nature and strain; there we shall see, that *those who are to be received as Pastors among them, were to intreat the People to receive them, and to pray to God for them, that they might be made worthy of so great a Charge; and this principally, to give a proof or evidence of their humility.* Again, there we shall find that *none of those Pastors were*

*empowered to act the least matter without the consent and advice of their Brethren and Associates in the Ministry.*

In the third place we shall there find, that *they had no other Food or Raiment, than what was bestowed on them by the free charity of the good People whom they instructed.* All which are very far from being any Arguments to prove that absolute sovereignty, and worldly pomp, in which the above-named *Rainerius* would willingly father upon those poor Shepherds of the little Flock of *Christ*, not so much (it may be) out of a Principle of Malice, as to make the World believe that those poor People were Lovers and Admirers of the *Romish* Ceremonies and Superstitions; however he intended, yet sure I am, that all the Histories, Records, and Works which they have left behind them, speak them to be quite otherwise, namely, a Generation of humble, holy and harmless men, of a meek, peaceable, and quiet spirit; exceeding painful in their Calling, and carefully watching over the Flocks committed to their Charge; laboring faithfully in the Lord's Vineyard, and employing their whole time and Talents for turning many Souls unto Righteousness; and this they did by much *Labor and Travail*, by *Watchings and Fastings*, by suffering many *buffetings, stripes, and Imprisonments*, yea and many times even Death itself, they being for the most part constrained to seal the Truths they preached to others, with the last Drop of their own Blood, and by suffering the most exquisite Torments, their bloody Persecutors could possibly devise. In sum, these were men mortified to all the Pomp, Glory, and Riches, to all the Pleasures, Honors, and Preferments that this World could afford them; having their Conversation as *Strangers, Pilgrims, and Sojourners* here below; whose *Hope* was not *in this Life*, but who expected another *City*, to wit, *the heavenly Jerusalem, and a House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens*; that so, having fought the good Fight, and finished their course, they might inherit the Crown which God has laid up for all those who love him and his appearing. Now as for that which concerns the suffering part of their Life, I shall refer the Reader to the following Book; but if he desire further satisfaction, as to the Point of their Life, and to know with what zeal and holy affection they labored to draw their People to Repentance, and to instruct them in the Faith, I shall recommend to him for brevities sake one only Epistle of one of those ancient

Barbes, written in their own Language to the Church of *Pragela*, whereby he may the better judge of their spirits and Principles.

An Epistle of the *Barbe Bartholemi Tertian*, written to the Evangelical Churches of *Pragela*.

*Jesus* be with us.

To all our faithful and beloved Brethren in *Jesus Christ*. I salute you all. *Amen*.

This Epistle is to advertise your Fraternity, acquitting myself of that trust which is committed to me by God, concerning you, in order to the Salvation of your Souls, according to that Light of Truth which is given us by the Most High, that you would please, every one of you to maintain, increase, and cherish, to your utmost, and by no means weaken or diminish those good Principles, Forms, and Customs, which have been left us by our Ancestors, and of which we were unworthy. For it would be but a very small and poor advantage for us to have been renewed by the fatherly Persuasions of God himself, and that Light which he hath given us, if we should now give ourselves up to a worldly, diabolical, and fleshly Conversation, forsaking the principal Good (which is God) and the Salvation of our own Souls, for a short and temporal Life. For the Lord has said in the Gospel, *What will it profit a man to gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul?* And, *It were better never to have known the way of Righteousness, than having once known it, to walk contrary to it.* Yea, we shall be *altogether inexcusable*, and our Condemnation will be more severe, for as much as there will be greater Punishments inflicted upon those that have had the greatest measure of knowledge. Wherefore I beseech you for the Love of God, not to diminish but increase that Love, Fear, and Obedience which is due unto him, and to one another, as also to keep the good Customs which you have seen and heard of God, by our means. And that ye will take away and purge out from among you all those Faults and Failings which interrupt your Peace, Love, and Concord, with whatsoever obstructs your Liberty in the Service of God, and your own Salvation, and the Administration of Truth; and all this, in case



you desire that God should be propitious to you, in regard either of your spiritual or temporal Estate, considering that you cannot do anything without him. If then you desire to be Heirs of his Glory, do as he commands you: and *if you would enter into Life, keep my Commandments*. Moreover, beware that you entertain among you no vain Sports, Gluttony, Whoredom, Balls, or other Debaucheries, as likewise no Questions, Frauds, Usury, Envies, or Discords. And lastly, take heed of supporting or upholding in the midst of you, any persons of an ill Life, who may become a Scandal, or an evil Example to others. But on the contrary, let Love, and Faithfulness, and all manner of good Examples reign amongst you, *doing one to another as everyone would that it should be done to him*; for otherwise it is not possible that any can be saved, or find grace and favor with God and Man in this World, or Glory in that which is to come. And it is necessary that the Leaders, and those who govern and bear Rule amongst you, see to the putting of these things into execution; for when the Head is sick, all the Members are distempered: wherefore if ye hope and desire to inherit eternal Life, and to be in good esteem and credit, and to prosper in the World, both as to Temporal and Spiritual good things; Cleanse yourselves from every disorderly way among you, so that God may be always with you, *Who never forsakes those, who put their trust in him*. But know for certain, that God does not dwell with Sinners, neither does he in his Soul cleave to evil doing, or to the Man that is a Slave sold under sin. Wherefore let everyone rectify the way of his own Heart, and shun Dangers, if he will not perish in them. I shall not add more for the present, but only this, that ye see to the performance of these things, and *the God of Peace be with you all*, and accompany us, according to our truly devout and humble Prayers for, and Salutation of all the faithful and beloved of *Christ. Amen*.

I am wholly, yours *Bartholomeus Tertianus*, ready to serve you in all things in our power according to the will of God.

True it is, that as to the particular circumstances of the form of Discipline amongst those *Barbes* in those times, as namely, their *Consistories* and *Synodical* Constitutions, those Remainders of their Antiquities which the *Pope's* Emissaries have left us (or rather

which have been miraculously preserved from the flames) are something dark, and imperfect; However what has come to my hands concerning this matter, I shall faithfully impart unto the Christian Reader. As to their *Synodical* Constitutions, the above-specified Manuscripts tell us, that the *Barbes* (or Pastors) assembled once a year, to treat of their affairs in a General Council; And the Italian Manuscript (the Original whereof is to be seen with the rest in the University Library of *Cambridge*, bearing date 1587), tells us, that this Council was constantly held in the Month of *September*, and that some hundreds of years ago, there were seen assembled together in one *Synod* held at *Valone del Lauso* in *Val Clusone*, no less than an hundred and forty *Barbes*. The same Manuscript adds, that they had always their *Consistories*, and a form of Discipline amongst themselves, except it were in the time of Persecution, and then the *Barbes* had their *Consistories* in secret, and did also preach to their Congregations, during the Winter season, in their own private houses, and in the Summer time, upon the tops of Mountains, as the people were there feeding their flocks.

Of these *Barbes* some were married, to manifest thereby their approbation of the state of Matrimony; Others kept themselves single, for convenience sake, forasmuch as they were oft-times obliged to remove and shift their habitations and abodes, and (as occasion required) to undertake long and tedious voyages for the propagating of the *Gospel* in remote Countries, with whom they then had a particular and constant correspondence, after the year 1160, namely, in *Bohemia*, *Germany*, *Gascogny*, *Provence*, *Dauphine*, *England*, *Calabria*, and *Lombardy*, whither the abovesaid *Barbes* went by turns, as Itineraries, to visit their Brethren there, and to preach the Gospel of *Christ* amongst them. Those *Barbes* who remained at home in the *Valleys* (besides their officiating and laboring in the work of the Ministry), took upon them the disciplining and instructing of the youth (especially those who were appointed for the Ministry) in Grammer, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Divinity. Moreover the greatest part of them gave themselves to the study and practice of Physic, and Chirurgery; and herein they excelled (as their Histories tell us) to admiration, thereby rendering themselves most able and skillful Physicians both of soul and body. Others of them likewise dealt in divers Mechanic Arts, in imitation

of St. *Paul*, who was a *Tent-maker*, and *Christ* himself, who until the time of his manifestation wrought with his *putative* father *Joseph*, as *Justin Martyr* reports in a certain Dialogue of his with *Triph. contra Jud.*

Here I suppose it will not be unacceptable to insert the Names of all those *Barbes* or *Pastors* of the *Evangelical Churches* of *Piemont*, which are found scattered here and there, in their Writings, not knowing of what use it may be to any future discoveries of their Antiquities, at least they may serve to let us see that God has never wholly removed his *Candlesticks*, nor his *burning and shining Lights*, out of these remote and dark Corners.

*A Catalogue of the Names of all those Barbes or ancient Pastors of or belonging to the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont, who have been eminent within the compass of 500 years last passed, and upwards; so far as they have come to the Authors hands.*

Mr. *Arnoldo*, who taught about the year 1150, from whom his Disciples were called *Arnoldists*.

Mr. *Esperone*, who taught about the year 1156, from whom his followers were named *Esperonists*.

Mr. *Josepho*, who taught about the same time, and those who embraced his Doctrine, were in mockery called after his name *Josephists*.

*Pietro Waldo*, who began to teach the people, who were called after him *Waldenses*, in the year 1160.

*Pietro Bruis*, from whom his hearers were called *Brusiens*.

Mr. *Henrico*, who together with *Pietro Bruis* taught in the Bishoprics of *Arles*, *Ambrun*, *Dic*, and *Gap*, whither they were driven, and received at *Thoulouze*.

*Bartholomew* of *Carcassone*, who taught and was eminent in *Hungaria*, *Dalmatia*, etc. Insomuch that he was nick-named (by *Mattheus Paris*) their *Pope* and *Bishop*, alleging likewise to this purpose a Letter, which a certain Bishop (the *Pope's* Legat in those

parts) wrote to the Archbishop of *Rouan* to demand aid and assistance against them, until at last they were constrained to retire *into the Desert*, according to that Prophecy in the Revelation, That *the woman that brought forth the manchild*, and is the true Church of God, should be so cruelly persecuted by *the Dragon*, which should *cast water as a River out of his Mouth*, to devour it, that she should be constrained to *flee into the Desert*, where she should be *nourished a time, and times, and half a time*, or for the space of forty two Months, or twelve hundred and sixty days.

*Belazinanza*, of *Veronne*.

*Giovanni*, of *Lugro*.

These two were very famous (as *Rainerius* observes) about the year of our Lord, 1250.

*Arnoldo Ilot*, a famous *Barbe*, who held the grand dispute at *Mont Real*.

*Lollardo*, who was in great Reputation amongst the *Evangelical Churches of Piemont*, by reason of a Commentary that he made upon the *Revelation*: As also for having conveyed the knowledge of their Doctrine into *England*, where his Disciples were known by the name of *Lollards*.

*Paolo Gignoso*, of *Bobio*.

*Pietro*, of *Piemont*.

*M. Antonio*, of the Valley of *Susa*.

*Giovanni Martino*, of the Valley of *S. Martino*.

*Matheo*, of *Bobio*.

*Philippo*, of the Valley of *Lucerna*.

*Georgio*, of *Piemont*.

*Stephano Laurenzo*, of the Valley of *S. Martino*.

*Martino*, of *Meana*.

*Giovanni*, of the Valley of *Lucerna*, who for a certain default, was suspended from his Office by the other *Barbes* for the space of seven years, during which time he resided at *Genoa*, where the *Barbes* had a house, as they likewise had another house very large and beautiful at *Florence*.

*Giovanni Girardo* of *Meana*, who afterwards went to *Geneva*, and was their Printer.

*Barba Bartholomeo Tertiano*, of *Meana*, who lived about 230 years ago. This *Barbe* was surnamed *della-grossa-mano*, because of his great Hand and brawny Arm.

*Tomasino Bastia*, of *Angrognia*, who died in *Puglia*.

*Bastiano Bastia*, of *Angrognia*, who died in *Calabria*.

*Giacomino Bellonato*, of *Angrognia*.

*Giacobo Germano*, of the Valley of *Perosa*.

*M. Benedetto Goivanno*.

*Giovanni Romagnolo*, of *Sisena* in *Italy*.

*Franceschino*, of *Fraisciniera*.

*Michael Porta*, of the Valley *Put*, which is called at present *Loisa*.

*Peiron Flotto*, of *Pragela*.

*M. Angelino*, della *Costa*.

*Daniele*, of *Valenza*.

*Giovanni*, of *Molines*.

These two were sent by the other *Barbes* into *Bohemia*, to preach to the *Waldensian* Churches that were gathered together in that Kingdom; but these men most shamefully betraying their trust, and those Churches, discovered to the Enemy whatsoever they knew of their flocks, which afterwards occasioned a very heavy and sore persecution; whereupon the Churches of *Bohemia* wrote Letters to the *Evangelical* Churches of the *Alpes*, to entreat them never to send any for the future in such employments, but those of whose fidelity they had had long experience and good assurance.

*M. Pietro Massone* of *Borgognia*, and *Georgio Morello*, of *Fraisciniera*, were sent into Germany in the year 1530, to treat with the chief Minister of *Germany*, namely, *Oecolampade*, *Bucer*, and others, touching the Reformation of their Churches. But *Pietro Massone* was taken prisoner at *Dijon*.

*Stephano Negrano*, and *Ludovico Paschale*, were sent into *Calabria* in the year 1560 to the Churches of *Montald*, *Saint Xist*, and other neighboring places: but *Stephano Negrino* was carried to *Cosence*, where he was starved to death in prison. And *Ludovico Paschale* was carried to *Rome* where he was burned alive, in the presence of *Pope Pius* the fourth and his Cardinals, whom he then, even as he was in the midst of the flames, most courageously summoned to appear before the Throne of the Lamb to give an account of their barbarous cruelties.

*Giovanni* of *Mus*, in *Provence*, who being sent to *Calabria*, died by the way, near to *Luca* in *Italy*, being taken prisoner in *Provence*

upon the account of Religion, and afterwards delivered by a singular providence.

*Tomaso Bermondo, of Pragela.*

*Pietro Bevilacqua, of the Valley of S. Martino.*

*Barba Gioannetto, of Fraisciniera.*

*Barba Paolo Bermondo, of Pragela.*

*Pietro Borrelo, of Vilareto, in the Valley of Clusone, who was detained prisoner in a certain place called Poccapaglia as he was going to Calabria; but was delivered, paying his ransom.*

*Mattheo Gautiero, of Faeto, in the Valley of Clusone.*

*Antonio Grenone, of Angrogna.*

*Martino Gonino of Angrogna, who suffered Martyrdom at Grenoble, as he was returning home from Germany.*

*Martino Arnollo, of Angrogna.*

*Laurenzo Pignatelo, in Fenestrelle.*

*M. Francesco Vallo della Comba, of the Valley of Lucerna.*

*M. Gilio de Gili, of the Valley of Perosa.*

*M. Francesco Laurenzo, of the Valley of S. Martino.*

*A Catalogue of the Names of some of the Disciples and kindred of those ancient Barbes, who lived about the Year 1587, And employed their talents in the work of the Ministry.*

*M. Stephano Peroto di Usseo, in the Valley of Clusone.*

*M. Filippo Pastore, of Pragela.*

*M. Ugho Pastore, of Pragela.*

*M. Pietro Bernardello, of Pragela.*

*M. Daniele Bermondo, of Pragela.*

*M. Andrea Riperta, of Fraisciniera.*

*M. Giovanni Nicoletto del Villaro, of Bobio.*

*Besides the above-named there were several others who exercised in the Ministry in the Valleys at the same time, whose Names are as followeth.*

*M. Melchior di dio della Torre, in the Valley of Lucerna.*

*M. Paolo Garnero, of Dobio.*

*M. Daniele Chansorano, of Angrogna.*

*M. Antonio Bongiorno, of Bobio.*

*M. Henrico Rostagno, of Val. Peroso.*

*M. Pietro Giordano, of the Valley of Clusone.*

*M. Daniele Monino, of Villaro in Lucerna.*

*M. Stephano Laurentio, of the Valley of S. Martino.*

*M. Pietro Gilio, of the Valley of Perosa.*

*M. Michaelae Appia, of St. Giovanni, in Lucerna.*

These are the Names of the principal and most eminent of those *Barbes* which I could meet with in their Records; And though it's rationally to be supposed that they are but a very small number in comparison of those of whom there is no mention there made, yet these are abundantly sufficient to manifest that the Lord has had always *Laborers in that his Vine-yard*, maugre all the malicious practices of wicked men utterly to extirpate the memory of them from off the face of the earth; Which is the subject of the following Book, and to which I humbly refer the Reader for a more ample and satisfactory account.

---

*The End of the First Book.*

---

THE  
SECOND BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
EVANGELICAL CHURCHES  
OF  
The Valleys of *PIEMONTE*

---

CHAPTER I: *The Several Troubles and Persecutions of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemonte from time to time, because of their Religion.*

ARTICLE I.

The *Evangelical Churches* of the *Valleys of Piemonte*, as well as those of *Dauphine*, have indeed been sorely persecuted, from the very beginning, by the *Ecclesiastics*, that is to say, ever since the Apostasy of the *Roman Church* hath taken place in the World; and all because they would by no means comply with their belief and customs. *Rainerius* in his Treatise *de Valdensibus* tells us, that *among all those that have rebelled against the church of Rome, there have been none so pernicious as the Waldenses*. And truly, we may say on the other side, with as much justice and truth, that of all the Enemies that have opposed the true *Evangelical Doctrine*, and worship of those poor *Christians*, there have been none so cruel, and malicious, as the *Popes* of *Rome* and their Emissaries be, for no other reason than this, That those poor people did, upon all occasions openly bear witness against the luxury, avarice, and errors of the said *Popes*, and their adherents, who had so subtly and



serpent-like wound and insinuated themselves (first the head, and then the whole body) into the true Church of Christ; And because they taught and maintained (as *Rainerius* himself confesses) that *those were the true Successors of the Apostles, who imitated their life; and that the Pope, the Bishops, and that crew of other Clergymen, who hunted after, and got into their possession the riches and treasures of this world, were not the true Shepherds, neither was it ever Christ's intention, to commit the charge of his chaste, and dearly beloved Spouse to those, who should so shamefully prostitute her by evil examples and wicked works.* The very truth is, This little flock of Christ in the Valleys of *Piemont*, by reason of the remoteness and obscurity of their Country, and habitations (adding thereto the natural *genius* of those plain and simple people, which was not at all to effect high things) did for many *Centuries* together, peaceably enjoy, or at least preserve amongst them the purity of that Doctrine which was left them by Christ and his *Apostles*; and therefore when once the *seven horned beast rising out of the bottomless pit*, began to show itself in the world, and corruption to be foisted into the Church by the *Roman* Clergy, those true *Nathaniels*, could by no means drink down such abominations, but did with all their might resist and oppose the same, and that oft times, even unto blood; and upon this account, and this alone, was it, that they became first the objects of their enemies hatred, and afterwards the subjects of their *Antichristian* fury.

The first means they used, to exterminate and extirpate them, were their thunderbolts, and *Anathema's*; their *Canons*, *Constitutions*, and *Decrees*, with whatsoever might render them odious to the Kings, Princes, and people of the earth, prohibiting them all manner of communion, and society with any of their own tribe, sentencing them as men unworthy, and incapable of the least charge, honor, profit, or inheritance (nay not so much as a burying place amongst other Christians!); confiscating their goods, disinheriting their children, and razing their houses down to the ground: And these very sentences are at this day to be seen, together with several Letters of *Pope Alexander* the third, and many others after him, with the formal instructions which were given by them to those Instruments whom they then employed for the effecting of that work; as also the strict commands they laid upon Kings, Princes,

Magistrates, Consuls, and People, to make an exact *Inquisition*, to shut the Gates of their Cities, to lay violent hands upon, and to slay without mercy those poor innocent Lambs; giving their Accusers a third or thereabouts of their Goods, and laying some Punishments upon all those, whoever they were, who should attempt to conceal any one of them.

But now in process of time, when as these means were judged too mild and gentle, for the effecting a business of so high a nature, and that notwithstanding all their industry, those People began to multiply exceedingly, and that their Ministers did not at all cease to teach and preach to their respective Congregations, that the *Pope* was *Antichrist*, the *Mass* an Abomination, the *Host* an Idol, and *Purgatory* a Fable; *Innocent* who succeeded *Pope Celestin* by name, about the Year 1198, took a more speedy and effectual course for the Extirpation of them, by giving some Inquisitors, appointed purposely for that Work, a plenipotentiary power, first to form their Processes, as they should see good, and then to deliver them to the Magistrate, and thence to hasten them to the Stake, or Gibbet; by which means, in a few years, they had filled the greatest part of *Christendom* with most formidable and lamentable Spectacles of their barbarous and *unchristian* Cruelties.

Now that this power of these Inquisitors was unlimited, and unbounded, is plain by their constant practices. For, they had power to assemble the People whenever they pleased, at the Sound of a Bell! they had power to proceed against the Bishops themselves, if they found occasion, and to make their Process themselves! Yea, they had power to imprison whom they would, and whom they would to release! All manner of accusation was valid with them! A Sorcerer, or a Whore, was a sufficient Witness to take away the Life of any *Waldensian* Heretic! And what was more, there was no necessity of confronting Parties with Parties, or examining the Business, but it was sufficient to exhibit a Bill before the Inquisitor, without either Witness or Law whatsoever! If any man were rich, his wealth was a sufficient proof, either to convict him of Heresy, or at least to be a Follower of the same. No Advocate durst plead their Cause, nor any Notary receive any Act in their behalf: when any was caught in this Net of the Inquisition, he was sure never to escape; if happily he was let out, it was but in Mockery, to bring him in again

(as a Cat plays sometimes with a Mouse a while, and then crushes the Bones of it between her Teeth), and as if it were too small a Punishment to take away their Lives, there are yet to be seen many Sentences of those bloody Inquisitors against the very Bones of those poor *Waldenses*, to dig them up after they had been buried at the least thirty Years, and then to burn them in the open Streets, and other public places. The Children of such Parents as were thus proceeded against, durst not inherit their Lands and Possessions, for fear of being condemned, as inheriting together with such Possessions their pretended Heresies.

And to keep the People more in awe, those holy Fathers were wont to lead about in triumph their Prisoners and Captives as oft as they went in Procession, forcing some to whip and lash themselves as they marched along in the Streets, and others to wear red Cassocks with yellow Crosses, under the Name of *Benedictin Converts*, to signify thereby, that they were convicted of some notorious Errors, and that the next Fault they should commit, they should be condemned as Heretics, without Remission. Others they made to follow them in their Shirts, bare-footed and bare-head with a green With about their Necks, and a Wisp of Straw in their Hands, and in this miserable equipage did they force persons of all quality and sexes to go up and down publicly (to the great grief and terror of all the Beholders) prohibiting them to enter into their Churches, during the time of their Service, or so much as to cast their Eyes upon the *Host* when the Priest lifted up the same: and which is not much inferior to any of the rest for cruelty, many were enjoined by way of Penance, to take Voyages as far as the *Holy Land*, or other remote Corners of the World (at their own Expense and Charges), for a set term of time, and that without once daring to make the least inquiry at their Return, either what was become of their Estates, or what familiarity those holy Fathers had with their Wives in their absence, lest thereby they should incur the Censure of relapsed and impenitent Persons, and consequently render themselves incapable of ever being pardoned.

Besides all these practices, they had a certain Form of cunning Devices, and subtle Stratagems, whereby they usually regulated all their Processes against those poor *Waldenses*; as may be seen in the following Maxims, or Rules of Caution, which Providence hath

suffered to come to Light, how closely soever they were contrived by those Sons of Darkness, in secret Corners as were the rest of their Designs.

### An Extract of certain Rules of Caution, whereby the Inquisitors formerly regulated their Prosecution of the *Waldenses*.

1. *It is not expedient to dispute concerning Matters of Faith before Laymen.*

2. *None ought to be reputed as true Repentants, but such as discover all those whom they knew to be of the same principles and profession with themselves.*

3. *He that accuses and discovers not those of the same profession with himself, ought to be cut off from the Church as a rotten and putrefied Member, lest he should corrupt and infect the rest.*

4. *After any is delivered over to the Secular power, he must not be at all permitted to excuse himself, or to declare his innocence before the people; for, if such a one be put to death, it scandalizes the Laymen; and if he escape, it becomes a prejudice to our Religion.*

5. *There must be great caution had of promising life to any man who is condemned, before the people; because there's no Heretic would ever be burned, if he could escape by virtue of a promise. And in case he should promise Repentance before the people, and then be put to death, that would necessarily scandalize the people, and make them believe that such were wrongfully put to death.*

6. *The Inquisitor ought always to presuppose the Fact, and (waving that) only to inquire concerning the Circumstances of the Fact, after this manner. How many times hast thou confessed thyself to Heretics? In what Chamber of thy House did they lie? And such like Questions.*

7. *The Inquisitor must hold some Book before the accused Party, during the Examination, as if he had there written the whole Life of him whom he examines.*

8. *He must threaten him with Death, in case he will not confess, and tell him that he is a dead man, that he ought to think upon his Soul, and wholly renounce his Heresy, since that he must die, he ought to take patiently whatever befalls him. And if he answer, Since I must die, I had rather die in this my Faith, than in that of the Roman Church, Then be sure there's no hope at all of such a one, and therefore he must be delivered forthwith to Justice.*

9. *There is no hope at all of convincing Heretics by the knowledge of the Scriptures, and Learning, for as much as oft times it falls out, that very learned men are confounded by them, and by that means, the Heretics fortify themselves, when they thus find that even learned men themselves are deceived by them.*

10. *Heretics must never be suffered to answer directly to anything. And when they are pressed by frequent Interrogatives, they have a Custom to make answer, that they are poor ignorant men, and not able to answer. And if they perceive that the Standers by are any whit moved with compassion towards them, as being poor harmless men, and wrongfully accused, then they take courage, and seem to cry and take on, like poor miserable Wretches, and so flattering and smoothing the Judge, endeavor to escape the Inquisition; saying, Sir, if I have offended in anything, I shall willingly do Penance, but I beseech you assist and deliver me from this Infamy, which has been cast upon me by pure malice and envy, and altogether undeservedly; But then must the courageous Inquisitor not at all bend, or be moved by these Flatteries, nor give the least ear or credence to any such Fables.*

11. *Lastly, the Inquisitor must prevent them, by assuring them, that they shall gain nothing by Swearing falsely, for as much as they have sufficient Proofs to convict them otherwise; and therefore that they should not at all think to escape the Sentence of Death thereby. But withal, he must promise them, that if they confess freely their Error, they shall find Mercy. For, in such a perplexity as this, there are many that will confess their Error, in hopes to escape.*

These were the inhumane Practices of these Sons of Violence from the Year of our Lord 1206 to the Year 1228, during which time, there were so great a number of the *Waldenses* apprehended throughout most of the parts of *Europe*, that the Archbishops of *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Narbonne*, being assembled at *Navignon*, in the said Year 1228, had compassion on so great a Multitude of miserable Wretches, and told the Inquisitors, that they had apprehended so many of the *Waldenses*, that it was not possible to get a sufficient quantity of Lime and Stone to build Prisons for them; and therefore desired them to forbear the imprisoning of them, till they heard further from the Pope. The truth is, we need no better proof for this, than what then came even from the Mouths of those Inquisitors themselves; for it being put to the Question among them, whether those that received the Sacrament with the *Waldenses* were excusable, or might pretend ignorance, that they knew not that they were *Waldenses*? It was answered, *That there had been so vigorous and open a Persecution of all Qualities and Sexes of the Waldenses, so many of them put to Death, and so many constantly standing in a most forlorn condition before the Doors of their Chapels and Churches, that it was not possible that any Man could pretend ignorance in such a case.*

If I should here undertake to speak at large of all the Persecutions that ever befell those poor People, I should certainly too much straiten myself in the Relation of what is yet behind; therefore I shall content myself to begin only with the Year of our Lord 1400, wherein the Inhabitants of the Valley of *Pragela* were set upon by their Popish Neighbors about the time called *Christmass*, and that in so violent and furious a manner, that those poor Creatures were forced to flee in all haste with their Wives and little one in their arms, to one of the highest Mountains thereabouts (which has been ever since called the *Albergean*, from the *Italian* word *Albergo*, because the poor People made it their Place of Refuge). In this their flight, a very great number of them were overtaken by their Pursuers, whose *Feet were swifter to shed Blood*, than the Feet of the others to flee, and so were most barbarously murdered. The residue being overtaken by the Night, wandered up and down in the Snow, till such time as their Joints were frozen and become stiff by the extremity of cold, in so much that there were found the next Morning, lying on

the Snow, no less than fourscore small Children, and most of their Mothers by them, all frozen to Death, a most miserable Spectacle to behold.

At this time, and for many years after, the Archbishop and the Inquisitors of *Turin* employed all their strength and power against the *Waldenses* of *Piemont*, yea they compelled some of those, who were fallen into their hands, to promise them, that they would change their Religion; but those their new Converts not being able to continue so with a good conscience; and on the other side, fearing to fall again into the Paws of the Lion and the Bear, quickly set in order their Affairs as well as the Circumstances of that Conjunction would permit, and retired themselves, some into *Provence*, and the rest into *Calabria*, and the adjacent places. Now when this was known to *Jean Compesio*, Archbishop of *Turin*, and to *Andrew d'Aqua-pendente* (Inquisitor) there were set forth several Bulls against them upon the 28 of *November* 1475. By virtue whereof, though the most part of those poor Wretches found a way to escape, yet nevertheless many suffered Martyrdom in a most cruel and bloody manner, and that in most Towns and Cities of *Piemont*: *Jordan Tertian* was burned at *Suse*! *Hippolite Roussier* at *Turin*; *Hugo Chiamp de Fenestrelles* having been brought to *Turin*, they pulled his Guts out of his Belly, and so he died in a sad and woeful condition.

A while after, the Pope seeing that his Persecutions upon particular Men, had not effects according to his Mind, he resolved to come to a general violence, and to that effect, having appointed *Albertus de Capitaneis* Archdeacon of *Cremona*, to be his Legate and Commissioner General for that Affair, he sent him with Bulls and Patents to all the Lords and Princes, in whose Dominions there were found any *Waldenses*, to incite them to assist the said Legate with sufficient Forces, to exterminate all the *Waldenses* or poor People of *Lyons*, who inhabited in their Dominions. And that the World may be satisfied concerning the Contents, I have here inserted a true Copy of that famous Bull of Pope *Innocent*, given to the said *Albertus de Capitaneis*, in the Year 1487, referring all that are curious in Matters of this Nature, to the University Library of *Cambridge*, where they may see and compare it with the very Original.

## ARTICLE II.

The Bull of Pope *Innocent* for the Extirpation of the *Waldenses*, given to *Albertus de Capitaneis* his Legate and Commissioner General for that Employment in the Year 1487.

The true Original whereof is to be seen, together with the rest, in the public Library of the famous University of *CAMBRIDGE*.

*Albertus de Capitaneis* Doctor of both Laws, Archdeacon of the Church of *Cremona*, and *Blaxius de Bena* of the Order Predicants, Professor of Divinity, Inquisitor against the perverseness of Heretics, and for this end Messengers and Commissioners in a special manner deputed by our most holy Father in *Christ* our Lord, *the Lord Innocent the eighth* by Divine Providence *Pope*, etc. To all and every one the Lords, Abbots, Priors, Overseers of the Vulgar, etc., their Vicegerents, Deans, Archdeacons, Scholars, Singers, Keepers, Treasurers, Sacrists, Canons, as well of Cathedral as Collegiate Churches, and Rectors of Parochial, or their constituted Curates, and Parochial Vicars without Cure, Altarists, and all other Priests, Clerks, Notaries, and Public Registers, and Residents with them, and Ministerial Graduates, and sworn Judges of all Courts as well Spiritual as Temporal throughout the Cities and Dioceses of *Evreux*, *Lyons*, *Vienna*, and others constituted in any other place; each of them entirely, and to him or them, to whom severally or jointly these our presents (or in truth rather Apostolical Letters) shall come or be presented, greeting in the Lord. Our said Commissioner being straitly commanded to obey these our (or rather truly Apostolical) commands, hath signified to us with due Reverence as became him, that he had received Letters or Apostolical Bulls, signed duly with a Leaden Seal hanging by a Hempen String, after the manner of the *Romans*, as Bulls are usually made valid and entire, nor suspected of any falsification in any part thereof, but wholly free from all fault and suspicion, according to the tenor and form following:



*Innocentius* Bishop, a Servant of the Servants of God, to our beloved Son *Albertus de Capitaneis*, Archdeacon of the Church of *Cremora*, Nuntio of the See Apostolic, and our Commissioner for the Dominions of our beloved Son, that noble person, *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, on this and on the other side of the Mountains through the City and Diocese of *Delphinat*, *Vienna*, and *Sedun*, and the places near adjoining thereunto, greeting and Apostolical Benediction. Our hearty Desires chiefly tend to this, that as touching those for the gaining of whom to the Church the supreme Maker of all things was pleased himself to undergo human infirmities, we, to whom he hath committed the Care and Government of his Flock may with all watchful Industry endeavor to withdraw them from the *precipices* of Errors, that providing for their Salvation, as it shall please God to favor us with Grace, we may continually labor, that the Catholic Faith may in our times be propagated, and the evil of Heresy be rooted out from the borders of the Faithful.

We have heard, and it is come to our knowledge, not without much displeasure, that certain sons of iniquity, inhabitants of the Province of *Evreux*, followers of that abominable and pernicious Sect of malignant men, who are called the poor people of *Lyons*, or the *Waldenses*, who have long ago endeavored in *Piemont*, and other neighboring parts, by the procurement of him who is the sower of evil works, through by-ways, purposely sought out, and hidden precipices, to ensnare the sheep belonging unto God, and at last to bring them to the perdition of their souls by deadly cunning, are damnably risen up under a feigned pretense of Holiness, being led into a reprobate sense, and do greatly err from the way of truth; and following superstitious and heretical Ceremonies, do say, act and commit very many things contrary to the Orthodox Faith, offensive to the eyes of the Divine Majesty, and which do occasion a very great hazard of souls. And whereas our beloved Son *Blasius de Monte regali*, of the Preachers Order, and Professor of Divinity, and General Inquisitor in those parts, was appointed heretofore by the General Master of the said Order, and afterward by our Beloved Son *Dominicus*  $\bar{\pi}$  Priest of *St. Clement*, and Cardinal, and Legat of the Apostolical See in those parts; and lastly by our immediate Predecessor of blessed memory *Sixtus* the IV, *Pope*, to extirpate such like and all other Errors whatsoever, having transported

himself unto that Province, that he might induce them to abjure the Errors aforesaid, and to make profession of the true Christian Faith, they were so far from leaving their most wicked and perverse Errors, that stopping their ears like the deaf Adder, adding greatly evil to evil, they did preach publicly those Errors, and by their preaching did draw other Christian believers thereinto; despising the Excommunications, and prohibitions, and other Censures of the same Inquisitor, overthrowing the house of his habitation, and the things that were therein, as also spoiling and robbing with the goods of some others, true believers, killing the servant of the same Inquisitor, and waging a War in a hostile manner resisting their temporal Lords, and making spoil of their goods, forcing them and their Families to flee from their Parishes, burning and demolishing their houses, depriving them of all their Revenues, and doing them all the harm they could; together with an infinite number of other detestable and horrible acts, which they were not afraid to commit.

We therefore having determined to use all our endeavors, and to employ all our care, as we are bound by the duty of our Pastoral charge, to root up and extirpate such a detestable Sect, and the foresaid execrable Errors, that they may not spread further, and that the hearts of believers may not be damnably perverted from the *Catholic* Church; and to repress such rash undertakings; and having special confidence in the Lord concerning your Learning, your ripeness in counsel, your zeal in the faith, and your experience in the management of affairs; and in like manner hoping that you will truly and faithfully execute the things which we shall think good to commit unto you for the extirpating of such errors; we have thought good to constitute you at this time, for this Cause of God and the Faith, the Nuntio Commissioner of us, and of the Apostolical See, within the Dominions of our beloved Son *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Delphinat*, and the Cities and Dioceses of *Vienna*, and *Sedun*, and the adjacent Provinces, Cities, Lands and places whatsoever, to the end you should cause the same Inquisitor to be received and admitted to the free exercise of his Office, and that you should induce the followers of the most wicked Sect of the *Waldenses*, and all others polluted with any other Heretical pravity whatsoever, to abjure their Errors, and to obey the Commandments of the same Inquisitor, and give way to your seasonable remedies:

And that you may do this so much the more easily, by how much the greater Power and Authority is given you by us, to wit, a Power, that by yourself, or by some other person or persons, you may admonish and require most instantly all Archbishops and Bishops seated in the *Dutchy, Delphinat*, and other the forenamed adjacent places, whom the most High hath called to share with us in our cares, and command them by virtue of Holy obedience, that together with our Venerable Brethren the *Ordinaries* of the places, or their Vicars, or General Officials, in whose Cities and Dioceses you shall think fit to proceed in the premises, and to execute the Office which is enjoined you with the forenamed Inquisitor, a man no doubt endued with Learning and fervent Zeal for the salvation of souls, they do assist you in the premises; and together with you be able and willing to *proceed to the execution thereof against the forenamed Waldenses, and all other Heretics whatsoever, to rise up in Arms against them, and by a joint communication of processes, to tread them under foot, as venomous Adders*, and to procure diligently that the people committed to their charge do persist in the confession of the true Faith, and be confirmed therein; and that they do with a ready mind, as they are bound, bend all their endeavors, and bestow all their care towards so holy and so necessary an extermination and dissipation of the same Heretics: And they are to be required to omit nothing which may contribute thereunto.

Moreover, that *Charles* our most beloved Son in Christ the illustrious King of *France*, and our beloved Sons the Noble *Charles* of *Savoy* and of the adjacent forenamed places, and the Dukes, Princes, Earls, and temporal Lords of the Cities, Territories; and Universities of places, and the Confederates of *High Germany*, and all others of those parts who are believers in Christ, do take up the Shield of the Orthodox Faith which they did profess when they were Baptized, and of the cause of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, by whom Kings Reign, and Lords bear Rule, and give assistance to the same Archbishops, Bishops, and to you and the foresaid Vicars and General Officials, and to the Inquisitor, with seasonable favors, and their secular power, as they shall see it expedient for the execution of this most necessary and wholesome Inquisition; and ardently oppose themselves against *those most detestable Heretics*, for the defense of the Faith, for the safety of their native Country, and for

the preservation of themselves, and of all that belong unto them, *by procuring that they may be exterminated and destroyed.* And if you shall think it expedient, to cause, exhort, and induce all the faithful in those parts, by fit Preachers of God's Word, preaching the Cross or the Croisado, to fight manfully against the same Heretics, having taken the saving sign of the Cross upon their hearts and garments: And to grant, that such as are signed with the Cross, and fight against the said Heretics, or such as contribute thereunto, may obtain according to your appointment, once in their life, and also at the point of death, a plenary Indulgence and remission of all their sins; and also to command by virtue of Holy obedience, and under the penalty of the sentence of Excommunication, already given to all fit Preachers of God's Word, Seculars, and Regulars, of what Order soever none of the Mendicants, exempted and not exempted, that they stir up and inflame the same believers, to root out this kind of Pest by force of Arms, and to set themselves against the common danger with their best strength and faculties. And moreover, to absolve such as thus take up the Cross, fighting, or contributing and consenting thereunto, from all and every Ecclesiastical Sentences, Censures, and Penalties, wherewith happily they may in anywise be bound up; except from such as this day in a special manner are denounced, from which they that are bound therewith are to be absolved by a previous satisfaction, or alone by the consent of the party. And also to dispense with them, concerning the irregularity contracted by intrusion into holy things, or by reason of any kind of Apostacy; or concerning goods secretly and evilly gotten, or uncertain goods unduly purchased, to agree and compound that they may be converted only to the war against Heretics. Also to exchange all vows made with an Oath of Pilgrimage and Abstinancy, and other the like Vows, except only those of Chastity, and of entering into Religious Orders, and going beyond the Seas, and of visiting the thresholds of the Apostles, and the Church of St. *James in Compostella*, to them that go to fight for the defense of the Catholic Faith against the Heretics, or to such as contribute thereunto, or do give so much as in all likelihood they would expend in passing to the due places, or as the due qualities of places and persons being considered, it shall seem good to you, or to fit Confessors by you to be deputed. In the meantime to choose, depute and confirm one or more fit Generals of War, and Captains for the gathering of the

*Croisado* Army, in our name, and in the name of the Church of *Rome*, and command them that they take this burthen upon them, and execute it faithfully for the praise and defense of the Faith; and that all others do endeavor jointly to obey him or them: And to enjoin that all the moveable and immoveable goods of the Heretics may be lawfully seized and given away by anybody whatsoever; and to make a booty of all goods which the Heretics bring, or cause to be brought unto the Territories of the Catholics, or carry, or cause to be carried out of the same; and to command, that all who are in service of the same Heretics anywhere, shall depart within the time by you prefixed unto them, under such penalties as you shall see good; and to admonish and require them, and all Ecclesiastical and Secular persons, of what Dignity, Age, Sex, or Order soever they may be, to yield obedience, and give attendance with reverence to the Apostolical commands, under the penalties of Excommunication, Suspension or Interdiction; and that they abstain from all commerce with the foresaid Heretics: And to Declare, that neither they nor any others, who by any contract or otherwise are in any sort bound unto them to perform or pay anything, are henceforth at all obliged, or by the same authority can be compelled thereunto: And to deprive all persons, whoever are not obedient to your admonitions and commands, of what Dignity, State, Degree, Order, or pre-eminency soever they be, the Ecclesiastical persons of their Dignities, Offices, and Benefices, and the Seculars of their Honors, Titles, Feuds, and privileges, according to the nature of their disobedience and Rebellion; and to confer the Benefices upon other fit persons, as it shall seem good to you, also to such as have obtained, or are in expectation of any or any kind of Ecclesiastical Benefices whatsoever; and to decree those men who are deprived thereof, to be thenceforth incapable to obtain the like or others, and to be forever infamous; and also to thunder out any kind of Censures, according as Justice, Rebellion, or disobedience shall seem to you to require it; and to establish and interdict, or to take it off, or to suspend it forever, or for a season, as you shall think it expedient, useful, or necessary for good causes and respects, but chiefly upon those days in which perhaps Indulgences are to be published, or the foresaid *Croisado*; and also against those that bring to the said Heretics or their Complices, victuals of all sorts, Arms, and other things prohibited, or others their helpers, favorers, and counsellors

and receivers of them, publicly or secretly, or any that in any kind shall hinder or trouble the execution of so wholesome a business; to proceed against them simply and plainly, without noise and form of Judicature, only upon evidence of the truth, and to declare that all and every such transgressors have incurred the Censures and Penalties, as well spiritual as temporal, which the Law inflicts upon those that do such things; and to absolve the penitents, and such as will return to the bosom of the Church, if they humbly petition it in the usual form of the Church, although they should have bound themselves by Oath to favor the Heretics, and had served them in the War, and had furnished them with Arms and Victuals, and other things necessary for livelihood, and other prohibited matters, upon condition that by taking another Oath they promise, or otherwise give fit caution, that thenceforth they will yield obedience to our Commands, to the Churches, and to yours, whether they be Corporations, Universities and particular persons of what state, order, or pre-eminency soever they may be, and what dignities soever they may be eminent for, whether Ecclesiastical or worldly; and to make them capable, and to restore and reestablish them into their Honors, Dignities, Offices, Benefices, Feuds, Goods, and all their Rights, as in former time; and also to grant, dispose, exercise, do, constitute, order, command and execute all other matters, and everything which shall any ways be necessary or seasonable for this wholesome business, although they should be such things which require a special Command, and fall not under the general Commission; and to restrain all gainsayers whatsoever by Ecclesiastical Censures, or other remedies of Law, not regarding any appeal; and if need be, to implore the Secular powers help. And by the tenor of these presents we grant and give a full and free power, license and authority; And we make void and of no effect, all privileges, exemptions, Letters and *Apostolical* Indulgences whatsoever, general or particular, granted by us, or according to the forenamed, under any form of words and expressions, all which so far as they obstruct the effect of these presents, or can retard the same, our will is that they be as Letters not given nor granted. And in like manner all others that are contrary; or if it hath been granted by the See aforesaid unto any, jointly or severally, that they may not be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or be deprived of their Dignities and Benefices, or be punished by any other penalty

by Apostolical Letters, which make not a full and express mention of this Indulgence word by word.

Thou therefore, beloved Son, taking upon thee with a devout mind the burden of so meritorious a work, show thyself in the execution thereof so careful, in word and deed, and so studious and diligent, that the hoped for fruits by God's grace may redound unto thee from thy labors; and that thou mayest by thy carefulness not only obtain the Crown of Glory, which is given for a retribution to those that prosecute Godly causes, but also mayest be deservedly further commended by us and the Apostolical See, for thy most exact diligence and faithful integrity. And because it would be difficult to transmit these present Letters to all the particular places where they might be necessary, We will, and by Apostolical authority have decreed, That a transcript thereof subscribed with the hand of a public Notary, and confirmed by some Ecclesiastical Prelate, shall be fully credited, and that the same shall be of force as firmly as if the Original Letters themselves were exhibited and showed. Given at *Rome* at *St. Peters*, in the year of our Lord's incarnation One thousand four hundred eighty-seven, the Twenty seventh of *April*, and in the Third year of our *Popedom*.

Here *Balbianus*, after the presentation and receiving of these Letters and *Apostolical Bulls*, by us seen and made as aforesaid; because on the behalf of the most Reverend Father in Christ, and Lord, the Lord Archbishop of *Evreux*, and of the Proctor of his Exchequer, it hath been made known to us, That the forenamed most Reverend Archbishop of *Evreux* hath manfully proceeded against some who are in his Dioceses (to be named at the end of these presents) suspected to have communion with the Heretical pravity, and caused them to be cited before him to answer concerning their faith, under the sentence of Excommunication, and other censures and penalties, who nevertheless have with contumacy neglected to appear and answer before him, and have by contumacy incurred the penalties and censures, and therefore were bound up with the bonds of the sentence of Excommunication by the same Lord Archbishop of *Evreux*: And because nevertheless a certain Reverend Lord *Thomas Capitis Niga*, the pretended Judge of the pretended Primacy of *Vienna*, pretending that he hath a superiority and power to absolve those suspected in their Faith against whom the said Lord

Archbishop hath proceeded, at the instance of the said suspected in the Faith, and of the Inquisitors, is said to have caused an inhibition to be made unto the said Lord Archbishop, and that he should not proceed further against them, and to proceed in the cause of the Appeal asserted on the behalf of the same suspected persons in general, by the same Lord Archbishop, interposing before the same on the twenty-eighth day of this month, the said Lord Judge of the Primacy of *Vienna* hath (as is said) commanded the worthy *Proctor* of the Treasury of the forenamed most Reverend Lord Archbishop of *Evreux*, to be cited, that he might see the benefit of absolution to be bestowed upon the suspected persons aforesaid, and so thus or otherwise, as it is said to be contained in the foresaid Letters made concerning this, and in the Process is said to appear, unto which, so far as is expedient for a sufficient narrative of the contents, nevertheless without any approbation thereof, except in things concerning the favor of the Faith, a due conference be had. And because the aforesaid particulars do touch and concern the duty of our Commission beforenamed, therefore by the Apostolical authority, which by virtue of our before-inserted Commission we exercise in this behalf, and which is committed to us, taking into our own cognizance the cause and causes aforesaid, with the dependencies emergent, and relating to any persons whatsoever, concerning, for, and because of the same causes universally, and the whole principal business, We by the Tenor of these presents do a first, second, and third time, and peremptorily require and admonish you all and every one in particular beforementioned, to whom our present or rather Apostolical Letters are directed; and we strictly enjoin, order, and command you and every one of you, by virtue of the holy obedience of God, and under penalty of the sentence of Excommunication, which we sitting before his Tribunal, do in these presents pronounce against you and every one of you, in case, after Canonical admonition three times pre-declared, ye shall not do what we command and enjoin you in this particular, that is to say, within three days-time after the presentation or notification of these presents shall be made unto you, or either of you, and after that on the behalf of the forenamed Proctor of the Exchequer of the aforesaid Lord Archbishop of *Evreux*, you or either of you shall by virtue of these presents, upon occasion of this business, be required immediately to follow; and of those three days we assign one for the



first, one for the second, and the remainder for the third and peremptory day, by Letters and *Canonical* admonition; yet so, that in the execution thereof, one of you should not wait for another, nor one excuse himself by another: That the forenamed suspected of their faith, to be named at the foot of these presents, and every other person intervening, or willing to intervene and defend, and all and every other who shall think themselves in common or severally concerned, be peremptorily cited, or caused to be cited in their own proper persons, if conveniently they can be apprehended, or otherwise in their dwelling places, if you can safely have access thereunto, or in the Parochial Church or Churches where their abode is, or in the Cathedral of the forenamed City of *Evreux*, or in the foresaid Parochial Church or Churches, or other Churches and public places whatsoever, wheresoever, whensoever, and so oft as shall be expedient, at the time of *Mass*, or other solemnities of Divine service, while the multitude of the people is met and gathered together to hear Divine service, or otherwise, on our behalf, or rather on the behalf of the *Apostolical* See, with a loud and intelligible voice publicly; yet so, that such a citation may come to the knowledge of those that are cited, or in likelihood may come to their knowledge, that they may not be able to pretend any ignorance, or allege anything touching the premised or subjoined writings; whom we also, and every one of them, by the tenor of these presents do thus cite, That on the day after the execution of these, if they appear not on the sixth, and also the twentieth hour of the Clock, in the Covent of *St. Laurence*, without the Walls of *Pignerol*, of the Order of *the Humbled*, in the Dioceses of *Thurin*, before us legally, by themselves, or by their Attorney or Attorneys, fitted and sufficiently instructed for such cause and causes, with all and every the Acts and agitations, Letters, Writings, Privileges, Instruments, Monuments, and Rights which in anywise touch or concern this cause or causes, and whatsoever they shall be willing to say, oppose, or allege against the said *Bulls* of our Commission, and against our person, to say, oppose, and allege, and to proceed and see the proceeding in the foresaid cause of Appellation, or causes of that kind, and to all and every of the Acts necessary thereunto, till the definitive sentence be given, inclusively, gradually, and successively, proceeding in the due and usual terms, as the custom is; and otherwise to say, oppose, allege, receive, hear, and do what Justice shall induce unto, and the

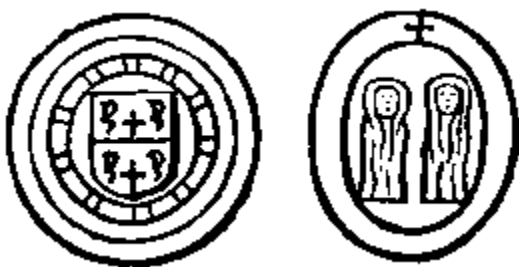
order of Reason shall dictate: Certifying nevertheless those thus to be cited, whether they appear or appear not at the term of the citation premised, that we shall proceed nevertheless to all and every one of the premises, at the instance of the party appearing, who doth procure the prosecuting of such kind of cause or causes, notwithstanding the absence or contumacy of those that are cited as aforesaid, the difficulty or length of a journey which causeth it, and nature of the cause and of the persons being considered; showing ourselves, ready to admit in such cause and causes the Reverend Lords the *Ordinaries* the foresaid places, and their Vicars in spiritual offices who are not suspected in the premises, if they think themselves concerned, and if they will be present, and also attending while the cause or causes so depending before us are undecided.

Therefore we charge and command all and every one of you, to whom these ours, or rather the *Apostolical* Letters are directed, by the forenamed authority, and under the penalty of the foresaid sentence of Excommunication, denounced by a three-fold and Canonical admonition, That after the legal execution of the foresaid citation, to the foresaid Lord *Thomas Capitis Niga*, the pretended Judge of the pretended Primacy of *Vienna*; and to the Ordinaries of certain places, and to each of them, and to their Vicars and Officials in spirituals and temporals, and to all and every Officials, Judges, ordinary and extraordinary Executioners and Commissioners, and to all others whoever they be, and what authority soever they administer in the said Cities and Dioceses of *Evreux*, *Lyons*, and *Vienna*, or elsewhere, in any place constituted, and to the said persons who are to be named at the foot of these presents, and to all others whom it doth concern, or whom in anywise hereafter it may concern, with what names soever they are called, and with what dignity soever they are eminent, that of the things whereof you or either of you shall be required on the behalf of the said *Proctor* of the Exchequer of the forementioned Lord Archbishop of *Evreux*, by virtue of these presents, on our behalf, or rather on the behalf of the foresaid *Apostolical* Authority, that you jointly and severally inhibit, to whom also we by the tenor of these presents do inhibit, under the penalty of the foresaid sentence of Excommunication denounced, a three-fold and Canonical admonition being premised, as above mentioned; that neither they nor either of them do presume to

attempt or innovate, by themselves or others, publicly or secretly, directly or indirectly, under any pretense whatsoever, anything tending to the disparagement of the undecided process, and of our Jurisdiction, or rather to the contempt of the Apostolical See, and of the said Lords the Archbishop of *Evreux*, and of the *Proctor* of his Exchequer, and of his forementioned Rights in any cause or causes of this kind depending before us undecided: If anything be done to the contrary, we shall cause it wholly to be revoked and reduced to the former state, and we shall proceed to the foresaid publication of the sentence of Excommunication, and to other stronger Remedies of Law, according to Justice. As concerning the day or days of this way of citation and inhibition, and the form thereof, whatever you or either of you shall do therein, cause the same to be intimated to us with speed and faithfully, by your Letters Patents, or a public Instrument to be written at the foot of these sent back again. And we reserve the Absolution of all and every of them who have incurred or shall incur our said sentence of Excommunication in anywise, only to ourself or our superior. In witness of, and to give credit to all and every of these premises, we have commanded these presents our Letters, or present public Instrument, containing this kind of Avocation, Citation, and Inhibition to be made, by our public Notary, and to be subscribed by our Scribe of such Causes before us underwritten; and have caused and commanded them to be confirmed with the impression of our Seals. Given and Acted in the foresaid Covent of *St. Laurence*, without the Walls of *Pignerol*, in the year from the Nativity of our Lord, *One thousand four hundred eighty and seven*, on the fifth Indiction, and on the Six and twentieth day of the month of *June*, and in the Third year of the *Popedom* of the forenamed our most Holy Lord *Pope Innocent*, there being in the same place present the eminent men, *Heustanuss Nomelli* of *Otzapio*, *Bonifacius Bellini* of *Briceyrapio*, Treasurers of the Dioceses of *Ambelis*, the Notaries, as Witnesses to the premises, being called, desired and joined to assist, to the end that nothing should be innovated by anybody.

*Heustanus Porporati* of *Velmaria*, dwelling at *Pignerol*,  
Treasurer of the Dioceses, Public Notary by Imperial appointment

of *Savoy*, and of the two most Reverend *Apostolical* Commissioners, and of the forenamed Cause on this behalf Scribe, because I was present at the premised Avocation, Citation, Inhibition, and other things above-written, and received the foresaid Instrument; therefore according to the General License given unto me concerning this, by the forenamed most Illustrious Lord, our Lord the Duke of *Savoy*, I have caused it to be drawn in this form by another faithful Public Notary, my Coadjutor, and now have with my own hand subscribed it; and to testify the truth, I have put my ordinary Seal of my Notaries Office thereunto.



Translate of a *Latin* Manuscript, entitled, *Origo Valdensium*, etc. The Original of the *Waldenses*, and the Process against them.

The true Original whereof is to be seen, together with the rest, in the Public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

*To you the Right Reverend Father in Christ, and Lord, the Lord Rostagnus Archbishop of Evreux, and to you Reverend Fathers and Lords, Brother Laurence, Bishop of Cistow, and Thomas Paschal, Official of Orleance, the Apostolical Commissary, under the Authority of the King, and the Dauphinate, sendeth greeting. As concerning the Cause of those poor Men of Lyons, commonly called Waldenses, from Waldo, Citizens of the said chief City of Lyons, depending in the Town Val-grant, know that the said Waldo being*

*rich, and the Prince of Heresy, was according to Writers, the first Author of the Heresy of the Sect of the Waldenses, who renouncing temporal Goods, began with his Complices to lead an Apostolic life, with the Cross, and poverty, and despising Ecclesiastical Men, associated many Disciples to himself, who thereupon were called poor Men of Lyons, and pretending to live under Apostolical obedience (yet separating themselves from it), did stubbornly answer, when reproved, that they ought rather to obey God than Man; for which they were at last (and deservedly), condemned by the Church militant. But not being fully extirpated, fleeing from Lyons, they betook themselves to the utmost parts of Dauphine, in the Dioceses of Evreux and Turin, among the Alpes, and in the Caves of the Mountains (places exceeding difficult to approach), where more than fifty thousand of them did inhabit. In these places through the great diligence of the Sower of Tares, they became so numerous in a short space of time, that they sent out thence their Colonies into Liguria, Italy, and beyond Rome, into Puglia. And as Christ our Redeemer sent his Disciples by two and two, to preach, so was the Master of that cursed and beastly Sect, wont to send other inferior Pastors, created and approved by himself (whom commonly we call Barbes), by two and two, to preach and teach the abovesaid Doctrine. Now these Barbes were wont to be created by their great Master (or Chairman) in the City of Aquila, in the Kingdom of Naples, and in the creation of them there was wont to be great solemnity; they had their Names changed, when they were admitted to this Office, in derision to the Bishop of Rome, to whose Doctrine and Worship the Followers of this most damnable Heresy, namely, the Men and Women of the Valley of Clusone, in the Diocese of Turin, with all the Males and Females of the Valley of Fraissimere, Argenteria, and Loysia, in the Diocese of Evreux, have time out mind, been contrary (as more than an hundred of them have confessed, and that of their own accord) in the following Articles which are contrary to the Faith which they confess to have held, and which they inviolably observe. And that this may be evident and more clearly appear, the Procurator of the place and places thereabouts in the parts of Brianson and Evreux, for the maintenance of the Christian Faith, and for the exalting of his native Countries honor, against all and every one of the said Valley of Fraissimere, gives in and exhibiteth the following Articles, which he*

*desires may be admitted for proof (to avoid the burden of superfluous proof, to which he intends not to tie himself); in reference whereunto, by way of Charge, he solemnly protests against them all, and each particular person.*

1. *Inprimis, he allegeth, and saith, and intends to prove, that the said men of the Valley of Fraissimere, have been there this hundred years, or thereabouts, for the said term, and beyond that, even time out of mind, have been, and for the present are, Heretics, and have held, and do hold the following Points of Doctrine, contrary to the Catholic Faith. And this is a Truth, notorious, public, and manifest.*

2. *Item, that at the present they are commonly held, esteemed, and reputed for Heretics and Waldenses, and that by all who have knowledge of them, their Life, Manners, or Conversation. This also hath been, and is a Truth notorious, public, and manifest.*

3. *Item, that this hath been, and is the common voice and fame, not only among their Neighbors, but even among those that are more distant from the said Valley, for the space of an hundred Leagues round about, and upwards. This also is true, notorious, public, and manifest.*

4. *Item, that they have been, and at present are infamous throughout the whole World, for the Heresy, and most damnable Sect of the Waldenses, contrary to the Christian Faith. And this hath been, and is true, notorious, and manifest.*

5. *Item, that for this cause their Neighbors of the adjacent parts, (though true Catholics, and faithful Christians) are everywhere slandered for this their Fault, yea and they suffer sometimes great Losses, and are barred from many Honors and Profits, merely from a suspicion and jealousy of their being tainted with the Heresy of the Men of Fraissimere. And this hath been and is true, notorious, public, and manifest.*

6. *Item, that the said Heretics of Fraissimere are called, and appear to be wicked, obstinate, corrupt, perverse, and contrary to the Catholic Faith; and are accounted, esteemed, and reputed, to hold the following Particulars in opposition to the Christian Faith. And this is true, notorious, public, and manifest.*

Their Accusations comprised in the following Particulars.

1. *First, for that they call the Church of Rome, a Church of Malignants, defaming and reproaching the same; and this is their damnable Belief contrary to the Catholic Faith. This also is true, public, notorious, and manifest.*

2. *Item, for that they believe, and have believed, that the church of God is constituted in these only, who live in poverty, believing in their Creed, the holy Church without spot or wrinkle. And this is true.*

3. *Item, for that they have damnably believed, and do believe, that their Masters the Barbes have power of Binding and Loosing, and that accordingly sins are to be confessed to them, and not to the Priests of the Roman church, which is contrary to the Faith. This also is true.*

4. *Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that it neither hath been, nor is lawful for the Prelates of the Roman Church, to have Patrimony or temporal Jurisdiction in this World, and that since St. Sylvester, there hath not been a true Pope. And this is true.*

5. *Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that none has a greater degree of Power and Authority in the Church, than he hath of Holiness, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.*

6. *Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that the Sacraments administered by the Priests of the Roman Church, are of no efficacy or virtue, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.*

7. *Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that Tithes are not to be paid to the said Priests of the Roman Church, neither are Offerings to be given them, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.*

8. *Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that the Censures and Penances inflicted by the Prelates of the Roman Church, are to be slighted; for that they do not urge or bind for want of holiness, because they walk not in the footsteps of Christ, which is contrary to the Faith. And this is true.*

9. *Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that the Roman Church is an House of Confusion, Babylon, the Whore, and the Synagogue of the Devil, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.*

10. Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that none ought to yield obedience to the said Roman Church, or the Prelates of the same; and that all that obey them are damned, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.

11. Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that there is no Purgatory in another World, but that the Living are purged in this only; and that when a Man dies, he either presently mounts up into Heaven, or is cast down into Hell: affirming that the Roman Church were moved by a Principle of Covetousness to invent Purgatory, and that upon this account, the Dead are not to be prayed for, which is contrary to the Faith. And this is true.

12. Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that it is not lawful to swear anything, be it true, or be it false, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.

13. Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that it is lawful wantonly to meet, and accompany together, and that for any persons though joined in never so near a degree of Consanguinity and Affinity (provided they be all of one and the same Sect), during the time of their Preachings, and so likewise afterwards, when the Lights are put out, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.

14. Item, for that they have believed, and do believe it to be as profitable to pray to God in a Stable, as in a Church, which is against the Faith. And this is true.

15. Item, for that they have believed, etc. that only God is to be prayed to, and not the Virgin Mary, nor the Saints, because being at so great a distance from us, they cannot hear our Prayers, which is contrary to the Faith. And this is true.

16. Item, for that they believe, and have believed, that Rain-water has as great a virtue as the Holy Water, which is in the Church, because all Waters were blessed by God, which is contrary to the Faith. And this is true.

17. Item, for that they have believed, and do believe, that temporal Lords are not to be obeyed, except they be such as are of their own Sect, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.

18. Item, for that they have believed, and do believe it to be an irremissible sin, for any man to detect another of the said Sect, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.



19. Item, *for that they have believed, etc. that out of their Sect, no man shall be saved, and that those of their own Sect, are the true Saints, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.*

20. Item, *for that they have believed, etc. that no man ought to observe the Festival Days of Saints, which were brought in by the Roman Church; and that it is lawful to do any servile work upon every of the six Days, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.*

21. Item, *for that they have believed, etc. that it is lawful to eat Flesh everywhere, and at all times; and that the Fasts brought in by the Roman Church, are not to be kept, who begin their Lent on the second Day after the first Lord's Day in Lent, contrary to the Faith. And this is true.*

22. Item, *for that they have believed, and do believe, that it is not lawful for the Heretics of their Sect to be given in Matrimony with Catholics, and many other enormous and wicked things they have held, believed, and preached, according to their own Confessions, and contrary to the Faith. And this is true.*

#### The Endeavors used to extirpate the Waldenses.

1. Item, *that for that cause both the most reverend Bishops and Prelates of Evreux, and the Inquisitors of heretical pravity, have heretofore taken great pains for the rooting out of those parts the said heretical Sect, even to the Days of the Right Reverend Father in Christ, and Lord, the Lord John Archbishop of Evreux, lately deceased. And this is true.*

2. Item, *that the foresaid most reverend Lord John Archbishop of Evreux presently after his Assumption, and from the Year of our Lord 1461, (lest their Blood might be one day required at his hands) used his utmost Endeavors for the correcting of their Extravagancies, and the rooting out of that heretical Sect, beginning first with frequent Admonitions, Exhortations, and Threats; but through intervening Impediments, he could not effect his Desires. And this is true.*

3. Item, *for that cause, from the Year of our Lord 1473, Frier John Veyllet of the Order of the Minorits, Doctor of Divinity, and Inquisitor, deputed by Apostolical Authority to proceed against those of the Valleys of Fraissimere, Argenteria, and Loysia, formed a Process, by which he hath detected the said heretical Sect, they*

*confessing themselves to believe the above-mentioned Articles. And this is true.*

4. Item, *that the forenamed the Right Reverend Lord John, late Archbishop, from the Year of our Lord 1483, (assisted by true Catholics, and others who were of their Complices), of that Sect, took to the number of ninety and nine Informations, from all which it appears that all those of the Valley of Fraissimere, and many of the Valley of Loysia, and Argenteria, are most infamous and suspected, for the said heretical Sect. And this is true.*

5. Item, *for that cause the foresaid most Reverend Lord John, Archbishop, from the Year of our Lord 1486, and the eighteenth and nine and twentieth Days of June, in the same Year, and the third and ninth of July, caused them to be admonished generally within a certain term prefixed in the Letters, and by Letters Patents duly executed, the which they neglected to obey. And this is true.*

6. Item, *that for that cause both successively, and from the Month of August, the Right Reverend Lord John, sometimes Archbishop, commanded all those that were suspected, to be cited by Name, to make answer concerning the Faith, offering them favor, if they would return into the bosom of the Church, but they contumaciously neglected to appear. And this is true.*

7. Item, *that successively from the said Year, and the nineteenth Day of September, the said Right Reverend Lord John, sometimes Archbishop, published his Letters Patents, and Excommunications also against them for their persidious and obstinate contumacy, the seventeenth of the said September, and this Excommunication they underwent even to the sixth Day of February, in the Year of our Lord 1487, and long beyond that time have they lain under Excommunication, amongst whom was named Angelinus Palloni, who at this very day labors so earnestly to palliate the Truth by his Impostures. And this is true.*

8. Item, *and that successively, the Reverend Father Albertus de Capitaneis, Archdeacon of Cremona, a Man not meanly learned in both Faculties, being deputed by Apostolical Authority, proceeded against them, and took Informations, from the Year 1488, and the sixth Day of February, and informed himself by four of their Complices, agreeing in effect with others whom the foresaid Right Reverend the late Lord John, Archbishop, examined upon these Matters; hereupon Process being made, he was moved by certain*

*Reasons to obtain from the Apostolical See to proceed without calling the Ordinary; by virtue whereof he at length commanded them to be cited by Name, to answer concerning the Matters of Faith, offering grace and favor to such as would return to the unity of the Church. Now to these Citations those obstinate Heretics refused to appear; since when on the eleventh of February successively, he caused them to be cited the second time by Letters duly published: but they again contumaciously neglecting to appear, he deservedly sent out Excommunicatory Letters against them, which likewise were duly published; but they always sustained the Excommunication, and made the aggravation the greater by their obstinacy; whereupon they were cited to come to certain places, where they might happily have been put under an Ecclesiastical Interdiction, but still they refused to appear. And this is true.*

9. Item, and that successively, the foresaid Commissary sent often to them many persons fearing God, and seeking the good of the Souls of those Heretics, to reduce them (if possible) to the way of Light and Grace; but they then were not in any wise to be persuaded, being obstinate as to the point of begging any Pardon. And this is true.

10. Item, and that successively, for this cause, the said Commissary commanded them to be cited by Name, that they might appear before him to hear his definitive Sentence, which was to be recorded, and that by Letters duly published the second day of March in the said Year; but they always most stubbornly and contumaciously neglected to appear; whereupon the said Lord Commissary, seeing their heart to be hardened, and no signs of Repentance to appear, nor any good effects of the counsels and admonitions of those experienced men, whom he had sent to them, all things aforesaid being now duly published and seen, he proceeded to his definitive Sentence, whereby he delivered them up as stubborn and rebellious Heretics to the Secular Power. And this is true.

11. Item, that therefore by Commission of the last Parliament of Dauphine, for the Secular Power there was employed the valiant Soldier the Lord Hugo de Palide, Count of Vavax, and Lieutenant of Dauphine, and that magnificent Doctor of the Laws, and Counsellor of Dauphine, John Raboli, who observing what ought to be observed, proceeded against them, they leaving their Houses,

*betook themselves to the Holes and secret places of the Mountains, and the Clefts of the Rocks for their Fortresses. A while after, the said Apostolical Commissioners again offered them Grace, and the Bosom of the Church, provided they would return with a pure heart, and Faith unfeigned. Whereupon they all in a manner descended from the Rocks of their own accord, not forced or questioned, and those of them that would come (both Men and Women) were bountifully received to Grace by the said Apostolical Commissioner, who likewise confessed themselves freely, and without fear of Torture, to have been and to be Waldenses, or poor Men of Lyons, and to have held the Heresy or Sect abovementioned, and to have believed the Articles thereof before specified; amongst the rest there was one Angelinus Palloni who pursues the business to this present, witnessing and justifying the Process in approved form. And this is true.*

12. Item, *that either twelve or fifteen in number being in the company of those that were content with Grace and Pardon, being possessed with a Diabolical Spirit, fled from the rest, and as Men out of measure obstinate, were outlawed. And this is true, notorious, and manifest.*

13. Item, *they that were admitted to Grace, confessing of their own accord, did after Sermon solemnly abjure the said most damned Sect of the Waldenses, and all those heretical Tenents above mentioned, in which their Abjurations they did expressly promise, amongst other things, never to receive or conceal the foresaid Outlaws, but to repel them when they came, revealing the same to the Church, as likewise efficaciously to fulfill all satisfactory Decrees, enjoined them in a constant order, for their sins, under the penalty of Relapse contained in the Process. And this is true.*

14. Item, *for their Penance it was especially enjoined them, after the aforesaid Abjuration, that such Men as had defended themselves in the Holes of the Rocks for five years, others for two, should wear two Crosses in their upper Garment sewed on before and behind, the which was strictly and in a more especial manner enjoined them to wear as oft as they came before the Doors of the great Church at Evreux. And this is true.*

15. Item, *and that successively, the said abjured persons, not long after their Abjurations, did obstinately refuse to obey the Commands, Admonitions, and Abjurations of the Church, or keep*

*the Promises which they had so solemnly made: and therefore they were cited by Name, to see the Witnesses examined and swear against them, which were to be produced by the Procurators of the Faith; who not appearing, and the Witnesses of their contumacy being examined, they were again cited to see the Attestations published, but they notwithstanding refused to appear. From the Depositions of those Witnesses, as well Priests as other good Catholics, worthy of credit, being clearer than the noon-light, it appeared that the said Inhabitants of Fraissimere have been, and are relapsed, and but feignedly converted, for as much as they have harbored Heretics, and have not fulfilled the Penances enjoined them, yea, being called they refused to come, and not only so, but they also immediately received the Barbes, and Masters of the Waldenses, and after their wonted manner and fashion were confessed by them. And this is true.*

16. Item, and that successively, Frier Francis Plirery of the Order of the Minorits, Professor of Divinity, was deputed as Inquisitor in the said Valleys, who from the Year of our Lord 1489, and the first day of January, understanding that they of Fraissimere were defamed, as Men relapsed, and being signally informed by the Curats of the place, and many others of Fraissimere, true Catholics, yea and by several of their own Complices, to the number of threescore and six, by whose Sayings it appeared that the aforesaid Inhabitants of Fraissimere had not fulfilled the Penance imposed on them, neither had worn Crosses in their upper Garments, but on the contrary had received the outlawed Heretics, not revealing them to the Church, contrary to their former Abjurations, (amongst whom was Angelinus Palloni, who now prosecutes the business, found noted) proceeded with the Ordinary (because he could not alone) and issued out Letters Patents, commanding them all to be cited by Name, to answer concerning Matters of Faith, and for their Relapse; but they refusing to appear, there were other Letters duly published, whereby they were cited the second time in the same Year, upon the eight and twentieth day of May, however they neglected to appear (two only excepted), and therefore were the third time cited by Letters of the seventh of June, duly published, and not appearing, were excommunicated and aggravated by reason of their contumacy, which daily increased, which Sentence they underwent with an obstinate hard heart, (yea and even to this very day do they

*bear it) wherefore by other Letters issued out in the usual manner upon the 28 day of June in the same Year, they were once more cited to hear and see themselves (as pertinacious and relapsed Heretics) sentenced to be delivered over to the Secular Power, and their Goods to be declared confiscate from the Day of the Crime committed. Moreover they were again cited the same Year upon the fifth day of July, and after that upon the sixth day of September to hear the Sentence pronounced against them: after all this, they were yet as obstinate as ever, utterly refusing to appear. Now when as there was no hopes, they were justly and equitably condemned, and are not now at all further to be heard, being excommunicate, and interdicted persons, and declared for pertinacious Heretics, and that by Sentences passed into Act, and to be suspended by no appellation, and against which they are not to be admitted to speak anything, except first empowered by the Admonitions, Judgments, Mandates, and Solutions of the Church. For all which the aforesaid Procurator, as upon a forejudged Article requesteth Judgment to be pronounced, and that by humbly imploring your Justice and the Execution of your Office.*

Debaud *public* Notary.

This Popish Commissary being assisted by the Forces of those Princes and Potentates, whose help he desired, did not a little mischief to the *Waldenses* in all Nations and Countries, but above all to those of *Piemont*, who without doubt were recommended unto him in a more especial manner, as being within the Bounds of *Italy*: he went against them with an Army of eighteen thousand men, besides a great multitude of Volunteers of *Piemont*, who willingly joined with them, to obtain thereby the Pardons offered by the Pope, and also to have a share of the plundered Goods of the poor *Waldenses*. This Army being divided into several Squadrons, that so they might the better assault them in several places, was contrary to all mens expectations, strangely shattered and broken in pieces, and Divine Providence did so assist his People in every place, that the Remainder of that Army having wandered up and down, in and about the Valleys, for the space of almost a year, to the great prejudice of the whole Country, *Philippe 7*, Duke of *Savoy*, and Prince of *Piemont*, put an end to that War, which he perceived to be

so disadvantageous to all his Subjects; yea the Story tells us, that it pleased God so to touch his heart with compassion for that poor People, that he spoke it openly, that for as much as he had always found them to be most faithful and obedient Subjects, he would not suffer them to be so dealt with by force of Arms for the future; only for what was past, he ordered for formality sake, that twelve of them should come to *Pignerol*, where he then was, there to beg his Pardon for having taken up Arms in their own Defense, the which they accordingly did, and his Highness receiving them courteously, forgave them freely all that had passed during the time of the War, giving them to understand, that he had been misinformed, both as to their persons, and their Principles; and withal he desired to see some of their little ones, because there were some who had made him believe, that they were strange and monstrous Creatures, having but one Eye in their Forehead, with four Sets of black Teeth, with many other such like Fictions; whereupon some were brought before him, and he finding them on the contrary, handsomely shapen and well favored, did openly profess, how ill satisfied he was with the Calumnies and Slanders of their malicious Adversaries, and thereupon did not only confirm their Privileges and Liberties, but withal made them a gracious Promise, to settle and establish the same for the time to come. And this was undoubtedly the real intention and resolution of that Prince at that time, however afterwards wrought upon (or at least deluded) by the subtle Devices of the Inquisitors, who took the boldness, notwithstanding all the gracious Promises of their Prince, to continue to prosecute those poor *Waldenses*, laying violent hands on them, and delivering them up to the Secular Powers, who also in most places were not at all backward to lend them their helping hands.

Amongst others *Marguerite de Foix*, Lady *Marquize* of *Saluces*, at the solicitation and request of the *Roman* Clergy, did most cruelly persecute the faithful *Waldenses* of *Pravillesia*, who were all forced to abandon their own and Country, to retire into *Val Lucerna*, where after they had petitioned during the space of five years the restitution of their Estates usurped by their Popish Enemies, and found that all their Entreaties were fruitless, they resolved at length to take courage in the Lord, and by that means regained their Lands by

Force of Arms; which they accordingly enjoyed for the space of an hundred years after.

In the Year 1534, *Charles Duke of Savoy* was so importuned by the Archbishop, and by the Inquisitor of *Turin*, to persecute his Protestant Subjects, and to deliver them over to the Secular Power, that he appointed a certain Gentleman, by name *Sieur Panteleon Berfour* of *Roccapiata* near *Pignerolio* as his Commissioner for the Execution of that Design. This Gentleman very zealous to acquit himself honorably of so great a Trust reposed in him, so ordered his Affairs, and laid his Designs, that the year following he secretly conveyed into the Valleys, about five hundred Men, Horse and Foot, and there spoiled, plundered, and destroyed all that came in his way; and the truth is, the News of this sudden and furious Onset did at the first not a little surprise those poor People, but when they had somewhat recollected their spirits, they took courage, and every Man leaving his Plough and all other work, went in haste to stop the Enemy in their Retreat, and with Slings and other Weapons which came next to hand, plied them so close, that they were forced to flee, leaving their Booty behind them, besides many of their Men dead upon the place.

When his Highness saw that one Skin of a Protestant was like to cost him a dozen of his other Subjects, he would not suffer them to be molested any longer thus openly by force of Arms, but thought fit rather to waste and consume them by little and little, in a more secret and obscure manner, and to this purpose he set certain Soldiers to lay in Ambush for them as they came down from the Mountains into *Piemont*, (two or three in a company) about their ordinary occasions. And although it's true that those whom they thus entrapped, seldom or never escaped with their Lives, yet notwithstanding, this did not at all hinder them from persevering in the Faith, both in Life and Death, witness *Catelan Girard* of *St. Giovanni* in *Lucerna*, who being condemned to be burned at *Revel*, as he was upon the Pile of Wood, called for two Pebble-stones, and holding them in his hands, told his Persecutors, You think (says he) to abolish and bring to nought our Churches by these your Persecutions; but it will be no more possible for you to do it than for me to crush into Powder these stones with my hands, or else to swallow down and digest the same. And indeed, notwithstanding so



many Persecutions in general, and particular, against the *Waldenses*, *George Morel* in his *Memoirs* written in the year 1530, confesses, that *at that very time there were above eight hundred thousand persons possessing the Religion of the Waldenses*.

In the Year 1536, Francis the first, King of *France*, having conquered *Piemont*, Pope *Paul* the third, entreated and persuaded the Parliament of *Turin*, to proceed against the *Waldenses*, as being most pernicious Heretics; accordingly that Parliament burned many of those poor People, imitating therein the other Parliaments of *France*; hereupon the poor People having made their humble Addresses to the King by way of Petition, their condition grew much worse, for the King enjoined them to live after the Laws of the *Roman Church*, giving them to understand that otherwise he would have them to be punished as Heretics, adding that *he did not burn the Lutherans in all parts of France, to suffer a Reserve of Heretics in the Alpes*. The Parliament also commanded them upon pain of Death to send away their Ministers, and to receive in their rooms certain Priests to sing Masses, whereunto the *Waldenses* answered, that they could by no means obey any Commands that were contrary to the Laws of God, to whom they had much rather be obedient in everything that concerns his Service, than to follow the minds and fancies of Men.

The King having at this time many Irons in the Fire, the Parliament did only pursue them by the Inquisition, committing to the Fire such as were delivered them by the Monks. Amongst others they burned one *Bartlemy Hector*, a Bookseller, which poor man died (as it is recorded) very constant, and much to the edification of the Beholders, from whose Eyes he drew many Tears, and compassionate Expressions from their Mouths; and this was done at *Turin*, the 20 of *June* 1555, in the place of the Castle.

However, not long after, this very same Parliament sent a certain President called *De St. Julien*, with a Collateral, termed *De Ecclesia*, with power and instructions to exterminate the *Waldenses*: in prosecution whereof they went to *Perosa*, and there caused Proclamation to be made in the Kings name, whereby the Inhabitants were commanded to go to Mass, upon pain of Death; afterwards they went to *Pignerol*, where many were summoned to

appear before them , amongst whom there came a poor Plough-man, whom the President commanded to have his Child rebaptized; the poor Man begged first some little time to seek God in Prayer, and having made an end of Prayer, he told the President, that he was contented to have his Child rebaptized, provided that the President would discharge him, by a Note under his Hand, of the sin he should commit in so doing, by taking it upon Himself and his Posterity to answer for the same another day before God, and likewise to suffer all such Pains and Punishments, as should be inflicted for the same. The President hearing this, thought he had sins enough of his own to answer for, without taking upon him other mens, and so sent him away with injurious words, without urging the poor Man any further.

This President, having made many Processes against several persons inhabiting the said Valleys, and finding not the Fruits of his Labors answerable to his Expectations, thought to have allured them by the Preaching of the Monks, whom he brought along with him into the Valley of *Angrognia* for that purpose, but finding this means also as little effectual as the former, he returned to *Turin*, where he made his Report of the great Danger there was in attempting to reduce that People to Extremities, adding, that it was an Enterprise, fitter for the King, in whose power alone it was to exterminate them, and that the best expedient was to send his Majesty all the Informations and Writings, and so wholly to remit to his prudence and pleasure the management of so dangerous and difficult an Enterprise.

Now for as much as usually all Courts advance but slowly in weighty Affairs, it was a whole Year and upwards, before the poor People received their Alarm, however at length there came from the Court, an express Order, by the Hands of the abovesaid President, who coming to *Angrognia*, commanded them in the Kings name, to go to Mass, upon pain of Confiscation of Body and Goods. To this it was answered, by the Deputies and Elders of those Evangelical Churches, that they were not bound to obey such Commands, for as much as they proceeded from Man, and not from God; and that it should be considered, that they worshipped all one and the same God and Savior *Jesus Christ*, and had the same Law, and the same Hopes with them, and that seeing the *Jews* and *Mahometans* who are Blasphemers, and Enemies to the Name of *Christ*, were

notwithstanding permitted to live amongst them in peace, and in the quiet enjoyment each of their own Religion apart, it was much more reasonable that those who worship the true God in *Christ*, should be suffered to live in peace amongst their Hills and Mountains, especially considering that they were ready to embrace anything, that should be proved to be suitable to the Word and Will of God, as likewise to yield all due obedience to their Superiors and sovereign Magistrates, protesting they would live and die in this Resolution.

This Answer did so incense the Parliament of *Turin* against them, that they burned as many of them, as they could catch in *Piemont*, and upon the Frontiers of the Valleys, amongst others Mr. *Jefferey Vavaille* Minister of *Angrognia* was burned in the Year 1557, whose Death was of much edification to the Beholders: he was executed in the place of the Castle, there being a great number of People who saw him persevere in calling on the Name of God, to the very last gasp. *Nicholas Sartoris* of *Quiers* in *Piemont*, a Student in Divinity, and entertained by the Lords of *Berne*, was burned for the same Cause at *Val d' Oste*, the fourth of *May*, 1557, having valiantly overcome all the Temptations which they could devise to lay before him.

During these Troubles, Duke *Philibert Emanuel* was again restored to his Estate by the general Peace of 1559, and persuaded by the Monks of *Pignerol* to condemn all the *Waldenses* of the Valleys to the Fire and Fagot, as likewise to bestow the Plunder of them upon the Neighbor Garrisons. But the *Waldenses*, to avoid this Storm, made their Addresses to their Prince, as follows.

An Extract of the humble Supplication of the poor *Waldenses*.

To the most Serene and most High Prince *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, Prince of *Piedmont*, our most gracious Lord.

*Festus Governor of Judea, being required by the chief Priests and Elders of the People, to put to Death the Apostle Paul, answered*

*no less wisely than justly, that the Romans were not wont to put any to Death, before they had brought his Accusers face to face, and given him time to answer for himself. We are not ignorant, Most Gracious Prince, that many Accusations are laid against us, and that many Calumnies are cast upon us, to make us stink in the Nostrils of all the Princes and Monarchs in the Christian World. But if the Roman People (though Pagans) were so equitable, as not to condemn any man before they had known and understood his Reasons, and if the Law condemns no man (as it is testified by Nicodemus, John 7), before he hath been heard, and before it is known what he hath done, the matter now in question being of so great concernment (namely, the Glory of the most high God, and the Salvation of so many Souls), we do implore your clemency (most Gracious Prince) that you will be pleased to lend a willing ear to your poor Subjects, in so just and righteous a Cause.*

*First, we do protest before the Almighty, and All-just God, before whose Tribunal we must all one day appear, that we intend to live and die in the holy Faith, Piety, and Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that we do abhor all Heresies that have been and are condemned by the Word of God.*

*We do embrace the most holy Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, as likewise the Nicene and Athanasian Creed; we subscribe to the four Councils, and to all the ancient Fathers, in all such things as are not repugnant to the Analogy of Faith.*

*We do most willingly yield obedience to our Superiors; we ever endeavored to live peaceably with our Neighbors, we have wronged no man, though provoked, neither do we fear that any can, with reason, complain against us.*

*Finally, we never were obstinate in our opinions, but rather tractable and always ready to receive all holy and pious Admonitions, as appears by our Confession of Faith.*

*And we are so far from refusing a Dispute, or rather a free Council, wherein all things may be established by the Word of God, that we rather desire the same with all our hearts, etc.*

*We likewise beseech your Highness to consider, that this Religion we profess, is not only ours, nor hath it been invented by*

Men of late years, as it is falsely reported, but it is the Religion of our Fathers, Grand-fathers, and Great-grand-fathers, and other yet more ancient Predecessors of ours, *and of the blessed Martyrs, Confessors, Prophets, and Apostles, and if any can prove the contrary, we are ready to subscribe and yield thereunto, etc.* The Word of God shall not perish, but remain forever; *wherefore, if our Religion be the true Word of God (as we are persuaded), and not the Invention of Men, no human force shall be able to extinguish the same, etc.*

*Your Highness knows, that this very same Religion hath for many Ages past been most grievously persecuted in all places, but so far from being abolished or rooted out thereby, that it hath rather increased daily, which is a certain Argument, that this Work and Counsel is not the Work and Counsel of Men, but of God, and therefore cannot be destroyed by any violence. Besides, it is not a small sin to fight against God; witness all those who have until now persecuted the People of God and his holy Word. Therefore we beseech your most Serene Highness (most Illustrious Prince) to consider what it is to undertake anything against God, that so you may not imbrue your Hands in innocent Blood! Jesus is our Savior, we will religiously obey all your Highness Edicts, as far as Conscience will permit; but when Conscience says Nay, your Highness knows we must rather obey God than Man. We unfeignedly confess, that we ought to give Cæsar that which belongs unto Cæsar, provided we give also to God what is due to him.*

*There want not those (it may be) who will endeavor to incite the generous mind and courage of your Highness, to persecute our Religion by force of Arms. But, O magnanimous Prince! you may easily conjecture to what end they do it, that it is not out of zeal to Gods glory, but rather to preserve their own worldly Dignities, Pomp, and Riches; wherefore we beseech your Highness not to regard or countenance their Sayings.*

*The Turks, Jews, Saracens, and other Nations, though never so barbarous, are suffered to enjoy their own Religion, and are constrained by no Man to change their manner of Living or Worship; and we who serve and worship in Faith the true and Almighty God, and our true and only Sovereign, the Lord Jesus*

Christ, *confessing one God, and one Baptism, shall not we be suffered to enjoy the same Privileges?*

*We humbly implore your Highness goodness, and that for our only Lord and Savior Jesus Christ his sake, to allow unto us (your most humble Subjects) the most holy Gospel of the Lord our God, in its purity, and that we may not be forced to do things against our Consciences, for which we shall with all our hearts beseech our Almighty and All-good God, to preserve your Highness in prosperity.*

In the meantime the Soldiers of the neighboring Garrisons, to the number of four hundred, advancing by night, surprised the Village of *St. Germano*, whereupon many of the poor People receiving the Alarm, recovered the Mountain, amongst these there were about five and twenty, who after they had sought God in Prayer, assaulted the Enemy so courageously, that their hearts began to fail them, above all, for that they had observed them to fall down upon their Knees before they came to fight, yea this their Fear grew to such an height, that many as they were fleeing for fear, were drowned in a small Brook which they were to pass over in their Retreat.

Soon after, the Duke sent against them a complete Army under the Command of the Lord *de la Trinité*, who seeing his Men discouraged, and beaten in several Encounters, began to flatter the poor *Waldenses* with smooth words, and having persuaded them to lay down their Arms, and to send away their Ministers, they secretly garrisoned many places, and afterwards dealt most unmercifully with them: however this barbarous and shameful Cruelty did not so much astonish the People, so as to cause their hearts to fail, but on the contrary it did so much the more increase their Constancy, and made them resolve to take Arms again, in hope of new Victories, as may be seen in a following Letter written by a certain Minister of the Valleys named *Scipio Lentulus*, *Anno Domini* 1561.

### ARTICLE III.

Copy of a Letter of *Scipio Lentulus*, a *Neapolitan*;  
Containing a brief Relation touching the Faithful  
Professors in the Valley of *Angrogna*.

An Authentic Transcript of the Original whereof, is to be  
seen in the public Library of the famous University of  
*CAMBRIDGE*.

Most HONORED SIR,

Seeing you have given me to understand, that it is your desire to know what things have fallen out among us in *Piemont*, to the end that I might the more conveniently answer your expectation in this particular, I have determined to give an Account of those things by Letter, rather than by word of mouth: Forasmuch as it will be of some use also to serve the purpose of those men who desire to have the same things committed to writing, and are able to set them forth much more exactly.

There is a certain Valley in the Country of *Piemont* within five or six miles of Mount *Vesulo*, which from the Town *Lucerna*, is called the Valley of *Lucerna*; And in it there is a little Valley, which from *Angrogna*, a small River running through it, is called the Valley of *Angrogna*. Next adjoining to this there are two other Valleys, that is to say, the Valley of *Perosa*, so-called from the Town of that name, and the Valley of *S. Martino*. In these there lie divers little Towns and Villages, whose Inhabitants, assisted by the Ministers of God's Word, do make open profession of the Gospel.

Moreover, I suppose that there are near eight thousand faithful souls (as I may call them) inhabiting in this place. But among the men, who are bred up to endure labor, seeing they have from their childhood been inured to Husbandry, you will find very few that know how to engage in combat with any. From hence it comes to pass, that very few of them are ready, upon any urgent occasion, to defend themselves against public injuries. Yea and the Valleys themselves lie so remote from each other, that they cannot help one another till it be too late. And although these Towns and Villages have their Counts or Lords (as they call them) yet the Duke of *Savoy* is Lord over them all.

This Duke before he came from *Nice* into *Piemont*, diligently took order with those Counts and Lords of Places that they should admonish the Inhabitants of the Valleys to submit to him and the Pope; that is, that casting off their Ministers, they should admit Popish Preachers, and the abominable Mass. Whereupon, our people sent a certain Messenger to *Nice*, together with the Confession of Faith, and Petitions unto the Prince, beseeching him that he would take it in good part, if they were resolved rather to die than lose the true Religion of Jesus Christ, forasmuch as they had received it, through a very ancient Tract of Time, as it were by hand from their Ancestors; and that he would not doubt but they shall be ready to amend their errors, if any were, in case it could be manifested to them out of the word of God, to which alone they are to submit in this business; And as to what concerneth them in matters of behavior, and Tributes, and other things due both to him and to their other Lords, that he would send persons to make diligent inquiry whether they have at any time committed any offense, that so due punishment may be inflicted on them, because he should assuredly know they will endeavor, that he may understand they are willing to approve themselves with due reverence, most obedient to him in all these things.

These Petitions came to the hand of the Prince, but availed nothing with him, who was become a sworn Enemy with Antichrist against Christ. Thereupon, he sent forth Edicts, declaring that those who should be present at the Sermons of the Ministers of the Valleys, if but once, they should be fined at one hundred Crowns, and if a second time, then they should be condemned to the Gallies forever. Order also was given to a certain Judge, to ride circuit up and down to put the penalties in execution, and to bind Christians and imprison them. The Lords also and Magistrates of Places had the same power given them, and at length the godly were by this most impious prince utterly given up to be plundered by all sorts of Villains, and afflicted with most grievous calamities.

He sent also a certain Collateral Judge of his own, first to *Carignan*, there to act inhumane Butchery upon the Faithful ones of Christ; whereupon he caused one *Marcellinus* and *Joan* his Wife, he being a Frenchman, but she a woman of *Carignan*, to be burned alive with fire four days after they had been apprehended. But in this



woman God was pleased to manifest an admirable example of constancy: For, as she was led to execution, she exhorted her husband, saying, *Well done my Brother, be of good courage, this day doubtless we shall enter together into the joys of Heaven.* Some few days after this, there was apprehended also one *John Carthignan*, an honest plain man and truly Religious, who after three days imprisonment, endured the torments of fire with very great constancy. Who is able to reckon up the several Incursions, Slaughters, Plunders, and innumerable miseries wherewith this most savage generation of men did daily afflict all pious men, because being exhorted by their Ministers to patience, they took no course to defend themselves against injuries. Not long after also they apprehended one *John*, a Frenchman and a Minister, at a Town called *St. Germano*, and carrying him to a certain Abbey near *Pignerol*, they burned him alive, who left behind him a notable example of Christian constancy. The like was done also to the Minister of the Town of *Meane*, who was put to death at *Susa* by a slow fire, while he in the meantime stood as it were immoveable, and not being touched with any sense of so incredible a cruelty, having his eyes fixed upon heaven, he breathed out his happy soul.

Therefore when things were come to this pass, and these miseries were increased every day more and more, and seeing that the patience and extreme misery of our people, could not in any measure allay the fury and rage of these most merciless Brutes, they at length resolved by force, as well as they could, to free themselves and their Wives and Children from that barbarous usage. And although some of our Ministers declared it was not well done, yet no admonitions could keep the people from resolving to defend themselves by Arms. Hereupon it came to pass, that several encounters falling out, within few days, there fell about sixty of the Plunderers. When news hereof was brought to the Tyrant, he commanded his men to forbear, and sent two of his Noblemen, principal persons, to wit the Lord *Raconysi*, and the Lord *de la Trinitie* (whom I shall for discourse sake more aptly call the Lord *de la Tyrannitie*) that so they might bring matters to an accommodation with our people: But when it was perceived, that all their drift was, that our Ministers might be cast out and the Pope received, the

people would by no means yield to it; and so they departed *re infectâ*.

Wherefore when the Prince came into *Piemont*, and resided at *Versello*, about the Kalends of *November*, in the year 1540; with intent to destroy all in the Valleys by Fire and Sword, he sent an Army of above Four thousand Foot and Two hundred Horse, under the command of the Duke *de la Tyrannitie*. And the next day in the morning they fall into *Angrogna*, which lay first in their way. But there being in a steep place of a Mountain some men of ours which kept Guard there (who were not above fifty in number) they with slings, wherewith most of them were armed, sustained the first assault made by One thousand two hundred men: But afterwards, others coming in several ways to the assistance of ours (though the whole number hardly amounted to Two hundred) they not only put the Enemy to flight, but slew seventy of them, with the loss of no more but Three of our own: And the next day, when they attempted to come up to us out of another part of the Valley hard by *Villaro* and *Taillaretto*, a small number of ours put a very great Body of the Enemies to flight, and slew of them about Thirty. For these causes then, that most crafty Fox, the Lord *de la Tyrannitie*, understandeth that to be a very difficult business, which he conceived otherwise most easy, forasmuch as our men, who, he supposed, would have been frightened with the bare name of an Army, fought stoutly and most valiantly, although they were but ill armed, a small number, and without experience of Military affairs; Wherefore he thought it requisite to have recourse (as his manner is) unto deceitful practices. To this end, he employed persons to give hopes of Peace, if they would lay down Arms; whereupon certain false Brethren, in design to serve their own private ends (as experience hath made manifest) persuaded the people, though almost all the Ministers cried out against it, that too easily giving credit to the most false promises of their Enemies, laying down Arms, and sending Deputies to the Prince to promise obedience, and beg pardon in the name of all the people, they might for 16,000 Crowns redeem both themselves and their Religion. As soon as all these things were yielded to, and promised by the too credulous people (with whom some men consented that ought not to have done it) through a vain hope of obtaining Peace and Religion, and when our Deputies arrived at

*Versello*, they were from thence carried by the Lord *de la Tyrannitie* to a certain Cloister, there to abide for two Months space (to the end there might be time for collecting the moneys) and at length casting themselves down at the feet of the Prince, and of the Pope's Legat (who were both there, attended by a great number of the Nobility and men of inferior Rank) they were constrained to supplicate the Prince first, then the Pope's Legat, that they would take pity on the people from whom they were sent, and to promise them by an Oath, that they would be ready to do all things that should be commanded by them.

The Prince therefore growing confident upon this solemn promise, immediately sent persons to command our people to receive and embrace that horrid Idol of the Mass: Whereupon considering the inconstancy of their Deputies, and the deceit, or rather extreme perfidiousness of the Tyrants being discovered, they plainly refused to yield that those things should be ratified which their Deputies had unadvisedly transacted, through their own levity, not with the consent of the people; for, they had been sent upon such terms, that they should do all those things in the name of the whole people, which might conduce to Peace, with the safety of Religion. Then the Tyrant, as soon as he came to understand this, was much more inflamed than ever before with anger, or rather outrageous fury against our people; and recollecting a rabble of an Army, he gave command to the Lord *de la Tyrannitie* to waste and destroy all by fire and Sword, without any regard either of Sex or Age. Hereupon houses were everywhere set on fire, goods plundered, nor is there any kind of mischief so great which was not acted by those most wretched Villains: By which means they forced our people with their Wives and Children, to have recourse to the more craggy places of the Mountains: A thing indeed very lamentable to be seen! For, at the very first assault they were in a manner astonished, because being spoiled both of their Arms and Goods, living in extreme want of all things, they did not see by what means they might be able to undergo so great and troublesome a War.

But at length taking heart, and trusting in the mercy and help of God, and the goodness of their Cause, and being confident because of the impiety and treachery of their Adversaries, they resolved once again to defend themselves. To this end they appointed their Guards

and Garrisons, fortified several places, blocked up passages, and were wholly resolute upon this point, to die, rather than they would in any measure obey a perfidious and wicked Prince in so abominable a matter. But what need many words? Things were come to such a pass, that in several Fights above 900 of the Enemies were slain, whereas on our side hardly Fifteen were wanting.

But I must not omit also to inform you, that at that time there fell Eight of those Leaders whom the Prince held in highest esteem, because of their extraordinary Valour and skill in Military Affairs, whereof he had had experience, chiefly in his War against the King of *France*. Of that number was *Charles Trusset*, Lord of a certain Town called *Runclaret*, a man of great strength, most daring, and not only exercised in Arms from his very Childhood, but one generally reputed most stout in Action. This man leading two Regiments, consisting of about Six hundred men, on that side where ours little imagined any Enemy would come, advanced with his men to the top of a Mountain, where he over-looked our Party: Which as soon as ours beheld, then pouring out prayers before the Lord (for they always have a Minister with them) although they were scarce Thirty in number, they courageously proceeded against the Enemy; who being very jocund, as if they had already gained the Victory, came down. They were no sooner engaged, but six Slingers of ours, by a passage unknown to the Enemy, immediately possessed themselves of the top of the Mountain, which the other fearing nothing had quitted; and crying out aloud from thence, *Let Jesus Christ be glorified*, they issued down upon them with so great a force, that the Enemy utterly failed both in strength and courage, while ours in the meantime became the more active and courageous. And as soon as the Enemies perceived about Eighty men advancing from the next Town for the succor of our friends, they all presently betook themselves to their heels: Whereupon the snow being then above a Cubit deep, and those that fled finding the passages very straight and cumbersome, they part of them threw themselves headlong from broken Rocks, and part were slaughtered at pleasure by the pursuers. As for *Trusset*, he being led betwixt two Soldiers (because his Leg had been broken by a blow with a stone) was with his own Sword most miserably slain by a certain plough-boy, after he had levelled another stone at his Back from a Sling with such a

force, that being left by the Soldiers, he fell down upon the ground half-dead: And in that Fight there fell about Two hundred of the Enemies, without any loss of our own, Many more such passages might be related of several Encounters, wherein a few of our friends have always worsted a great number of the Enemies; of the truth whereof this is a very ample evidence, that so great store of Arms came to the hands of ours, that they were not at all troubled for the loss of their own formerly through treachery, seeing a return made of them in so great abundance.

These are the Occurrences which at this time I could communicate to you concerning this business; and if so be that you think them too few, I promise you I will very diligently take care that within these few days you may receive a more large account: For, I am every day in expectation of a person who was not only present, but a principal man also in all these actions. In the meantime, you will (I hope) entertain these which I have by snatches rudely written, to the end that I might (how meanly soever) testify my singular love and respect towards you, who are so worthy a person. *Farewell.*

Signed, *Yours most affectionately devoted,*

Scipio Lentulus, *Native of Naples.*

The same Prince (as it is reported by *D' Aubigné* in his Universal History) borrowed of the King one *Maugiron*, a Commander, with ten Companies of Foot, and Monsieur *La Mothegondrin* with some Trained Bands.

But the *Waldenses* not wanting courage when there was occasion, did before the very face of the *French* besiege the Fortress of *Villaro*, which had been built against them, which after eight days was accordingly yielded up to them upon Articles of Composition.

The next day Mr. *de la Trinité* was stopped from morning to night with his whole Army, by those Peasants. Afterwards the *Pré de la Torre* was assaulted by 7,000 men four days together, but with the loss of 400 Soldiers, some whereof were Colonels, and some

Captains, whereupon Mr. *de la Trinité* sent for some Artillery, and for several *Spanish* Troops to assist him; but all in vain, for those poor Shepherds fell so hot upon the Army, that they wholly put them to the rout, killing many upon the place; and not content with that, fell afterwards upon the Rear, and pursued the Victory as far as *Angrogna*.

These wonderful successes, together with the Dutchess intercession for that poor people (whose Doctrine she was suspected to favor) moved the *Duke* to come to a Treaty. Their Deputies being arrived at *Turin*, one *Chassin-court*, who was then Gentleman-Usher to the *Dutchess* (as *D' Aubigné* relates it) began to question them, *How they ever durst be so impudent (poor wretches as they were) to appear before their Sovereign Prince, to treat with him, after they had made War against him; and with what confidence they durst contradict him as touching that Religion which was countenanced by the whole world, or contest against so great a Prince, who had the counsel of so many Doctors, whereas they were but poor shepherds, and ignorant of all things.* In sum he told them, that since they were so ill advised, they could expect no other fruit of all their fooleries and sottishness, then to come to the Gallows. To this one of the abovesaid Deputies made him answer thus; *Sir, That which gives us the boldness to appear before our Prince, is, because his goodness encourages and calls us thereunto: Our defending ourselves has been just, because we have been forced so to do, and God has justified it by his wonders: As for our goods, we have suffered the loss of them without resistance; but when we saw that the design was to oppress our Consciences, and utterly to abolish the true service and worship of God amongst us; and when we saw our Prince unwillingly executing (as we charitably believe) the Popes commands, and acting by the will of others, contrary to his own natural inclination, and therefore exercising the power of Judicature, not as a Sovereign, but as an inferior Lord, who hath another Sovereign over himself, we thought, that to defend ourselves, was only to oppose that Supreme power and tyranny, which the enemies of God have usurped over our Sovereign Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. This is the Supreme Power that ought to be preferred before all the Powers of the world; and being once engaged to him by an Oath, we are thereby disobliged from all other*

*that are contrary to it. As to that simplicity you are pleased to upbraid us with, God himself hath blessed it, to show thereby, that he needs not the greatness of the world to act great things; the most abject and vile instruments have been often the most pleasing to him. As for counsels, those we receive from his Spirit are wise enough, and those hearts are sufficiently courageous whom he animates, those Arms also that are strengthened by him cannot want any strength: We are ignorant, 'tis true, and aim at no other Eloquence, then to pray in faith. As to death, wherewith we are threatened, the Word and Honor of our Prince is a thing more precious than our Lives; however, even death itself is not in the least able to dismay those who have the fear of God deeply engraved in their hearts.*

These and the like expressions did so nearly touch the heart of Chassincourt, that it made him turn Protestant: As also these and the like expressions and comportments of these Deputies of those poor people, obtained the following Edict, in the year 1561.

#### ARTICLE IV.

An Edict of the Duke of Savoy, bearing Date the 5th of June 1561, in favor of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of *Piemont*.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

*In the Name of God.*

*His Highness issueth out his Letters Patents, by which it may appear, in what manner his Highness grants an Indemnity to the people of the Valleys of Angrogna, Bobio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, Rora, Tagliaretto, and La Rica di Boneti at the end of La Torre, S. Martino, Perosa, Roccapiatta, and S. Bartholemo, and every of these, as also to all such as shall be found to have assisted them, for all offenses by them committed, whether they be damages, deaths, ruins, or fines; as well in particular, as in general, either against his*

*Highness, their mediate Lords, or other particular persons within his Highness Dominions, restoring them into his favor as if they had never acted anything against his Highness; and upon this account, receiving them into his safeguard and protection.*

1. *It shall be permitted to those of Angrogna, Bobio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, and Rora, being members of the Valley of Lucerna, and likewise to those of Pralibece, Roderet, Masel, Maneglia, and Salea, Members of the Valley of S. Martino, to have preaching Assemblies, and other Ministerial Offices, according to their Religion, in their wonted places.*

2. *It shall be permitted them to have the same at Villaro, which is a member of the Valley of Lucerna; And this shall be until such time as his Highness shall make a Fort in the said place; for after that such a Fort is erected, it shall not be permitted to the people of the said place to have preaching, or Congregations within the bounds of the said place: But it shall be lawful for them to erect a place convenient for such like services, in some adjacent place towards Bobio, as they shall find most convenient. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to the Ministers to come within the said bounds, to visit the sick, and perform other necessary duties of their Religion, provided that they neither preach, nor gather together any suspected Congregation. At Tagliaretto and Rua de Boneti, which are the Confines of their Lands, it shall be permitted them to have preaching, and Congregations in the wonted places; provided, that they do not enter into the other confines of their Lands, to do the like.*

3. *It shall not be permitted to the abovementioned members of the Valley of Lucerna, and S. Martino abovesaid, to come within the other bounds of the said Valley, or the rest of his Highness Dominions, passing the bounds of their prescribed limits there, to have preaching Congregations, or Disputations, having only permission to do this within their own bounds. And if by chance they shall be demanded anything as touching their faith, it shall be lawful for them to make answer, without incurring thereby any punishment, either real, or personal.*

4. *It shall be permitted to those of the Parish which is on the other side of Perosa, who are at present Fugitives for the sake of the*



*said Religion, and were wont to have preaching, and Congregations, as also other Ministerial Offices, according to their said Religion, only in the place nominated, and not in any other place within the bounds of the said Parish.*

*5. It shall be permitted to those of the Parish of Pinachia, in the Valley of Perosa, and to those of Roccapiatto, who are at present Fugitives for the cause of their said Religion, and do adhere to it, to have one Minister only, which shall have liberty one day to administer and preach in the place of S. Germano called Adurmiglioso, and the other day at Roccapiatta, only in the place of the said Goadini, and not in any part else of the said place, to perform all other Offices of their Religion.*

*6. It shall be permitted to all persons of the Lands of the said Valley, who are at present Fugitives, and do adhere to their said Religion (notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made against their Religion before this War) to return and live in their houses with their families, according to their Religion; and to go to, and return from the Sermons and Congregations which shall be made in the said places, and other administrations of their Religion; provided, that they observe all which the abovementioned promise to observe. And forasmuch as many of the abovesaid will be found in the Lands of the said Valley at a great distance from such places, and will thereby necessarily stand in need of visitations, and other Ministerial functions, according to their Religion; it shall be permitted to their Ministers (such as dwell within their limits, without any prejudice to such limits) to visit and perform other Ministerial duties, according as they shall have occasion; only they shall not have public preaching, or such as may give the least suspicion.*

*7. To all the Inhabitants of the said Valleys abovementioned, and to all the forenamed Fugitives, and those who persist in their Religion, as well those of the Territories of the said Valleys, as those of Roccapiatta, S. Bartolemo, and Miana, their goods that have been confiscate shall be severed to them; provided, they be not confiscate for any other cause than that of Religion, and the present or past War.*

8. *It shall be permitted to all the forenamed, to recover by course of justice, their movables and their cattle, whereof they have been robbed, and which shall be found to have been sold by their neighbors, provided they be not Soldiers; and the like is permitted to their neighbors against the abovementioned.*

9. *All the Freedoms, Immunities, and Privileges, (as well general as particular) which have been granted either by his Highness most Illustrious Predecessors, his Highness himself, or other mediate Lords, shall be confirmed to the forenamed; provided, they evidence the truth thereof by Authentic Acts, and Instruments.*

10. *Those of the said Valleys shall be obliged to write down the names and surnames of all such as belong to the Territories of the foresaid Valleys, who are fled by reason of the persecution of their Religion, as well such as have abjured, as others who have remained with their goods and families, that so they may enjoy the favors and benefits that their Prince and Lord shall please to bestow upon them.*

11. *Because it is lawful for a Prince in his own Country to cause Forts to be made, according to his pleasure, without being controlled or opposed by any of his Vassals, or Subjects, To remove any cause of suspicion which might be entertained in the minds of the forenamed of the said Valleys, it is declared, That from this time forward within some few days, his Highness may per adventure cause a Fort to be made in the place of Villaro; nevertheless it shall be without any cost of those of the Valley, except in what it shall seem good to them to contribute lovingly to their Prince: Which being done, by God's permission, it shall be provided with a Governor, and a Captain, such as shall attend only for the service of his Highness: Nevertheless, this shall be without the least prejudice to any man's Conscience, or his Goods.*

12. *It shall be lawful for the forenamed, before the Ministers be dismissed (whom it shall please his Highness to order to be sent away) to have others in their places; provided, they do not retain Master Martino of Pragela; nor may they change or shift their abodes from one place to another of the said Valleys, otherwise than it shall be permitted to them.*

13. *In the Parishes of the said Valleys, where preaching is used, and Congregations are instituted, or the Ministries of the said Valley exercised, Mass shall be celebrated, and other offices according to the custom of Rome; but the forenamed shall not be constrained to go thereunto, or to give any help or assistance to any that officiate in that kind; and if any shall be pleased to go thither, no disturbance shall be given him by the forenamed.*

14. *His Highness shall make a free gift, and irrevocable remission of all the expenses which he hath been at in this War, and of the 8,000 Crowns which the forenamed did owe unto his Highness, upon account of 16,000 Crowns accorded in the former War, commanding that they be as non-subscribed in reference to this Accompt.*

15. *All the prisoners which are found in the Soldiers hands, shall be restored and set at liberty, provided they pay a reasonable tax, according to their faculties, leaving the judgement and tax to discretion of the Lord de Raconysi, and to the Lord de la Trinité: And all those whom the said Lords shall judge to be no lawful prisoners, shall be released without any tax, causing in like manner to be released without any payment, all those of the said Valleys who shall be found in the Galleys for cause of their Religion, and not for any other offense.*

16. *Finally, His Highness shall permit all the foresaid of the said Valleys, and the aforesaid of Maina, Roccapiatta, and S. Bartolemo, of what state and condition soever they be (provided they be not Ministers) to be included in the common society and conversation with his other subjects, to stay, go, and come, in all places and Countries of his Highness Territories; as likewise to buy, sell, and traffic in all sorts of Merchandises, provided they refrain from preaching, from drawing together Assemblies, or to raise disputings, as is abovesaid: And those that are in the limits, who have not a settled residence without their own limits, nor any within the Territory of the said Valleys, without their own Territory, and the confines thereof, and those of Miana, Roccapiatta, S. Bartolemo, shall not usurp beyond their own confines: And these things being punctually observed on their parts, no disturbance or molestation*

*(whether real, or personal) shall be offered unto them, but they shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his Highness.*

*17. Moreover, Orders shall be issued out by his Highness, wherein there shall be sufficient provisions made against all disturbances, inconveniences, or plots of malignant spirits, to the end that the abovenamed may peaceably and quietly enjoy their own Religion.*

*18. For the observance of all the premises, and that no inconvenience may arise about the performance and execution of the above-written Articles, Georgio Monestieri of Angrogna, sent by the said Valleys, and Sindicus of S. Constance, and of Ateszani ; and Rambaudo Sindicus of Bobio; Michele Remondet sent by the Communally of Tagliaret, and a Rua di Bonetti unto La Torre; Giovanni Ma la-notte, sent particularly by those of S. Jovanni; Pietro Pasqual, sent by the Commonalty of the Valley of S. Martino; Thomasso Romano, of S. Germano, sent by the said Commonalty, and the whole Valley of Perosa, do promise for their Commonalties respectively, that the contents of the abovesaid Articles shall be inviolably observed; and in case of non-observance, they do submit to such punishment as it shall please his Highness to inflict on them; promising in like manner to cause this their Engagement to be approved and confirmed (per capita Domorum) by their said Commonalties.*

*The most Illustrious Lord of Raconigi doth promise that his Highness shall ratify and approve the above-written Articles to the underwritten, in particular, and in general, granted by the intercession of the most serene Madama, as a pure act of her special grace: In witness whereof the foresaid Lord hath subscribed these presents with his own hand; and the Ministers, in the name of all the aforesaid Commonalties, have underwritten their names in quor. fid. this Fifth of June 1561.*

Phillippo di Savoya.

Francisco Valle, Minister of Villaro in Lucerna.

Claudius Bergio, Minister of Tagliaretto.

Georgio Monestieri of Angrogna.

Michele Raymondetti of Tagliaretto.

But in the year 1565, another Edict bearing date the Tenth of *June*, was published, at the importunate request of the *Popish* party, whereby all men who lived within the *Duke of Savoy's* Dominions, and would not conform to the *Romish* Religion, were enjoined to come and declare the same to the respective Magistrates of their several habitations, within ten days after the publication thereof, and two months after to leave the Country, having one year's time given them to dispose of their goods movable and unmovable; during which time they should enjoy the revenue thereof: And as for the Magistrates, they were commanded to watch and observe diligently, who they were that were stubborn and refractory, and having so done, to send up their informations to his Highness, that so they might be proceeded against according to his will and pleasure.

Now the news and tidings of this cruelty so wrought upon the hearts of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, that they sent an Embassy to his Highness of *Savoy*, to intercede in their behalf. Among whom, the Prince Elector Palatine was exceeding zealous; and, at the return of one *John Junius*, one of his ancient Counsellors of State, and a person of singular worth, whom he had sent in the quality of his Ambassador to the Duke of *Savoy* merely upon that account, having heard the said *Junius* his report of the most unworthy and unhandsome dealings of that Court, and finding, notwithstanding all their fair and golden promises which they had made to his Ambassador, that they did not at all cease to persecute and molest the poor people, he wrote a very smart and significant Letter to the said Duke, which indeed is fit to be communicated to posterity.

## ARTICLE V.

A Copy of a Notable Letter, Written to the *Prince Elector Palatine* to the Duke of *Savoy*, in favor of the *Evangelical* Churches of the Valleys of *Piemont*, 1566.

*I received with great contentment and satisfaction, (my most dear Cousin) the report which my Junius had made me of your good*

*affection towards me, and your great civility towards him, which you had likewise given an ample testimony of, by your promise to deliver and set at large for my sake, and the sake of the other Protestant Princes, those that were imprisoned, and in the Gallies, upon the account of their Religion. But this my contentment has been somewhat intermingled with grief and trouble, by that Act of the Senate of Savoy, who have taken the boldness to diminish that benefit, which you had granted to me and to the other Protestant Princes, by condemning to perpetual exile those nine poor innocent souls, who were detained prisoners at Cambery, as guilty of Sedition, and Treason: For, I myself am not such a one, as had I once granted Y. H. any kindness, would ever have permitted any of mine to have made the least diminution of my Liberality, but would much rather have enlarged the same (as is both usual and ought to be in the Acts of Princes). But now I do not only esteem the abovementioned persons to be altogether innocent of the crimes laid to their charge, but it's a thing whereof I am fully persuaded. For, by the Letters signed by Y. H. own hands, and the hands of your Chancellor and Secretary, and sealed with the Seals both of the one and the other, I perceive that it is undoubtedly so. For by the said Letters, they are so far from being accused, that they are excused, and justified from having in the least conspired against your Highness, That if they would but have received those Letters, they had long since been set at liberty. But they could not consent thereto with a good conscience, forasmuch as your Highness required of them such conditions as would have obliged them to have followed for the time to come, the Customs, and Superstitions of the Church of Rome, which truly is a matter no less grievous either to them, or any other of God's faithful ones, then if you should press them to renounce Jesus Christ himself! Whereupon I easily judge, that it is by the persuasion of the Pope and his Counsellors, that your Highness accuses them of Sedition, having sufficient ground to believe that they are so transported with hatred, and furious passion against Our Religion, that they invent and search out all occasions imaginable, right or wrong, to add affliction to the Misery of those poor creatures, who notwithstanding desire nothing more, than to yield all manner of obedience and fidelity to your Highness, provided, they be not constrained in matters of Religion, to make a breach upon their consciences. And this I easily perceived (though*

to my great trouble) by your Highness last Letters, which, the very truth is, I could not read without sadness, and I profess to you seriously and sincerely, that this manner of proceeding against those poor creatures, doth exceedingly grieve me. For, to whom is it (I beseech you) that they should have delivered up those Fortresses which your Highness writes they would have betrayed? was it to the King of France? He's your Kinsman and Ally, who would never have undertaken any such enterprise against your Highness, but on the contrary severely chastised the Authors of such a suggestion. I dare affirm the like of Spain. To whom was it then they should have delivered them? was it to them of Geneva? I cannot persuade myself that they ever had such a thought or imagination. Would they have kept it for themselves? every man sees that a mere impossibility. Wherefore if your Highness consider and weigh well this matter, you will easily see, that these are impudent calumnies forged by their adversaries. And I easily see whither the designs of your Highness Counsellors and Officers tend, namely, to drag those poor people to prison, and there to constrain them by torments to confess some treason, that so they may have at least a colour and pretext to destroy all the Churches of the Valleys as seditious, and to condemn them as disturbers of the public Peace. But let your Highness know, that there is a God in Heaven, who not only beholds and sees the actions, but also tries the hearts and the reins of men, and to whom all things are naked and open. Let your Highness beware of a willful fighting against God, and of persecuting Christ in his members; for although he may bear it for a while, to try the patience of his Saints, he will notwithstanding in the end chastise the Persecutors of his church and People with horrible punishments. Let not your Highness suffer yourself to be abused by the persuasions of the Papists, who possibly may promise you the Kingdom of Heaven, and eternal life, as a reward, in case you banish, imprison, and exterminate those Huguenots (so they stile the good Christians) be it by what means or instruments soever. For certainly, cruelties, inhumane actions, and calumnies are not the Highway to the Kingdom of Heaven; no, there must some other way be found out: Nay, your Highness may easily see what success the last Forty years of Persecution have had! You may see what the fires, swords, gibbets, prisons, tortures, and banishments have advantaged those who call themselves Catholics, either in Germany,

England, France, or Scotland! No, there's no need in matters of Religion, of the power, or authority, or severity of Men, as the Histories both of the Jews and Primitive church, sufficiently witness; where we find that those who have afflicted, banished, and delivered up to death the Christians, have been so far from having gained anything thereby, that on the contrary, they have increased their number, insomuch that it hath begotten a Proverb among the Christians, that The ashes of the Martyrs are the seed of the Christian Church. The church resembles in this the Palm-tree, which raiseth itself up the more it is depressed; which your Highness may easily observe, if you please but to open your eyes; yea, I entreat you to understand, and consider, that Christian Religion may be persuaded, but not forced. And that it is a real truth, that Religion is no other than a firm, and settled persuasion of God, and of his will, revealed in his word, and imprinted in the spirits of men by the Holy Spirit, which having once taken root, cannot easily be loosened or plucked up by any torments, or tortures; and such men will sooner endure the worst that can befall them, than receive or embrace anything, which they apprehend contrary to Religion and Godliness. Wherefore it were very good and wholesome counsel, that everyone would endeavor to deliver that Religion, which they call Ancient (but indeed is but of yesterday, in comparison of that of Christ and his Apostles) from so much Idolatry, abuse, and superstitions introduced and foisted into the Church, by the ambition, avarice, and negligence of the Roman Bishops and Clergy; As likewise to lend their helping hand, for the restoring of Religion to its primitive estate and luster, rather than to persecute with fire and sword, with tortures and banishments, those who will not defile themselves with such idolatries and superstitions; and to grant the liberty of serving God in truth, according to his word, and to call upon his name in sincerity, rather than constrain men to observe human Inventions and Decrees, obtruding the same upon their fancies, instead of the true word and worship of God. For, by the grace of God, the Evangelical truth is now in such splendor, that the errors and deceits of the Bishop of Rome, and all his Clergy, are sufficiently known in a manner by all men; neither must the Pope think henceforth to abuse the world, as he hath done in former Ages. Wherefore I entreat your Highness, whom I understand to be of a sweet and gentle nature and disposition, that you would consider and lay to



*heart these things, and not further molest those poor people for the sake of their Religion, nor refuse them the free exercise thereof, but rather that you would please to grant them the liberty of assembling in public for the service and worship of God, whereby you will easily discover the falsity of their Enemies Accusations, and have an evident proof of their loyalty and obedience. And this will be the true way and means to establish the peace and tranquility of your Highness Dominions. Peradventure your Highness fears to draw upon yourself some damage or inconvenience thereby, but you must also have a due regard to a greater and more considerable danger, which now hangs over your head, and rather apply the remedy to the present evil, than purpose to apply preventing Physic against future Distempers; for those are uncertain, and in the hands of God, but these are certain, and near at the door. Your Highness hath seen and known, what evils and mischiefs have been brought upon France, through those their violences, banishments, and cruel persecutions, what combustions and flames, which have in a manner consumed the whole Kingdom, and what ruins have followed thereupon, which notwithstanding have all been appeased by one only Edict, granting Liberty of Conscience, and that now they live in peace and tranquility amongst themselves, although they profess divers Religions. And out of that singular love which we have for your Highness, we are afraid on your behalf, lest the like evils and mischiefs should befall your Dominions. And the plain truth is, if your Highness out of compliance with the Bishop of Rome, the Cardinals, the Prelates, and others who are interested in the Roman Religion, be resolved still to continue to persecute those poor people, there is no question, but you must find and feel the same evils and mischiefs which other Nations have found and felt, to their great damage, and disadvantage. For, no violent thing is of long continuance, and we must not always follow the Wolf into the Wood; and its justly to be feared, lest Patience being so oft vexed and provoked, become Fury, and that the evil and mischief thereof redound to the Public. Poverty and Hunger are no small torments, nor is it an easy thing to lead so long and miserable a life in exile, being robbed of all our Goods and Estates. 'Tis the highest of injustice and misery, to be constrained to submit to the yoke and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and be prohibited from worshipping God according to his Word. Yea, 'tis altogether insupportable for*

good and faithful Subjects, to be accused as Rebels and seditious persons.

*Your Highness ought much rather to consider these things, than lend an ear to those who are biased by their passions, and who are sworn enemies of the truth, and true Evangelical doctrine, compassing their own ends under the pretext and covert of the Roman Religion: Neither ought your Highness to consent to those passions and furies which are so implacably bent against the Gospel-worship.*

*Now for the better applying a speedy remedy to all these evils, your Highness cannot think ever to find out one more proper (without offering violence to your own natural clemency and gentleness) than to promise your poor Subjects (which is the only thing they request at your hands) the free exercise of their Religion, forasmuch as this is esteemed the only true way to avoid those dangers and miseries which have befallen France, and other parts, upon this account, and may well befall your Country, if they proceed as they have begun, forasmuch as this is the true means to retain your Subjects in their due obedience, and ready execution of your commands.*

*But it may be your Highness will tell me, That there's no enduring two Religions under the same Prince, and in the same Country, objecting to me that common Proverb, One Law, one Faith, one King. This truly were a thing very desirable, but since that the true Religion and Faith is the gift of God, infused and engravened in the hearts of men, which (as I have already said) no man can extinguish but God alone, those men are, extremely inconsiderate, who think it a business of necessity, that every individual of a Country (or that the whole Christian world) should be brought to be of the same Religion, by force of Arms, or persecutions: Possibly it might be so, if Religion were founded upon the Authority and goodwill of men; yet that would not be a Religion, but rather Hypocrisy and dissimulation: For the true Religion having God for its Author, it cannot be effected by any force or reason, that those who have received this persuasion of God, should ever suffer themselves in the least to be drawn aside from it. Nay, it hath never been seen since the beginning of the world, that all were of the same*

*Religion, exactly agreeing in their Customs and Ceremonies, as it appears in the Family of our First Father. And so before the coming of Christ, in the Kingdoms of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians, in the administrations whereof, those Kings and Lords were constrained to countenance the Jews in their Kingdoms, with the exercise of their Religion, although they abominated the same in their hearts. After the coming of Christ, the Roman Emperors, after they had in divers manners persecuted the Christians, and charged them with all sorts of Calumnies, nevertheless seeing that their number always increased, and that they could not find Hangmen enough to torment them, were fain to permit them in the Empire (as Histories bear witness) granting them the free exercise of their Religion, and (which was more) allowing them their Temples, as is reported of Alexander Severus, who permitted the same at Rome; yea, and the same was done by divers others, who prohibited their Subjects to injure or calumniate the Christians, although they did in no wise approve their Religion, but detested from their very hearts the Name of Christ. In like manner, among the Pagans, how great must needs be the diversity of their Religion, in that some knew not the Names of the Gods of others? Was not the Roman Empire thereby troubled and divided? Are there not at this day under the Turks Dominions Jews, Persians, Mahometans, and Christians, which are all of divers Religions, and exceeding contrary one to another? and yet notwithstanding we see how it is grown up and increased. Now if Diversity of Religion be the Cause of Seditions and Tumults, surely the Empire of the Turks would not be so much greatened, to the mischief and detriment of the Christian World. Your Highness sees the Estate of Germany, France, Polonia, Scotland, Switzerland, and other Countries, where are found both the one and the other Religion, yet notwithstanding they live in sweet peace and tranquility. Wherefore your Highness ought not to fear, that the suffering or permitting the Profession of the Reformed Religion in your Country will beget Seditions and Tumults. Nay, you ought rather to fear the event of a contrary proceeding! And this I say, as one that is desirous your Highness should follow good counsel, and who should be very sorry that any Inconvenience should befall you upon this account. But I intreat your Highness not to resist God, who hath decreed to plant his Gospel in your Country, and that you would please to set before*

*your Eyes the Examples of those who strove to hinder the course of the Gospel in its infancy, and the Evils they brought upon their Heads thereby, and to follow the counsel of Gamaliel. Let your Highness see and consider what has been done for the Faithful and those that fear God, for if this Counsel were of Men, it would not stand, it would certainly have been dissolved of itself, and been extinguished long ago: but God being the Author, it cannot be abolished or dissolved by any Torments or Persecutions whatsoever. Let not your Highness think it a fit thing to resist or fight against God, for, he will be Conqueror, however it be. Let me entreat this one thing of your Highness (for as much as your Magistrates cannot dissemble, or hide the hatred they bear to the Faithful, upon the account of their Religion, in oppressing those poor People by all ways imaginable, loading them with Crimes of Rebellion, and Sedition, merely for assembling themselves with no other intention than to pray to God in sincerity, and to hear or read his Word, or if they hear Sermons out of your Highness Territories, and so provoke your Highness against them), that you would not permit them to take cognizance of matters of Religion, but reserve the same rather to yourself alone. For, by this means you would easily know, that those men are not such as they are represented to your Highness. For, this is a perpetual occasion of all Tumults (if we consider well both sacred and profane Histories), when the Governors of Provinces, and their Officers give themselves Liberty (though contrary to the Decrees of Princes) to handle poor People at their pleasure, merely to satisfy private men's passions, to the great prejudice of the public peace and tranquility. Let it then please your Highness to repress the passions and perverse zeal of such kind of people.*

*As to what remains, I understand (and not without grief), that there is in a manner nothing observed, that your Highness promised my Junius with your own Mouth, and that those poor Wretches, who were kept in the Gallies, upon the account of their Religion, (whose Names he had delivered in to your Highness) are yet detained, which makes me easily see, that these are the actions of your Highness Counselors, who are transported with a deadly hatred against our Religion; which I have not only by hearsay, but have experienced the same in the Example of two, who have been driven away by Banishment. But this severity (to say no more) is well pleasing*

neither to God nor Man, neither is it the way to bring Men to the true knowledge of God, but it must be done by Persuasions and Scripture-proofs, not by Persecutions. Your Highness will (it may be) reply, that our Religion hath been a long time condemned; but by whom? and how? by him who hath violated and corrupted all as well divine as human Rights, making himself both Party and Judge, and hath lately confirmed at the Council of *Trent* all his Idolatries, Superstitions, and Abuses introduced into the Church. But let your Highness read and examine the holy Scriptures, and search the Truth, and you shall find it to be so. Never suffer yourself to be deluded by those Deceivers, which do not uphold their Idolatries and Superstitions upon any other account, than to serve their Bellies, and that they may lead the Lives of Epicures. Let your Highness consider, that you must one day appear before the Tribunal of *Christ*, to give an account of the Souls of your Subjects, where, I thought so, or I esteemed it to be so, will not serve the turn. For, God hath revealed his will in his Word, and willeth that we follow the same without turning either to the right hand or to the left. Now the Word of God is clear and plain; let but your Highness hear and embrace it, and you will easily find out the whole Truth. I say all this, as one desirous of the good of your Highness Soul, to whom I heartily wish as well as to mine own-self, and beg of the Lord incessantly, that he will please to enlighten your understanding, and to call you home to his true Light, that you may discern Truth from Falsehood; and so having a knowledge of the horrible Abuses of the Church of *Rome*, you may serve God in truth and sincerity. *Wherefore I pray your Highness, that you will give us a Token and Evidence of that Esteem which you have for us, by delivering those poor People who are now in the Gallies, and by recalling those who have been lately banished by the Senate of Savoy, as you promised my Junius, and myself, by your Letters. Have compassion upon so many poor wandering Exiles, deprived of all their Goods and Estates! Call them home, and restore them to their Houses and Habitations, and grant both them and the other Inhabitants of your Highness Countries the public exercise of their Religion, which they account to be more necessary than their daily Food! Absolve those poor People of the Valleys falsely accused, that so all of them may live in peace and tranquility under your Highness Government! Make such Articles of Peace with them, as may be conserved without alteration! Preserve them in*

*peace and quiet in the exercise of that Religion which you have permitted unto them, and be their Defense, bridling and restraining the bitter hatred, which their Governor Castrocara exerciseth against them, warning him to molest them no more for the future, as he hath done hitherto, and enjoining him to refrain from imposing on them false Crimes and Accusations, whereby he pretends to colour his Tyranny, for, such things are not at all convenient for a Magistrate and Governor, who ought to be a Father unto those who are committed to his Charge.* If your Highness please to grant me those things which I now desire of you with so much affection and earnestness, I doubt not but you will experimentally find the favor and blessing of God, and you shall have us ready to oblige you in all things; if not, you will both provoke God to lift up his Hand against you, and also estrange from you the affection and courage of all those who desire to do you pleasure and service. Let then your Highness more esteem the favor of God, and the good will of Princes, than the Promises of the Pope and his Creatures. Do not render yourself as an Instrument of their insatiable Desires, to spill the Blood of *Christians*! Countenance not their Cruelty and Inhumanity against those who are in no wise perverse, but real *Christians*; who desire nothing more than to serve God purely and sincerely under your Highness Government, and to pay all manner of obedience and fidelity which is due unto you, and to employ and lay out themselves wholly (their Goods, Bodies, and Lives, if need require) for your service. Let it please you then to have compassion on them, and you will always find them the more faithful and obedient; and in so doing you will do that which will be most acceptable to God, and oblige to yourself forever those poor Creatures, and find us always more ready, with all that we have to do you any pleasure upon all occasions. Wherefore I entreat your Highness, that you would please to lend an Ear to these our Requests, and in the end you will abundantly know, that we have fought after nothing so much as your own advantage, and the tranquility of your Dominions. *The great and All-powerful God, guide and govern by his Holy Spirit your Highness, and keep and defend you long in health and safety.*

*Dated and signed thus in the Original,*

## ARTICLE VI.

Now for a more particular knowledge of the Reason why the *Elector Palatine* made such heavy Complaints in this his Letter, as touching the *non*-observance of what his Ambassador had been promised, it is to be observed, that *Castrocaro* being extremely troubled that the said Ambassador had obtained several Promises at Court, for the poor Peoples advantage, did immediately after his Departure cause to be published throughout the Valley of *Lucerna* two Ordinances, one of which bare Date the one and twentieth of *April* 1566, whereby he commanded all the Inhabitants throughout his Government that were not Natives, to depart within a Day after the publication thereof, upon pain of Death, and Confiscation of their Goods. By the other Ordinance, he prohibited upon the same penalty those of the Reformed Religion, inhabiting *Lucerna*, *Bubbiana*, *Campiglione*, and *Fenile*, to hear Sermons at *St. Giovanni*. And for as much as the poor People, having been permitted to have their public Meetings there, by a formal Capitulation with his Highness in the Year 1561, were not thereby discouraged from continuing their wonted Exercises, *Castrocaro* imprisoned and tormented a great number of them in the Castle of *La Torre*; hereupon the poor People made their Address to the Dutchess, who had pity on them, and wrote a Letter to the said *Castrocaro* in their behalf, commanding him in the Duke's Name, to *set at Liberty the Imprisoned, and to cease to molest them in the enjoyment of their ancient Habitations and Privileges*.

This Letter of the Dutchess did indeed for that time put a Bridle to the Fury of that *Castrocaro*, though it was far from working any change in his spirit or Principles, as is too evident by his after-actions and rude behavior towards them, especially in the Year 1571, at which time he did so incense the Governor of *Bobio* against the poor Inhabitants of the Valley, that he did not only grievously molest them upon all occasions as they came under his Clutches, but likewise wrote bitter Letters to his Highness against them, and

improved the best of his parts and power to ruin and extirpate them. And certainly *Castrocaro* had brought his Designs to their desired Issue, had not the Dutchess then upon the joint Supplications and Requests of all the Evangelical Churches, very effectually interposed for them, and procured the continuation of their just and undoubted Rights and Privileges.

Here, by the way the *Christian* Reader may be pleased to take notice of the great Blessing from Heaven upon that sweet Harmony and Unity that was at that time amongst those Evangelical Churches, which always (but now more especially) appeared by their constant fellow feeling of one another's Miseries and Sufferings, and their marvelous readiness to minister to each other's Necessities, even to the hazard oftentimes of both their Estates and Lives. The truth is, besides many Leagues of Amity and *Christian* Unity, which had been before this time established, and punctually observed amongst those People, they did upon occasion of this Recourse to the Duke, in a more formal way and manner, strike a League amongst themselves, signing an Agreement, the substance whereof is contained in the following Articles.

### An Extract of a League or Agreement made between the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of *Piemont*, and the Year 1571, for the mutual assistance of each other in Times of Trouble and Persecution.

1. *We promise by an Oath, to persist inviolably in that ancient Union, that hath been continued from Father to Son, amongst the Faithful of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, unto our Times; and not to depart from it upon any condition whatsoever, according to the following Conditions and Promises.*

2. *To continue all in the Profession of the true Christian Reformed Religion, which we have to this day embraced, which Religion consisteth in the believing in, and worshipping one only true God, and one only Head of the Church, and Mediatour between God and Man, Christ Jesus; and in the only Rule of believing and*



*living well, which is contained in the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, together with the two Sacraments instituted by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Promising according to the Word, to yield obedience to all exterior Order and Discipline, already established, and heretofore observed among us. And detesting all Heresies, and false Doctrines which are contrary to this Word of God contained in the Books of the Old and New Testament.*

3. Item, we promise to be faithful and obedient to his S. Highness, and to those Magistrates, who shall by him be constituted to govern, and bear rule over us, in all that either human or divine Laws shall oblige us to, according to the Word of God.

4. Item, for as much as there is always some or other who, contrary to the Capitulations and Concessions granted them by the clemency of his Highness through the Intercession of Madam the Dutchess, endeavor to trouble the Peace of their Churches, and the Members thereof, and to infringe their Concessions, we all promise to use our utmost power and interest upon all occasions, as it shall be judged necessary, for the maintaining all the said churches in general, and each Member in particular, in the enjoyment of the said Concessions, as well by having constant recourse to his Highness for so long a time as shall be thought requisite; as by all other lawful ways and means, justifiable by the Word of God upon such occasions, and all the Churches in general shall undertake all the lawful Protection and Defense (so far as it may concern them) of each Church, and every particular person and member of the same, who shall be molested for the Cause of Religion, by contributing their counsel, goods, and persons, if there be occasion.

5. Item, that as in those Requests which are made in matters of Religion and their Dependencies, or may be made by the Churches in general, all the said Churches shall unanimously answer, and give Consent as it were with one Mouth; so, if any Church in particular chance to be molested concerning any matter of Religion, or their Concessions, no particular Church shall undertake to give any Answer, without having taken a sufficient term of time to communicate with all the rest of the Churches, and Members of this Union, to take counsel as concerning a common Interest, to answer

*and act by common consent and advice, with all modesty, candor, and sincerity, suitable to good Christians, according to the Dictates of a good conscience, and for mutual edification.*

6. *Finally, we do all and every one voluntarily submit, in case anyone come to fail in any one of these promises (which God forbid) against the Declaration of this Union, to a Censure, nay Correction and Ecclesiastical Discipline, and to be accounted by the rest of the Body of the Union for Schismatics, and perjured persons, if the Fault require so severe a Punishment, and that without any exception of persons; and so we all promise with our Hands lifted up to the Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.*

*Made and ratified the 11 day of November 1571.*

In this very Year many of the poor Protestants of the Valleys were grievously molested, under pretext, that in the former War of *France* against those of the Religion, they joined themselves to the Protestant Troops. But *Charles* the ninth, being moved with compassion towards them, wrote a Letter to the Duke of *Savoy* in their behalf, as followeth.

A Letter of *Charles* the ninth to the Duke of *Savoy*, in the behalf of the poor Protestants, *Anno Domini* 1571.

My Uncle,

*I assure myself, the severity you have used towards your Subjects, who are of the Reformed Religion, and have followed those People of mine, who (as was pretended) took up Arms against me, during the late Troubles, was only through the regret and displeasure you had, to see them undertake a thing, which you judged offensive to me, and not at all any offense they had committed against you; wherein I cannot but commend your good Intentions on my behalf, but since that you know that I have on my part cleared myself of all manner of discontent, and accommodated their affairs one amongst another, and established every one in his Right, whereof he might have been deprived upon the occasion of those*

*Troubles, (during the which, passion did as much distemper the Patient as the Disease itself) I shall now make one Request to you, not an ordinary one, but one as affectionate as I am able to make you, which is, that as out of love to me, you have treated your Subjects in an extraordinary manner upon this occasion, you would also upon my account, entreat, and especial recommendation, receive them with gentleness into your grace and favor, and re-establish them in their Estates, which have been confiscated upon this occasion; and give me this contentment, that I may let mine own Subjects understand, that I shall not only accomplish and observe what I have promised and sworn to them in an Edict of mine, but also out of the same love wherewith I have embraced them, I desire to do for those which have been the occasion of affliction to my Friends on their behalf, that so they may resent that favor, grace, and protection which I shall show unto them. This Cause is so just in itself, and so full of affection on my part, that from the assurance you will willingly grant the effects, I shall not make more pressing instances, but pray God, my Uncle, that he would have you in his protection.*

*Given at Blois the 28 of September 1572.*

Your good Nephew

CHARLES

The subject and expressions of this Letter were not only satisfactory to those, for whom it interceded, but also to all other faithful ones of the Valleys, and neighboring parts, out of the great hopes they had of a future tranquility; but this dured no longer than till their Enemies had an opportunity of molesting them, which they very greedily embraced, upon the News of the horrible Massacres in *France*; for *Castrocaro* did thereupon so threaten the poor Protestants, under his Jurisdiction, that they retired themselves, with their Families and Movables to the tops of the neighboring Mountains, and all other places where they hoped to be most secure. But the Duke of *Savoy* seeming not at all to approve of the Cruelties exercised against the Protestants in *France*, sent to those his Subjects who were thus withdrawn, to command them to return to

their Houses and Habitations, resting upon his word, that they should suffer no prejudice, or incur the least Danger thereby: neither indeed were their Sufferings very great from that time forward, so long as Madam the Dutchess was living (whom all Historians have recommended to posterity, for one of the most prudent, moderate, and charitable Princesses of her Age), for as much as she was always the Sanctuary and Refuge of those poor Evangelical Churches, whenever they found themselves oppressed by their Adversaries.

After the Death of this Princess (which happened the nineteenth of *October* 1574), the Popish party came forth like Lions out of their Dens, and were not wanting in their Endeavors to devour and destroy the poor People upon all occasions, but the goodness of God was so great towards them that they constantly found very considerable Friends to stand in the Gap, and to incline the heart of the Duke who then reigned, to much gentleness and moderation. However, after the Death of *Philibert Emanuel*, which happened upon the thirtieth of *August* 1580, *Charles Emanuel* his Son having invaded the Marquisate of *Saluces*, and *Monsieur de l'Esduigueres* seized by way of Retaliation, upon the Valleys of *Piemont*, the *French* Army was no sooner gone home, but there was a great Rumor spread throughout the Valleys, that the Duke was resolved to take this occasion to extirpate all the Protestants Churches, because they had taken an Oath of Fidelity to the King of *France*; neither was it altogether without ground, for the thing was really proposed in the Dukes Council, but it pleased God so to order Affairs, that the chief leading Men amongst them did not at all approve the Business, yea, the Duke himself did extremely dislike it, and after he had retaken *Mirebouc*, did not a little revive the spirits of the Representatives of the Protestants of *Lucerna*, who met him at *Villaro*, on purpose to assure his Highness of their Loyalty and Fidelity, and to beg the continuance of his Grace and Favor (and that in the presence of a great number of Lords and Courtiers); in the following terms, *Be but faithful to me, and I shall be sure to be a good Prince, nay a Father unto you; and as to the Liberty of your Consciences and the Exercises of your Religion, I shall be so far from innovating anything against those Liberties in which you have lived unto this present, that if any offer to molest you, have your recourse to me, and I shall effectually relieve and protect you.*

These words being spoken in the presence of so many considerable persons, and in so obliging a manner, were exceeding advantageous to the poor Peoples Interest, not only for the present, but also for some time after, they often serving to counterbalance the Threats of their fiercest Enemies. However, neither did their remembrance of this last always, for, there were those among the Popish party there, who thought it an unpardonable sin, to suffer them to have one years respite, and on the contrary a considerable service, to disturb and molest them, sometimes by secret stratagems, other times by open force and violence.

This was now the condition of these poor People from the Year 1595, to the Year 1602, at which time all the Masters of Families in the Valley of *Lucerna*, professing the Protestant Religion, were cited to appear before the *Seigneur Comte Charles de Lucerna*, the Governor *Ponte*, the Archbishop *Broglia*, and several others, and by them commanded in the Dukes Name, either to go to Mass, or to quit *Lucerna*, and all their pretensions there, without the least hopes in the world of ever obtaining leave to return, as likewise (in case of disobedience to the said Order) to prepare themselves for inevitable Mischiefs and Calamities. And these their Threats were by them pressed so home, that it caused many of the poor Creatures to submit to (at least) a seeming change of their Religion, though many others of them did rather take the deeper rooting by being thus shaken. From *Lucerna*, the Lords above mentioned, soon after removed their Seat to *Bubiana*, where they found the Reformed so stiff in their Principles, that they were not able to move them an hairs breadth, wherefore they caused the chief of them to be summoned to appear at *Turin* before his Highness, thinking that the Dukes presence might better prevail upon them than all their threatening Speeches. Those who were thus summoned were Mr. *Valantine*, and *Matthew Boules* his Brother, with one *Pietro Miresc*, and *Samuel Falc*, who were brought in distinctly, one after another before his Highness; the first was Mr. *Valantine*, to whom the Duke spake after this manner, *That his desire being to see all his Subjects profess the same Religion with him, and knowing also how much the said Valantine was able to contribute thereunto, because of his great reputation amongst those of his party, he had sent for him to exhort him to embrace the Catholic and Apostolic Roman Religion, which he (who was his*

*Prince)* did follow, and afterwards to induce his Protestant Neighbors by his Exhortations and Example, to do the same; and in so doing, besides the spiritual profit he should reap thereby, he should also receive such Rewards, that he should know and perceive he had done his Prince no small or inconsiderable service. To this Mr. Valantine answered, That he did intreat his Highness to assure himself, that next to the Service of God, he had no greater desire than to obey and please his Highness, in whose service he would willingly employ and venture his person and his Goods (according to his duty) whenever there should be any occasion. But as for his Religion, which he knew to be true, and established by the Word of God himself, he could not abandon it, without disobeying God, and wounding his Conscience in such sort, that he could never enjoy any comfort in his soul afterwards. And therefore he humbly intreated his Highness to be satisfied with such things as he could do with a good Conscience, and so leave him in the Liberty of his Religion, which he did value above his own Life. Whereupon the Duke replied, That he also was careful for his own Soul, and that he was likewise persuaded, that his Religion was the true Religion, otherwise he would neither follow it, nor induce any other to embrace the same. And withal he added this, that he would indeed show them, who should embrace it, that they had much gratified him in so doing, but would notwithstanding force the Conscience of no man, and thereupon gave him leave to depart, but he was not suffered to speak, or have any discourse with the other three, lest he should spoil the Design, yea and to colour the Business the better, it was given out, that the said *Valantine Boule* had engaged to turn Papist, which was altogether untrue.

During the Reign of *Charles* Emperor, there passed not one year wherein the Monks attempted not, both secretly and openly, to undermine the Protestant Religion in the Valleys. And although the said Prince, together with *Victor Amedeo* his Son, did always give smooth and promising words to the Deputies of the Valleys, assuring them that they should be maintained in their ancient Privileges and Concessions, yet notwithstanding the Churchmen, being set on by the Pope, never gave them rest, but employed all along, both force and cunning to ruin and destroy them; and certainly it can be interpreted no other than a singular

and a wonderful providence that has always preserved those poor and tender Lambs, in the midst of so many ravenous Wolves and Beasts of Prey. I leave it to the thought and judgment of the courteous and *Christian* Reader, if any Design could be more bloody, or usage more barbarous, than the late Massacre; and yet God suffered not those Wretches altogether to obtain their ends, but hath to this very day continued a Remnant that call upon his Name, as shall be shown more at large in the sequel of this Discourse, after I have given him a brief Account of some of the most remarkable Troubles that have befallen the poor *Waldenses* in the Marquisate of *Saluces*, upon the account of their Religion, which is not at all beside our purpose.

## CHAPTER II: *A Description of the Marquisate of Saluces, with its several Troubles and Persecutions.*

What and how great the miseries of the poor *Protestants* have been, not only in the Valley of *Piemont* properly so called, but also in all the Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, where there were any of that profession, We need look no further for a lively proof, than in the neighboring Country called the *Marquisate of Saluces*; who so soon as ever they were under the *Dukes* Jurisdiction, had nothing but the *bread of sorrow* given them to eat, and the *Waters of affliction* to drink. True it is, they were divers times molested under the King of *France*, which lasted until the year 1588, but never in the manner as afterwards, and they found by woeful experience that the first did only *chastise them with whips*, but the last, *with scorpions*.

The *Marquisate of Saluces*, is on the South side of the Valleys of *Piemont*, containing in it several Cities, and considerable Valleys, and plain Countries, extreme fertile in all sorts of fruits: Its most Northern Valley is that of *Po* (so called because that famous River *Po* hath its rise and source from thence) one only Mountain separating it from the Valley of *Lucerna*, on the North side. In this Valley of *Po*, were those ancient Churches of the *Waldenses*, namely, *Pravillelm*, *Biolets*, and *Bietoné*, who there retained the purity of the Christian Religion for several hundreds of years, and lived in great union and Communion with their neighboring Churches of the same Profession: The truth is, the Reformed Religion was received in divers parts of this *Marquisate of Saluces*, so soon as the same was published and tolerated in other Countries. As for example; In the year 1561, the Church of *Dronier*, which was always one of the most flourishing, understanding that the public exercise of the *Reformed Religion* was permitted in *France*, by an Edict of January, Obtained Letters of the Kings Council to *Sieur Lovis of Birague*, Governor of that country, in the absence of the Duke of *Nevers*, whereby he was ordered to provide for the Petitioners a convenient place for the public Exercises of their Religion; But not long after, their Adversaries by their importunity



prevailed so far, that the said Letters were revoked. Whereupon they sent Deputy into France, *Sieur Francois Galatée*, one of their Ministers, together with some others, to recover (if possible) their former Privileges; But this voyage being made in the time of the first troubles of *France* (although they had procured the favorable mediations of divers persons of high rank and quality), all that they were able to obtain, was only bare promises: In the meantime, they received not a few exhortatory and consolatory Letters from many of the chief Ministers of the Churches of *France*, among others from those of *Grenoble* and *Lions*, by name *Mr. Viret* of *Nismes*, and others, who endeavored by all means to persuade them to patience and perseverance in that truth which they had embraced; The which also the Lord enabled them to do, notwithstanding all the malice and subtilty of their adversaries, who procured the reiteration of former Edicts. And thus their Churches were continued and upheld, there being convenient order had for the preaching of the Word, the Administration of the Sacraments, and the exercise of their Discipline, with other sacred Offices; Only there wanted in several places a liberty of having General Assemblies and public Sermons.

Now for the better safety and security of their Ministers in the places that were most dangerous, one *Pastor* had the charge of the faithful in several Cities and Communalities, which rendered their Residence, and their exercises, less visible to their adversaries, Which also appears by the Acts of their *Synods*, which they held at *Pravillelm*, the second of *June* 1567; and at *Dronier* in the Palace of the Lords of *Montauraux* the 14 of *October* in the year abovesaid. The aforesaid *Sieur Galatée* was Pastor of the faithful of *Saluces*, *Savillan*, *Carmagnole*, *Levaldis*, and *Villesalet*, *Monsieur Second Masseran*, of those of *Verzol*, *Alpease*, and *Costilloles*; *Monsieur Francois Truchi*, Pastor of the Church of *Drodier*; *André Lancianois* of those of *Saint Damian*, *Palliar*, and *Cartignan*; *Peter Gelido* of *Aceil*; *Sieur Jaques Iloard*, of *St. Michel*, *Pras*, and *Chanues*; *Sieur Francis Soulf*, of *Pravillelm*; *Mr. Bertrand Jordan*, of *Biolets*, and *Bietoné* and *N. N.* Pastor of the Churches of *Demont*, and *Festeone*.

Now the Gospel at this time made a very considerable progress, at *Dronier*, *Verzo*, and some other places that were of more note, and a great part of the others likewise had embraced the Religion. The Church of *Aceil*, the highest of the *Val de Mairi*, was

extraordinarily peopled, and enjoyed more liberty than the others, by reason of the situation of the place; But notwithstanding, *Satan* the Enemy of the Church, and Kingdom of *Jesus*, perceiving such a growth and increase of the Reformed Religion in those places, did not cease to employ all his force and subtilty, to hinder the same: He made use of two instruments especially, namely, a number of *Anticodemites*, the Ring-leader whereof was *Baronius*, who always bestowed himself at *Valgrane*, and thereabouts, accommodating himself to the time, so that whenever the Church had but the least ease, then he set himself to write strange things, and cry out against the abuse of *Popery*, But in time of persecution, then he usually played the hypocrite, and labored to persuade and draw others to do the same, by which means he had a multitude of followers; amongst others, a certain Lord of *Valgrane* and *Cervignale*, called *Maximilian de Saluces*, who lent his name to *Baronius* to add more luster to his Writings against the Ministers, reproaching them and casting in their teeth, that because they would not give way to any dissimulation in their Disciples, they exposed them thereby to great extremities, and to this purpose cited the dissipation of the neighboring Church of *Carail*. This Lord had some kind of learning and knowledge of the truth, but to avoid the *bearing of the Cross*, he thought it convenient (with *Baronius*) to play the Hypocrite, and condemn those who any ways gainsaid the Papists, However the *Sieur Gelido*, Minister of *Aceil*, opposed them both very learnedly, and in lively terms, by several Letters that he wrote unto them; as likewise did the *Sieur Truchi*, Minister of the Church of *Dronier*, together with other Pastors of the neighboring places, demonstrating by testimony of the Holy Scriptures, and by the doctrine and practice of the *Primitive Church*, That they ought to do what they did, and had done but what every faithful soul ought to do; and that consequently the opinion of *Baronius*, and his Disciples, was very pernicious to the Church in the time of Persecution.

The other instruments which that Archenemy of souls made use of in those days, to hinder the progress of the Church of *Christ* in this place, were the *Roman Clergy*, with their cholerick and passionate Proselytes, which would fain have done to these people (if it had been in their power) as their *Brethren in iniquity* had done to their Neighbors in the Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*; That is

to say, banish, imprison, put them to death, and confiscate the goods of the Protestants; Forasmuch as the *King* by his Edicts, confirmed to those his Subjects of *Saluces* professing the *Reformed* Religion, a peaceable habitation, without being molested for Conscience or Religion sake, or questioned for anything that they did in their private houses (provided that they abstained from the public exercise of their Religion); by which means the Ministers had their opportunities of assembling in small Companies, their Baptizing, Marrying, comforting the sick, and instructing everyone in particular; which was the reason why their adversaries bent their designs chiefly against the Ministers, thinking if they could find any means to extirpate them, they should easily prevail upon the ignorant people, especially when they should have none to animate or instruct them.

Accordingly they caused to be published an Edict the 19 of *October* 1567, in the name of the Duke of *Nevers*, Lieutenant General of the *King* on this side of the Mountains, by which it was enjoined to all of the Religion there inhabiting, or otherwise abiding within his jurisdiction (that were not the Kings natural Subjects) to depart together with their families, three days after the publication of the said Edict, and never to return thither to inhabit, pass, or otherwise to abide, without special safe conduct, upon pain of life and confiscation of goods.

But now, forasmuch as the greatest part of the abovenamed Ministers were not natural Subjects of the *King*, and consequently it was necessary that either they should quit the Marquisate according to the Edict, or else obtain a safe Conduct, or in the last place forfeit the penalty specified as abovesaid, they found themselves in an unhappy *praemunire*; for on the one side they could by no means obtain a safe conduct, because of their Charge, and on the other side they thought themselves obliged in conscience not to abandon their People and Congregations; wherefore striving to abide in their Charges, two of them were imprisoned, namely, *Sieur Francois Truchi*, native of *Cental*, and *Sieur Francois Soulf* native of *Cuni*, and were detained in prison at *Salutres* for the space of four years, four months, and some odd days; the poor people not being able by any means to procure their deliverance, notwithstanding their continual solicitations of the *Sieur Ludovic de Birague* their

Governor, and others who had undertaken the management of these affairs. However, the Lord always manifested his fatherly care towards these his faithful Servants, not permitting their Enemies to touch the life of any of them (a thing which was much pressed by their passionate and engaged enemies)! yea by little and little there was obtained for them a more spacious and convenient Prison, than that to which they were at first confined.

At length, to procure their full and absolute deliverance, the Churches of the *Marquisate* sent their supplications to the *King*, by the hands of the abovenamed Minister *Galatée*, with another to accompany him. Who set out the 27 of *July* 1571, and went as far as *Rochel*, to implore the Intercession of the Queen of *Navarre*, as also to entreat the assistance of divers others in several places. Moreover the Great Patrons of the Reformed Religion disputed their cause before the King, And in the end they obtained Letters signed by his own hand, and the hands of his Secretaries *Neusville*, and *Lomenie*, by which was granted to the abovesaid Prisoners their enlargement the 14 of *October* 1571. But the Chancellor *René Birago*, Cousin to the Governor of the *Marquisate*, made such difficulty to sign the same, that they were forced to stay several Months before they could have their expedition, the Chancellor alleging always for a pretext, that before the business could be signed, it was necessary to have a verbal conference with the King, who had then made a Voyage into *Bretagne*; Although the Admiral never ceased soliciting, and assisting continually the said *Sieur Galatée* by his Secretary, or some other of his domestics. Also, perceiving that he was fain to trot up and down on foot, and so spend and waste himself, he gave him 50 Franks to accommodate himself in his journeys.

At length, the *King* being returned from *Bretagne*, the Chancellor spake with him, and afterwards signed the said Letters, and would needs send them himself to the *Marquisate*, to his Cousin *Birague*, who by virtue of the same, caused the said Prisoners at last to be enlarged and delivered.

A little after the *Sieur Galatée* arrived, being overjoyed, as well for the prosperous success, and issue of his Negotiations and Voyage (although otherwise very long and tedious) as for the great hopes that he promised himself of a profound peace, founded upon

the smooth words and treatments of his Majesty, and upon the Alliance which he had made by the Marriage of his sister with the King of *Navar*, professing the Reformed Religion, touching the particulars whereof he made an ample discourse. But this joy for the Peace, and Marriage, dured not in the Valleys, and *Marquisate*, any longer than from the Month of *May* 1572 to the beginning of *September*, at which time there arrived the horrible and lamentable news of I know not how many great personages, and others of the Reformed Religion, that were cruelly massacred in divers places of *France*, to the great astonishment of all the faithful in those parts.

At the same time there arrived Letters from the *King* to the Governor *Birague*, by which he was ordered to have an eye, that at the arrival of the news of what had happened at *Paris*, those of the Reformed Religion should make no combustion; remitting the rest of his pleasure, to those Instructions which he had sent him by the Bearer thereof; the contents whereof were, that he was to put to death all the chief of the *Protestants*, within the limits of his jurisdiction, whose names he should find in the Role that should be presented him.

This *Birague* having received this command, together with the said Role or Catalogue, was not a little troubled, and immediately called his Council together, whom he acquainted with the Kings Orders. Whereupon some were of opinion that they ought to be executed without any delay; But others, among whom was the Archdeacon of *Salutres*, forasmuch as the King in His late Patents, not many Months before, had enlarged the Ministers who were imprisoned, and had likewise Ordered that those of the *Reformed* Religion should not any ways be molested for their Conscience sake, but treated as his other Subjects; as likewise, upon consideration that there had nothing occurred since that time worthy of such a change, and that it was probable that the ground of all this was occasioned by some false report, were of the judgement that it would be sufficient only to secure the persons of such as were enrolled, and defer the execution for a while; And in the meantime to inform the King, That they were persons of honor, faithful to His Majesty, living peaceably with their Neighbors, and in sum, such as (except the matter of their Religion) were altogether without reproach or blemish; Adding this, that in case His Majesty were resolved to have

them put to death, there would be yet time enough to execute his pleasure and commandment.

This advice was therefore approved of by *Birague*, and accordingly some were apprehended, and others escaped, and retired themselves under Covert; And in the meantime he dispatched a Messenger to the *King*, to inform him as abovesaid, and to know his pleasure concerning the same: This Messenger met another at *Lions*, whom the *King* had sent to *Birague* to advertise him, That in case his former Order were not already put into execution, he should wholly desist from the same, and only have a special care, that those of the *Religion*, did not make any insurrection within his Government, nor presume to have any public exercises or meetings.

In the meantime those of the *Reformed Religion*, were not a little terrified, throughout the whole *Marquisate*, having understood how cruelly their Brethren had been massacred in *France*, without distinction of Age, Sex, or quality, whatsoever. Insomuch, that divers of them fled, many Papists likewise had secretly caused to retire the families of their kindred, and neighbors of the *Reformed Religion*, until such time as *Birague* had published the Kings pleasure; after which notwithstanding they returned by little and little: And although their public exercises were prohibited, yet they very much prized the assurance of their lives, and their goods, besides that they had the liberty of exercising in their private families, as before that time they were often wont to do.

This was now the condition of the *Protestant Churches* of the *Marquisate* of *Saluces*, during the time that it was under the Dominions of the *King of France*, which continued until the Year 1588, as abovesaid, at which time His Highness of *Savoy* took the possession, who for a certain season suffered them to enjoy their privileges in general, But in particular, a certain number of the chief Members of the Church of *Dronier* (one of the most considerable Churches of the whole Province) being cited to *Turin*, were so smoothed by subtle artifices, that one part of them promised to go to *Mass*. And the truth is, this gave a considerable blow to the said Church, which notwithstanding lost not its courage in general, although the great failing of the first abovementioned, occasioned and encouraged their Adversaries the more to attempt them in the

same manner, as well by words, as by Letters, among which the following was the most remarkable.

The Duke of Savoy's Letter to the said People, Translated out of the *Italian*. Turin 27 March 1597.

Well-beloved Friends, etc.

*It being our desire that all our Subjects in the Marquisate of Saluces should live under the obedience of our Mother the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church; And knowing how much our Exhortations have prevailed upon others, and hoping that they will have the same effect upon you, and that you are willing to adhere to the truth; We thought fit upon these grounds to write you this Letter, to the end that laying aside that Heretical obstinacy, you may embrace the true Religion, both out of respect to God's glory, and love to your own-selves; In which Religion we for our parts are resolved to live and die; which action of yours will, upon the account of so good an example, undoubtedly lead you to eternal life. Dispose yourselves only to do this, and we shall conserve the memory thereof for your advantage. As the Lord de la Mente will more particularly certify you on Our part, to whom We refer ourselves in this regard, praying the Lord to assist you by his Holy grace.*

Carolo Emmanuel

*RIPPA.*

The Churches of the *Marquisate* having received this Letter, returned an Answer to the *Duke*, in a large Letter in form of a Request, which contained two branches;

*In the first, they returned His Highness thanks, for that he had until then suffered them peaceably to enjoy their Religion; and that in the same manner as he had found them in the Year 1588, when he took possession of the Marquisate.*

*In the second place, they most humbly entreated him, to continue to them the said benefit, as also to grant them his Protection, forasmuch as they knew that their Religion was founded upon the Holy Scriptures, According to which they did order their life and conversation, in such a manner that none could have any just occasion to be offended at them. And considering that the very Jews, and other enemies of Christ, were suffered to live in peace, and the enjoyment of their Religion, they had that confidence, that those who were found Christians, and faithful to God and their Prince, should not be denied the same privilege.*

After this their Answer, they were left a while in quiet, in the meantime happened an occasion for the Dukes taking a voyage into France, which was followed with a War in Savoy, during which time they continued as before: But after that the Exchange of the Marquisate was established, together with la Bress, the smooth and soft Letters were turned into sharp Edicts, commanding expressly all those of the Religion of the said Marquisate,

*That they should everyone go and declare to his ordinary Magistrate, within 15 days following, whether he would renounce his Religion, and go to Mass, or no; in which case they were promised not only to be suffered to abide and remain peaceably in their houses, but likewise favored many other ways: But if on the other side, they were resolved to persist in their Religion, they were enjoined to retire, and depart out of His Highness Dominions within the space of two months, after the publication of this Edict, and never to return without express permission; And that upon pain of death, and confiscation of all their goods: the which goods of theirs they were notwithstanding permitted within the said term of two months, to transport as they should think meet, provided that they transgressed not the limits of the said obedience, but upon no other terms.*

This unexpected Edict being published throughout the Marquisate, in the end of the Month of July 1601, much troubled those of the Reformed Religion in that Country, who immediately sent Deputies to His Highness to obtain either a Revocation (or at least a Moderation) of the same: And of this they had so much hopes given them by divers persons of quality, that many of the poor



people resting upon this broken Reed, let slip a great part of the said prefixed time, without setting their Affairs in order for their departure, whereby they were so much the more surprised and amazed, when they understood not many days before the time was expired, that all hope of remedy was now wholly taken away. However, the greatest part of them disposed themselves for their departure, some recommending their goods to their kindred and friends, who remained in the Country, others leaving all they had at random, except what they could carry along with them, to serve for their present necessities.

But now during these two Months, those who were resolved to depart (in case there were no other remedy), were perpetually set upon by their friends and kinsfolk, by all persuasions and motives imaginable, to divert them (if possible) from this their resolution, especially then when they presented themselves before the Magistrate to give in their Answer in writing: To this purpose they were obliged to make it in a certain Pew in public view, where the Magistrates had either the Monks, or other *Roman* Ecclesiastics, and men of note, who ceased not to propound and urge all that they could possibly imagine probable to shake the faith and constancy of these poor people. Amongst others, a certain *Capucin* Frier, by name *Philip Ribot*, who a little before had exercised his gifts in the very same manner in the Valley of *Perosa*, being now employed in the *Marquisate*, was very diligent therein, running up and down from place to place, to make as many Proselytes as he could possibly, using all the subtilties imaginable, especially among those whom either the feebleness of age, the weakness of sex, or the want of estates and riches, might in any probability render them more ductile, and easy to be wrought upon; besides all this, they caused them to be brought before the Magistrate one by one, to the end that the constancy of some might not encourage others. Yea very hardly were the husbands permitted to declare for their Wives or Children, and they did so sist the tender ones, That it was very hard to escape without making shipwreck of their Faith and Religion; And further, to accomplish their designs, they prohibited all upon pain of death, any ways to dissuade any one from revolting.

However, it pleased the Lord so to fortify those people, that a great number of them departed unshaken, who *went forth* as

Providence guided them, *not knowing whither they went*: Some steered their course beyond the *Alpes*, to *France*, *Geneva*, and other places; Others retired themselves into the Valleys of *Piemont*, where yet was continued the liberty of the reformed Religion, and where they remained without trouble, notwithstanding the Edict imported, that they should depart out of the Dominions of His Highness.

Now in the beginning of this General persecution, their Adversaries fearing some bold and resolute union of these poor persecuted people, to prevent any combustion or disturbance, gave it out among the Churches of the mountains, that though the terms of the Edict were general, yet the intention thereof was only to unlodge all those who inhabited in the lower plain, and in the great villages, and other public places; And that all those who inhabited among the Mountains might be assured of living in peace and quiet.

This Cautelous dealing caused, That at the first, there was not such an universal union of those of the Reformed Religion in all the quarters destined for slaughter, as they could have desired. However in the end, the discovery of their fraud occasioned a more close union among them; For the truth is, at last they spared those of the Mountains, no more than those of the Plains, except that they made no show of inquiry after the Church of *Pravillelm*, and the quarters thereabouts, which the people of those places perceiving, as likewise trusting to the Ancientness of their possessions, never troubled themselves to make any declaration before the Magistrate, or, to prepare themselves at all for their departure, as if the Edict had not at all concerned them. Neither indeed were they at all disturbed, until all the rest who persevered in their Religion, were departed out of the Province, and scattered abroad here and there in several places. At length, they were given seriously to understand, that forasmuch as they had not yielded obedience to the Edict, they were thereby become obnoxious to the punishment therein contained and specified. Whereupon there were some who warned them to have a care of themselves, both in general and particular; Insomuch that when they had bethought themselves, they as members of the Communalty besought the Syndics, of the said communalty, to intercede for them, alleging the reasons for which they conceived themselves not to have been comprised in the Edict, and by

consequence that they had not offended out of any malicious intention.

These Syndics accordingly (whether seriously or perfunctorily, the Lord knows) made many journeys about this business, but always returned with sad and uncomfortable messages, and such orders, that they found themselves forced in the end to follow. One part of them (the men having given Order to their Families which they left in their houses) retired themselves into the Western Mountains; Those who were capable to bear Arms (which were about two hundred in number) with their Arms, retired themselves into the *Chastellenie de Chasteau Dauphin*, which was not far distant; But those of *Dauphiné*, and who were less disposed, retired themselves into their highest Forests.

Now before their departure they had given their Neighboring Papists to understand, that being forced to retire themselves by the threats which were made them for the cause of their Religion, and not being able to take along with them their Families, they entreated them to have them in recommendation, promising suddenly to make a return either of the good or evil that should be done to those their relations either by them, or any ways by their permission; Upon this, the Papists either out of fear, or for some other reasons, did so far solicit, that in the end, they obtained so far of their Superiors, that the others had Liberty of returning with assurance to their Ancient habitations, without being molested, and that for many years together.

During this persecution, the *Sieur Dominique Vigneaux* Pastor of the Church of *Villaro*, of the *Val Lucerna*, and one of the most ancient and grave persons that were in those days in the Churches of the Valleys, being likewise adorned with excellent qualities, wrote many Considerable Letters, both to their poor persecuted Brethren, to exhort them to perseverance and patience, by encouraging them with lively consolations, as also to certain Lords of quality, to entreat them to intercede in their behalf; as namely, to the Lord *De la Mente* Governor of the *Marquisate*, with whom he had some intimacy, and unto whom he most amply propounded the justice of the cause of the poor persecuted people, with many notable motives

and reasons, thereby endeavoring to induce the said Lord, to undertake their protection.

### CHAPTER III: *The cunning Artifices, and wicked Practices both formally and at present used, to consume and destroy the remainder of the Faithful and the Valleys of Piemont.*

In the foregoing Chapters, we have the Enemy of our salvation represented unto us, as a *Roaring Lion*; In this, as a *Cunning Serpent*, subtly intruding himself, and secretly wounding the Faithful. And indeed, though it be extreme difficult (as the wise man observes) to find out the *way of a Serpent upon a Rock*, yet the poor *Evangelical Churches*, have from time to time had sufficient experience of, and tasted the woeful and bitter fruits of his deadly malice and hatred, wherein he has not only improved the wickedness of several private men, but found out a way also to make the public Authority subservient thereunto, often transforming himself into an *Angel of Light*.

His instruments that he made use of for the compassing of his Designs upon those poor people, were for the most part the Priests and Monks, who continually loaded them with black aspersions, thereby to render them odious and abominable in the sight of all men; nay, they did not only represent them as Heretics, but also as *Monstri Infernali* ('tis Prior Rorencò's own expression in the *Italian* language) that is, *Infernal Monsters*, or the most cursed creatures, that Hell itself affords.

The treacheries, lies and impostures suggested by those, who were under-hand employed by the *Popish* Clergymen, insensibly to exterminate those poor people, are innumerable; yea there is nothing more sure than that they both had in those days, and at this very day have under pay several persons, whose business it is, to kindle strifes and quarrels amongst the *Protestants*, and to engage them in suits of Law one against another; And when they see them reduced to poverty and despair, then they come and offer secretly, to each of them separately, all the favors imaginable, and an absolute victory over their Enemies. Provided they will either openly revolt, or remain as spies amongst their Brethren to betray them. And the better to prepare and dispose them hereunto by degrees, they assure

them, that in case they will employ some Churchmen to recommend their affairs to the Judges, they may undoubtedly obtain their desires. But if they cannot persuade either the one, or the other, to revolt or to betray their own party, they then foment their quarrels, embittering and inflaming their spirits more and more by means of their usual and ordinary incendiaries (that is to say the Gentlemen, the Lawyers, the Attorneys and the *Popish* Notaries), the most part whereof receive Pensions from *Rome* for this very purpose, who at length endeavor to make them fight it out, promising help to each, that so they may, under a pretense of friendship, bring all their persons and estates to ruin; flattering still both the one and the other by the assistance of some third person, with a good opinion of their pretended right, and persuading them, that in case they should come to a friendly agreement (as they are exhorted by their Ministers), they should do themselves infinite wrong and injury. And by this course they do oftentimes oppose and hinder the good endeavors of the Ministers and Elders, whose desires are, to preserve peace and Christian unity amongst their Brethren. Yea, those kindlers of discord, disguising, and making an ill construction, of the Ministers exhortations taken out of the Word of God, do what they can, to persuade the Magistrates and Judges themselves, that it strikes at their Authority, and spoils their Practice. And which is more than all the rest, the Priests and Friars do not cease to inquire and wind themselves more particularly into all the discontents and divisions that at any time happen or arise between man and wife; master and Servant; father and child; and having incensed them what they can one against another, they endeavor to persuade the weaker party to revolt; and that he may be in a better capacity to revenge himself, the said Monks and their Associates offer then all the assistance imaginable, from the Authority of the *Popish* Magistrates, who in all public employments are to that very end preferred before the *Protestants*, and made their Superiors in power, that so they may sway and over-rule them as they list.

The *Popish* Clergymen likewise knowing (by experience) that Young men are apt to be in Love, which usually binds and Captivates reason, do frequently propound unto them, by their Emissaries, to match with some *Roman Catholic*, whose portion and other advantages they accordingly Amplify by officious lies; And so

inveigle many innocent Souls, sometimes unknown to their Parents and Friends, and sometimes by open force, and against their wills. And when there is any so Wicked and Rebellious amongst the said *Protestants*, as not to regard admonitions and exhortations, So that the Ministers are forced to proceed to more severe Censures, or Excommunications, then these Monks and Priests ordinarily Censure the *Consistories*, and do what they can to persuade the *Young man void of understanding*, to abandon that party, by whom he is (as they pretend) so ill used, and to embrace the *Popish* Religion, where he shall not only find a sure shelter against those who pursue him for his crime, and offenses, But, shall also be set over them in all politic offices, and employments, that so by that means he may have power in his hands to be revenged of them. This hath been certainly practiced by the Monks in the years 1640, 1641, 1642, etc. Even towards some who were manifestly convinced of Witchcraft, who having revolted at the persuasion of the Monks, had their lives given them, and were set at liberty. And (because the Monks could not deny but that those miserable creatures were actually Witches, especially in the valleys where they were known by the name of *Maschi*), whensoever they were upbraided with countenancing such Wretches, They answered in a jeering (and as they thought a Witty) manner, *Sapiamo dismaskarli*, that is to say, *we have a device to make Witches, to become no Witches*, which was the secret of those men, whereof the Prophet *Isaiah* speaks, saying; *They call Darkness Light, and Evil Good, etc.* and even as *Bellarmin* boasts that the *Pope* hath power to make *de peccato non peccatum*; *That which is sin, to become no sin*. And thus those Sorcerers and Witches, have frequently enjoyed the very same Exemption from all charges and accusations, which is granted by H. R. H. to all others that revolt, or change their Religion, and not only so, but oftentimes also they have been rewarded for their Wickedness, by presents of Money, Merchandises, and other things, according to their several capacities and occupations: And where any such Apostates were owners of Lands, they were exempted from all manner of Taxes, that so they might thereby enrich themselves, and to this purpose the Gentlemen and other rich Papists, are wont to make them counterfeit sales of their Farms and Tenements, and accordingly send them in their conveyances and Rent-Roles, and afterwards secretly and underhand part stakes with them for the profits arising from such

emptions, from Taxes and other such like payments. And when the *Protestants* have complained thereof (as they had good reason, the burden laying just so much the heavier on their Shoulders, by how much the others were eased) His *Royal* Highness gave them indeed a favorable answer, by an Edict bearing Date the thirtieth of *June* 1649, but they could never obtain the putting thereof in execution.

The truth is, of all the ways and means, wherein the public Authority, both Ecclesiastical, and Political, hath usually concurred for these last 60 years, for the rooting out, and utterly ruining the poor *Protestant* Churches in the Valleys of *Piemont*, there hath been none like unto that of the *Missionaries*, established by *Clement* the 8<sup>th</sup>, in the year 1596, as *Rorenc*o mentioneth in His *Memoires*, Chapter 29, p. 135, and Chapter 30 and 31, etc. And indeed, the Monasteries of those Firebrands (as the said *Rorenc*o observes p. 142) have always been as so many Citadels in the Valleys, wherein have been harboured many Legions of evil Spirits, who have never ceased to plot and contrive mischief, by their officious Lies, Calumnies, and false Reports, wherewith they have filled the Ears of their Magistrates and Princes, who also for the most part have given more credit to their Counterfeit protestations, than to the real and better grounds and Complaints of those of the poor *Reformed* Churches in their own just defense, and accordingly have either themselves made bloody Edicts against them, or at least, have subscribed unto such as were suggested and Contrived by the Priests, the *Missionary* Monks, or the Congregation *De extripandis hareticis*. And although the *Protestants* have reiterated their humble supplications, and laid the same at the feet of His R. H. yet the Innocency, and boldness of those *Missionary* Beasts hath from that time to this, so increased and is come to such a height, that it is altogether insufferable. And that which makes them more confident and insolent, is, that they know they are to be punished by any Magistrate, whatsoever they say or do to the said *Protestants*: No, not when they steal away their very Children! Whereas the *Protestants* are put to death by the Magistrates, if they speak but the least word against the *Missionary* Priests, or attempt to dissuade so much as any of their own Domestics from turning Papists. As may be seen in the *Dukes* Edict (whereof *Rorenc*o in His *Memoires* makes mention p. 136, and 137) which doubtless was extorted by



the said *Missioners*. For contrary to all right and equity: Yea, against the express words of the Law of God, Deut. 19:15, It is said in that same Edict, *That one witness shall be sufficient to prove anything of that Nature against a Protestant: And there is a Reward of an hundred Crowns ordained for that man, who will come and witness against them.* Besides, that such an informer *is by no means to be discovered or made known.* And all this to encourage those, who either out of Revenge, Envy, or Covetousness, should witness and report false things, as they should be desired and directed by the *Romish* Friers, see the express words of the very Edict, as follows.

*By these Presents, upon Our certain knowledge, by virtue of our supreme Authority, and absolute Power, We do prohibit, and expressly inhibit all persons, inhabiting the said Valleys respectively, of what quality or condition soever they be, that upon pain of death, and confiscation of their goods, they do not presume or dare to dissuade, etc. to go and hear the Sermons of the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits, etc. nor presume to make any disturbance, or otherwise injure the said Preachers, either in word or deed upon this account, etc. Declaring that all those who shall be found present at such turbulent meetings, shall by the mouth of one or two witnesses incur the abovesaid punishment, etc. promising, that whosoever shall discover the offenders, shall not only have his name concealed, but likewise shall for his encouragement, receive a reward of an hundred Crowns, etc.*

By virtue of the aforesaid Edict, the Monks being not a little zealous in the Devil their Masters cause, made bold upon all occasions, both in the streets, and public places, yea in the very Temples (and that during Sermon-time) to assault the *Protestant* Ministers, with all the most base, vile, unworthy, and unsufferable speeches they could possibly devise to vomit out against them, knowing that no man durst censure their *Catholic* zeal, much less witness anything against their *Fatherhoods*, in the behalf of the *Protestants*, for fear of incurring thereby Excommunication, and other Penalties, ordained against the Favorers of Heretics: Nay, on the contrary, if by such bravadoes they could at any time draw any word, out of the Ministers, or any other man's Mouth, that did not please their Worships, they had their Hired Witness in a readiness,

to bring the poor Minister or other *Protestant* to the stake, and that without remission.

There can be no other reasonable interpretation made of that Edict, which they got cunningly of Mad. R. the 16 of *January* 1642, and had it Printed at *Turin*, by *John Sinibaldo*, Printer to the *Duke*, having made His R. H. believe, That the Papists were compelled to contribute towards the Maintenance of the *Protestant* Ministers, with some such other fictions and false tales, upon which they obtained an Order of His R. H. for the officers, called *Castellani*, to give the *Missioners* all the writings they should desire or demand of them. By means whereof, the *Missioners* usurping the supreme power of the Prince over the said *Castellani*, and consequently over the poor *Protestants*, compelled the said *Castellani* to make the most unjust ordinances that can be imagined against those poor people, and dictate unto them as many officious lies as they pleased, I leave it to others to consider, whether a Prince may justly lay his *Protestant* Subjects under the power of their professed Adversaries, to whom he gives Authority over the Magistrates themselves? And whether the *Protestants* are bound in Conscience to obey such Magistrates, as are only the Notaries, or rather the Servants of those who are yet slaves to the *Pope*, and who are sold, to serve the desires of those *Missioners*, without any scruple in, or in the least manner questioning the justice of such proceedings, and by this means expose his poor harmless Subjects to all manner of Wrongs and Oppressions.

What actions so base and injurious to human Society, may not private men invested with this power put into execution? But to speak more home to the *Missionary* Priests, it is too well known that they did frequently hereby hinder the Papists from bearing witness to the truth, when they came to attain anything in the behalf of their *Protestant* neighbors, no though the matter were never so palpable, and evident on their sides. As for example, when the question is concerning their Habitation, The *Missioners* do persuade those that come to Witness the truth, that so to do were to favor the *Heretics*, and so to fall irrevocably under the Penalty of Excommunication, whereas it is a meritorious work to bear Witness against them by such officious lies as are dictated unto them by the *Popish* Clergymen: Nay, they will not give leave so much as to the Judges,

to prosecute the *Cause that is right, or to Judge righteous Judgment*, when it reflects in the least upon the Catholic party; neither are they suffered at all to make any Executions upon such *Roture-Lands* as are given to the *Roman* Clergy, making those Lands free of Charges, and laying the same upon the Necks of the poor Protestants. And that they may have the better opportunity and pretext to negotiate with those of the Reformed Religion, all the Monks and Friars of the neighboring Cloisters, usually procure of his Royal Highness every year, the Assignations of Grain, and other Impositions, all that they possibly can, that so those of the Reformed Religion, being obliged to make their Payments into the hands of these Publicans, they may have the better advantage of showing favor, and giving ample Rewards to such as will comply with their Idolatry and Superstitions, and lay heavy Loads upon the Backs of those who stand fast to their Principles: by which means the one party grows great insensibly, and the other is proportionably weakened and impoverished. And this has been their practice for many years together at *La Torre, St. Martino*, and divers other places.

I might here mention their frequent falling into the said Valleys with Troops of Armed men, under pretense of quartering there, (as they did in the Years 1560, 1561, 1624, and 1655) thereby miserably to surprise, and make a prey of them. As likewise the crafty Wiles and cunning stratagems which they have always used in their Treaties, which have been still as full of deceits and Jesuitical Equivocations, as of Lines and Sentences (witness the last unhappy Agreement made at *Pignerolio*), following therein the Maxim of *Rome*; That is, *Never to keep faith with Heretics*.

To this I may add their diligent Search and strict Inquiry after all Protestant Books and Writings, committing them with much devotion to the flames, lest they should discover the rottenness of their Principles, and the wickedness of their Actions to the World, and consequently those *Craftsmen's* Ware and Trade in danger to *be set at nought, and the magnificence of their great Goddess Diana despised*, and those *Demetrii* not have so quick a vent for their *Silver Shrines*.

But I cannot here pass over one of their most notorious Stratagems to allure and induce to revolt such as regard their Bodies

more than their Souls, and *love the world above God*, which indeed is nothing else, but in imitation of the Devil, when he tempted our blessed Savior; for, as soon as they see a Protestant reduced to poverty, and very hungry, they immediately *carry and set him upon the Pinnacle of the Temple, and show him all the Riches, Glory, and Preferments of this world*, proffering to give him *all those, in case he will but fall down and worship their Idol*. And to give the business a better luster, as it was the Prince of this world that tempted our Savior, so are most commonly proffers of this nature (through the great subtlety of *Jesuitical* heads) made and published in the Princes name, and under the notion of his bounty, and beneficence; and to this purpose dexterously wrest Orders out of their Princes hands, or at least force and counterfeit the same; a lively proof whereof may be seen in the Dukes own Letter of the twentieth of February 1596, as it is related by *Rorenc*o himself, p. 138. As also by that Edict published *January* the 16, 1642, where it is expressly said,

*To encourage all the abovesaid Heretics to turn Catholics, it is our plea sure, and we do hereby command expressly, that all those who either did the last year, or shall for the future embrace the holy Faith, shall enjoy an Exemption and Immunity from all and every Tax, (whether real or personal) to be imposed on them, and this for the space of five years, commencing from the day of their Conversion. And we do hereby inhibit the Collectors, and all other Officers whom these presents shall concern, to molest them by virtue of their said Offices, upon pain of an hundred crowns in Gold.*

Now it is remarkable, that notwithstanding by the Order above said, his Royal Highness promises them Exemption but for the space of five years, yet he has upon occasion, redoubled and extended these five years to ten, nay sometimes to fifteen. Although the Mystery of all this is (as hath been above specified) that those Burdens which are taken off the Shoulders of the Revolters, should be laid upon the Backs of those who persevere in the true Religion, the better to break and destroy them.

But as if all this were too little to compass their ends upon the poor Protestants, they found out an admirable and complete

Invention, for the more speedy effecting thereof, as may be gathered from *Belvedere's* own relation, p. 286, where he saith,

*His Royal Highness hath determined at the Intercefsion of the most Illustrious Lord Gio. Battista Vercellino, now Bishop of Aosta, a Prelate deserving much of the Holy Faith, and most favorable to the Missions, to institute a Congregation for the Affairs of Heresy, under the Presidency of the most serene Prince Cardinal di Savoia, and in his absence, of the most Illustrious Lord Archbishop, together with the chief Presidents Lords of State, and some Ecclesiastical Divines.*

It was this same Congregation *de extirpandis Hereticis*, which in the Year 1655, undertook to judge concerning the Rights of the Protestants; their Meeting place was in the Archbishop's own House, the Bishop himself being President, and with him the Confessour of his Royal Highness; the Abbat *de la Monta*, the Prior *Rorengo*, Marquess *Pionessa*, the great Chancellor, the chief President of the Chamber, by name *Philippa Ferraris*, the chief President of the Senate, together with the Presidents *Beletis* and *Nomis*, every one of them hired by the Court of *Rome*, to undermine the Liberty of the Protestant Churches, by robbing them of their ancient Privileges, under several Pretenses, and upon false and wicked Informations, sometimes in one respect, and sometimes in another: and the better to palliate and disguise these their Actions, they usually surprise the Duke with heavy and grievous Accusations, and so upon the sudden obtain several Edicts against the poor Protestants, before they can be heard in their own Justification, as you may see in *Rorengo's* Book entitled, *Narratione dell' introduzione de gl' heretici nelle valli del Piemonte*, which was printed at *Turin*, in the Year 1632, where he expressly says, that *the intention of his Royal Highness is rather to restrain, than to enlarge the Limits prescribed to the Protestants*, boldly charging his own Design upon the Prince. It was to this Council likewise that were sent all those who might have any pretension of preserving their Goods, upon the account of revolting, in the Year 1650, as it plainly appears by those Orders, at that time published against those, who pretended to inhabit out of their prefixed Limits, which Orders are in a manner the very same with those of the Year 1655. For after the Narrative of the Declaration of the Confiscation of Goods, and out

of spleen to those who should not yield obedience thereto, there are these Expressions,

*That such a Reduction shall rest circumscribed, and so become no prejudice at all to those who shall engage the most Excellent Council of his Royal Highness, erected in Turin, for the augmentation and conservation of the Catholic Faith, to turn Catholic, etc. within fifteen days.*

It was at the earnest Suit and Request of such like men as these, that *Emanuel Philibert* in the Year 1565, June the tenth, commanded all such, as would not go to Mass, to depart within two Months out of his Territories, and as for the Inhabitants of the Valley of Barcelona, to depart within one Month, as it is related by *Rorengo* in his *Historical Memoires*, pp. 74, 76, and 107. But the said Duke perceiving soon after, that the thing was very unjust, he gave them leave to stay, and to enjoy those their ancient Liberties, which he himself hath confirmed unto them in the Year 1560, as the Adversaries themselves, namely, *Priour Rorengo*, and *Belvedere* the Frier, do mention in their *Historical Relations*.

In the very same Shop, and by the same hands, were fabricated the following Edicts, described at large by the said *Rorengo* in his *Narrative*, whereof one bare date in the Year 1602, February 25, wherein they make *Charles Emanuel* speak and say, that *he will utterly destroy the said Religion* (pretended to be) *heretical*. And to that purpose, *he enjoins the Protestants, upon pain of Deaths to banish from amongst them, all manner of Schools, either private or public* (even as *Julian* the Apostate did formerly, to extirpate the *Christian Religion*; witness *Amianus Marcell*, in his two and twentieth Book) *forbidding them also to receive any strangers amongst them, that should be either Ministers or Schoolmasters*. And in another Edict of the eighteenth of December 1622, *He forbids them all manner of sending their Youth into any foreign Schools suspected to be infected with the pretended Heresy*, witness *Rorengo*, p. 233, whereby it manifestly appears, that the Design was indeed to have destroyed the Protestant Religion.

In the foresaid Edict of February 25, 1602, *He debar*s (for the same end) *all manner of Protestants from public Offices, either great or small*,

*We prohibit that any heretic of that said pretended Religion, can have public offices in any community, or land, or place of our domain, and those who have them must leave them, nor be admitted to the office of notary, etc.*

And from this very cause, proceed all other Edicts which have been issued against the Protestants of *Saluces*, whereby they are forced and compelled to go to Mass, whether they will or no, which thing *P. John de Moncalier* Missionary Monk, maintains to be lawful, witness *Rorengo* in his forementioned Book, pp. 192 and 193, where we must observe by the way, that both the said Missioner, together with Priour *Rorengo*, and all the Doctors of the *Romish* Church, who have perused and approved the said Book, have not well observed in what Epistle *Paul* relates the Institution of the Holy Supper, saying, *For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you, etc.* For the same Book says in p. 194, that it is in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. It's a pity those Seraphic Doctors are no better versed in the Scriptures.

To the same effect, that is to say, to smother and extinguish the true Religion, came out an Edict in the Year 1601, whereby *all Protestants were commanded, either to go to Mass, or to depart the Land two Months after the publication thereof.* And by another Edict of the Year 1602, the same is commanded, and but fifteen days-time given to depart: and in the very same Year, *Monsieur Ponte*, Governor of *Pignerol*, enjoined in the name of his Royal Highness, the Protestants of *Lucerna*, *Fenile*, *Bubiana*, and *Campiglione*, to quit their Habitations and Country within five days upon pain of death. The same order was given to those of *Val Perosa* some few days after. To this we may (not unfitly) join *Prefect Reissan's* Order, given out the eighteenth of *November* 1634, enjoining the Protestants of *Campiglione*, to leave that place within four and twenty hours, upon pain of Death, which was executed without mercy. The same was done the last Year 1655, by *Gastaldo*, who gave no longer term than four and twenty hours for those of *Val St. Martino* and *Perosa*, to depart upon pain of Death, and three days to those who lived beyond *Pelice*.

Now there is nothing more clear, than that the Monks and Priests were the Framers of those Edicts against the Protestants, and that

they suggested them to the Duke; for his Royal Highness has many times revoked the same, perceiving that he had been abused by the said Informers (as he himself declares in his Concessions of the twentieth of *June* 1620), saying, that he would have the same to be observed, *Notwithstanding any other Order to the contrary*. It will be again more than evident, if we consider, that before the publication of those Edicts, some Projects or Draughts thereof, have been seen in the Great Chancellor *Piscina's* House, written by Priour *Rorengo* his own Hand; the same is likewise clear by Duke *Charles Emanuel* his Letter, written the eighth of *March* 1602, to *Philippe Robotti* Missioner and Jesuit, and registered in *Rorengo's Memoires*, p. 159, wherein his Sacred Highness speaks in the following terms, *We will make those particular Orders which your Fatherhood esteems to be necessary, etc.* p. 180. *The Missionary Fathers communicated to his Highness who made an Edict as follows*. We may see this also by the Edict of the said Prince of the three and twentieth of *December* 1622, against the Protestants, the which (fays he) were made according to the Popes Brief of the second of *July* in the same Year.

But now many times on the other side, when these Missionary Fathers saw that they could not possibly persuade his Royal Highness to an open Persecution against the generality of the Protestants, then they usually tormented them one by one, upon several calumnious pretenses, whom they delivered up to the Inquisitors, who contrary to all Forms of Justice, forthwith condemn them, without so much as hearing, or letting them know their Accusers. They took (amongst others) one Mr. *Sebastian Basan*, in the Year 1622, and after the Inquisitors had cruelly tempted and tormented him for the space of fifteen Months, they burned him alive at *Turin*, in the *Palace yard* on the three and twentieth of *November* 1623, where he died, singing the praises of God in the midst of the flames.

One of the most diabolical and unsufferable Cruelties committed by the Priests, and Missionary Monks, against the Protestants, is that of stealing away their Children, which was the Trade of *Bonaventure de Palazzolo*, and of Priour *Rorengo*, who doth not stick to boast of it in his *Memoires*, p. 235. They stole away very many in the Year 1655, in the time of the Massacre, whom they



would not afterwards restore, notwithstanding that his Highness had promised it by his Patent, and for to continue that Trade with license, those wicked men have caused that Article of the Patent to run thus,

*That no person whatsoever of the said pretended Reformed Religion, he in anywise compelled (or forced) to embrace the Catholic, Apostolical, Roman Religion. Neither shall their Children be stollen or taken away from their Parents, during their minority, that is to say, the Males twelve years of age, and Females ten.*

The truth is, this is the most execrable of all the *Turkish* Tyrannies, for the *Turks*, in some of their Provinces, do steal away the *Christian's* Children, and infect those tender Infants with the Impieties of *Mahomet*, thereby to root out by degrees the *Christian* Religion; but there is this difference, namely, that the *Turks* do so to their own Subjects only, whereas the Popes Ministers do it to those over whom they have no right at all.

In sum, the cunning Wiles and Stratagems to exterminate the poor *Waldenses*, are too numerous to be comprehended in a short Discourse; neither is it indeed at all needful to dwell upon this point any longer, for as much as the sequel of this History consists of almost nothing else; and though the Court of *Savoy* will by no means acknowledge the matter of Religion to be the true fundamental cause of the late Troubles in those Valleys, yet the effects plainly show it to be so, there being very few either of those that were slain, or those that were Prisoners, who were not tempted to the utmost to renounce their Religion. I shall only content myself to instance in two very sad Examples, where certainly (if ever) the subtle windings and insinuating Arguments of Jesuitical Spirits, with *all manner of deceivableness of unrighteousness*, sufficiently evidenced their great power and influence. I must needs confess, I should be very tender in bringing upon the Stage other men's Infirmities, but for as much as the following Declaration was by the parties themselves penned for that very end and purpose, besides that there are many Lessons therein contained, from which the *Christian* Reader cannot but reap much satisfaction and advantage, I have inserted the same in its native and original Expressions, as followeth.

*A Declaration reparative made in a full Congregation the 28 and 29 of August 1655, at Pinache in the Valley of Perouse, by Mr. Peter Gros, and Mr. Francis Aguit formerly Ministers, in the Valley of Lucerna, in Piemont; to testify their extreme sorrow, for their defection through infirmity, from the true Religion, during the time of their imprisonment at Turin, together with their abjuration of Popery.*

*Most Honored Fathers and Brethren in the Lord.*

We could have wished that a less sad Subject had caused this our appearance in public, and a more favorable occasion had made us known to the World by some notable action, the Memory whereof might have been as a blessing in the Church: But since our names cannot be famous, but by the extreme misfortunes which have overwhelmed us, and by the horrible scandal which we have given to the Church of God, we now come forth out of the Dark Dungeons of our own shame and confusion, and present ourselves before men, to Testify to all the World our Conversion and Repentance, and to give indubitable proofs of our griefs, for that we have been so base, as to forsake our former profession.

When we make reflection upon those advantages, wherewith the Lord hath gratified us, above an infinite number of others, such as to have been born in his Church, to have sucked in piety together with our Milk, to have received the Grace of his saving knowledge, and been taught the true happiness; And finally to have been called to the highest employment that men can have in this World, namely, to be the Heralds of God's Justice, and Preachers of his Truth, we cannot speak of our offense without horror, and must needs confess, that it is a sin so much the more odious, and that, having known our Masters will, we have yet withdrawn our shoulder from his Service, to go act quite contrary to his commandments.

It was in these last Calamities which have overrun our Country, we thus made shipwreck, after we had lost our liberty, with all our goods, when the Enemies of the truth, having resolved wholly to extirpate the Reformed Religion in the Valleys of *Piemont*, did

exercise most Barbarous cruelties upon our Countrymen; And we being fallen into their hands, after they had showed us how far their Inhumanity could reach, to give us a proof of the utmost degree thereof, they caused us to be thrown into Prison, where they proceeded against us, and Sentenced us to Death, as guilty of Treason, and Ringleaders of Rebellion, and ceased not to set before our Eyes the torments and punishments to which we were condemned, to render us more flexible to the enticements of the Jesuits who did incessantly solicit us, to accept of a pardon which they should obtain for us, provided we could but embrace Popery, and abjure our Religion.

At their first onsets, we were confident, that being far from yielding unto them, we had strength and constancy enough to despise whatsoever Superstition could present as dreadful or terrible before our eyes, and that the dark and mournful shadows of Death itself, wherewith they threatened us, were not powerful enough to extinguish that Heavenly light which then shined in our Souls. But we have learned to our extremest grief, how frail our nature is, and how deceitful the Wisdom of the flesh, which for the enjoyment of a frail and transitory life, made us forgo those inexpressible good things which God hath prepared for his Children, and that everlasting joy, whereof those that persevere to the end, are made partakers. It was this carnal wisdom, which out of a desire to preserve this House of Clay, and this earthly tabernacle, and to avoid a shameful death, and a punishment ignominious in the eyes of the world, induced us to a shameful falling away, and to a turning our backs upon him who is the fountain of life; We have lent our Ears to this deceitful *Delilah*, and although there were not offered us any reasons so strong as in the least measure to obscure the truth that we did profess, yet we freely confess, that the fear of death, and the horror of torments, did shake our courage, and beat down our strength, and we have decayed, and dried up like water, not resisting to blood, as the profession, not only of *Christians*, but (what is more) of Ministers of the Church did oblige us to do.

Having been persuaded by deceitful reasoning; *That life was better than Death; That we might be further profitable to the Church, to our Country, and to our poor families, that there was no glory to die as Rebels; And that one day we might get out of*

*Captivity to manifest unto the World, that if the Confession had been wanting in our mouths, yet the faith was not wanting in our hearts.*

Thus we accepted of pardon, under these miserable conditions, and have not stuck to enter into the Temple of Idols, and give up our mouths and tongues, to utter Blasphemies against the Heavenly truth, in denying and abjuring of the same, and our Sacrilegious hands likewise, to subscribe the Acts and Events of this infamous Apostasy, which have drawn many others into the same perdition: Our light is become darkness, and our salt hath lost its savor, we have fallen from Heaven to the Earth, from the Spirit to the flesh, and from life unto death! We have been made the Object of the curse of the Lord, who pronounceth woe to those, by whom Scandal cometh; And having made light of the threatenings of the Son of God against those, who shall deny him before men, we have deserved to be denied by him, before his Heavenly Father! Finally, we have rendered ourselves unworthy of Divine favors and mercy, and have drawn upon our guilty heads, whatsoever is most dreadful in the Wrath of God, and his indignations! and have deserved to be rejected of the Church, as Stumbling blocks or stones of offense, and that the Faithful should even abhor our company.

But as we have learned in the School of the Prophets, that the mercies of God are infinite, and that the Lord taketh no pleasure in the Destruction of his poor Creatures, but calleth the Sinner to Repentance to give him life, we are bold to appear before his Face, and to humble ourselves in his holy presence, to bewail the greatness of our Sin and make unto him a free Confession of our Iniquity: O that our heads might melt into waters of bitterness, and our Eyes were turned into Fountains of Tears, to express the grief wherewith our Souls are pressed down. Our Sin as it is not ordinary, so it requireth of us an extraordinary Repentance; and as we acknowledge it to be one of the greatest that may be committed, so do we with, that our Repentance may attain to the highest degree of Humiliation, that so the acts of our Contrition may be known to the whole World. If *David*, for lighter faults was willing, that his Complaints, and his deep Sorrow, and Repentance should be left as it were for a Memorial in the Church, well may we not be ashamed to publish amongst men the inconsolable regret which we have for having offended God, and given occasion of Scandal to the

Assembly of the Saints, and we deserve to have imprinted upon our Foreheads the mark of a perpetual Infamy, by our miserable Fall, to make the Memory thereof continue forever. And if we can make it appear, that the Sorrow it hath begotten in us is extreme, and that we disclaim now whatever fear formerly forced us to do against the Dictates of our Consciences; we hope, that he who forgave *Peter* his Denying of *Christ* in *Caiaphas* his Court, will grant us the same Grace, since we are come to beg Pardon in all Humility with Tears in our Eyes, Confession in our Mouths, and a Contrition in our Hearts; and that as there is Joy in Heaven for one Sinner that repenteth, so there may be Joy in the Congregation of the Faithful, when they shall see our Conversion to the Lord.

Great God! Almighty Father! dreadful in thine anger, in whose presence no Sinner can subsist a moment, we prostrate ourselves at the feet of thy Greatness, as poor miserable Offenders, acknowledging, and confessing, that we have justly provoked thee to anger, by our Transgressions and Iniquities, and drawn upon ourselves thy righteous Judgments, in that we have forsaken thy heavenly Truth, and bowed the Knee before the Idol! But how shall we now appear before thee, O thou Judge of the Quick and the Dead, since we have by so doing, deserved to feel not only in this Life thy most severe Rod, and Punishments, but that thou shouldst also cut us off from the number of the Living, and cast us headlong into the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. O God! rich in Compassions, and infinite in Mercies! which thou multipliest even in Judgment, do thou convert us, that we may be converted! be merciful to us, forgive us our offense! blot out our Iniquity! and impute not unto us our sin! open unto us the Door of thy Grace, that we may be Partakers of thy Salvation! O Lord *Jesus*, Redeemer of our Souls, who camest into the World for the sakes of poor penitent Sinners, look upon our affliction! receive us to mercy! and grant that our sins being washed away in thy most precious Blood, we may draw near the Throne of thy Grace, with confidence to obtain mercy: raise us up from our Fall! strengthen us in our weakness! and although Satan hath sought to sift us, suffer not our Faith to fail! work in us effectually both to will and to do according to thy good pleasure. It is thou that hast stretched out thine arm towards us! It is thy strong hand which hath helped us! Thou haft

taken us out of captivity both of Body and Soul, in which we lay languishing, to afford us the liberty to call upon thee! Thou hast heard our cries out of the deep, and hast given us new cause to rejoice in thy goodness, and to bless thy holy Name, to whom be everlasting glory ascribed at all times, and in all Ages. *Amen.*

You faithful Souls, who see how we bring a contrite heart, and a broken spirit before the Lord, to humble ourselves in his presence, O commiserate our lamentable condition! Learn by our Example to know how great human frailty is, and what a precipice we fall into, whensoever God withdraweth his grace from us! Consider, that as it hath been unto us an extreme unhappiness to have fallen into so great a sin, so have you an argument to rejoice in God, in regard of that grace which he affordeth you as yet to stand! Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation! Hold fast what you have, that so no man take away your Crown from you! Be faithful to the Lord *Jesus* even unto death, that so ye may obtain the Crown of Life! and be assured, that out of the profession of his Truth, which you profess exclusively from all other sorts of Religion whatsoever, there is nothing but death, horror, and astonishment. This is a thing which we are able to assure you by our own experience, seeing from the very first moment, that we gave our consent to this unhappy Apostasy, our Consciences have given us no rest at all, and through their continual combustions and agitations have they not suffered us to enjoy any other comfort what soever which a *Christian* Soul at any time enjoyeth in tribulation, until it pleased God to draw us out of the filthy Quagmire of *Babylon*, and caused us to return into his Church. You *Christians*, who see us return into the bosom of the Church, lend us your helping hand, and let your arms be opened to embrace us, seeing we beg your pardon for the Scandal which we have given you. Do not think us unworthy of your holy Communion, although we have been an occasion of offense! Suffer us to pour into your bosoms a torrent of tears, to deplore our condition, and to assure you in the anguish of our Souls, that our grief is greater than we can express! Help us by your holy Prayers to the Lord, and publish our Repentance in all places where you conceive our sin hath been, or shall be known, that so it may be evident to all the World, that from the very bottom of our Souls, we grieve and sorrow for it, and that in the presence of God, and of his holy Angels, and in the

sight of those who are Witnesses of our Conversion, that we do abjure, and detest the pretended Sacrifice of the Mass, the Authority of the Pope, and in general, all sorts of Beliefs, and Worships dependent upon them. We recant whatsoever we may have pronounced to the prejudice of the Evangelical Truth, and promise for the future, through the grace of God, to persevere in the Profession of the Reformed Religion, to the last moment of our Life, and rather to suffer Death and Torments, than to renounce that holy Doctrine which is taught in our Church, according to the Word of God, even as we swear and promise, with our bended Knees upon the Earth, and our Hands lifted up to the Eternal, our Almighty God and Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. As we desire his Assistance to do this, even so help us God. *Amen.*

## CHAPTER IV: *The Grounds or Motives of the late Persecution, in the Year 1655, with the publication of that bloody Order of Gastaldo, and the Flight of the Protestants in the midst of Winter.*

I have often mused in my more retired thoughts (because such an effect cannot be without its moving cause) what might be the Ground or Reason, why the Devil should be always so extremely malicious against the Sons and Daughters of Men, who are his poor fellow Creatures, and originally of an inferior Rank and Degree, yea, who in all probability, were never in a capacity of giving him a proportionable provocation. And it's possible that the *Christian* Reader may be as curious and inquisitive in his private Reflections, what may be the Grounds or Motives that should provoke the Court of *Savoy*, to persecute and prosecute with such rancor and violence, their own poor Natives and Countrymen, and that of the meanest Rank and Quality amongst them, whose poverty and indigency could never give occasion for Envy, nor their Parts and Education, in any Age, threaten very deep Designs, and who (in a word) have never been otherwise guilty of disquieting their Popish adversaries, than the Lamb in the Fable of troubling the Waters, where the Wolf was drinking.

The Naturalists observe of the Monkey, that when he once begins to gnaw and feed upon his Tail, it is a certain sign, not only, that he is distempered, but that his Disease is incurable. And truly for my part, I could never yet learn any satisfactory Reason, why some particular Jesuitical spirits of that Court, whom I may (without straining the Metaphor) fitly stile the Popes Monkeys, should thus continually gnaw and devour their own flesh (I mean their Protestant Brethren and Countrymen) yea, and that they should choose the leanest and the poorest part thereof, besides that incurable disease of Malice and Envy, wherewith the Devil hath infected them. However, what the opinion of others is upon this subject, who are more intimately acquainted with their affairs, I shall here faithfully relate in their own expressions (the Originals whereof I have in my



custody), and so leave the probability or improbability thereof to the judicious Reader. Now according to their descriptions and representations of this matter, the Reasons are of two sorts, the first more general, and the other more particular.

*The general Grounds are:*

1. Their pretended Zeal for the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; for these Men believing that to be the true Church, and consequently that which we profess to be a most detestable Heresy, they look upon themselves as obliged in Conscience to use all Endeavors for the extirpation of the same. As *Christ* himself forewarneth his Disciples, *John 16:2, The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think he doth God service.*

2. The belief which they have, that in matters of Heresy, all Princes ought to conform themselves to the judgement of the Pope and the Clergy; although in the mean while they well know, that the *Reformed Churches*, accuse the *Pope* himself of many notorious Heresies, Idolatries, and Impieties. And the Question is, whether the *Pope* should herein be his own Judge, or whether any Prince ought so far to lean upon, or comply with another's conscience, as to condemn his Subjects is thereupon; yea, and that before he be assured whether it be good or evil, for which he condemns them, especially when the condemned parties offer to make good both their principles and practices.

But to come more closely to our purpose; the more particular Grounds which (say the Authors of them) do move and incline some of the chief Officers and Gentry of *Savoy*, to endeavor to extirpate the Reformed party, are,

1. To the end that by evil treating the *Reformed Churches*, they may conserve the *Papal* Authority, of which they have oftentimes so much need, namely, to cover and cloak their incestuous Marriages, contracted by Dispensations from the *Pope*. And thus they become engaged to defend and maintain Popery, for fear of being declared guilty of Incest, although for ought I know, the first may be the worst of the two.

2. By persecuting the Reformed party, those Courtiers receive (as a *Reward of Iniquity*) divers Prebendaries, Bishoprics, Abbeys,

and Priors, especially those who are Members of the Council, *De propaganda fide & extirpandis hereticis*.

3. Under this pretext, the poor people of the Valleys, become a continual prey to the abovesaid Courtiers, who daily rob and spoil them, by extorting from them the best part of their Livelihood, by all sorts of stratagems and subtle devices.

4. The Gentry of *Lucerna* (being otherwise very poor), do what they can, to promote this work, by perpetual calumnies against the Reformed party, either in general or particular, rendering themselves by such good offices, capable of meriting and receiving those Pensions, which are assigned them by the Court of *Rome*, for the same purpose.

5. Upon this account of late years (that they might leave no means unattempted for the absolute ruining and extirpation of those Protestant Churches), they have made the Gentlemen of the respective Valleys subordinate to the Monks and Mass priests, who usually prescribe them what they ought to do, that is to say, as to the bearing false witness against their Brethren, the sowing discord amongst them, the murdering of some or other of them, the procuring of Assassins, the assisting in stealing and carrying away their Children, or any such like ill offices; without the ready performance whereof, they refuse to pay them their annual Pensions.

6. But in the sixth and last place, the chief and main Ground of all why the Court of *Savoy* do so much drive to extirpate those poor People, is the Design that they have to wrest *Pignerolio* out of the hands of the King of *France*, to which the Habitation and Liberty of those People is a very great Obstacle. For because they inhabit in the neighboring parts of *Pignerolio*, both in the Plain and in the Mountains, and cannot upon the account of their Consciences, be brought to tamper in any sort, or make any agreement with the *Spanish* party, for the assaulting and surprising of that place; I say, therefore it is, that the Court of *Savoy* seeketh all manner of occasions and pretexts possible, to root them out, especially those of *Lucerne*, *Fenile*, *Bobio*, *Campiglione*, *Bricheras*, and *St. Secondo*, which are near *Pignerolio*. And for this very Reason was that Citadel of *La Torre* formerly built in the very center of the Valleys of *Lucerna* and *Angrogna*, near the confluence of the two great Rivers, by that means the better to block up *Pignerolio* on that side, and to deprive it of all manner of Commodities which it receiveth from that

Valley, which alone does usually furnish it with more than all the neighboring Valleys belonging to the Duke. Now the Court of *Savoy*, by exterminating the said People, and putting in their places, men forward to execute their Designs, might very easily seize on *Malange* a narrow passage above *Pignerolio*, on that side which looks towards *France*, where a very few persons would be able to hinder the *French* Army from relieving *Pignerolio*. And upon this account many sober persons believe, that *France* is on the contrary very much concerned to preserve the Interest of those poor People in all the places of their ancient Habitations in the Valleys, for, say they,

A. The Inhabitants of the Valleys, being a good part of them native *French* men, which came thither, about five hundred years ago, have a natural obligation upon them to be faithful to the Crown of *France* and are certainly much fitter in that regard, to inhabit there, than those of the *Spanish* Faction, which would undoubtedly supply the others room in case they were extirpated.

B. The Valleys being naturally very strong, it would be almost impossible ever to remove the Enemy when once got into possession.

C. The places of the Valleys being possessed by persons well affected to the Interest of *France*, do not only serve as Sentinels and Bulwarks (which cost nothing), to guard it on that side, but also constantly furnish the same with Victuals, Hay, Oats, and Wood.

D. Again, this is a most convenient passage for the *French* into *Italy*, it being the very same which *Hannibal* heretofore made use of, and since that time, divers Kings of *France*, especially *Charles* 8.

E. The Duke of *Savoy*, having remitted all into the hands of the King of *France*, and indeed the King of *France* being bound thereunto by a formal Treaty, made *Anno Domini* 1535, it is to be presumed, that his Most *Christian* Majesty, will look upon himself as interested and obliged to make good the Acts and Edicts of his Predecessors, taking into his consideration, that the Promises of Kings and Princes are sacred things, and ought to be as inviolable as the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*.

Upon these and the like Grounds (say many knowing persons) the Court of *Savoy*, and their Creatures, have from time to time sought the destruction of those poor Protestant Churches, although it's true that in all the Persecutions which they have raised against them (and more especially in this last of 1655), those *ravening Wolves* have always approached in *Sheep's clothing*, the better to disguise their bloody actions, and to fall upon those *innocent Lambs* at unawares. It is evident, that the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys had now long before this fatal Year of Five and fifty cleared themselves of those Calumnies which the Council De *extirpandis hereticis* (an Assembly made up of the Pensioners of *Rome*), to the end that they might enjoy their promised Pensions, had endeavored to asperse them with; and thereby to render them odious in the eyes of their sovereign Prince; yea, his Royal Highness had now given an ample testimony of his being fully satisfied in this point, having accorded unto them by an authentic Decree, printed and published in the Year 1649, the confirmation of their Concessions; the which were also again confirmed and enlarged by his Royal Highness the second and fourth of *June*, and the nine and twentieth *December* 1653, establishing them in the enjoyment of the Concessions, granted them in 1603, and 1620, without either addition or diminution, amplification or restriction, as may be seen by the following Copies of their Requests, and the Decrees of his Royal Highness thereupon, an authentic Copy of the true Original whereof is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

R. H.

*The most faithful and most humble subjects of your Royal Highness, professors of the Reformed Religion in the Valley of Lucerna, Perosa, S. Martino, Roccapiatta, S. Bartholomeo, Parostino, and the annexed places, being prostrate at your feet, do in all humility make their obeisance to you, beseeching his Divine Majesty to give you a happy and prosperous Reign, under which we desire quietly and peaceably to live, and to render you all manner of obedience, due from true Subjects unto their lawful and natural Prince, as they have always done under the happy Dominions of*

*your most serene Predecessors, of famous memory. And now renewing our address to your Royal Highness, we most humbly request, that according to your wonted bounty and clemency, you would be pleased to grant unto us the following Articles: And we shall continue to pray to God, for the prosperity of your Royal Highness, and your whole Royal Family, and for the increase and enlargement of your Dominions.*

#### The First Article.

*That you will be pleased to confirm unto us, the Immunities and privileges, before granted, and often confirmed and interinated by your most serene Predecessors of glorious memory, and more particularly those of the late deceased most serene Duke, Charles Emanuel, your Grandfather, bearing Date the 9 of April, 14 May, and 29 September, 1603, interinated 20 June 1620, and confirmed by your Royal Highness, by your answers made in the Memorial to the seven Articles, June 30, 1649, that so they may peaceably reap the fruits of the same, together with all the Privileges, which the rest of your subjects do enjoy indifferently, according as they have done under the happy Reign of your most serene Predecessors abovesaid, without let, or molestation of any kind whatsoever, and this notwithstanding any Orders made, or to be made to the contrary.*

#### The Duke's Answer to the First Article.

*His Royal Highness graciously confirms to the Petitioners, all their Privileges, according to the form and tenor of them, and as they are interinated, and that without the least alteration: And for the benefit of the Petitioners, his meaning is, that they shall enjoy the same without any disturbance, upon the conditions therein contained and comprehended: And withal, that they shall not make use of any Foreign Ministers, nor accept of any strangers of the Reformed Religion to dwell, or so much as sojourn amongst them, for the space of above ten days together, without the special leave of his said Royal Highness; as likewise that they shall not exercise any manner of Functions relating to the exercise of their Religion, be it Preaching, or of any other kind, without the limits graciously*

*tolerated unto them: Neither shall they hinder, or any way disquiet the M. R. Fathers Missioners, in their Functions, nor give them or their attendants the least disturbance, either in their Churches, Missions, or elsewhere; And above all, that they punctually observe the contents of the Tolerations graciously indulged to them, as well by his said Royal Highness, as by his most famous Predecessors; which, or any of which Conditions being broken or violated on their part, all such Grants, Graces, and Tolerations are declared to be void, and of no effect.*

### The Second Article.

*That we may be admitted indifferently with the rest of your Subjects to all sorts of public Offices or Employments in the three Valleys abovesaid, as was granted in the abovementioned Privileges of the year 1603, Article 4.*

### The Duke's Answer to the Second Article.

*His Royal Highness grants, that in the places within the limits graciously tolerated, where all the Inhabitants are of the pretended Reformed Religion, the Petitioners may depute Syndics, Counsellors, Procurators, and other Commissioners, of the same pretended reformed Religion, as hath been tolerated by the most serene Predecessors of his Royal Highness, in their gracious Grants. And as touching Notaries, they shall be tolerated only in the foresaid places of the pretended Religion; provided they abstain from receiving any Instruments, Acts, or Writings of what sort soever, in the which is either directly or indirectly contained matter prejudicial and contrary to the Precepts, Rules, Institutions, or Rights of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, or against the sense of the Edicts of the most serene Predecessors of his Royal Highness. And they shall be bound to come hither to obtain their Patents in their due form; his Royal Highness strictly prohibiting and forbidding them to preach, or have Lectures, upon pain of incurring the punishments contained in the said Edicts, and particularly in that of 28 February 1602.*

### The Third Article.

*To free us of all penalties, the which we may have incurred, as well in general, as in particular, for not observing, or yielding obedience to the Orders of your Royal Highness, in matters relating to our Religion, as also of all other transgressions and excesses made and committed in that case, as the taking up of Arms, with all Acts that followed thereupon; and in a word, all molestations, either real or personal; and likewise to have leave to till our grounds, and to use Traffic, etc. according to the Concessions.*

### The Duke's Answer to the Third Article.

*His Royal Highness abolisheth all Processes and judgements, against either body or goods, all Sequestrations procured out of hatred against the Petitioners, for not yielding obedience in matters of Religion; and particularly those that follow, which were made against the Commonalty and Parishioners of Bobbio, for demolishing a meeting place, set out and appointed for a church in the said place, by Order of his Royal Highness, signified and published by his Auditor Gastaldo; or against the Parishioners of Angrogna, and Villaro, for the demolishing and plundering of the Church and House of the F. Missioners. Yet however it is always to be understood, that in this Grant we in nowise include the after-named Ministers, A. Leggiero, Gatino, Mangietto, and his Wife, with the five particular Delinquents who had a hand in the firing and sacking of the Church of Villaro, to wit, John Baylo of Pragela, Guglielmino Peyrinello of Giglestra, Inhabitants of Villaro, Giacomo d'Usino, Pietro, Ricca, and Giovanni Viglino, all of the said place of Villaro, concerning whom the Commons of Villaro are to use all diligence, that they may be apprehended and punished according to the submission signed the 26 April, of this present year, subscribed by Conte Todesco, the Prior Marco Antonio Rorengo, Conte Christophero di Lucerna. And the Petitioners shall be bound, not to occasion the least trouble or molestation to the right reverend F. F. Missioners, in their Houses and Churches, which either at present are, or for the future shall be built in the places of such as have been demolished. And as to the house of Angrogna, the R. F. F. Missioners shall not be hindered in the practice and proceedings*

*already made by them, nor in any other that shall hereafter be made, in case of a new election; And all this with a Declaration, that if the Petitioners incur any delicts of disobedieney against the Edicts of his Royal Highness, and his most serene Predecessors in such case, all the Graces at this present granted to them, shall be void, null, and of none effect. Furthermore, it is permitted them, and they shall be suffered to pass through any part of the Country as they shall have occasion, in order to their village and harvest, and they shall have the liberty and freedom to converse and traffic, provided it be but by way of intercourse, without contracting for dwelling places, and in case they abstain from teaching or preaching, and in all other particulars observe our Orders.*

#### The Fourth Article.

*That considering the extreme misery and poverty to which the Petitioners are reduced, your Royal Highness will vouchsafe to command that the abovesaid Article may be granted, confirmed and interinated them gratis, with leave to print them, and that such printed Copies may be accounted as valid as the very Original itself.*

#### The Duke's Answer to the Fourth Article.

*His Royal Highness gives Order to the Senate and Chamber, to have the present Answers and Concessions interinated, without the least difficulty or limitation, and Declareth, that the printed Copies shall have the same credit And validity as the Original itself. Given at Turin, the 2d of January 1653.*

*Signed,*

Carolo Emanuel.

Va. Morozzo.

Va. Trabucho per il Presidente d' Ordine di S. A.

Contrasigned:

Morozzo, Ferrari, Filippa, Fauzzone, Pe. Binelli.



Second Lieutenant:

Attesto quod solverint alibi arbitranti pensiones & emolumenta ad  
libras ducentum.

Morosius:

St. Cancellaria t. 82, Vaudagna.

Per l' Arbergo t. 40, Ferraris.

St. Libras 200, Vaudagna.

Registratto lib. 3, fol. 252, Gratia per il Q. Filippa.

*Royal H.*

*The most faithful and most obedient Subjects of your Royal Highness, professing the reformed Religion, in the Valley of Lucerna, Perosa, St. Martino, Roccapiatta, St. Bartholomeo, Prarustino, and the places annexed, being prostrate at your feet, return you their most humble thanks, for the favorable Answers, which it hath pleased you to give to their Memorial and Articles of the second of June last past, somewhat amplified, and declared the fourth of the same. But forasmuch as there are certain conditions, never before inserted in their Concessions, the which if preposterously interpreted by those that are disaffected to us, might occasion strange troubles to your Petitioners, to the prejudice of their Consciences, and against the true meaning and intention of your Royal Highness; and forasmuch as we desire nothing more than that we may live quietly under your happy Dominions, and render you all that obedience and fidelity which is due from true and faithful Subjects, to their lawful and natural Prince. Upon this ground we renew our address to you.*

*Humbly requesting, that it may please your Royal Highness, to confirm to us the Graces and Privileges granted us by Your most Serene Predecessors; especially those of the Most Serene Duke Charles Emanuel, of famous memory, April 9, May 14, and September 29, 1603, interinated June 20, 1620, which were confirmed by your Royal Highness, June 30, 1649, without any*

*restriction or alteration, notwithstanding any other Order whatsoever made, or to be made to the contrary.*

*At the bottom of the Petition is written as followeth.*

*His Royal Highness declares, That it is not his intent, that by the Answer made to the Memorial and Articles of the second of June, 1653, it should be at all understood, that the Concessions, being duly expedited, which the Petitioners formerly obtained of the deceased Duke Charles Emanuel his Grandfather, and of others his most serene Predecessors, should suffer the least addition or diminution.*

Torino, 29 Dec. 1653.

*Upon the leaf annexed to the Petition with the seal, was written,*

*Charles Emanuel by the Grace of God, Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piemont, King of Cyprus; having viewed the annexed Petition, and considered the contents thereof, and understood the whole case: We do by these presents, from our certain Knowledge, and by our full Power, absolute Authority, and with the advice of our Council, declare, That it is not our meaning, that by our Answers given to the Memorial of the second of June last past, the Concessions which the Petitioners have obtained of the deceased Duke Charles Emanuel my Grandfather of Glorious Memory, and others our most famous Predecessors, should admit of the least addition or diminution. For so is our will and pleasure.*

*Given at Turin, December 29, 1653.*

*Signed,*

*Charles Emanuel, Morosso, di St. Thomas, Chirollo Ultino  
Vaudagna.*

*Underneath*

*Christine of France, Morosso, Vaudagna, Binelli.*

*Underneath the Seal was written,*

*His Royal Highness declares, That as for the Professors of the reformed Religion in the Valley of Lucerna, Perosa, St. Martino, Roccapiatta, St. Bartholomeo, Prarustino, and the places annexed, it is not his intent, that by his Answers given to their Memorial of the second of June last past, it should be understood, that the Concessions, which they have obtained of the deceased Duke Charles Emanuel, Grandfather of his Royal Highness, and of other his most serene Predecessors are diminished or augmented.*

*Royal H.*

*The Commissioners of the Valley of Lucerna, Perosa, St. Martino, and others, being come to take out those Grants which your Royal Highness hath been graciously pleased to confirm, find, that over and above the charge there given them, of not following Innovations contrary to the ancient Concessions, there are some additions made, and other passages which may admit of a double construction, some whereof we have here specified; humbly requesting that your Royal Highness will be pleased, for our future peace and tranquility, to make the following alteration,*

*First Particular.*

*That it will please you to strike out the words, In case of Disobedience, all the Grants shall become null and of no effect: And to declare, That it shall only reach such particular persons only as shall offend, and that others shall not be obliged further, then to assist Justice, as is contained in the Concessions of 1603, 29 September Article 3.*

*The Duke's Answer to the First Particular.*

*His Royal Highness declareth, that it is his mind that the penalty, and privation of the benefit of the said Concessions and Tolerations, shall not be inflicted or extended upon such persons and places as are not partakers or guilty of the offense; provided, that such as are not guilty, do put the Delinquents in the hands of Justice. And when*

*it happens not to be in their power, then, that they do lend their helping hand, and be assisting to the Officers of Justice of his Royal Highness, that so the place or places, and particular Delinquents may be punished, and the offense purged.*

#### The Second Particular.

*In the same Article where Ministerial Functions are prohibited without the Limits, that it would please your Royal Highness to declare, that this is not to be understood so as thereby to hinder the visiting of the sick, and the like; as is specified in the Grant of 1561, Article 8, and confirmed 1628, Article 5.*

#### The Duke's Answer to the Second Particular.

*When it so falls out, that in the Valleys of St. Martino, Perosa, and Lucerna, any of the pretended reformed Religion fall sick, without the said places and Limits which are tolerated, which by the present Concessions must not be thought anywise enlarged; upon this account, his Royal Highness is willing (in case of instant danger of death, through some sharp fit of sickness) that a Minister; accompanied with another that is not a Minister; may repair to the place where the sick party is, to visit and comfort him: Provided, that he make no longer abode in any such place without the Limits than one day, or two at the most; as also that he do not catechize, or use any other Function (either public or private) relating to the pretended reformed Religion; but that he confine himself to, and intend the said visit only.*

#### The Third Particular.

*That your Royal Highness will be pleased to permit the exercise of public Offices in the said three Valleys, without distinction, as it is specified in the Concessions of the 9 of April, 1603, Article 4, and confirmed in the year 1620.*

#### The Duke's answer to the Third Particular.

*His Royal Highness declareth, that notwithstanding the Answer made to the second Article of the Memorial of June 2, it shall be*

*permitted to Notaries (lawfully created) of the pretended Reformed Religion and dwellers in the places tolerated, to receive Instruments of Agreement, and Acts indifferently between the Inhabitants living within the three Valleys: Provided, they do observe in the said Instrument, the form and stile of Catholic Notaries, and that they receive no Wills, or other sort of Testament, of any Catholic.*

*Given in Rivoli, June 4, 1653.*

Under-written,  
Charles Emanuel, Morozzo,

*Fabruco; and for the 52 President by order of his R. H.*

*paid Twelve pound.*  
Morossus.

Answers to the *Memorial*, and its several Articles, presented to your Royal Highness by the Commissioners of the Valleys of *Lucerna, Perosa, and St. Martino.*

R. 30. fol. 252.  
*paid Twelve pound.*

Vaudagna, Morozzo, Ferraris, Prefident Binelli.

Now as the poor people sought for an *Interination* of the same, His *Royal Highness* knowing right well that the delay thereof proceeded not from any fault or negligence on their part, but was rather occasioned by the multitude of Troops that were then quartered upon them, by which means they could not possibly have the convenience of assembling, etc. out of his great goodness towards them, declared by an Edict, printed and published *May 19, 1654.* That his intention was, that they should enjoy the Concessions effectually as if they had been again confirmed and *interinated*, upon condition they did procure the *Interination* thereof within three months following: The tenor of which Edict is as followeth.

Having accorded by the Concessions of the second and fourth of *June*, and the 29 *December*, 1653, to the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Lucerna*, *Perosa*, and *St. Martino*, *Roccapiatta*, *St. Bartholomeo*, *Perustin*, and the places annexed, professing the pretended Reformed Religion, the continuation of the same Privileges and Concessions which they had obtained of the late deceased Dukes, *Charles Emanuel* and *Victor Amedea*, my Grandfather and Father of glorious memory, which they could not to this present obtain the Interination of, because of the French Troops which were quartered in the said Valleys, and the neighboring places, during the last Winter, and do yet continue there, as likewise by reason of the ruin and damages which they have made: And forasmuch as it is our intention that they should hence forward entirely enjoy the same, and that without any trouble or molestation (provided that they cause the same to be interinated within three months following), We do by these presents from our certain knowledge, and by our absolute Authority, with the advice of our Council, command and order, That the said Concessions be observed in all things and throughout, according to their form and tenor. And for the due observation of the same, we permit those of the said Reformed Religion, to make their harvest and thresh their Corn in the other places of our Dominions, as also to have free exercise of commerce and traffic as passengers (yet not establishing there any habitations or dwelling place) and all this without receiving the least trouble for the cause of their Religion; provided that they abstain from Preaching, and give no occasion of scandal, and in all other particulars observe Our Ordinances, together with those made by our Predecessors. Declaring the publication of these presents, which shall (being read by the public Crier, and affixed in the places accustomed) be as authentic as if they were notified to everyone in particular. And they are to give as much credence to the Copy Printed by *Sinibaldo*, Printer to Us, and to the Chamber, as to the proper and very Original, forasmuch as this is our intention. Given at Turin, the 19 of *May* 1654.

*C. Emanuel.*

*V. Morozzo.*

At *Turin*, by *John Sinibaldo*, Printer to His Royal Highness, and the most Illustrious Chamber, 1654.

So that until this time, namely, *May 19, 1654*, no man can say that those of the Reformed Religion, had committed anything whereby to be deprived of the benefit of their concessions. It is not here worth the while to mention some Monks and Fryers, or the Childish toys of some Young Children of *La Torre*, partly *Papist*, and partly *Protestant*, concerning which some of their adversaries endeavored to form an accusation, forasmuch as it was soon afterwards sufficiently known to be a business so impertinent, false and Malignantly wrested to the disadvantage of those poor people, That the said Legat *Gastaldo*, having at their request taken particular cognizance thereof, declared plainly and openly, that it was a thing not worth the taking notice of, and that he would neither speak, nor hear any more concerning it. And the truth is, neither he nor the *Marquess Pianassa*, in all their Orders, and Letters, wherein they notwithstanding scraped together whatsoever they could any way imagine prejudicial to them, thereby to render them odious, and so have some colorable pretext for the late massacre, did never make the least mention of those Childish stories. Wherefore all that *Gastaldo*, and the said *Marquess* accused those poor *Protestants* of, being things whereof they had before cleared themselves, and which had been terminated a long time before the said confirmation in the Year 1654. And the principal point, namely, their habitation, being an undoubted Right which they had enjoyed time out of mind. I say, all this plainly argues, that there was nothing happened on the *Protestants* part, which could alter the intention and good pleasure of His Royal Highness, or hinder and retard the interination of their concessions: Yea, besides all this, the poor people (notwithstanding the great expenses of that affair) did not cease to solicit the Court, with all possible diligence and instances, representing the Original of the said decrees. They agreed to pay all the Emoluments or *Regales* (they call it) to 800 livers, referring it to the good pleasure of the *Chamber*, and in one word, they satisfied all their demands whatsoever. Also, the said *Chamber* distributed the papers, and remitted the decrees to the *Advocate Patrimonial*, who ought to have

signified the Conclusions, and from day to day have reported them to the Chamber for the perfecting of the same. But the adverse party, who think they do a great service in contradicting and controlling whatsoever concerns the interest of those poor people, suggested, that they could not be interinated because they had never been passed in the *Chamber*, nor in the *Senate* and by consequence they could not give credence to them. But the very truth is, they really thought that the *Protestants*, had absolutely lost the Originals of the *Interination*, made 1620, and that the Copies which they had at that present, were not authentic; and therefore said, if those of the *Reformed Religion* could produce the same, there should remain no further difficulty. The poor people yet surmounted this difficulty also, and produced their Authentic papers. But yet notwithstanding, after all this, having been a long time amused with vain hopes, and almost consumed with expenses, contrary to all expectation, some days after, namely, 25 of *January* 1655, the following Order was published, Which I have set down word for word in its Original language.

Here follows the famous Order of GASTALDO.

Andrew Gastaldo, *Doctor of the Civil Law, Master Auditor Ordinary, sitting in the most Illustrious Chamber of Accompts of His Royal Highness, and Conservator General of the Holy Faith, for the observation of the Orders published against the pretended Reformed Religion, of the Valley of Lucerna, and S. Martino, and upon this Account particularly deputed by his said Royal Highness.*

We, by virtue of the Authority which we hold of His Royal Highness, of the 13th instant, issued out in due form and manner, sealed, and subscribed *Violetta*, the Instructions given to us apart, together with the address made unto us by Mr. *Bartholomeo Gastaldo* appearing for the Royal Treasury, do command and charge the chief sworn Messengers of the Court, to give commandment and



injunction, even as by these presents we command and enjoin every head of a family with its Members of the pretended Reformed Religion, of what rank, degree, or condition soever, none excepted, inhabiting and possessing estates, in the places of Lucerna, Lucernetta, S. Giovanni, La Torre, Bubbiana, and *Fenile, Campiglione, Bricherassio*, and *S. Secondo*, within 3 days after the publication and execution of these presents, to withdraw and depart, and to be with their families withdrawn out of the said places, and transported into the places and limits tolerated by his royal Highness, during his good pleasure, as namely, *Bobbio, Villaro, Angrogna, Rorata*, and the Country of *Bonetti* under pain of death and confiscation of houses and goods, situated or being out of the said limits; *Provided always, in case they do not make it appear to us within twenty days following, that they are become Catholics, or that they have sold their goods to the Catholics.* His R. H. declaring, that it never was (much less is) either his own, or his Ancestors mind, by any Act whatsoever, either made, or to be made, to consent, much less actually to intend, to enlarge the said limits. But on the contrary, he has commanded us to declare, as we do declare by these presents, That the said Acts are mere usurpations, contrary to the intention as well of his Orders, as of his Magistrates, published to such an end, as is dearly manifest, and therefore the transgressors have incurred the punishments therein contained. Furthermore, in the abovesaid places favorably tolerated, His R. H. intends, and willeth, that in every one of them shall be celebrated the Holy Mass, inhibiting those of the said pretended Reformed Religion, any ways to molest, either in deed, or word, the Missionary Fathers, and those that attend them, much less divert or dissuade any whoever he be of the said Religion, that would turn Catholic, under the same pain of death, giving it in charge particularly to the Ministers of the said pretended Religion, inviolably to observe the abovesaid, upon pain of answering the same in their proper names. Declaring the execution of these Presents, which shall be made by Copies fixed in the usual places, to be as valid, as if they were executed, or intimated to everyone in particular. Given in *Lucerna*, the 25 of *January* 1655.

Andrea Gastaldo,  
*Auditor and Deputy.*

It is easy for every man to conjecture the great Evils and inconveniences in the midst of a flight in the midst of Winter, especially to such a People, a great part whereof were aged and decrepit, a great part sick and diseased, besides a multitude of Women big with Child, or newly brought to Bed, together with a number of tender infants; And yet all forced to flee, none being in a capacity to succor or assist another.

This is the reason why our Savior *Jesus Christ* taught his Disciples to pray, that their flight might not be in the Winter, *Matthew 24*, that so, in that general Calamity, they might at least have the benefit of a favorable season, thus teaching them to pray for a moderation of so violent a persecution. But the counsel *de Propaganda fide*, moved by a principle quite contrary and repugnant to that Spirit of meekness, and sweetness in *Jesus Christ*, have thereby manifested to the World the inhumanity of this persecution in choosing on set purpose, and out of design, the most violent and rigorous Winter season to chase and drive out of their houses, all on a sudden, those poor People, who had scarce clothes to cover their nakedness, much less provided to resist the extremities of cold and hunger, thinking by this means, either to force them to change their Religion, or else to cause them to perish and die among the craggy Rocks and snowy Mountains. Yea they were so maliciously subtle, or rather so subtly malicious, as to choose those very days, and that very nick of time, when by reason of the multitude of violent Waters in the plain, and of Snow upon the Mountains, they judged it absolutely impossible for those poor silly sheep, ever to escape.

Now the poor people considering with themselves that the Apostasy which was propounded unto them by their Enemies, on the other side, was a precipice which would lead them to eternal damnation, chose rather to follow *Jesus Christs*, bearing his Cross, though in away never so full of *thorns and briers*, and to hazard their temporary lives, than to lose their souls forever. Yet nevertheless, to the end that they might leave no lawful and just means unattempted for the avoiding the sad effects of this cruelty, immediately after the issuing forth of the barbarous Edict, they sent their Deputies to the Deputy, to represent to him, what a strange command this was, to force them, with their whole Families, to abandon their habitations, As also that it was absolutely impossible for so many Souls as they

were in number to subsist in the said places, where they were confined by the Edict, they being hardly sufficient to supply in any sort, those that already inhabited the same. As likewise that this command was expressly contrary to all their Concessions, upon which account, they made their *Protestations*, and appeal to *His Royal Highness*, their Sovereign Prince. But the said Delegate, or Deputy, knowing well the intention and design of the Counsel, *de Extirpandis hereticis* would by no means admit either the one, or the other. Hereupon, the poor People, seeing they could obtain nothing which they sought, for (though never so just and equitable) entreated him to grant them at the least some space of time, to have recourse to *His Royal Highness*, by humble supplications. But even this was also refused them, unless they would consent to draw up their petition after such a model as should be prescribed them, which was prejudicial both to their just rights, and consciences (neither of which they thought it their duty by any means to consent unto)! I say these poor people, seeing that they could really obtain nothing, to the end that they might remove all manner of pretext for accusing them of Rebellion, under such a covert to ruin and destroy them, hoping likewise that in the end they might find some means or other to convey their griefs to the feet of *His Royal Highness*, and that his clemency and justice would in the end reestablish them in the just possession of their goods and habitations, out of which the said Delegate had driven them, they chose rather to suffer this violence, and therefore recalling their Protestation, thereby to testify their most profound respect to their Prince, quitting their houses and goods, they retired with their Families, their Wives, and Children, great and small, Young and Old, whole and sick, yea, in many places, the Halt, the Lame, and the Blind, together with several Innocents, dragging all those that were infirmed either by sickness, or age, through the Rain, Snow, Ice, and a thousand difficulties.

Here I leave all compassionate Souls, that are any way *touched with the afflictions of Joseph*, to imagine the bitter tears, and wringing of hands, the smittings upon the Breast, the Mournings, Sighs, and lamentations in the Families of those miserable and distressed Creatures, who were now reduced to the greatest extremity, that is well imaginable. Before them, though not a Red Sea, yet a multitude of violent and Roaring Waters, on either side

most barbarous and Snowy Mountains! Behind them, men seven-fold worse than the Egyptians, to butcher and destroy them! Yet nevertheless, recommending themselves, their Souls, Bodies and all to the protection of the *God of their Souls and lives*, they were resolved to undergo the worst of temporary miseries, rather than by quitting their Religion, to incur the pains of eternal fire.

This constancy and resolution of these poor Saints, was no small consolation to the other Churches, and on the other side a matter of great astonishment to their Persecutors; And that so much the more, considering the great advantages which are to be purchased in those parts, by quitting the *Reformed Religion*, and embracing the other, as namely, if they be criminals, they have their pardons (as has been already specified) if Prisoners they have their liberty, exemption from Taxes and imports, as also of all charges real, and personal, for the space of 5 years after the day of their abjuration, according to the Order of *Madame Royal* Guardian of *His Royal Highness*, bearing Date the 26 of *January* 1642, which in the execution, extended even to the Lands, which were made over to them by false and counterfeit contracts, and by such artifices the poor people who remained constant in their profession of the true Religion, were laden with the Burdens which they took off from the backs of others, in so much that they were even quite ruined and undone by it.

In sum, they were no sooner departed out of their houses, but a very great number of Thieves and Robbers (the Lord knows by whose instigation) entered their Houses, spoiling and pillaging whatever those poor Wretches had left behind them (a far worse condition than that of the Israelites, who instead of losing anything at their departure, rather spoiled the Egyptians) pulling down their Houses, cutting down all their Trees, and turning the places of their ancient habitations into a confused and desolate Wilderness. And all this, without the least prohibition or Order to hinder this violence from the said Delegate, who on the contrary, kept the said goods under the protection of *His Royal Highness*, which plainly shows the design of their Adversaries in this enterprise.

Yea, upon the complaints which the poor people made of this violence, the answer given them from *His Royal Highness*, was only this, That they must name the particular Authors of these actions,

which any man may at the first view perceive to have been impossible for those poor people, which were thus driven from their habitations at 2, 3, or 4 leagues distance.

Now upon this Answer, the poor people at least conjectured that the intention of *His Royal Highness* was not, that they should be driven from their Houses, but on the contrary that they should remain there, till such time as their cause might be heard and judged. And in this confidence they sometimes returned to their Houses by little and little, to guard them from these Robbers, and cultivate their Lands, to the end that they might have wherewith to pay their Taxes. And for this, they were branded with Rebellion, although they had not given the least cause of suspicion by their actions, having neither taken up arms, not exercised any act of hostility, everyone living in his House peaceably without giving the least offense to any.

## CHAPTER V: *The most humble, and earnest supplications of the Evangelical Churches, in the Valleys of Piemont, to their Prince, for justice against the inhumanity of the Order of Gastaldo.*

*Gastaldo* having thus driven those poor people out of their ancient Inheritances, without either citing them in a formal and legal way, or hearing them plead in their own defense (and which is more) without admitting the least time to provide themselves for so sad a voyage, their last refuge was, to have their recourse to the *Lord*, by fervent prayers, and to their *Prince*, by humble supplications; Wherein, as well those which the said *Gastaldo* had driven out of their Houses, as the rest of the *Reformed Religion* (the cause being common to them all) joined together, and drew up their Addresses, and Requests, in the following terms.

The humble supplication of the poor *Evangelical Churches* of the Valleys of *Piemont*, to His Royal Highness.

An Authentic Transcript of the true Original whereof, is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of Cambridge.

May it please your Royal Highness,

*The most faithful and obedient Subjects of your Royal Highness, professing the Reformed Religion, in the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, S. Martino, Roccapiatta, S. Bartholomeo, Parostino, and the places thereunto annexed, declare, That in the very instant, that they thought to have obtained the Interination of their Ancient Concessions, confirmed unto them by your Royal Highness, they were summoned unexpectedly (that is to say, those of Lucerna, S. Giovanni, Fenile, Bubbiana, S. Secundo, Torre, Bricherassio, and*

*the Confines, unto the Country of Bonetti) by an Order published by the direction of the most Illustrious Lord Auditor, Master of the Chamber and Deputy of your Royal Highness, Andrew Gastaldo, to quit houses and estates within three days, upon pain of Death, in case they did not make it appear that they were become Catholics within twenty days: So that being all dislodged, without prejudice notwithstanding to the said Concessions, and upon this account only, that so they might not have the least failing, or default said to their charge: There now remain several hundreds of Families, miserably reduced to the extremities of hunger and cold, among the Mountains and Snow, where they find no manner of shelter, or succor, which, after so many ruins, both at present and heretofore suffered, forceth them almost to a total desperation, which things they cannot possibly believe to proceed from your Royal Highness natural inclination or intention, but rather from some sinister Information; And therefore, being prostrate at your feet, do most humbly beseech you to be pleased, to grant unto them the underwritten Articles, and they shall continue to pray God for the prosperity of your Royal Highness with all your Royal Family, and for the enlargement of your Dominions.*

1. *That you will be pleased to recall, as well the abovesaid Order, as every other Order whatsoever, either made, or to be made, whereby the Petitioners have been molested upon the account of their Religion, together with all manner of Confiscations, Processes, or declarations of punishments thereupon, restoring all things to their ancient and peaceable state.*

2. *To give commandment to those of the most Illustrious Chamber of Accompts, to make an Interination of their said Ancient Concessions (which indeed were formerly Interinated the 17 of August, 1620, and your Royal Highness confirmed them likewise on the 29 of September, 1653, with an express Declaration, not to add to, or take from the same) that so they may peaceably enjoy the Fruits thereof, according as they did enjoy them in the happy Reign of his Highness Charles Emanuel, Your Royal Highness Uncle, of Glorious memory, who made a formal promise to the underwritten Deputies, in the name of the Natives, and Inhabitants, of the respective Valleys, and Communalities, and confirmed the same unto them, without any innovation, or alteration whatsoever.*

3. *That upon the account of their strange Desolations past and present, your Royal Highness would be pleased so far to have compassion on them, as to grant them the Interination of these their requests, gratis.*

Thus did those poor distressed Churches use all the lawful means imaginable, for their preservation, having recourse to their Sovereign Prince, who certainly ought to have shown himself their *Nursing-father*, in this their great misery and oppression, and to have preserved them under his Wings, *from the blast of the terrible ones, which was now as a storm against the wall*. But alas, they found both his, and all men's Ears stopped to their woeful cries, and no possibility of so much as entering into his *Royal Highness* presence.

Amongst many other devices, and subtle Artifices of their malicious Adversaries to this purpose, Five days after the publication of the Order of *Gastaldo*, bearing Date the 30 of *January* 1655, the more to exasperate and embitter the spirits both of his *Royal Highness* and the *Dutchess* his mother, against their poor *Protestant* Subjects, and consequently to disgust them from giving ear to their Requests, *Jean Ange Reissan*, President of the Province of *Pignerolio* (a most pestilent persecutor of the *Protestants*, and a Pensioner of *Rome*), found out a stratagem, not unlike that which *Nero* of old used against the *Christians*, to render them odious in the fight of all men, and to destroy them from off the face of the earth. For, as that wicked *Nero* caused first the City of *Rome* to be set on fire, and then a report to run, that the *Christians* were the Authors thereof; just so this wicked *Reissan*, having for many years together, born a most deadly spleen against the Priest of *Fenile* (as was well known to all the neighbors round about), took this opportunity to *kill two Birds at a shot*, causing one that he had hired for that purpose, to assassinate the Priest; and his Secretary at the same time, to spread the report all the Country over, both by Letters, and by word of mouth, that the *Protestants* (who about five days before that time had been driven out of *Fenile*) were the Authors of that murder. This report (though nothing more false) coming from the mouth and pen of the *Roman Catholics*, was received with so general an applause among the *Papists* dwelling in the remoter parts, that it was reputed to be as authentic as the *Sybil's Oracles*, and soon after, it was represented to the world through the *magnifying* and *multiplying*



*Glasses of the Parisian Gazette*. But however, upon the place, the *Causa causati* or chief Author of this assassination and murder, was so well known, that whatsoever reports were raised about it, they were not able to fasten any belief in the minds of the dead Priests friends and kindred, nor hinder them from apprehending both the Secretary and his Master: By which means, the innocency of the *Reformed* party was made manifest to the world, insomuch that the *Marquess of Pionessa* in those very Letters, wherein he sought all pretexts that he could possibly devise, to lay something to their charge, was too politic to mention this in the least, for fear of marring and blemishing the credit of all the rest.

After this it happened, that one *Berru* most inhumanely assassinated *Pietro Revoir*, Consul of *Mean* (which adjoins to *La Capella*, belonging to the *King*), and afterwards fled to *Pignerolio*, where he was met with by this *Reissan*, who was now returned from *Turin*, where he had been a long time detained prisoner, and had his liberty, no otherwise then upon a very good security, forasmuch as the said *Berru*, and others, had not long before taken their Oaths against his Secretary *D'Agot*, and himself, as guilty of the abovesaid assassination. But after some private meetings and discourses had together, *Reissan* so wrought upon the miserable wretch *Berru*, with gifts and promises, that in fine, he persuaded him to return back with him to *Turin*, and there, not only to retract and recant his former deposition, but also to swear that he had been solicited thereto by the two Pastors, *Leger*, and *Michelin*, as also by *Antonio* and *Franciso Danna*, chief Elders of the Church of *S. Giovanni*: In sum, by the means of this *Diabolical* Retraction and calumny, both *Reissan* and his Secretary were discharged and cleared in the month of *July*, 1655, which was in the very heat of the War between the *Catholics* and the *Protestants*; so that they had liberty of forging what impostures they pleased against the *Protestants*, both at *Lucerna*, and *Turin*, without the least contradiction; which accordingly they did to purpose. For, at *Lucerna*, were published at the same time, two personal Citations against the said *Leger*, *Michelin*, and *Danna*: And as for *Berru*, he was likewise at the same time (as a recompence for his perjury procured for him by *Reissan*) discharged and set at liberty, notwithstanding, he had been convicted of two assassinations, the one whereof we have already mentioned,

and the other at *S. Giovanni*, where he murdered one *Giovanni Bertot*, a *Protestant*. After this traitorous and base action, he came (like *Sinon* to the *Trojans* in *Virgils Æneads*) to the said *Leger*, and a great number of the Pastors, and chief of the Valleys, and leaning upon his staff, and bemoaning his condition, he protested, *That he was hardly able to stand upright, by reason of the many blows and knocks that he had received by the Papists, to make him forswear himself against the said Leger and the rest; but that, as he could not in Conscience do so wicked a thing, so he had withstood them to the utmost, telling plainly those that so urged him, that he would rather endure to be torn in pieces with wild horses; who thereupon seeing his constancy, had beaten him most unmercifully, and then cast him out into the midst of the open street, where he had miserably died, had not a certain Jew had compassion on him, and took him up as he was groveling on the ground, and ready to give up the ghost.* In the meantime, the *Treaty of Peace* being finished at *Pignerolio*, namely, in the month of *August* 1655. Mr. *Leger* and the rest, against whom the process had been made, as against Criminals (a thing that they never in the least dreamed of!), making some abode at *Pignerolio*, came to hear the news thereof; and immediately addressing themselves to the *Prefect Reissan*, who was the chief Minister of Justice (or rather Injustice) in that Province, earnestly entreated him to tell them, if it were true that *Berru* had thus accused them; who made them answer in such dubious terms, that they began to have a very great jealousy of the thing, insomuch that they thought it high time to have immediate recourse to the *Senator Prerroshino*, who had been a little before deputed by his Royal Highness, to give him an Information concerning the assassination of the Priest, beseeching him with all possible importunity, to declare unto them the truth of the whole matter, and to appoint them a set time and place for to make their Justification. Whereupon, this Senator told them plainly, that *Berru* had really accused them of suborning him to swear falsely against *D'Agot* and his Master, and therewithal, showed them a Copy of the Citation against the said *Leger*, and the rest of his Complices; the sum and substance whereof was, *To banish them out of his Royal Highness Dominions, in case they did not appear personally at Turin, to answer to such Interrogatories as should be made to them about that business.* Upon this the *Sieur Leger*, by the assistance of *David Leger* Minister, handled the matter

so, that they immediately after caused *Berru* to be apprehended in the plain of *Angrogna*, where he was newly arrived, and lurking in the Highways, where the said *Leger* was wont to pass to and fro, on set purpose, and with full design to assassinate him with the very first opportunity. This wretch, finding himself thus surprised, used all the devices he could possibly, to get out of their hands, although they assured him, that they intended nothing more against him, than to make him verify what he had formerly confessed before a full Assembly of their Ministers and others. Now when the *Sieur Leger* was assured that *Berru* was apprehended and in fast hold and custody, he went and declared openly the whole story to the *Senator Perrichini*, to the *Referendano Tarquine*, yea and to *Reissan* himself, who was on the sudden not a little surprised at it. And after that, to the *French Ambassador*, and the Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons*; and in the end (though with much difficulty) he got leave to bring the perjured person to *Pignerolio*, whither he hoped to obtain leave of coming face to face against him in open Justice, and to that end extremely solicited, as well all the Ministers of his Royal Highness, as the *French*, and *Switzer Ambassadors* for their Intercession; the last whereof openly protested, that in case of a refusal, they would complain *De denegatâ justitiâ*, etc. But the plain truth is, all the satisfaction that the persons injured then received, was only this, that *there should be a Letter written to Turin about it*, and a while after, that *the Answer from Turin was, that there could be nothing done in it*. And so the said *Leger* was constrained to content himself with the honor of apprehending a perjured person, and to be declared (as indeed they were, both he and the others who had been accused by His Royal Ministers, in the presence of the *Ambassadors*, and all the Deputies of the *Valleys*) by the mouth of *Monsieur Balcet* Notary of *Pragela*, as *persons altogether innocent, and clearly and thoroughly justified from the accusation which Berru had made against them*: But as for any other formal nulling thereof, they were made to believe, that the third *Citation* having not yet been published, the Accusation of *Berru* was not at all valid, and therefore they ought to sit down and be quiet. After this, *Berru* was brought to *Turin*, from whence he was said to be sent to the *Venetian Galleys*, although he had been convicted (as hath been already noted) to have been the very man who assassinated the Priest in the company of *Daniel* the son of *Bartholomeo Belin*, a young man newly turned

Papist. And in effect, there needs no better proof for it than *Reissan's* own Attestation, who did divers times give it to *Mr. Leger*, and the others, yea, and which is more, he wrote to one *Bartholemo Genolat*, Syndic of *S. Giovanni*, a distinct Narrative of the whole Transaction in the following terms; namely, that a *certain young man by name Giovanni, son to the deceased Laurentio Benech of Fenile, Brother-in-Law of Berru, had suffered himself to be prevailed upon, and persuaded to stand Sentinel, whilst Berru and Belin committed the Murder beforementioned; and moreover, that he had entreated the said Genolat to order the matter so, that the said Benech might appear before the open Justice, according to the usual form, to make an Authentic Deposition, assuring him, that upon the account of his Non-age, as also that he had been deceived by his Brother-in-Law, he could suffer no prejudice in the world:* Yet notwithstanding all this, through the great distrust and fear that seized upon the spirit of this young man, they were not able with all their Rhetoric to persuade him to it; only so far they wrought upon him, as to appear before the *Sieurs Leger, and Genolat*, in the presence of *Sr. Jacopo Bastie, and Giovanni Prin* his Kinsman, to whom he confessed and affirmed, *That it was really true that Berru and Belin had committed this assassination, and that they had, unwittingly, and before he was aware, engaged him to stand Sentinel.* And indeed, the young man represented all the circumstances thereof so nakedly and plainly, that he left not the least doubt or scruple in their minds about the truth of them. Besides all this, the Mother-in-Law and Wife of this *Berru* assured them, that the matter was just so as it was represented. And certainly, though it be a matter of no small difficulty to penetrate into the Depths of *Satan*, yet this business looks with a very suspicious countenance; for if *Berru* had deposed justly and righteously against those Ministers, why should he have refused to be confronted with them, and so have brought those Impostors and suborners to Justice? And on the contrary, if the Ministers were innocent, why should a man charged with no less than two assassinations, and as many perjuries, be suffered to escape? No, though there had been no more pressing arguments than those sad complaints, and those bitter tears alone, which that poor Widow of *Mean* poured out at *Pignerolio*, demanding Justice of *Monsieur de Servient*, in terms that were sufficient (one would have thought) to have moved the very stones in the Walls to have pity and compassion

on her. To conclude, it's too too evident, that some more mighty and potent adversary of the *Reformed party*, lying in *Ambush*, was the contriver of this murder, to have the better pretext for all their cruel dealings, however perhaps it might be immediately acted by inferior hands; who certainly, in case they had not been protected by such means, had received no better a reward for their pains, than *Giovanni Odin* of *Angrogna* did not long before; who for a fact of the very same nature was banished the Dominions of *His Royal Highness*, and so closely pursued by Justice, that he looked not upon himself to be secure, no not within the Territories of *France* itself, until such time as he had renounced his Religion.

Upon these and the like frivolous and feigned Accusations, were the Deputies of those poor Creatures, and their Supplications unhappily and miserably rejected by the Court of *Savoy*: For, having been at *Turin* to present this their Request, as also instantly to beseech the chief Ministers of State to favor them with admittance into His Royal Highness presence, there to cast themselves at his feet; the Council *De propaganda fide & extirpandis hereticis* (which was composed of the Archbishop of *Turin*, His Royal Highness Confessor, the *Abbey of La Montà*, the *Prior Rorenco*, the Lords of *Lucerna*, together with the *Marquess of Pionesse*, the great *Chancellor*, The chief *President* of the *Chamber*, the chief of the Senate *Ferrais*, and the other Presidents, *Beletis* and *Nomis*), hindered the said Deputies from having audience of their prince, and contrary to all justice and equity, usurped the cognizance of this Affair, which no way belonged to them, being of the adverse party. And thus were they constrained to seek Justice of their Oppressours! And although possibly something might have been done even with that Council, if they could but have obtained audience of them (it being not impossible, nor altogether improbable, that some of their Consciences might have rebuked them, and that misery with importunity might have wrought upon them), yet neither was this granted to the poor Deputies, no not so much as to come personally before the said Council *De extirpandis Hereticis*, but they were forced to send in their *Procurator Gibellino* a Papist; who knowing right well, that Excommunication was the certain punishment of all those who any ways favored the *Heretical Protestant* party, durst not speak a word, before he had fallen down upon his knees, and begged

leave of the *Archbishop*, who was President of the said Council. And the Conclusion was, *That those of the Valleys were commanded to make no more requests to His Royal Highness touching this business, unless they would send Deputies with Procuration, and power to accept and promise* (a poor recompence for so long a delay) *all that which should he ordered them.* This Answer made the poor people almost forever despair of ever making another Address: However, like the *importunate Widow* in the *Gospel*, they sent again their Deputies to *Turin* with their Request, and with Order to endeavor to get audience of *His Royal Highness*. And to this end, besides other Intercessions, they instantly requested *Madam Royal* to have pity on them, and to procure the same for them, writing Her a Letter, as followeth.

### A Supplicatory Letter of the poor *Evangelical Churches* of the Valleys of *Piemont* to *Madame Royale*.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

*In the year 1638 your Royal Highness was pleased, according to your Justice and Clemency, to confirm those Ancient Grants of the deceased Lord, Duke Charles Emanuel, your Father-in-Law, of glorious memory, and most serene Predecessors: And by your especial grace you have kept us, all the time of your most happy Reign, without the least innovation or alteration, in a peaceable condition, and quiet enjoyment of the same; for the which we render you our most humble acknowledgements. Now, may it please your Royal Highness, our most gracious Princess and Lady, notwithstanding the same confirmation made unto us of the said grants, by the sinister and malicious Information of such as bear us hatred and ill will, as if we had transgressed the bounds allotted us by those Concessions, and our most ancient Customs (the quite contrary whereof we both have and shall sufficiently make appear in due time and place) the Auditor Gastaldo hath published an Order*

*the 25 of January past, by which all the Inhabitants of Lucerna, Lucernette, Fenile, Bubiana, Campiglione, S. Giovanni, La Torre, Bricherassio, and S. Secundo, who would not turn Catholics, were commanded to forsake their Houses and Estates within three days, upon pain of death; and not only so, but constrained to betake themselves, some to the tops of the Mountains amidst the Snow and Ice, and many into Caves for want of shelter. And when they sought for a redress, with most humble Requests to your H.R. they, were rejected by their Excellencies, the principal and chief Ministers of State, by whom they were appointed to depute Commissioners with sufficient Procuration and Authority to make and accept of new Propositions and Conditions, without which we were never to return, or appear in their presence more. But we, not able to undergo such Conditions, for several considerable Reasons, which the experience of past evils hath taught us, and judging them not at all necessary, because we demand nothing but a confirmation of those Grants that have been already confirmed in the year 1620, by Your Royal Highness, and to enjoy the same as we have done for many Ages, and time out of mind, under the happy Reign of your most famous Predecessors; and refusing to act against our Consciences, according to the true intent and purpose of our Concessions, though in all things else we have constantly behaved ourselves as becometh faithful Servants and most obedient Subjects of your Royal Highness, are now, upon this very account, reduced to great exigencies and desolations; and therefore it is, that we have recourse to the Clemency, and the exemplary Pity of your Royal Highness, most earnestly beseeching you, to extend the bowels of your compassions towards so many hundreds of poor Families, Women and small innocent Babes, who being ready to perish with hunger and cold, do with Rivers of bloody tears implore your merciful assistance, and to vouchsafe, in imitation of so many most serene Princesses of your Royal Family, of famous memory, to become an instrument of our Tranquility with his Royal Highness: That so being restored to our former peaceable condition, and all Orders to the contrary being revoked, we may continue both in life And death that faithful obedience which we owe to your Royal Highness. And we will pray, etc.*

From the Valleys, February 20, 1655.

They wrote also other Letters to several of the Princes of the blood, touching the same subject, in the following terms: An Authentic Transcript of the true Original whereof is to be seen in the Public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Most Serene Lord,

Emanuel Philibert, *Duke, and Grandfather* to your most serene Highness, *having by an agreement to several Articles in the year 1561, established certain bounds for the exercise of our Religion, did confine also our habitations within the places and Lands of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and S. Martino, which we were forbidden to exceed (such only excepted as were expressly nominated) And the benefit of these Articles we have still peaceably enjoyed until the end of the year 1602, at which time an Order was surreptitiously obtained by such as hated us, from the most serene Duke Charles Emanuel, Father to your most serene Highness of glorious memory; by virtue whereof, those of Fenile, Bubiana, Bourgh, and Lucerna, came to be molested: Although upon better Information of the truth of those Affairs, His most serene Highness of his Clemency expressly commanded, by a Grant of the 9 April and another of the 14 May, 1603, that they should be restored to their ancient possessions which was likewise confirmed by a third Edict, in the year 1620, the same being duly interinated. Yea, His Royal Highness, who by the grace of God at this day reigns, after a long and chargeable debate, hath confirmed unto us the very same Concessions, with a formal Declaration, not to add to, or diminish the same, as appears by his Decree of the 29 of December 1653. But yet notwithstanding all this, having without intermission solicited for the Interination thereof, and satisfied all the demands of the most Illustrious Chamber of Accompts in order thereunto; at the very instant and nick of time, when according to the intention of the abovesaid acts we hoped to obtain those our Requests, came the Auditor Gastaldo with Orders to constrain us to quit our habitations in Fenile, Bubiana, S. Secundo, Lucerna, Lucernetta, Bricherassio, S. Giovanni, and La Torre, where, by virtue of the abovesaid Concessions, and long before, time out of mind, we have peaceably remained: By which means, more than a thousand Families, and those very numerous,*



*who never committed anything contrary to the Order of your Royal Highness, being already ruined by various calamities which they have undergone, must now perish in a sad and miserable manner among the snowy Mountains, where they have only the Canopy of Heaven for their shelter and cover. Now being thus pressed with so many calamities, and all from a pure hatred to that Religion which we profess, we had resolved to address our most humble Supplications, and to flee for refuge to the Clemency of his Royal Highness, our most serene Prince and Lord, had we not been rejected by their Excellencies the chief and principal Ministers, and by them threatened never to admit of one more Petition for the future, in case we did not first submit to certain conditions which were never before practiced under the happy Reign of your most serene Predecessors; and particularly, in case we did not forthwith send Commissioners with a plenipotentiary power to conclude and accept of new Conditions, which we are in no sort able to perform, forasmuch as we demand nothing, save only, that his Royal Highness will be pleased, according to his gracious promises often made us, to suffer us to enjoy the aforesaid Concessions, as we before enjoyed the same under the reign of his most serene Predecessors, and especially seeing there hath not happened since the decease of the father of your most serene Highness, any change or alteration, excepting only what hath been to our prejudice. In these Exigencies and Calamities, being destitute of all other Counsel in the world, but such as Despair usually suggests to Men driven from their homes and habitations; and seeing themselves in the meanwhile plundered by their malicious neighbors, whose aim is, by that means to induce them to some act of revenge, to the end his Royal Highness may have an occasion to be yet more exasperated against them (who has indeed already been too falsely informed against us, to the advance and promoting of our final banishment); And having no freedom of access to his Royal Highness, we cast ourselves at the feet of your most serene Highness, to whom, as to a Sanctuary, we have our recourse, humbly beseeching, that you would suffer yourself to be moved with compassion towards so many hundreds of small and innocent Christian Babes, according to that influence which your interposition and endeavors cannot but have upon the heart of His Royal Highness, and his most excellent Ministers of State; And that you will be pleased to procure us the*

*revoking of such severe Orders, to the end that we may enjoy the use of the forementioned Concessions only which we have formerly enjoyed under the happy Government of the most serene Predecessors of his Royal Highness. These graces and favors we hope for at the hands of your most serene Highness, in the meanwhile most humbly entreating you to vouchsafe to pardon that boldness and importunity which necessity puts us upon: And we shall continue to pray to God for the prosperity of his Royal Highness and all the Royal Family; and in particular of your most serene Highness, remaining.*

Your most Serene Highness

most humble and obedient Servants, the men professing the Reformed Religion in the Valleys of *Lucerna, Perosa, and St. Martino.*

*In Angrogna, February 20, 1655.*

Besides all this, they reiterated their supplicatory Letters to the *Great Chancellor*, and to the Marquess of *Pionessa*; but all in vain: For neither the *Princes*, nor the *Great Chancellor* vouchsafed to answer them a word. But *Madame Royale* she sent them to the Marquess of *Pionessa*, and the Marquess of *Pionessa*, he sent them to make good the Procuration which the Council *De extirpandis Hereticis* had formerly enjoined them, without which he refused to give them any Audience; which indeed was a secret and subtle Design of his, to tempt the poor people by this means obliquely to yield up the Right of their former Concessions, and purely submit to *His Royal Highness* pleasure: In which case, the Council *De extirpandis Hereticis* would have undoubtedly taken the advantage of persuading *His Royal Highness*, that since they had foregone their Concessions, *His Royal Highness* was altogether disengaged of all former promises and Concessions, and ought to exterminate them out of his Dominions. Which stratagem the poor people perceiving, wrote another supplicatory Letter to *Madame Royale*, as likewise one of the same nature to the Marquess *Pionessa*, as follows.

A Supplicatory Letter of the *Evangelical Churches* of the  
Valleys of *Piemont*.

*An Authentic Transcript of the true Original whereof is to  
be seen in the public Library of the famous University  
of Cambridge.*

Royal Highness,

*From the experience of that singular Grace, and bountiful Favor  
which lately moved your Royal Highness clemency, to cause answer  
to be made to one of our Letters (bearing Date the 20 of February)  
which we took the boldness to present you; we hope (as with all  
humility we request) that you will vouchsafe to give ear to the  
present Reply which we your poor subjects, being prostrate at your  
feet, do here humbly tender unto you, with no other intent than to  
inform your Royal Highness touching some Articles, whereby it will  
manifestly appear, that your Royal Highness hath been greatly  
misinformed. As for example. First, whereas it is alleged, That the  
places prohibited in the Order published by the Auditor Gastaldo,  
have always been opposed and excepted, it cannot be proved as to  
the places of S. Giovanni, La Torre, S. Secondo, and the others: And  
much less, that any of the most serene Predecessors of your Royal  
Highness had ever any intention to limit our dwellings to those four  
Places which are now designed for their precise bounds; but on the  
contrary, they have always granted and permitted us that liberty in  
all the wonted places of the three Valleys; and only Roccapiatta, S.  
Bartholomeo, And Prarustino are nominated as Towns not  
appertaining to the three Valleys, as in the first Article of that Grant  
which bears Date the 14 of May 1603, maybe plainly seen. And  
although by that of 1602, Fenile, Bubiana, and Lucerna came to be  
disquieted, His Royal Highness Charles Emanuel of glorious  
memory, did yet by another Grant, bearing Date the 9 of April 1605,  
in the third and sixth Articles, permit them to re-inhabit those places.  
Yea, and in another of the 29 of September in the same year, it is  
expressed in formal terms, in the very first Article, That such as had  
Goods without the prescribed Limits (that is to say, the Limits  
appointed for Preaching, according to the Grants of 1561) should be  
permitted to return to their dwellings. In the which said Grants, the*

*Limits of Preaching are often found to differ from those of habitation; which Limits of habitation are extended to all the Towns and places appertaining to the three Valleys, with their places adjacent, as is to be seen in the eighth, ninth, eleventh, and twentieth Articles, which to avoid tediousness we shall not here repeat. These things being represented unto his said Royal Highness (Charles Emanuel of glorious memory) made him incline to revoke the Orders published against those of Fenile, Lucerna, Bubbiana, and to restore all to a peaceable condition, and to confirm the same with an irrevocable Edict, bearing Date August 17, 1602, upon which Account they paid 6,000 Ducatoons, as appears by the Decree made and interinated at that time by the most Illustrious Chamber, and most serene Senate. By all which it is evident, that we are so far from having justly deserved the imputation of transgressing the Limits, or abusively usurping the least Privilege, that on the contrary, we have strictly kept ourselves within our just measure and compass, as the Catastri of the Commonalties may sufficiently witness for us. In the second place, we are accused of many extravagancies and excesses; but we are not conscious to the least (after the clearing up that of Villaro, at the coming of Conte Todesco) save only, that forged one of La Torre, so ridiculously invented and interpreted, that the Auditor Gastaldo himself having discovered the absurdity thereof, promised no more words should be made of it. Yea, put the case any Crime had been involved in it, it could not be any ways imputed to those of Lucerna, Fenile, Bubbiana, Campiglione, Bricherassio, S. Secundo, and the rest, for as much as by the Grant of the 29 of September 1603, Article 3, as also by that of his Royal Highness, by the Grace of God now reigning, bearing Date the 4 of June, 1653, it is plainly declared, That the innocent are not to suffer with the guilty, but that Justice shall be upheld with a strong hand for the suppression of the refractory. As to the escape of Berruto, we might with truth allege, that having upon the first demand of Mr. Collateral Perrachione, caused him to be secured in that very place where we were required, we ought not to be questioned, or demanded any further account of him, as being no ways accessory to his escaping, especially seeing that immediately after that accident happened, we spared no endeavors to retake him; and it manifestly appears by divers and sundry Examinations, That he broke Prison for no other cause than to escape the great inconveniencies and tortures which in some*

*manner he was threatened with; the great noise and rumor whereof, together with the imprisonment of Berruto, might well be the cause why others would say little, as not daring to bear witness to the Truth, for fear of the like danger. By all these passages, your Royal Highness may easily see, how the Truth is prejudiced and sophisticated, and how just the Title is which we claim of dwelling in those places which are at present so much disquieted and molested, and consequently the innocency of us poor Fugitives, who upon these grounds of truth and uprightness, are emboldened to cast themselves once more at your Royal Highness feet, humbly begging, that they may, out of your great clemency, be reestablished, being turned over to the Council De propaganda Fide, which is expressly erected against us, who next after God, acknowledge no other Patron but His Royal Highness, and their Excellencies his Ministers of State (as we believe that we ought in Conscience to do), And that the most faithful and most obedient Subjects of the Crown may not be forced to wander and stray into other Countries, since that all the other places of the Valleys scarce suffice to contain their own native Inhabitants. This is the singular Grace and Favor that we hope from the Clemency and Compassions of your Royal Highness, that His Royal Highness would vouchsafe to behold and grant these our most humble Requests. And in the meantime, we shall not cease to continue our most ardent prayers to Almighty God, for the prosperity of your Royal Highness, with the peace and enlargement of His Royal Highness Dominions, as being*

Your Royal Highness

most humble and most obedient Servants, the Commissioners of the Valleys of *Lucerna, Perosa, S. Martino*, for the places adjacent, and for themselves.

*In Angrogna, March 16, 1655.*

A Supplicatory Letter of the poor distressed Churches of the Valleys of *Piemont*, to the Marquess of *Pionessa*,  
16 March 1655.

*Most Excellent Lord,*

*The benignity and patience wherewith your Excellency vouchsafed to answer the Letters, which we were emboldened to write to you, bearing date the eighth of February last, gives us some ground to hope, that you will accordingly cast your Eyes upon this present Reply, which with all due reverence we present unto you, to the end only, that we may better inform you, touching certain Heads or Articles; humbly begging your pardon for this our slowness, which the distance of places, and the difficulty in assembling our People, hath against our wills, occasioned. First, your Excellency accuseth us, as guilty of many excesses and exorbitances committed, and that we have given just cause, for the publication of the Order, published by the Auditor Gastaldo. Although after the clearing ourselves of the Fact at Villaro (which was sufficiently done at the coming of Conte Todesco), we have not heard of the least Miscarriage laid to our charge, unless your Excellency would urge against us that foolish business of La Torre, which was acted by a company of Youths (a great part whereof were the children of Catholics), not at all reflecting upon the Catholic Church, or having the least appearance of any affront either to the Mass, or those that said it, as the Auditor Gastaldo was very well informed, and to that end made us a promise, that nothing more should be spoke of it, (though should there have been any Delinquents, who had had a hand in such a business, yet his Royal Highness declares in the first Article of that Act of June the fourth 1633, in order to the Explanation of the Concessions of the nine and twentieth of September 1603, in the third Article, That it is not at all his meaning, that the innocent should be punished with the guilty, provided always, that we make severe Inquisition after the latter, which we have never refused to do), And whereas, touching the Limits of Habitation, your Excellency is informed, That we pretend this ground for our defense, namely, that they were set out, after the Concessions made by Raconigi; which not being true, our dwelling places remain usurped and abusive. We entreat your Excellency with all humility, and for the love of God, to vouchsafe to believe that our Reasons do manifest quite another thing; as also, that on the contrary, we alleged our Limits in some places have been straitened. We will not say, by reason of their banishment out of the Marquisate*

*of Saluzzo, Praviglielmo, Festeone, and many other Cities and Towns of Piemont, which are not specified or expressed in the said Grants (however, that even all those places have in times past been tolerated) but particularly upon the account of the Valley of Meane in them expressed, together also with Campiglione and Borgo of Bubiana, which were comprehended in them, as under the Towns of the three Valleys, which were at that time usually tolerated, in which the reverend Raconigi after the Wars, did again settle us; as also his Royal Highness by his Grants 1603, confirmed the same, causing it to be interinated in the Year 1620. And it's evident, that in the Answers to the third and sixth Articles of the first Memorial, of the ninth of April 1603, given to those of Fenile, Bubiana, and Lucerna, whose dwelling only found opposition, and none others till that time, it was permitted them to be re-established, because that those Towns and places were common and tolerated in the three Valleys appointed for the Limits of Habitation. And in the first Article of the Grant of the nine and twentieth of September, in the year abovesaid, it may be clearly seen, that without any Reserve, in the said three Valleys, all such might return to their respective Habitations, who had their Estates without the Limits for Preaching, which was confirmed the seventeenth of August 1620, and interinated 1620, with an express Act for the Payment of six thousand Ducatoons upon that very Account. And so was the Habitation of those beyond Pelice rendered peaceable, firm, and perpetual; although not altogether free from divers Vexations that were brought upon them, by their ill-affected Neighbors. To this may be added, that Roccapiatte, St. Bartholomeo, Prarustino, were not named distinctly and apart, in the third Article of the Concessions of the fourteenth of May 1603, and the first Article of those of 1620, for any other reason, than this, namely, because those Towns did not belong to the three Valleys, as may be there found; which is a manifest proof, that touching our Dwelling or Habitation, no Town belonging to the three Valleys frequented and tolerated before, suffered the least opposition: besides all this, the Agreement made by the Lord Raconigi which only doth establish the Limits of Preaching, the same which now are appointed for Habitation, doth permit also their Habitation without and beyond the bounds of Preaching, in all the other Towns of the three Valleys and their adjacent parts. When the great and the serious Affairs of your Excellency shall permit you to read the 8, 9,*

10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, and 21 Articles, (which we do not here specify, to avoid trouble and tediousness) we are fully persuaded, that the Limits for Preaching, having been so often distinguished from the other of Habitation, which have no other bounds, but those of the three Valleys and their adjacent parts, your Excellency will not blame us for endeavoring, to make good the just Title of our Habitations, against any sophistical Interpretations and Distinctions. For, really, so far are we from being our own judges in the Interpretation of such Grants (which belongs only to the Sovereign himself, who makes them), that we wholly refer ourselves to the Intentions of the same Sovereigns, who granted those Acts, with the express terms of such their Concessions, as likewise to the use, practice, and observation of the same under their happy Government. Nor can it be objected to us with truth, That we have any ways in after-times encroached, or enlarged our said Limits. For, on the contrary they have been every way lessened, and contracted. And if any of the Reformed Churches have at any time bought any Lands of Catholics (as is notwithstanding permitted by the twentieth Article of the Concessions of 1561) your Excellency may assure yourself, that they have also sold four for one, to the very same Catholics. All which being really true, we entreat your Excellency, to improve your Interest, for the re-establishment of such poor distressed People, and the annulling of all Orders whatsoever to the contrary, to the end, that so many faithful Subjects of his R. H. be not deprived of the graces and favors granted to and enjoyed by them, under so many of his Predecessors, and by him (as also by his most serene Grand-father; of glorious memory), so often confirmed, with so strict a Charge, and by so express Acts. And that they may not be forced to quit and abandon their Estates (as otherwise they must be forced to do), especially considering, that all the other Towns of the Valleys, have not wherewithal to employ and maintain their own inbred Inhabitants. All which we hope to obtain by means of the powerful Influence and Authority of your Excellency, who is so full of Pity, Clemency, and Justice; which shall cause us to continue to offer up our Prayers to God, for the increase of his Royal Highness Dominions, and the prosperity of his Person, and Royal Family, and in particular of your Excellency, as being

Your Excellencies



*Most humble and most obedient Servants, the Commissioners for  
the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, St. Martino, and the places  
adjacent, and for themselves.*

*In Angrogna, 16 March 1655.*

These and such like were the reiterated Supplications of the Deputies of those poor distressed Churches, who notwithstanding did all the while but *Surdo canere*, for they could not possibly obtain Audience of the Dukes Court, unless they would yield to give their Deputies a plenipotentiary power as abovesaid; which to do without any limitation, and according as the Marquess had prescribed them, they knew right well could have no other effect or issue than this, namely, to yield tacitly to the quitting and renouncing their former Concessions, and other Privileges. In sum, when they saw themselves constrained to it, they chose their Deputies, and gave them Instructions as ample as they could possibly, which were signed by all the Pastors and Deputies of their Churches, who were likewise authorized by the power of *Lucerna*. The substance of those Instructions, after their due Protestation of fidelity and obedience, was, that they *sent those their Deputies to Turin, to accept of, and promise all that it should please his Royal Highness to appoint them, according to their ancient Concessions, and the Rules of a good Conscience. But as there's no charming a Lion that is greedy of his Prey*, so were all the Entreaties and Solicitations in the world to little purpose, as to the softening of *Pionessa's* stony heart, who thirsted so violently after the Blood of those poor Creatures. And accordingly he slighted this last Supplication of there's with as much disdain as he had the former: however, that he might not too openly discover the black Design of the Council, *De propaganda fide & extirpandis hereticis*, before the hour of Execution, he strove to disguise all his Answers to the poor People, and such enigmatical terms (not unlike the Devil heretofore in the Oracles), that though he gave them but cold comfort, yet he left them not without some glimmering hopes at least of a Day of Audience, for the hearing of their Grievances and Complaints, that so during this pause and interval of time, all things might be in a better readiness for the Day of Slaughter; which is the subject of the following Chapter.

CHAPTER VI: *A brief and most authentic Narrative of some part of those extraordinary Cruelties which were exercised against the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, during the heat of the late Massacre, in the Year of our Lord 1655, in the Month of April.*

Every particular Circumstance whereof was abundantly verified to the Author, during his abode in those parts, both by Word of Mouth, and by the formal Attestations and Subscriptions of those very persons who were both Eye and Ear Witnesses of those inhumane Cruelties, the true Originals of some whereof he hath exposed to public view in the Library of the University of *Cambridge*, and for several weighty Reasons hath reserved the rest in his own custody, ready to give any ingenuous person full and clear satisfaction.

In the former Chapter the *Christian* reader hath had a large Account of the Popish Design upon the poor Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, this gives him a distinct and faithful Narrative of the Execution thereof; which verily was as adequate to the contrivance (as to matter of Cruelty), as in impression to the Seal.

Upon *Saturday* the seventeenth of *April* 1655, while the poor Deputies of the Protestants were, by the artifice of *Pionessa*, detained at *Turin* for an Answer to their Requests (where the fifth and last Chapter leaves them), there arrived a great Army at *St. Giovanni*, which was now, together with *La Torre*, and all the lower parts, dis-inhabited, and in a most desolate and lamentable condition. This army encamped, for the space of some hours together, in a place called *St. Georgio*, and in the Dusk of the Evening, fell into the Burgh of *La Torre*, where they met with not so much as one soul of the Protestants, save only a little company of eight or ten persons, who not at all thinking that the Enemy was there, were seeking up and down for something to satisfy their

hunger: but so soon as ever they approached the Covent, they were immediately descried by the Monks, and the Troopers who had lain there concealed several days before, for that very purpose, who, to show the kindness they had for them, saluted them with a great Volley of Shot, whereby they slew upon the place one *Giovanni Combe* of *Villaro*, and hurt *Pietro Rostain* of *La Torre*; thereupon the rest, who saw themselves thus encompassed on every side, immediately fled for their Lives.

Upon the Lord's Day following, which was the eighteenth of the same Month, the Enemy ranged up and down throughout the Communalities of *La Torre*, and *St. Giovanni*, plundering and pillaging at pleasure. And upon the nineteenth (being now, like a Snowball, become the bigger by rolling, and their number increased to about fifteen thousand) they set upon the Protestants in several Quarters among the little Hills of *St. Giovanni*, and *La Torre*, but the poor People having for a long time foreseeing their Design, and being prompted, by the Law of Nature to self-preservation, took courage, and stood upon their own defense, and the Enemy was vigorously opposed on every side; in one place, by Captain *Jahier*, and in other places, by the Officers of *St. Giovanni*, *Angrognà*, *Roccapiatta*, and their Troops. The next day, which was *Tuesday*, the Popish Army made three several Attempts to take away the Bell of *St. Giovanni*, and to burn the Church (although situated in the Confines of *Angrognà*, to which the Marquess of *Pionessa* had always assured his Protection, as being a place excepted in the Order of *Gastaldo* for that purpose, and named for the Retreat of the rest that he banished and drove out of their Habitations), nevertheless for a diversion, they set upon those of *St. Giovanni*, who had their Rendezvous about a Mile off, in a certain place called *Castelus*, on the side of the Mountain of *Briqueras*, as also at *La Torre*, towards *Taliaret*: but those of the poor People, who were then in Arms, did so courageously resist them, that they were constrained to a shameful Retreat, with the loss of about fifty of their Men, and had not their Cavalry defended the Plain, they had been utterly defeated. In the meanwhile, there were none of the Protestants slain, except one of *Roccapiatta* (upon whose dead Carcass they sufficiently revenged themselves), and another, namely, *Giovanni Brocher* of *St. Giovanni*. Upon the one and twentieth of the same Month, which

was the terrible fatal day to the poor Protestants, the Marquess of *Pionessa*, buy a hellish Stratagem held in Parley the deputies of the Valley of Lucerna till Noon, and then treated them with a large Dinner, after which, they went their ways with much satisfaction and cheerfulness, their minds being as well filled with good hopes, as their bellies with meat; for indeed, the Marquess of *Pionessa* by his smooth language and solemn asseveration had fully persuaded them, that there should not be the least hurt done to any, except those of *St. Giovanni* and *La Torre*, as being the place specified in the Order of *Gastaldo* to be prohibited to those of the Reformed party; but As for all the rest, in case they should but receive and quarter some new Troops, as a token of their obedience, and that but for a short time, they might set their hearts at rest without fear or jealousy of the least inconvenience. Hereupon, the Agents of Angrogna went up to the head of those who it was pretended should only go and quarter in those places, and there bestirred themselves with all the Persuasions imaginable, to keep the Men of their own party for making the least resistance; the same did those of *Villaro* and *Bobio*, never dreaming the sad consequence of so great unadvisedness; but the Enemies Men had no sooner entered in, but they found (when it was too late) how far the Catholics keep Faith with those that they call Heretics: for having used all possible artifices to draw the rest within their reach, they presently clapped to the Nets, and divided the Prey, putting all to Fire and Sword, slaying all they met with, that had but the likeness of Mankind, and that in the most barbarous manner they could possibly devise; for a great description whereof, I shall refer the Reader to an Extract of one of their own Letters, before I come to a more particular description of those horrid and unheard of Cruelties.

# A FAITHFUL TRANSLATE

OF

A sad, and mournful Letter, written (as is supposed) by  
some of the poor distressed Protestants of the Valleys  
of *PIEMONT*.

CONTAINING,

A Summary, or brief Narrative of those Horrible Cruelties,  
which were exercised against them, in the late  
Massacre, in *April* 1655.

Brethren and Fathers,

Our tears are no more tears of water, but of blood, which do not only drown and obscure our site, but even oppress our very hearts! Our pen is guided by a trembling hand! our brains are made dry by the many knocks we have received! and our mind so exceedingly troubled by such unexpected and sudden alarms, that we are not able to form a Letter, answerable to the intent of our minds, or to the strangeness of our desolations. Wherefore we entreat your pardon herein, and that you would be pleased among so many clouds of blood, to gather up, and pick out the sense of our conceptions, and what we would (at least) and part onto you Whatsoever reports have been spread abroad of our stubbornness in refusing to have recourse to His Royal Highness, for the redressing of those our heavy grievances and molestations, you cannot but know that we have never at all desisted, from writing supplicatory Letters, or presenting our humble Requests, by the hands of our Deputies, and that, they were sent, and referred, sometimes to the Council *de propaganda fide*, other times to the *Marquess of Pionessa*. And the last three times they were plainly rejected, and denied so much as an audience, under pretext that they had no Credentials, or Instructions sufficient to empower them, to promise and accept, in the name, and on the behalf of their respective Churches, whatsoever it should please his

Royal Highness to grant to, or bestow upon them. And by the instigation, and contrivance of the *Roman* Clergy, there was secretly set in ambush an Army of six thousand men, who upon a sudden (being animated and encouraged there too by the presence and utmost activity of the *Marquess of Pionessa*) fell most violently upon those of *S. Giovanni* and *La Torre*.

This Army being once entered, and having gotten footing, was soon increased, and became exceeding numerous by the addition of a multitude of the neighboring Inhabitants throughout all *Piemont*, who hearing that we were given for a prey to the Plunderers, fell upon the poor people with an impetuous fury. To these were added a numberless number of Outlaws, prisoners, and other Offenders, who thought hereby to have both saved their souls, and filled their purses. And for the better opportunity to put their design and execution, they were forced to receive five or six Regiments of the *French* Army, besides some *Irish*, to whom (as it is reported) our Country was promised, and several other Troops of Highwaymen, and Vagabond persons, under pretext of coming into the Valleys for a *Rinfresco* (as they termed it) or fresh Quarter.

This great multitude, by virtue of a License from the *Marquess of Pionessa*, being animated by the Monks, and conducted and enticed to the work by our wicked and unnatural neighbors, fell upon us with such violence on every side, and in so horridly treacherous a manner (especially in *Angrogna*, *Villaro*, and *Bobio*, to whom the Marquess had engaged himself, that in case they would but condescend to the lodging and quartering of one only Regiment in each place, or Communalty, they should be secured from all harm or violence), that in one moment of time all was turned into a confused heap, and the Inhabitants constrained, after some skirmishes, which they endured and their way for their own defense, to flee for their lives, together with their wives and little children; and that not only those of the Plain, who had be taking themselves to the Mountains, but likewise those of the Mountains themselves, who had otherwise been certainly betrayed, and surprised. However, all the diligence they could possibly use for their preservation, was not sufficient to prevent the destruction of a very considerable number of them: For in many places (as in *Villaro*, and *Bobio*), they were so hemmed in on every side, the Enemy having seized on the

Fort of *Mirzburg*, and by that means stopped the passage, that there was no way left to flee or save themselves, but were most fearfully massacred and put to death. In one place they cruelly tormented no less than an hundred and fifty women and small children, and afterwards chopped off the heads of some, and dashed the brains of others against the Rocks. As for a great part of the Prisoners which they took, from fifteen years of age and upwards, who refused to go to *Mass*, they hanged some, and nailed the feet of others to trees, with their heads hanging towards the ground, all which they endured constantly. It's reported that they carried some of note, prisoners to *Turin*, as namely, our poor Brother Mr. *Gros* Pastor, and some part of his family. In sum, there's neither cattle nor any other provision left in the Valley of *Lucerna*; what was saved was inconsiderable, and all the rest of our Enemies carried and sold to several Towns in *Piemont*. 'Tis too evident, that all is lost, since there are some whole Communalities, especially *S. Giovanni*, and *La Torre*, where the business of setting fire to the Houses and Churches, was so dexterously managed by a *Franciscan Frier* and a certain *Priest*, that they left not so much as one of either unburned. In these desolations the Mother has been bereft of her sweet Child! The Husband of his dear Wife! Those who were the richest among us, were forced to beg their bread, yea which is worse, they are weltering in their own blood, and deprived of all the comforts of this life. And whereas there were some Churches in *S. Martino* and other places, who have always been heretofore as a Sanctuary to the persecuted, they have now themselves been summoned to quit their dwellings, and to depart every soul of them, and that upon a sudden, without the least respite, under pain of life. Neither is there any mercy for any of them, who are found within his Royal Highness Dominions. The pretext of these strange Massacres, are, that we are Rebels to the Orders of his Royal Highness, for not having brought the whole City of *Geneva* within the Walls of *Mary Magdalene* Church; or in plainer terms, for not having performed a pure impossibility, in departing in a moment from our houses and habitations in *Bubbiana*, *Lucerna*, *Fenile*, *Bricheras*, *La Torre*, *S. Giovanni*, and *S. Secondo*; And also, for having had our recourse to his Royal Highness by incessant supplications to take pity on us; who on the one side, told us, that we would make no innovation; and on the other side, refused to give us leave to depart out his

Dominions peaceably, as we oftentimes beseeched him, in case he would not suffer us to abide and enjoy the liberty of our consciences, as had always done his Predecessors. True it is, that the Marquess of *Pionessa*, did produce us another excuse, by the hand of our *Procurator* (and we have in our hands the very original!), which was, that it was his Royal Highness pleasure to a base and take down our pride, for endeavoring to shroud ourselves and take Sanctuary under the protection of Foreign Princes and States. To conclude, our beautiful and flourishing Churches are utterly lost, and that without remedy, unless God Almighty work miracles for us! Their time is come, and our measure is full! *O have pity on the desolations of Jerusalem!* and, *Be grieved for the afflictions of poor Joseph!* Show the real effects of your compassions! and let your bowels yarn upon so many thousands of poor souls who are reduced to a morsel of bread, for *following the Lamb whither ever he goes*. We recommend our poor Shepherds, together with their scattered and dispersed flocks, to your fervent Christian prayers, and rest in haste

*You are most humble,  
and most obliged Servant and brethren in the LORD.*

*27 April 1655.*

I presume the Christian Reader is now somewhat prepared, by what has been already hinted, with the greater constancy, to behold those doleful spectacles which he shall have here presented before his eyes. The truth is, the cruelties which are here related, would abundantly exceed the belief of any man (save only the Authors and Actors of them) were they not accompanied with such Authentic proofs, that he who denies the truth of them, must, at the same time deny his own reason and understanding: For if the formal Attestations of those that were eyewitnesses and bystanders, maybe of any force with us; if the strong and woeful cries of so many desolate and poor wretches, who have been miserably robbed and bereft of their relations, houses, lands, and all other comforts, may in any manner gain our belief; In a word, if the formal deposition of one of the chief Commanders of that very Army who were the Actors of those cruelties, signed with his own hand, and that in the presence



of two sufficient Witnesses, may persuade us to give any credit to such a Relation; Or (which is yet one degree nearer) if the voluntary confession of one of the Soldiers themselves, and one who had his own hands embrewed in the blood of those poor creatures, to some of his Comrades, in a boasting way, that he had many times during the heat of the *Massacre*, surfeited with eating the boiled Brains of those † *Barbets* (or *Protestants*) I say, if the Voluntary confession of such *Cannibals* as these, may be accepted as Authentic proofs, then I doubt not but to give ample satisfaction to all, as well to those that fain would not, as those that as yet cannot easily believe such Monstrous cruelties, having inserted here, as follows, the true Copies of the said Depositions and Attestations (which are indeed worthy of being communicated to posterity), and presented the very Original Subscriptions to the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

The Declaration of M. *du Petit Bourg*, first Captain of the Regiment of *Grancey*, touching the Cruelties that were exercised upon persons of all ages and sexes, among the poor *Protestants* of the *Valleys* of *Piemont*, subscribed with his own hand at *Pignerol*, 27 *November* 1655 in the presence of two other commanders.

The true Original whereof is to be seen, together with the rest, in the Public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

I *Sieur du Petit Bourg*, first Captain of the Regiment of *Grancey*, who also commanded the same, having received direction from *Prince Thomas* to go and join with the Marquess of *Pionesse*, and to receive his Orders (which Marquess was then at *La Torre*), when I was just upon my Departure, the Ambassador sent for me, and desired me to speak to *Monsignore de Pionesse*, and to use my endeavor to accommodate the Troubles which were happened amongst those of the Religion in the *Valleys* of *Piemont*: in order

whereunto I then addressed myself to the said *Marquess*, entreating him with much earnestness, that he would give way, that I might undertake the said Accommodation, which I supposed I might have been able to effect: But he refused this my Request, and that divers times, notwithstanding all the Endeavors I could possibly use to persuade him thereunto. And instead of the least mitigation of Affairs, that this or any other consideration which I could lay before him, did then produce, on the contrary, I was witness to many great Violences and extreme Cruelties exercised by the *Bandits* and Soldiers of *Piemont*, upon all sorts of every age, sex, and condition whatsoever, whom myself saw massacred, dismembered, hanged up, burned, and ravished, together with many horrid confusions. And so far is it from truth, that the whole was done by virtue of those Orders which were given out by me (as is falsely alleged in a certain Relation printed in *French* and *Italian*) that I beheld the same with horror and regret. And whereas it is said in the same Relation, that the Marquess of *Pionessa* commanded me to treat them peaceably, without hostility, and in the best manner I could possibly, the event clearly demonstrated, that the Orders he gave were altogether contrary, for as much as it is most certain, that without any distinction of those who resisted, from those who made no resistance, they were used with all sort of inhumanity, their houses burned, their goods plundered and when Prisoners were brought before the Marquess of *Pionesse*, I saw him give order to give them no quarter at all, because (said he) his Highness is resolved to have none of the *Religion* in any of his Dominions.

And as for what he protests in the same *Declaration*, as namely, that there was no hurt done to any, except during the Fight, nor the least Outrage committed upon any persons not fit to bear Arms. I do assert and will maintain, that it is not so, as having seen with my eyes several men killed in cold blood; as also women, aged persons, and young children, miserably murdered.

As for the manner how they put themselves in possession of all the Valley of *Angrogna*, to pillage, and burn the same entirely, they did it with ease enough, for (excepting six or seven, who seeing there would be no Mercy shown them, made some show of opposition) he sent them away without the least resistance, the Peasants thinking rather how to flee, than to fight the Enemy: In sum, I deny

absolutely, and protest, as in the presence of God, that none of those cruelties above mentioned, were executed by my Order, but on the contrary, seeing that I could not procure a remedy, I was constrained to retire, and quit the Conduct of the Regiment, for fear of being present at such wicked actions. Done at *Pignerol* the 27 November 1655.

*Du* PETIT BOURG.

We whose Names are here subscribed, Captains of the Regiments of the Infantry of *Sault* and *Averne*, do attest that we have seen the present Declaration made by the *Sieur du Petit Bourg*, Captain of the Regiment of Infantry of *Grancey*, in the City of *Pignerol*, and by him written, and signed with his own hand, in our presence. In witness whereof, we have signed this present Attestation at *Pignerol*, this 25 of November 1655.

S. HILAIRE *Captain of Auvergne*.

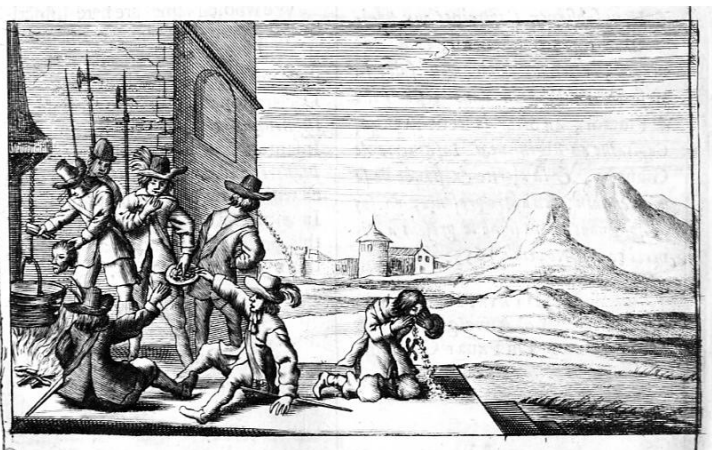
DU FAURE *Captain of Saul*.

The Attestation of *Thomas Guiot* (Chirurgion) and *Francis Pra*, touching the boiling and eating of the Brains of some of the poor protestants during the heat of the Massacre in the Year 1655. Made the 7 *October* 1655.

The true Original whereof is to be seen, together with the rest, in the public Library of the famous University of *CAMBRIDGE*.

We whose Names are underwritten do certify, that we being at *Pignerol*, upon the three and twentieth of April, in the Year 1655 (it being a Feast day and the Fair of *St. George*), heard a certain young man of *Cumiane*, who was lately come from the Valley of *Lucerna*, and from the War that had been in those parts (where he had also received a Wound in his Hand), boasting, that he, together with six other of his Comrades, had frequently boiled the Heads, and eaten the Brains of several *Barbets*, which (by the same token) had made him sick at heart. This he likewise related to an Ironmonger, where was present also a *French* man, who notwithstanding was unknown to any of us. All which we assure in words of truth, as having heard the same with our ears: in witness whereof we have hereto put our Marks the seventh of *October* 1655.

*Thomas Guiot*, Chirurgion.  
*Francis Pra*.



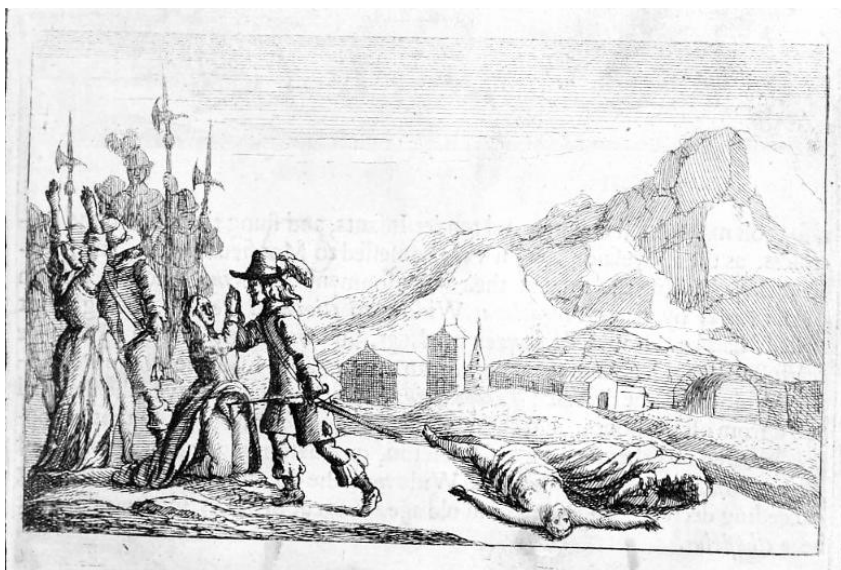
The Attestation of divers Persons of known Honor and Integrity, who were for the most part both eye and ear Witnesses of the following barbarous and horrid Cruelties which were exercised against some particular Members of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of *Piemont*, during the heat of the late Massacre in the Year 1655.

The true original Subscriptions whereof the Author has in his custody, ready to be produced, as occasion shall require, for the better satisfaction of the *Christian* and curious Reader.

We whose Names are here underwritten, do attest and declare in words of truth and soberness, that the following Narrative or Relation of several horrid Cruelties exercised against the poor Protestants in the Valleys of *Piemont*, contains nothing but the pure and naked truth; having here omitted many Relations of divers other Cruelties, exercised against those poor People, because not so substantially and abundantly verified; in faith whereof, we have here subscribed.

*Sara Rastignole des Vignes.*

*Sara Rastignole des Vignes*, about sixty years of age, being overtaken in a certain place called *Eyrals*, by divers Soldiers, was by them commanded to say her Prayers, which she having done, they urged her to repeat *Jesus Maria*, but the poor Woman refusing to do it, one of the Soldiers thrust a Sickle into the lower part of her Belly, and ripped her up to the Navel, and afterwards dragged the poor miserable Creature upon the ground, being half dead, till another of them came and severed her Head from her Body. The Daughter in Law to this poor Woman, who was constrained to hide herself in the Snow for the space of two days after, without any succor or nourishment, was an Eyewitness of this horrible Butchery.



*Martha Constantine of St Giovanni.*

A certain Woman of *St. Giovanni*, whose name (as is credibly believed) was *Martha Constantine*, the Wife of *Jacopo Barral*, after she had seen several others before her most cruelly put to death, was herself first ravished, and then had her Breasts cut off, and likewise part of her Privities, by some of the Soldiers, who also carried the same to *Macel* in *Piemont*, where they fried them, and set them before some other of their Comrades, whom they there met accidentally, making them believe that they were Tripes, but having eaten a good part thereof, they told them plainly, that they were no other than Women's Dugs, etc. This was taken so extremely ill by those that had been thus beguiled, that immediately a Quarrel arose thereupon, and indeed not without sufficient reason; for, all those that had eaten thereof found it to be of so ill a digestion, and it lay so heavy in their Stomachs, that they straightway fell grievously sick upon it, and some of them died soon after. This is certified by one of *Dauphine*, a *Roman Catholic* (whom it were easy to name, if need required), and he related the same to one *Andrea Javel* of *Pinachia*.



*Jacopo Michalino of Bobio his Servant.*

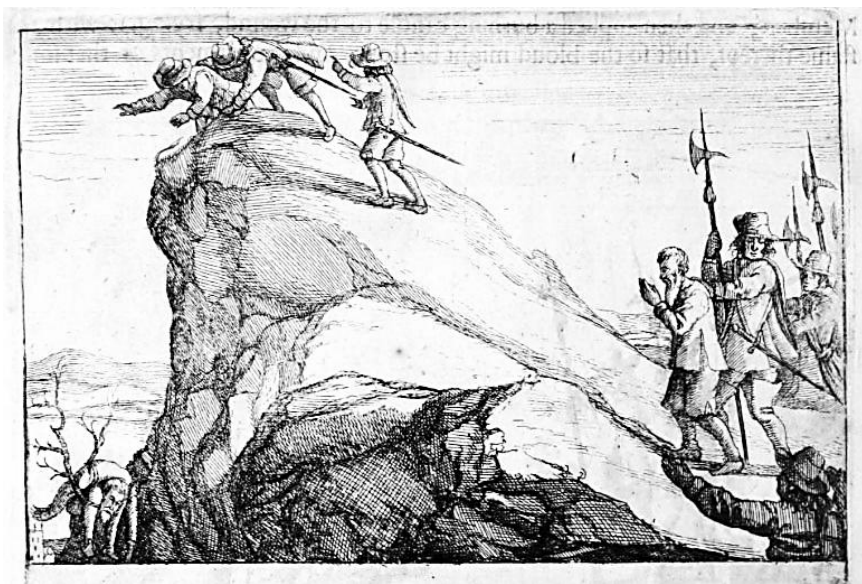
A certain man of *Trassiniere*, servant of *Jacopo Michalino* of *Bobio*, being taken prisoner the 8 of *May*, received divers stabs with a Dagger in the sole of his feet, and in his Ears, by the hands of one *Gulielmo Roche* a famous Massacrer of *Lucerna*, and another called *Mandolin*, who afterwards cut off his privy Members, and then applied a burning candle to the wound, frying it with the flame thereof, that so the blood might be stopped, and the torments of that miserable creature prolonged; This being done to their minds, they tore off his Nails with hot pincers, to try if they could by any means force him to renounce his Religion. But when nothing would do, they tied one of his Legs to the Marquess of *Lucerna's* Mule, and so dragged him along the streets, till such time as he had almost ended his painful life, and then binding his head about with a Cord, they strained and twisted the same with a staff so hard, that it made his Eyes and Brains drop out of his Head; In the end, when they had sufficiently satiated their appetites with all the variety of cruelties they could well devise, they cast the dead Carcass into the River, that so both one and the other Element might be the better enabled one day to bear witness against their barbarous and inhumane actions.





*Pietro Simond of Angrogna.*

*Pietro Simond of Angrogna*, about fourscore years of age, was tied Neck and Heels together, and violently hurled down vast and formidable Precipices, but as he was falling down, he by the way met with a cragged branch of a Tree, and there hung fast, in a most languishing condition for several days together (a most lamentable spectacle to behold!) not being able to help himself in the least, nor indeed capable of the help of any other, by reason it was a Precipice altogether inaccessible: I leave the Reader to make out the rest of this Tragedy, confessing myself not able to express it.



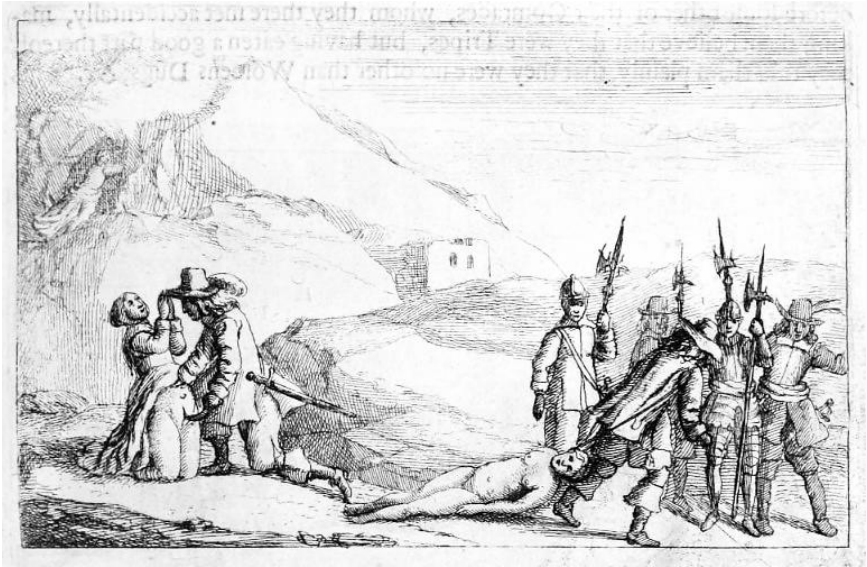
*Esaia Garcino of Angrogna,  
and Daniel Armands Wife of La Torre.*

*Esaia Garcino* of *Angrogna*, an old man of ninety years of Age, had first his body cut and hacked in small pieces, and then his head chopped off: The like also was in a manner done to *Daniel Armand's* Wife of *La Torre*, the giblets and mammocks of whose torn Carcass were strawed along the Highway, and hung upon the Hedges.



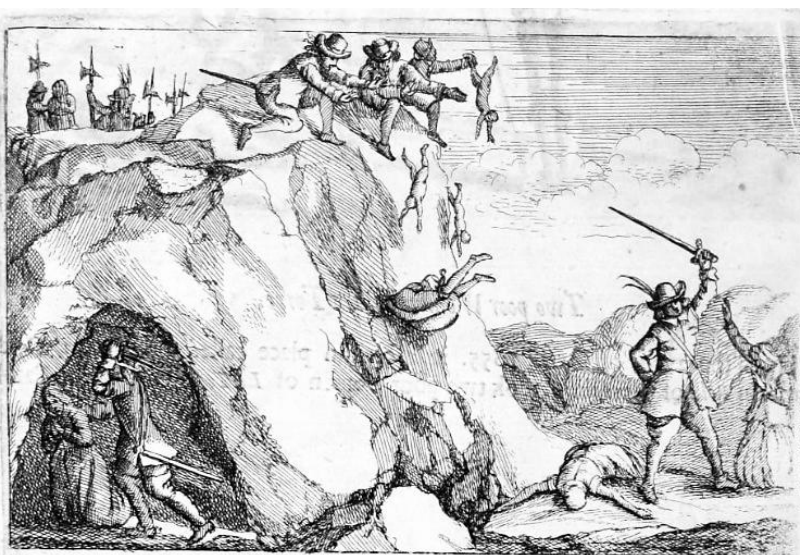
*Two poor Women of La Torre.*

Upon the 22 of *April* 1655, in a certain place called *La Sarcena*, One captain *Pola* of *Pancalieri*, took two poor women of *La Torre*, and with a Falchion ripped up their Bellies, and left them groveling upon the Snow in this lamentable condition. And this was seen by Monsieur *Gross* Minister of *Villaro*.



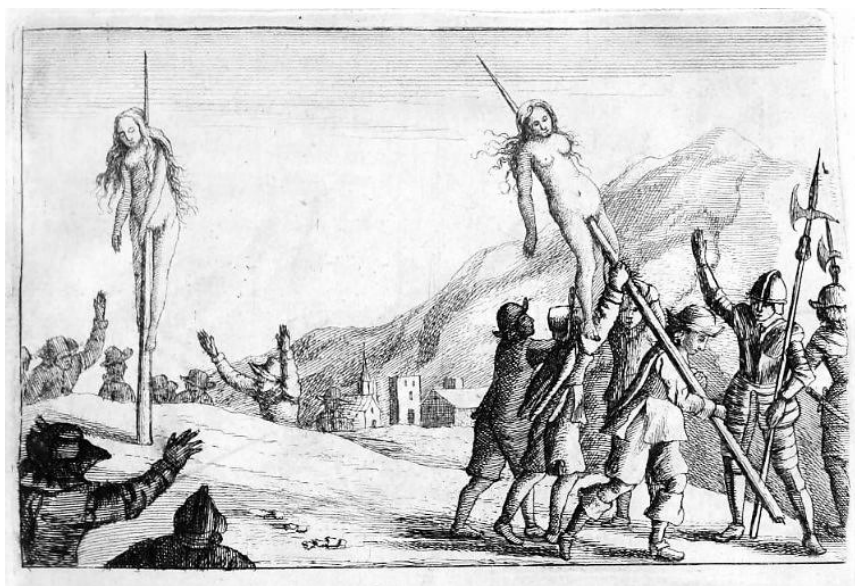
*Four poor Women, one of Villaro,  
and the other three of La Torre, with divers small children.*

In the same place the Soldiers of *Bagnols* of *Pravillerm*, cut off first the Nose, then the fingers, and last of all the hands of a very ancient and decrepit woman, then left her to languish and die in this deplorable condition, without having so much as a hand to guide a morsel of bread to her mouth. They also took many small children and tender Infants, and flung them down the Precipices, as the abovesaid Captain *Pola* confessed to Monsieur *Aghuit*, and Monsieur *Gross*, during the time of their imprisonment at *Turin*. Another woman of *La Torre*, by name *Magdalena*, Widow to *Giovanni Bertino*, being stripped naked, had her Head tied between her Legs, and was thrown down a Precipice fearful to behold. Another lame woman of *La Torre*, by name *Maria Reymondet*, Widow of the deceased *Jacopo Coing*, was found in a Cave, the flesh all sliced from off the bones, and chopped as small as herbs to the pot; so that her body appeared no other than a mere Skeleton, or Anatomy. Another woman of *Villaro* whose name was *Magdalena*, Widow of the deceased *Pietro Pilot*, being exceeding decrepit, and blind with old age, was cut in pieces in a certain Cave near *Chastelus*.



*Anna, Daughter to Giovanni Charboniere.*

*Anna*, Daughter to *Giovanni Charboniere* of *La Torre*, had a long Stake thrust into her Privities, by some of the Soldiers, who in a barbarous way carried her upon their shoulders in manner of an Ensign, till they had wearied themselves, each man in his turn, and then they stuck the other end down into the ground, and so left her hanging in the air upon the Stakes end, as a most formidable and horrid spectacle to all that passed by that way.



*Giovanni Andrea Michialin.*

*Giovanni Andrew Michialin* of *La Torre*, being taken prisoner, escaped miraculously, after he had beheld with his eyes three of his Children torn in pieces limb-meal, and the fourth that was not above six Weeks old, snatched out of the arms of the Mother, it's swaddling clothes taken off, and stripped naked, and then its brains dashed out against the Rocks.



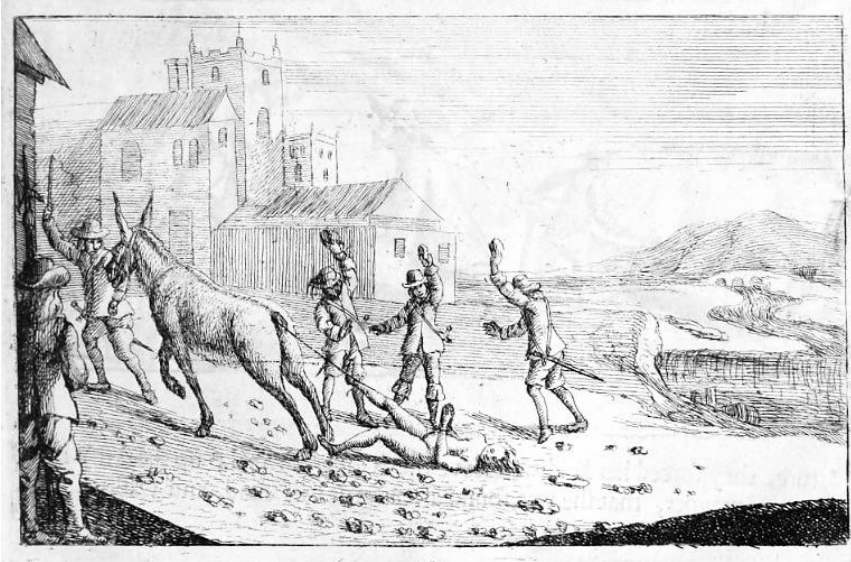
*Jacopo Perrin, and David his Brother, of Villaro.*

*Jacopo Perrin*, an Elder of the Church of *Villaro*, and *David* his Brother, were taken prisoners in their Beds, in a certain Village called *La Baudine*, and carried from thence to *Lucerna*, where they were clapped up in the *Marquess* his prison, where they were most barbarously and inhumanely used ; amongst other things, the bloody Butchers of that place stripped off the skin off their Arms and Legs by long slices, in the form of Leathern points, till such time as they had left the flesh quite bare, and at length they were miserably starved to death in the same prison, where their Carcasses were likewise suffered to lie and putrefy.



*Giovanni Pelanchion of Villaro.*

*Giovanni Pelanchion*, a young man about 25 years of age, having been taken prisoner, and made his escape, was afterwards retaken by the Soldiers, who tied one of his Legs to the tail of a Mule, and so dragged him violently through all the streets and corners of *Lucerna*; and because the poor wretch sometimes lifted up his head and hands through the great pain and anguish that he suffered by the grating of his body against the ragged flints in the streets, the hardhearted Villains battered and bruised his Body with Stones and Brickbats as he passed along, crying that he was possessed With a Devil which kept him from dying. After this they cut off his privy Members, and violently crammed them into the poor creatures mouth, and down his throat to stop his breath: At last they chopped off his head, and dragging him to the Rivers brink, there left him unburied. This cruelty hath been divers times verified in public (with great regret) even by several of the Catholics, as likewise by many of the poor Protestants themselves who were then prisoners, and were made to look on this doleful spectacle.





*Magdalena, Daughter of Pietro Fontano.*

*Magdalena*, Daughter to *Pietro Fontano*, a beautiful and well-favored Girl, about ten years of age, was taken by some of those Lecherous brute beasts, and because her age and stature was uncapable of the ordinary course of Nature, they forced her Body (I leave the Reader to make up the rest) in so inhumane manner, that she was found afterwards half dead, and wallowing in her own blood.



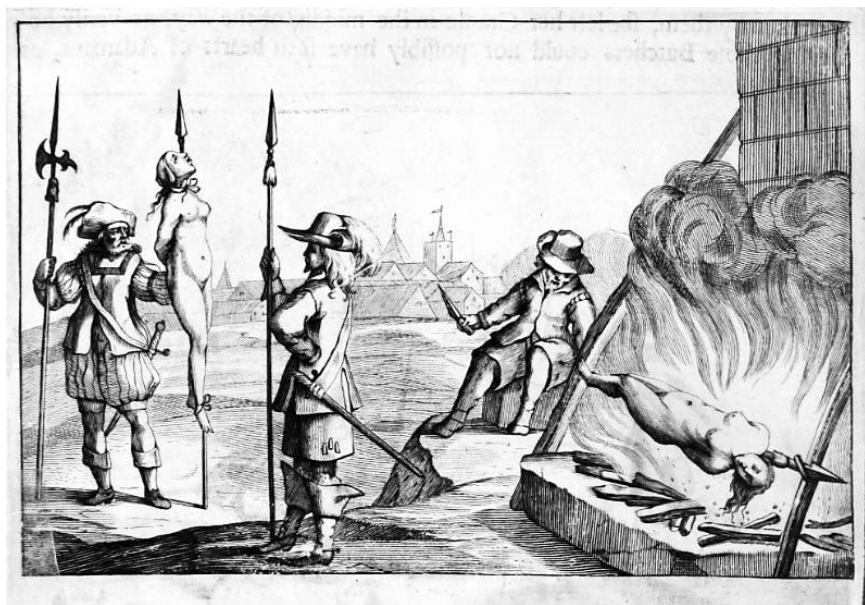
*A poor Woman of Villaro, with her young Infant.*

*Giovanni Tolasano*, a Mercer of *Villaro*, as he was passing by the Hill of *S. Juliano*, saw a poor woman fleeing from the Soldiers with a Cradle upon her head, wherein was a young suckling Child, but seeing she was like to be overtaken by them, she left her Cradle in the middle of the way, as verily believing those Butchers could not possibly have such hearts of Adamant, as to lay violent hands upon the poor innocent Babe, and so hid herself not far from the place in the cleft of a Rock. But those bloodhounds having found the Infant in the Cradle, in a most Salvage manner took it out, and pulled it into four pieces or quarters, and afterwards finding the Mother, ravished her then cut off her head, and left her dead body upon the snow.



*The Daughter of Moyses Long, of Bobio.*

The Daughter of *Moyes Long* of *Bobio*, about ten years of age, was taken by the Soldiers of *Piemont*, as she was fleeing upon the Snow, who broaching her upon a Pike or Halberd, roasted her alive upon a broad stone not far off from the place: when they had thus done, they cut off a slice of her flesh, intending to have made a meals meat on her, but not finding it throughly roasted, their stomachs would not serve them to eat it. This happened at *Villa Nouva*, hard by *Mireboc*, and the Authors of this barbarous Act, were heard by divers to tell the story to their Comrades, in a vaunting and boasting manner.



*Jacopo Michelino of Bobio.*

*Jacopo Michelino*, one of the chief Elders of the Church of *Bobio*, being taken prisoner, had his two hands tied to his privy Members, and afterwards hung upon a certain Gate in a most ignominious posture; but alas the shame was nothing to the torments, for, the whole weight of his body hanging upon so tender a part, the pain was most exquisite and almost incredible. And all this they did to make him (if possible) renounce his Religion but seeing they could not prevail, they caried him away, together with other prisoners, where, after having with incredible constancy endured a world of other cruelties, he exchanged the sufferings of this miserable life, for the joys of a better. In like manner, *Pietro Gras*, during the time he was prisoner, saw two of the poor Protestants a little above *La Sarcena*, hanging in a most hideous manner merely by their privy members, and their hands tied behind them, till at last their very bowels were almost torn out, and thus they died with horrible pain and anguish.



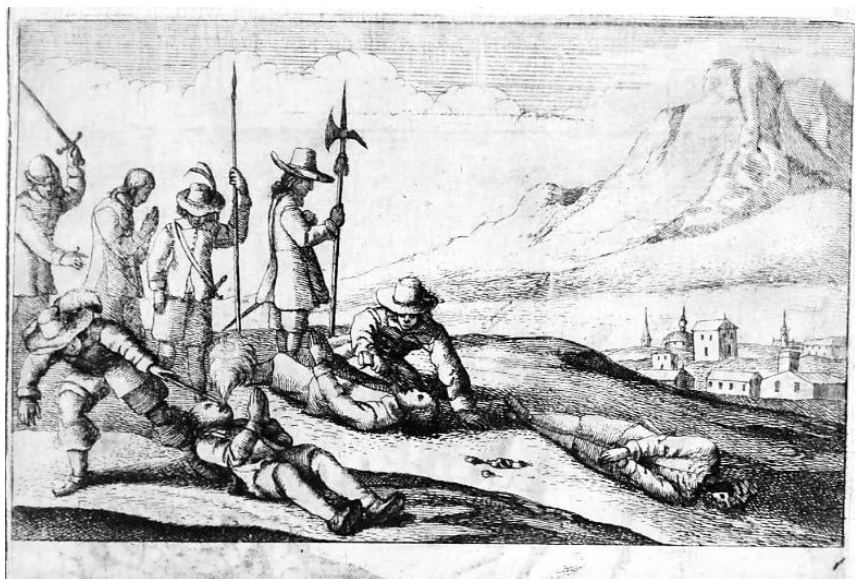
*Giovanni Rostagnol Bobio.*

*Giovanni Rostagnol*, being full fourscore years of age, had his Nose, his Ears, and other parts of his Body cut off, and left in this languishing and forlorn condition upon the Snow, where having laid a long time, at last he gave up the ghost.



*Daniel Salvagiol, and his Wife, with Giovanni, Ludovico, and Bartholemo Durant, and Daniel Revel, all of Roras, and Paolo Reynaud of Bobio.*

*Daniel Salvagiol, with his Wife, as likewise Giovanni Durant, Daniel Revel, Ludovico and Bartholemo Durant, Brothers, all of Roras, and Paolo Reynaud of Valguichiard in Bobio, were taken by the Soldiers, who cramming Gunpowder into their Mouths, and down their Throats, set Fire to the same, and so tore their Heads in flitters. I leave the *Christian* Reader to make what Reflections he please upon this devilish and prodigious usage of the poor Saints of *Jesus*.*



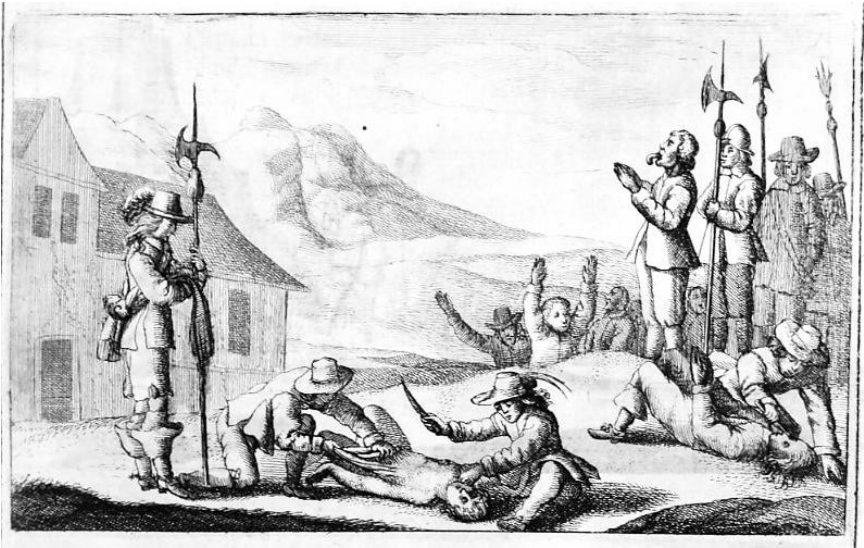
*Jacopo di Ronc.*

*Jacopo di Ronc*, a Schoolmaster of *Roras*, being stripped stark naked, after that they had tore off his Nails with Pincers, and made a thousand Holes in his Hands with a Daggers point, was dragged by a Cord that was fastened about his Middle, through the Bourg of *Lucerna*, and every step as he marched along, one of the Soldiers on one side cut off a Piece of his Flesh with a Falchion, and another on the other side gave him a great Blow with a Staff, crying in the following words, *Well! what sayest thou now Barbet, wilt thou yet go to Mass?* To which the poor Creature with an incredible constancy, as long as he was able to speak, made answer, *Much rather Death, than the Mass! Dispatch me quickly for the love of God!* By and by came one *Villelmin Roche*, a famous Persecutor, who as soon as ever he saw him, cried out, *Lo, here's the Minister of Roras*, giving him a deadly Blow athwart the Head with a Backsword, after which he caused him to be brought to the Bridge *L' ayal*, and cutting off his Head, threw him into the River of *Pelis*, which rolled the dead Body down as far as *Bubliana*, where it was found and buried.



*Paolo Garnier.*

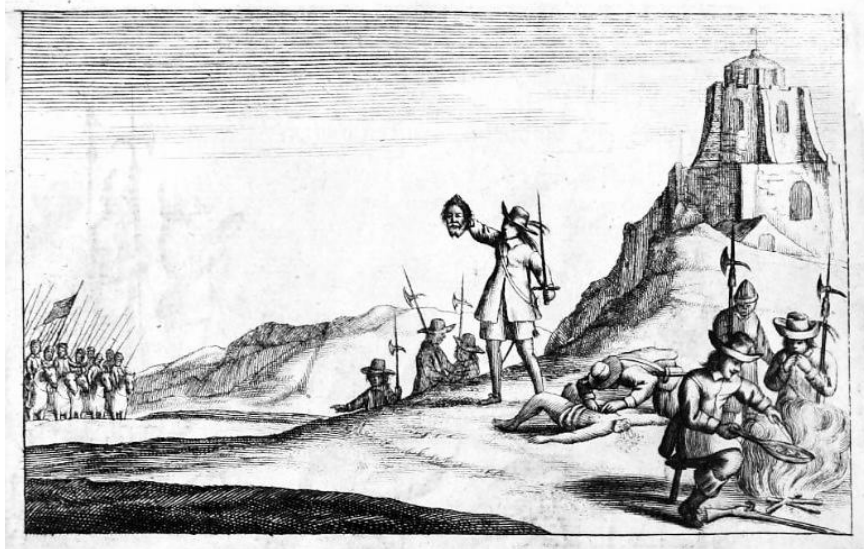
*Paolo Garnier* of *Roras* being taken by those Murderers, they first violently pulled out his Eyes, and cut off his privy Members, thrusting his Yard into his Mouth; and in this posture exposed him to public view for several days together. But being not content with this, they afterwards in a most butcher-like manner stripped this poor Creature alive, and then cutting the Skin into four parts, hung the same up, in four Windows of four of the principal Houses of *Lucerna*.





*Daniel Cardon of Roccapiatta.*

*Daniel Cardon of Roccapiatta*, being taken by some of the Soldiers a little above the Temple of *S. Giovanni*, they cut off his Head, and then took out his Brains, and frying the same, eat them up, they also cut open his Stomach, and were taking out his Heart to fry that and eat it, but they were affrighted by some of the poor Peoples Troops that were coming that way.



*Margarita Revel of La Cartere, and Maria de Pravillerm in S. Giovanni; as likewise Madona Lena and Jeanna Batzan of La Torre, the third eighty, the first fourscore and five, and the other two ninety years of age, of whom the second and the third were blind.*

*Margarita Revel of La Cartere of the age of fourscore and five years, the Mother in Law of Captain Paolo Genoulat, and Maria di Pravillerm of the age of ninety years and blind, both of S. Giovanni, were taken, and in a most barbarous manner burned alive in the place called Les Vignes, on the one side of Angrogna, which was seen and hath been attested by Judith Grand, and by the Wife of Mattheiu Jordan of La Torre, as also by Maria Daughter of Jacobo Davide. In like manner were handled Madona Lena, and Jeanna Batzan, both of La Torre, the last ninety, and the first eighty years of age, and blind.*



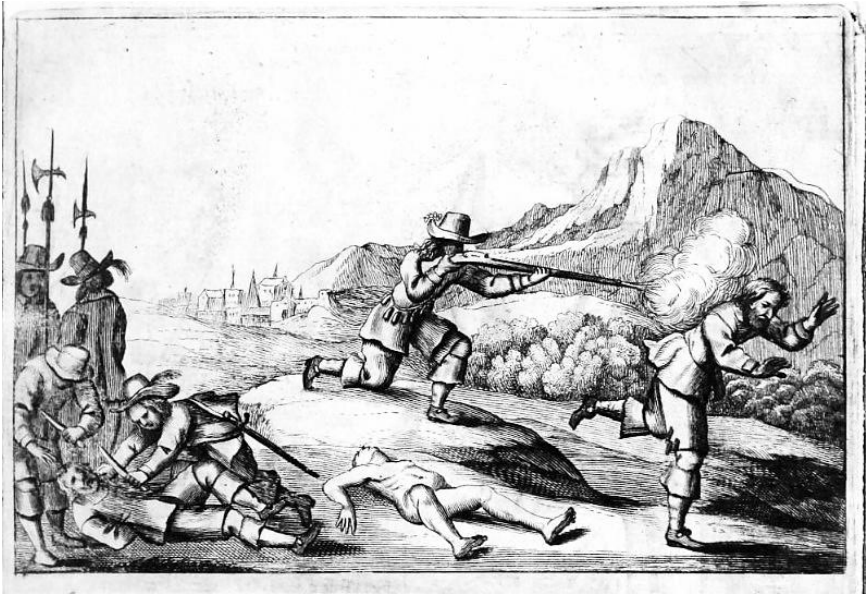
The Widow of the deceased *Giovanni Ugon* of *La Torre*.

A certain Widow of the deceased *Giovanni Ugon* of *La Torre*, who had lain extreme sick for three years together, was taken by the Soldiers, and together with one of her Daughters, drawn upon a kind of a Car, through the Streets of *La Torre*, where, as they passed along, some of those Sons of Blood, stabbed their Bodies with Prongs, Pitch forks, and other such like Instruments, others bruised their Bodies, with Flints, and afterwards flung them Into the River of *Angrogn*, where they soon dispatched them With Flints and Bats: the truth of which is attested by several of the Papists themselves, and that with an abhorreny of so abominable a Cruelty.



*Paolo Giles of La Torre.*

*Paolo Giles of La Torre*, as he was fleeing from the Murderers, received a Shot on the Neck, in a certain place called *La Combe di Macanail*, after which they slit all his Face through the Chin and Nose, and then having dispatched him, left his Carcass to be eaten by the Dogs.

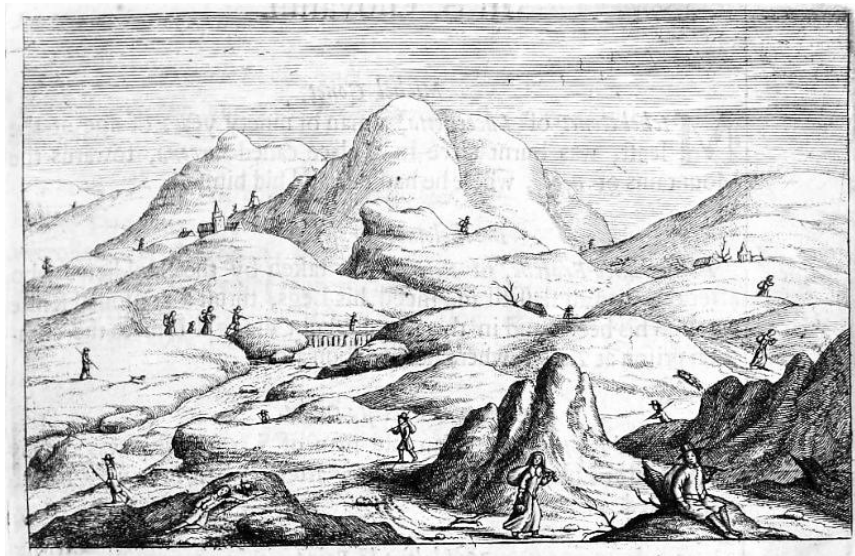


Eleven Men forced to throw one another into the Fire.

Mr. *Gross* Pastor of *Villaro* in *Bobio*, told the Author, during his abode at *Geneva*, that being at *Pignerolio*, he heard several persons affirm in the presence of *Monsieur de la Simone Major* of *Pignerolio*, that some of the Murderers having taken eleven Men at *Garcigliana*, heated a great Oven or Furnace red hot, and caused those poor Creatures to throw one another into the said burning fiery Furnace successively; and when it came to the last Man, they themselves threw him in also.



It is a thing most certain likewise, that very frequently those Bloodhounds pursued and hunted out Multitudes of those poor Protestants among the Rocks and Mountains, by the very traces of their bleeding Feet and Legs, which had been sorely cut and mangled by the Ice and Flints which they met with by the way, in their Flight.



The foregoing Relations are some choice Stories picked and culled out of the Heap, to present the Reader with in their lively Idea's. These that follow, are a Mess of Cruelties, which may very well serve for the second Course, many of them being notoriously cruel and barbarous, and every syllable of them verified by most authentic Attestations, which the Author reserves by him for several weighty Reasons, being ready to give any ingenious person all possible satisfaction therein.

## In S. Giovanni:

### *Michel Gonet.*

*Michel Gonet* of *Lucernetta*, a man of ninety years of age at the least, was burned alive in a place called *Sarcena*, towards the Mountains of *Bobio*, where he had fled and hid himself.

### *Bartholomeo Frasche.*

*Bartholomeo Frasche*, of *Fenile*, was taken by the Soldiers, who after they had all slashed and sliced his Legs, thrust a poisoned Knife through his heels, and in this woeful plight dragged him to the common prison at *Turin*, where he died soon after.

### *Giovanni Baptista Oudri.*

*Giovanni Baptista Oudri*, an old man of *S. Giovanni*, was cruelly murdered at a place called *La Sarcena*, after he had been very barbarously used.

### *Magdalena la Peine.*

*Magdalena la Peine*, a woman of about thirty-five years of age, being pursued close by the Enemies, and knowing what measure she should receive from them, chose rather to cast herself down a Precipice very formidable to behold, than to fall into the hands of such bloody Butchers.

### *Marguerita Revella.*

*Marguerita Revella*, a woman of about fourscore and five years of age, together with another woman of ninety, and blind with very age, by name *Maria di Pravillerm*, were burned to death.

### *Maria Davi.*

*Maria*, the Daughter of *Jacopo Davi*, was murdered by the Soldiers.

*Michele Bellino.*

*Michele Bellino*, with one *Anna di Pol Bochiardino*, and *Giovanni Pietro Marguet*, their servant, were beheaded by the hands of *Cattalino*, and *Francisco Lemna* of *Briqueras*.

*Daniele Pellene.*

*Daniele Pellene* was massacred in *Angrogna*.

*Michele Parise.*

*Michele Parise* was beheaded at *Cavor*.

*Giovanni Danna.*

*Giovanni Danna*, was burned alive in a Barn, at a certain place called *La Maria*, in *Angrogna*.

*Daniele Gonin, and David Chianforan.*

*Daniele Gonin*, and *David Chianforan*, of *La Piene* were cruelly massacred.

*Pietro Mallanot's Daughter.*

The Daughter of *Pietro Mallanot*, a Counsellor of *S. Giovanni*, was rolled from the top of a Precipice, to the bottom, with her Brother, a little infant of eight months old, in her Arms, and two days after they were found by their Father quite dead, upon the Snow, both the Girl, and the little infant her brother in her arms.

*Giovanni, Son of Pol Parise.*

*Giovanni*, Son of *Pol Parise*, with his Wife and child, as also the Daughter of *Giovanni Prin*, were all fearfully murdered; especially the Wife of *Pol Parise*, who was hurled down a mighty Rock, with a little infant in her arms, and three days after, was found dead with the little child alive, but fast clasped between the Arms of the dead Mother, which were cold and stiff, insomuch that those that thus found them, had much ado to get the young child out.



*Paolo Chiariet's Wife.*

The Wife of *Paolo Chiariet*, together with two small Infants, was inhumanely put to death.

*Josepho Chiaret, and Paolo Garniero.*

*Josepho Chiaret*, who had received a wound in the fight a little before, was slayed at *Lucerna*, and had the Grease taken out of his body. The same likewise done to *Paolo Garniero*.

*Maria Peul.*

*Maria Peul* was massacred.

*Mattheo Turin.*

*Mattheo Turin* being taken at *Angrogna*, was carried from thence and massacred at *Lucernetta*, close by the Bridge of *Lucerna*, and his Carcass was afterwards eaten by the Dogs.

*Marguerita Saretta.*

*Marguerita Saretta*, was stoned to death, and her dead body cast into the River from off the Bridge of *Balfre* in *Angrogna*.

*Joshua Albarino.*

*Joshua Albarino*, was made Prisoner, and afterwards privily made away, so that he was never more to be found, nor was it at all known what became of him.

*Laurentio Pont.*

*Laurentio Pont*, was murdered at *Bubbiana*.

*Cypriano Bastia.*

*Cypriano Bastia* was inhumanely starved to death at *Lucerna*, and his dead body afterwards cast to the Dogs.

## In Angrogna:

*Jacopo Simond, and Catharina Coissone.*

*Catharina Coissone* a poor lame Woman, and fourscore years old, was dragged barefoot, to a certain place called *Chiodet*, where they cut off her head, and left her body unburied upon the Snow. The like was also done to *Jacopo Simond*.

*Isaiah Ricca, and Catharina Simond.*

*Isaiah Ricca*, and *Catharina* the Wife of *Pietro Simond*, a decrepit old woman, were taken by the feet, and hurled down the Precipices of the ragged Rocks, in a manner dreadful to behold. The last of these, namely, *Catharina*, had first her brains dashed out against the Rocks, before she was thus thrown down the Precipices.

*Jeanna Praessuch.*

*Jeanna* a poor innocent, the sister of *Antonio Praessuch*, had her head cut off in a certain place called *Gachet*, and her body cast into the cleft of a Rock, whence it was with very much difficulty taken out some days after.

*Bartholomeo Odin.*

*Bartholomeo Odin*, a poor man of at least fourscore years of age, was first thrown down some part of the Rocks; and it happening that he was not quite dead with the fall, he was afterwards in a barbarous manner dispatched by the Soldiers, who left his dead body naked and unburied.

*Davide Fenovil, and the two Daughters of Stephano Chiauvia.*

*Davide Fenovil*, who had been lame for above twenty years before, as also the two Daughters of *Stephano Chiauvia*, had first their heads chopped off, and afterwards their bodies thrown down the precipices.

*David Ricca.*

*David Ricca*, was murdered in a Barn, and afterwards the Barn was thrown down upon his dead body (a better grave than the rest of his fellows had).

*Laurentio Odin,*

*Pietro Coga,*

*Thomas Benech,*

The Mother and a Sister of *Paolo Giouvio*,  
all cruelly murdered.

*Antonio Bertino.*

*Antonio Bertino*, fleeing for his life to the higher part of *Angrogna*, had first his Nose, Paps, and Privities cut off, and then his head cleft in twain.

*Two Children of Giovanni Pont.*

Two Children of *Giovanni Pont* were murdered, and then their bodies burned and consumed to ashes.

*Daniel Bonet* a Reverend Elder,  
and *Davide Fraschia*,  
massacred.

*Giovanni Revel.*

*Giovanni Revel* was first used in a horrible and barbarous manner, and then had his head cut off by *Gulielmo Roche*, for answering him upon his Interrogates, that he would live and die in the *Protestant Religion*.

*Jeanna Bonetta.*

*Jeanna Bonetta*, above fourscore years of age, was cruelly put to death.

*Maria Genolat.*

*Maria*, the Wife of *Giovanni Genolat*, although a very aged woman, was first abused by the Soldiers, and then \_\_\_\_\_ to the ground.

*Josepho Pont.*

*Josepho Pont*, had first a wound in the Reins of the back, and then his body cut off in the middle, which was found in this lamentable condition a while after at *La Roche Maneod* unburied, and not to be approached by reason of its nauseous smell.

At La Torre:

*Mattheo Peloux.*

*Mattheo Peloux*, of *Pravillerm*, inhabiting formerly at *Chabriols*, was taken at *La Comba* of *Villaro*, and having received first a wound in his body, by a Musket-shot, was burned alive in the Church of *De Combe*.

*Daniel de Maria.*

*Daniele de Maria*, being fled into a certain place called *Clotigat*, and lying there sick, after he had seen two of his own children murdered before his eyes, was himself barbarously dispatched in his bed.

*Maria Remondet.*

*Maria Remondet*, Widow of the deceased *Jacopo Coing*, a lame woman, after she had lain five Weeks in a Cave, her body was found cut in pieces, and minced (as the Proverb is) *as small as herbs to the Pot*.

*Juditha.*

*Juditha*, Widow of the deceased *Daniele de Rostagnol*, being fourscore years old, was a long time dragged up and down upon the ground, and at length they cut off her head.

*Magdalena Grand.*

*Magdalena Grand*, the Wife of *Giovanni Grand*, as she was fleeing for her life, fell into a deep River, and was drowned.

*Magdalena* the Mother of *Daniele Reymond*,  
*Daniele Martino*,  
*Mattheo Bertino*, and *Marguerita* his Wife,  
massacred.

*Philippo Viton.*

*Philippo Viton* was massacred in a certain place called *Pertusel*.

*Magdalena Armand.*

*Magdalena*, Widow to the deceased *Jacopo Armand*, was murdered at the mouth of a Cave at *La Sarcena*.

Three Infants of *Pietro Fine*  
were stifled in the Snow.

*Paolo Belin*, together with his Mother and Daughter,  
were massacred.

*Giovanni Charboniere.*

*Giovanni Charboniere*, Son of the deceased *Antonio*, was massacred, and his Daughter (who was an innocent) was first stripped stark naked and then had a long Stake driven through her belly, whereof she died.

*Lucia Besson.*

*Lucia* the Wife of *Pietro Besson*, a woman very great with child, and not far from the time of lying down, as she was fleeing for her life, was so affrighted with the dismal cries and screechings of some that were murdered not far from the place where she was, that she was brought a bed upon the Mountain *Julian*, where she was afterwards found dead, with the Infant that Was newly born, and two other suckling children lying by her.

*Francisco Gros.*

*Francisco*, son of the deceased *Valerio Gros*, a Minister, was taken, and while he was yet alive, had his body cut in small Giblets, in the presence of his own wife (to add to the misery) and afterwards the same men took two of their small children, and most cruelly murdered them.

*Thomas Margher.*

The *Sieur Thomas Margher*, an Elder of *La Torre*, being hunted from his House and habitation to a place called *Mirobocas*, was there miserably starved to death with hunger and cold.

Three infants of *Stephano Millan*,  
massacred.

*Juditha Revelin, with seven Children.*

*Juditha Revelin*, and her seven Children, great and small, were all barbarously murdered in their beds.

*Josepho Michialino, and his three Children.*

*Josepho Michialino*, was murdered, and three of his Children were stifled in the Snow.

*Daniel Revelino*,  
massacred.

*Anna Armand.*

*Anna* the Widow of *Daniel Armand*, a woman about 75 years old, was taken at a place called *Tagliaretto*, and there cut in pieces by the Soldiers of *Cavor*.

*Anna Armand,*  
*Faci Magnet,*  
*Daniel Coin* and his Mother,  
*Giovanni Cynard,*  
all cruelly massacred, and most of them beheaded.

*Anna Mallanot,*  
an innocent, inhumanely butchered.

*Magdalena Crespin,*  
cruelly beaten to death.

*Giovanni Rosset*, together with his Wife, and three of his children,  
massacred.

*Paolo Giaquino*  
died in prison at *La Torre*, through hard and cruel usage.

*Jacopo Pecol's* Wife and Son,  
*Marguerita Fontana,*  
*Magdalena Ugon,*  
*Laurentio Malanot's* Wife,  
*Marguerita Bonets,*  
were all thrown down the Rocks at *Tagliaretto*,  
and so died miserably.

*Gaspar Fayol's* Wife.

The Wife of *Gaspar Fayol* was first taken Prisoner, and after they had forced her to labor hard for them about cutting of Corn, and other Harvest work, at last came behind her and cut off her Head as she was thus laboring with much diligence.

*Jacopo Rosseno.*

*Jacopo Rosseno* refusing to say *Jesus Maria*, being first most cruelly beaten with Sticks and clubs, and having received several Shots in his Body, had at last his Head cloven in two by the Soldiers.

*Anna Giaymet.*

*Anna* the Wife of *Giovanni Giaymet* of *La Torre*, had her Head cut off between *Bagnoli* and *Cavor*, and her Body exposed to wild Beasts.

Three Children of *Giovanni Dominico*, and *Marguerita* his Wife.

Three Children of *Giovanni Dominico*, with one who belonged to him, by name *Filastre*, were burned alive together in a House, at *Bruneto* in *Tagliaretto*.

Two Children of *Stephana Milano Francesquino* (both of them dumb Creatures),  
were most unmercifully and savagely murdered.

*Bartholemi Bertinet.*

*Bartholemi Bertinet*, the Son of *Jacopo Bertinet*, was murdered at *Famolase*, because he would not put off his Hat, and worship a certain Temple in that place, as he was passing by it, and had his dead body exposed to the wild Beasts.

*Bartholemi Giamet.*

*Bartholemi* Son of *Bartholemi Giamet*, as he was fleeing for his life, was smothered in the Snow at the Hill of *St. Juliano*.

*Susanna Giacquin.*

*Susanna* the Daughter of *Paolo Giacquin*, as she was making resistance against a certain Soldier that would have abused her, and by chance had pushed him down a Rock, was cut in pieces by some other Soldiers that came that way just at the same time.



*Maria Bellin, and Maria Paglias.*

*Maria* Widow of the before deceased *Jacopo Bellin*, and *Maria* Widow of the before deceased *Giovanni Paglias*, were both massacred, and their dead Bodies afterwards devoured by wild Beasts.

*Marguerita Chialmis, and*  
*Marguerita Bonetta*  
were both murdered.

*Pietro Richiardon,*  
together with the Wife of *Giovanni Allova*, alias *Ben*,  
and *Marguerita Copin*,  
were all massacred.

*Giovanni Pallias.*

*Giovanni Pallias*, a poor Peasant of the Communalty of *La Torre*, being taken Prisoner by the Soldiers, after all manner of Reproaches and Scorns which those of the Convent and Town cast upon him, both in Words and Actions, was by special Order of the Marquess of *Pionessa*, dragged by the Hangman to a certain place not far from the Convent, where the said Marquess was himself in person; when he came thither, the Marquess played the Under-Sheriff (a worthy Employment for a Gentleman of his quality), and commanded the Hangman to place the poor Peasant at the foot of a Ladder, which was set up against a Tree, and to prepare all things for Execution; at which time the Monks and Mass Priests who had conduced the condemned Innocent from his Prison to the Gallows (and who indeed ought to have shown him the way up the Ladder also), did not cease to use all the Arguments which either the Devil, or their own Invention could possibly furnish them with, to shake the Faith and the constancy of this poor Creature: but all in vain; for, so far was he from being affrighted with the pale face or terrors of Death, that all his Expressions or outward Gestures plainly demonstrated the inward Ecstasies and Joys of his Heart, to see himself *accounted worthy to suffer for the Cross of Christ*: and notwithstanding they often pressed him to remember the sad Estate

that he must leave his Children and Family behind him in, he always answered them, that it was his hearty Prayer to Almighty God, that his Children might follow their Fathers steps, and die like himself: whereupon the Mass Priests seeing all their Persuasions and Temptings were but as sounding Brass and tinkling Cymbals, they lent the Hangman their helping hands to end the poor man's miserable days; and because they could not shake him from his Principles, they hastened to turn him off the Ladder.

*Paolo Clement.*

This *Sieur Paolo Clement*, an Elder of the Church of *Rossana*, not many days after the Execution of the abovesaid *Pallias*, was brought by the Monks and Mass Priests to the very same place, where they showed him the dead Body of the other, thinking thereby to scare him out of his Principles and Profession; but the good man answered them with undaunted courage, that *they might be able to kill the Body, they could never be able to prejudice the Soul of a true Believer*. However, he assured them, that God would be the Avenger of all the innocent Blood that they had spilled, and thereupon, having first used some spiritual Ejaculations, and prepared himself *to yield up his Soul to God that gave it*, he desired the Hangman to dispatch him. Now three or four days after the death of this holy and devout Man, the Marquess of *Pionessa* happening to pass that way, one of his Soldiers discharged a Musket against the dead Corpse, whereupon there gushed out a Stream of fresh colored Blood, Which the said Marquess observing, told some that were near him, *This Blood cries for vengeance*. After this, both their dead Bodies were hanged up, each of them by one foot, upon a Tree, near to the Gate of *La Torre*; and when any Prisoner of the Reformed party passed by that way, they were compelled to go and kiss those dead men's privy members, that so they might put a like ignominy upon the Living and the Dead together. But by reason of the multitude of Bullets that were shot against them by the Soldiers passing that way, it was not long before they fell all in pieces.

*Andrea Gillio*, Son of *Pietro Gillio* Pastor of *La Torre*,  
and *Bartolemi Copin*,  
were both cruelly massacred.

*Magdalena Juliano.*

*Magdalena*, the Wife of *Stephano Juliano*, was first wounded with a Shot which she had received, and then had her Body cut all in pieces.

In Vallaro:

*Daniele Rambaut.*

*Daniele Rambaut* of *Villaro*, a Man charged with a numerous Family, was taken prisoner and carried to *Paysana*, with several others his Neighbors, where after he had been a while imprisoned, and by no means to be wrought upon by the Monks and Mass Priests to pronounce the words *Jesus Maria* (although pressed to it with many Threats and Artifices), the Tormentors first cut off his Fingers, one after another, and then his two Hands, and last of all with a Shot in his Stomach gave him his deadly Wound: but (as their usual custom was) not contenting themselves without exercising their malice upon the dead Bodies of the Protestants, they dragged his Carcass to the River side, where it was eaten up and devoured by Dogs and wild Beasts.

*Pietro Chabriolo.*

*Pietro Chabriolo* the Son of *Josepho Chabriolo* of *Villaro*, being taken by the Soldiers near the House of one *Laurentio Durante*, they placed a great quantity of Gunpowder about his Body, and putting Fire to the same, tore him to pieces.

*Pietro Bertino Maghit.*

*Pietro Bertino Maghit* of *Villaro*, was massacred in the Village of *Pertusel*, having been first sorely wounded with those many Slashes and Cuts that he had received in most parts of his Body.

*Pietro Mondon.*

*Pietro Mondon* of *Villaro* (whither he had formerly fled for Refuge), was overtaken by the Enemies as he was fleeing from his own House towards the Mountains of *Chiapelet*, and there was cruelly murdered by them.

*Giuditha Rostagnol.*

*Giuditha* the Widow of the afore deceased *Daniele Rostagnol* of *Villaro*, had first her Head chopped off in a certain Cave of *Chastelus*, and afterwards her Body thrown down the Rocks.

*David Geimet* and his Mother.

*David Geimet* of *Villaro*, together with his Mother who was exceeding aged and decrepit, was barbarously murdered by the Soldiers among the Villages of *Moussa*.

*Daniele Fellipone.*

*Daniele Fellipone* had his Head hacked off from his Body as he was lying in his Bed in the House of one *Giovanni Fiantino*, at *Villaro*.

*Antonio Calieris.*

*Antonio* the Son of the afore deceased *Samuele Calieris* (a dumb and innocent Creature), was most inhumanely butchered, as he was sitting by the fires side, at a place called *Clotillart*.

*Peiron Minan.*

*Peiron Minan* was caught by the Soldiers as he was making his Escape out of his own House, and in a very cruel manner by them killed upon the place where they caught him.

*Pietro Moninat.*

*Pietro Moninat* and his Wife lying both of them extreme sick and weak, were butchered at the Alpe of *La Roussa* by the Soldiers; who also finding in the same House one of their Children, being a poor

Infant, lame and impotent, cut off its Legs, and so left it in that miserable plight. There was also in the same House a poor Girl, another of their Children, who had been dumb from its Cradle, found by some of the Neighbors not long after, starved to death for want of sustenance.

*Susanna Fantino.*

*Susanna*, Widow of the afore deceased *David Fantino*, was cruelly murdered in the Village of *Liuzza*.

*Davide Fontano.*

*Davide Fontano* of *Villermينو*, a man exceeding aged and feeble, was massacred in the Village of *Bezza*, and afterwards had his Body dragged up and down by the Soldiers in a most unseemly manner.

*Giovanni Gaio.*

*Giovanni Gaio*, Son of the afore deceased *Antonio Gaio* of *Pravillerm*, who had formerly fled to *Villaro* for Refuge, was massacred in his Flight towards the Mountains of *Balmedaut*.

*Daniele Benech* with his two small Children.

*Daniele Benech*, an Inhabitant of *Villaro*, was taken by the Soldiers in one of the Villages of *La Cercena*, who first cut off his Nose, his Ears, and other parts of his Body, till such time as they had dispatched him; and afterwards left the mangled pieces upon the Hedges and Bushes of the said place. There were also two small Children of the abovesaid *Daniele Benech* stifled in the Snow at the same time, for want of a Father to lead and conduct them.

*Daniele Garre.*

*Daniele Garre*, Son-in-Law to the *Sieur Mondonis*, was most unmercifully murdered by the same Soldiers, who had dispatched the abovesaid *Benech*, in the Village of *La Cercena*.

*Maria Gril.*

*Maria* Widow of the afore deceased *Daniele Gril Bourgoin* of *Villaro*, was horribly murdered by the Soldiers at *Macanail* near *La Cercena*, whose Body was afterwards eaten up and devoured by wild Beasts.

*Pietro Berardo.*

*Pietro Berardo* of *Villaro*, being pursued hard by the Soldiers towards the Mountains of *Balmedaut* his Foot unhappily slipped in a narrow passage as he was fleeing, and so he fell down the side of an high Rock, where he was afterwards found dead.

*Maria Pelanchion.*

*Maria* the Widow of the afore deceased *Daniele Pelanchion* of *Villaro*, being taken by the Soldiers at *La Combe delli Carbonieri*, after they had abused her, they shot her almost to death, and then flung her into the River of *Valguichiart*: this poor Woman being not quite dead, with much pains and many shifts (very pitiful to behold), got out of the River again, and laid herself down in the Sun, hoping by the heat thereof to be somewhat revived and refreshed; but the Soldiers perceiving that, took her again, and fastening a Rope to her Feet, dragged her to the Bridge, and there they hung her up by the Feet; in which posture they shot her to death, and afterwards left her stark naked upon a Rock.

*Maria Monino.*

*Maria* the Wife of *Daniele Monino*, was taken by the Soldiers in the Village of *Liuzza*, who having broken her Jaws in pieces, and given her a very deep Cut in the Neck, so that her Head was half on and half off, left her in this languishing condition, where, after enduring unspeakable Torments for divers days together, she departed this miserable life.

*Maria Negrino and her Daughter.*

*Maria* Widow of the afore decease, *Davide Negrino* (a poor Beggar of *Villaro*) together with a Daughter of hers who was an Innocent, were both of them inhumanely massacred in the Village of

*Bozza*, and their dead Bodies afterwards thrown into the adjoining Woods.

*Anna Arduino.*

*Anna* Widow of the afore deceased *Arduino*, was massacred in the Mountains of *Chiapelet*, where also her Body was left unburied.

*Susanna Bals.*

*Susanna* Widow of the afore deceased *Samuel Bals* of *Villaro*, was taken by the Soldiers in the Village of *Balmedaut*, who after they had abused her at their pleasure, shut her up between two Stone Walls where she was miserably starved and pined to death.

*Daniele Bert.*

*Daniele Bert* of *Villaro*, endeavoring to defend his Wife from the Rage of the Soldiers, was by them massacred in the Village of *Liuzza*.

*Susanna Calvio.*

*Susanna* the Wife of *Jacopo Calvio* of *Villaro*, being sorely wounded by the Soldiers at *Cercena*, got into a Barn that was there close by; which the Soldiers perceiving, they set fire to the Barn, and so burned her Body to Ashes.

*Faci Magnet.*

*Faci Magnet* was murdered in the Village of *Pertusel*, at a certain place called *La Maisonetta*.

*Daniele Pelanchion.*

*Daniele Pelanchion* of *Villaro*, was massacred in a certain Village called *Meinet*, close by *Brezza*.

*Catharina Fontano.*

*Catharina*, Widow of the afore deceased *Daniele Fontano*, was massacred among the Villages of *Bezza*, where she was found afterwards with the very Sword wherewith she was killed, sticking in her bowels. It may be those that were so bloody to thrust it in, had not the heart to pluck it out again.

*Magdalena Roussa.*

*Magdalena Roussa*, a poor Innocent, had her Head chopped off by the Soldiers upon the Mountains of *Chiapelet*.

*Micheli Bertino.*

*Micheli Bertino*, was cruelly murdered by the Soldiers upon the Mountains of *La Cercena*.

*Stephano Perino.*

*Stephano Perino*, a very aged man of *Villaro*, was massacred close by his own House, which in a manner adjoined to the Town.

*Daniele Bertino*, his Child.

A Child of *Daniele Bertino*, who had been from the Womb both Dumb and an Innocent, was by the Enemy burned in a Barn at *Balmedaut*.

A Woman and a young Childe whose Names are unknown.

A certain person who was living in the Year 1656, and an Inhabitant of *La Torre*, assured the Author during his abode at *Geneva*, that being upon the Mountains of *Villaro*, he himself saw a young Infant not above three Months old, together with a Woman who was unknown to him, taken by those Murderers, and hurled down the Precipices of the Rocks, in a manner most barbarous and fearful to behold.

*Stephano Monino,*  
*Giovanni Albareo,*  
*Pietro Albareo,*



*Giovanni Calve,  
Pietro Bert,  
all massacred.*

## Of Bobio:

*Giovanni di Savetto.*

*Giovanni di Savetto della Combe, della Feriera*, in the Communalty of Bobio, was found dead upon the Snow, where he had been massacred, with a little Infant (whom the Murderers, as it's probable, had spared) sleeping in its Fathers arms: and thus though the Father was murdered, yet the young Infant by a special Providence was preserved.

*Paolo Armand.*

*Paolo Armand*, being extreme sick and weak, was taken by the Soldiers at a place called *La Vota di Crosonna*, and by them hacked in pieces.

*Andrea Bertono and Josepho Catalino.*

*Andrea Bertono*, a very ancient and lame Man, was taken at a certain place called *Serre de Cruel*, where he had first his Breasts cut off, and then he was cruelly murdered by those bloody Butchers: and to testify their hatred against him for his perseverance in his Religion, they cut out his Bowels after his Death, and with their Halberds hacked his dead Body in pieces. And not far off from the place where this was done, *Josepho Catalino* was also massacred.

*Daniele Michialino.*

*Daniele*, the Son of *Davide Michialino*, in the very same place where *Catalino* was massacred, was taken by the Soldiers, and besides other ill and cruel usage, had his Tongue plucked out with great violence and torments.

*Martha Giraudina.*

*Martha Giraudina*, an old Woman of about fourscore years of age, had her Head chopped off by some of the Massacrers.

*Constantia Bellione.*

*Constantia Bellione de Sibaud*, after having had her Body hacked and mangled in most parts thereof, was dispatched with several Bullets that were shot into her Bowels; and after she Was dead, they cleft her Head with a Hanger.

*Juditha Mondon.*

*Juditha Mondon* was beaten to death in a most savage manner with Clubs and Staves.

*Daniele Bertinat.*

*Daniele Bertinat* (alias *Maxiet*), was cut in pieces at *Villa Nuova*.

A Child of *Francisco Charboniere*  
massacred.

*Davide Paglias*, and *Paolo Genre*, with two Infants.

*Davide Paglias* and *Paolo Genre* endeavoring to escape each of them with a little Infant in their arms, were at last tired, and by that means overtaken by their Pursuers, and so both Men and Infants cruelly put to death.

*Stephano Billior.*

*Stephano Billior*, a poor old man of at least fourscore years of age was most barbarously killed in his Bed.

*Giovanni Rovetto.*

*Giovanni Rovetto* was massacred near the Fort of *Mireboc*, whose Corpse lay a long time naked upon the Rock, and was afterwards thrown into the River.

*Davide Pecole*, Son of *Jacopo Pecole*,  
*Giovanni*, Son of *Josepho Favatiero*,  
*Jacopo*, and *Pietro Biglior*, Brothers,  
*Francisco* Brother to *Paolo Genre*,  
shot to death by the Soldiers, and left upon the Snow.

*Micheli Genre*.

*Micheli Genre*, a young man of *Bobio*, was thrown off the Bridge of *La Torre*, down into the River of *Angrogna*, where, as he was praying with his Hands lift up to Heaven, he was partly stoned and partly drowned.

*Francisco Genre*.

*Francisco Genre*, having first received a Wound by a Shot in his Body, was thrown down the Rocks at a place called *Valguichiart*.

*Stephano Baridono*,  
*Moyse Bongiorno*,  
*Daniele Gras* Son of *Pietro Gras*,  
*Catharina Gonetta*,  
*Susanna Vy*, alias *Ruffit*,  
all cruelly and barbarously massacred.

*Davide Armand*.

*Davide Armand*, had his Head knocked and beaten with a Hammer till he died, with most sensible pains and torments.

*Jacopo Baridono*.

*Jacopo Baridono*, was taken Prisoner at *Villaro*, and from thence carried to *La Torre*, where after the Tormenters had to their minds sufficiently afflicted him with burning Matches between his Fingers,

his Lips, and other parts of his Body, till he died with mere pain and anguish, they caused his dead Corpse to be carried out by two of his fellow prisoners, and by them to be thrown into the River of *Pelice*; but afterwards, better bethinking themselves how they might be revenged against the dead Corpse, and supposing the River too honorable a Burying place for an Heretic, they compelled those that cast it in, to fetch it out again, and lay it at the Brink of the River, where, after they had exposed the same to all manner of Ignominies, it was at last eaten up by the Dogs.

### In Roras:

The Wives of *Josepho Garniero*, *Josepho Pellenc*, and *Stephano Revellio*.

The Wife of *Josepho Garniero*, the Wife of *Josepho Pellenc*, and the Wife of *Stephano Revellio*, were all most prodigiously assassinated and murdered at the time when the Army fell upon the Borders of *Roras*; where, among other passages, there was one very remarkable concerning *Marguerita* the Wife of *Josepho Garniero*, and Sister to Captain *Joshua Gianavel*; for she having received a Shot in one of her Breasts, as she was giving Suck to a little Child with the other, was yet so hearty and courageous, that she exhorted her Husband with many pathetic expressions, to *endure the Cross with patience*, and to *hold out to the end*; neither did she at all desire any favor of the Massacrers, save only to spare the Life of her innocent Babe; which accordingly they did, but immediately gave the Mother another Shot into her Body, whereof she died, and afterwards the Infant was found alive in the dead Mothers arms, and so miraculously preserved.

*Isaiah Mondon.*

*Isaiah Mondon*, having a long time hid himself in the cleft of a Rock, where for many days together he had nothing but a few leaves of unwholesome herbs to feed upon, was at last found out by the Soldiers, and near to the Bridge of the River called *La Lucerna*, was

most unmercifully handled by them. From thence they dragged him (being no better than half dead) towards the Town of *Lucerna*, but the poor man when he was able to march no further, fell down upon his Knees, beseeching his Executioners to dispatch him speedily, who accordingly were so civil as to gratify him in his request, and thereupon what with their Swords, and what with their Pistols, they soon ended his miserable days, crying out in a scoffing and deriding manner, *Kill this Barbet! Kill this Barbet*, who refuses to become a Christian. All this was done near to the *Rocca di Lucerna*.

*Ludovico Pellenco* and his Wife,  
*Paolo Richardo*,  
*Ludovico Torno* and his Mother,  
*Maria*, the Wife of *Jacopo Durando*, an old woman of fourscore  
years and upwards,  
*Micheli Salvagiot*,  
all of them horribly massacred, and some of their bodies cut and  
torn in pieces.

*Giovanni Barrolino, and his Wife.*

*Giovanni Barrolino* and his Wife, were cast alive into a Pond or Pool, where they were several times plunged and thrust under the water with Prongs and Pitch-forks, and at last dispatched with Stones and Brick-batts.

*Maria Revel.*

*Maria Revel*, having received a shot in her body, fell down in a manner dead, but afterwards recovering so much strength as to get upon her Knees to pray unto God, the Enemy dispatched her.

*Giovanni Salvagiot.*

*Giovanni Salvagiot*, as he was returning from *Bagnol*, after the Peace was concluded, and passing by a Chapel without pulling off his Hat, and making obedience thereto, was murdered, and his body left unburied.

*Giovanni Gayo*, and two of his children; *Daniele Garniero* and his Son; a Daughter of *Giovanni Morglio*; *Giovanni Feliero*, *Giovanni Miroto*, *Bartholemi Morglio*, and *Giovanni Salvagiot*, another of the same name with the abovesaid.

*Giovanni Gayo*, and all the rest abovenamed, were cruelly massacred in a certain *Cave*, where they had hid themselves, thinking to be more secure in that place than any other. These poor creatures finding themselves discovered, fell upon their Knees and begged their lives of their Massacrers, of the most of whom they had a long time before had a particular and personal knowledge, and who had always made profession to be their very good friends, for indeed they were no other than their neighbors of *Lucerna*, *Bubbiana*, *Barges*, *Bagnolo*, *Cavor*, and the adjacent parts. But the mercy of those men being altogether cruelty, the kindest salute they could then afford their old acquaintance, was with Muskets, Swords, and Pistols: which the poor people perceiving, and being not desirous to behold the lamentable spectacle of each other's misery, kneeled down in a ring, and thrust all their heads (with their faces towards the ground) into certain Fearn-brakes and other such stuff, which they had got into the *Cave*, thinking to have lain thereupon instead of beds, in which posture they were all miserably shot to death, and their dead bodies afterwards horribly mangled and cut to pieces.

### In Roccapiatta:

*Jacopo Barral, and his Wife.*

*Jacopo Barral* and his Wife, having been taken prisoners by the Earl of *San Secondo*, were three or four days after carried out of the Prison to a certain place about a quarter of a *Piemont*-mile distant, and there were shot to death: The very same Executioners did also cut off the woman's breasts.

*Giovanni Bonino.*

*Giovanni Bonino* (alias *Grangiot*) was taken in his flight by the French Troops, near *Val Perosa*, and there miserably hacked to pieces with their Hangers.

*Antonio Guigou.*

*Antonio Guigou*, being come to *Periero* with a design to change his Religion at the instigation of *Conte Borichard*, it pleased God so to touch his heart that he repented him of his resolution, and thereupon endeavored to make his escape. But being caught again by the Troops of the *Marquess of Galeas*, and handled with exceeding great cruelty because he would not yield to go to Mass, as they were carrying him prisoner towards *Prali*, and in their way passing by a Precipice, the poor man, to avoid the hands of his tormentors, leapt down the side of a Rock, and so was dashed to pieces.

Besides the abovenamed cruelties, there were brought to the Authors hands a multitude of other Relations, which, because he had them not sufficiently verified, he thought fit rather to omit, then to insert them among those whom he found to be undoubtedly true. Besides this, the ingenuous Reader can never expect that all those cruelties which were exercised upon those poor creatures in so many dark corners and by-places, should be brought to light. The truth is, these which are here set down may abundantly suffice to demonstrate the cursed and hellish cruelties of their Popish and bloody Enemies. All therefore which I shall here add, shall be only a Catalogue of the Names of some of those poor *Protestants*, who miserably perished in Prison, or in their own defense, together with the rest who were detained Prisoners; And all these in their order as follows.

A Catalogue or List of the Names of those poor *Protestants* in the Valleys of *Piemont*, who died in Prison at *Turin*,

and other places, so far as they have come to the Authors hand.

*Of S. Giovanni:*

*David Reymont, servant to the Marquess of Lucerna.*  
*Giovanni Rosel, in the Prison of Lucerna.*

*Of Angrogna:*

*Giovani Arnoul.*  
*Giovanni Pietro Raggio.*  
*Sidrac Buffa.*  
*Two of the same name, namely, Giovanni Benech.*  
*Magdalena Wife of Stephano Odin.*  
*Stephano Mondon, with his Wife and three children.*

*Of Pramol:*

*Jacopo Colalino.*  
*Captain Bartholemi Jahiere.*  
*Giovanni his Son.*  
*Jacopo Long.*  
*Bertino Long.*  
*Jacopo Jaquet.*  
*Giovanni Bondrano.*  
*Pietro Andrion.*  
*Giovanni Collatino.*  
*Giovanni Beus.*  
*Giovanni Son of Paolo Bormons.*  
*Michele Granget.*



A Catalogue or List of the Names of those poor *Protestants*  
in the Valleys of *Piemont* who died in fight.

*Of S. Giovanni:*

*Daniel Arnoul.*  
*Bartholemi Mallanot.*  
*Daniel Bouvier.*  
*Giovanni Jaime.*  
*Paolo Garniero.*  
*Pietro Ollivet.*  
*Bartholemi Mahet.*  
*Jacopo Gayot.*  
*Pietro Sibille.*  
*Antonio Lantaré.*  
*Giovanni Danna.*  
*Giovanni Brocher.*  
*Josepho Chiayret.*  
*Josepho Lantaré.*  
*Giovanni Gonino.*

*Of Angrogna:*

*Captain Michele Bertino.*  
*Giovanni Musseton, Son of David.*  
*Antonio Bertino.*  
*Pietro Coissone.*  
*Giovanni Bertot.*  
*Battista Forniero.*  
*Daniele Fraschia.*  
*Bartholemi MaHan son of Daniel.*  
*Stephano Junon.*  
*A son of Elias Gygnous.*

*Of La Torre:*

*Pietro Chabriolo.*  
*Jacopo Bonnetto.*  
*Pietro Fine.*  
*Giovanni Charbonnier.*  
*Jacopo son of Giovanni of Glodo.*  
*Pietro Richiardon.*  
*Stephano Meglie.*  
*Bartholemi Grigl.*  
*Giovanni Pilone.*  
*Jacopo Rossane son of the deceased Elias.*  
*Giovanni son of Pol Rostagn.*  
*Giovanii Morglie.*  
*Mattheo Eynard.*  
*Jacopo Ugon.*  
*Josepho Chiarret.*  
*David Copin.*  
*Bartolomi Martina.*  
*Paolo Belin.*  
*Pol Bonetto son of Jacopo an Elder.*

*Of Villaro:*

*Giovanni Brunerol Balls.*  
*Giovanni Albareo.*  
*Pietro Albareo.*  
*Pietro Bert.*  
*Stephano Monino.*  
*Giovanni Calue.*

*Of Bobio:*

*Jacopo, and Pietro, the sons of Giovanni Biglior.*  
Two who went by the name of *Giovanni* the son of *Samuel Genre.*  
*Giovanni Gras.*  
*Jacopo Balma or Caffarel.*  
*Stephano Grass.*  
*Pol Pontet, and his son Giovanni.*

*David Pecoul.*  
*Giovanni Faratier of di Josepho.*  
*Pietro Giaymonat.*  
*Josepho Arduino.*  
*Stephano Gras, alias Biglior.*  
*Giovanni Roet.*

*Of Roras:*

*Jannet Morgle.*  
*Daniele Salvagiol and his son.*  
*Bartholomi Morglie.*  
*Ludovico Tourn.*  
*Bartholemi Durand, and Ludovico his Brother.*  
*Daniel Revel.*  
*Giovanni Parise.*

*Of Roccapiatta:*

*Daniele Cardon.*  
Two whose names were *Augustino Rostaino*, whereof one was the  
most considerable member of that Church.  
*Daniele Martinat and his two sons.*  
*Daniele Bieynat.*  
*Philippo Romans.*  
*Giovanni Pasquet son of Peyret.*  
*Giovanni Giouve.*

A Catalogue or List of the Names of those poor *Protestants*  
in the Valleys of *Piemont*, who were detained Prisoners  
and refused to be restored, or set at liberty,  
notwithstanding all supplications or intercessions to  
that purpose.

### *Of S. Giovanni:*

*Maria* daughter of *Daniele Filipet* at *Paisana*.  
A son of *Stephano Meli* an Elder.

### *Of Piemont:*

*Bartholomeo* son of *Daniele Besson*, detained at *Fossan*, at  
*Captain Leuron's* house.

*Maria* daughter of *Laurentio Odin*, at *Turin*.

*Maria* daughter of *Jacopo Ricca*, at *Coni*.

*Jeanna* daughter of *Catherina Riqua*, at *Cavor*.

Two infants of *Giovanni Arnold* detained, one at *Turin*, and then  
ransomed at *Lucerna* for a *French-crown*, by a soldier, who was a  
*Bavarian*.

### *Of La Torre:*

Two daughters of the deceased *Mr. Gilles*, with one daughter of the  
deceased *Daniel Pellin*.

One daughter of *Giovanni Chianforan*, detained at *Turin*.

Two daughters *de Baptiste Giovel*.

A son of *Bartholemi Arnoul*, detained at *Turin*.

### *Of Villaro:*

*Giovanni*, son of the deceased *Daniele Marinet*, detained at  
*Scarnafix*.

*Paolo Pelanchion*, son of the deceased *Daniele*, detained by the  
Priests.

*Susanne*, daughter of the deceased *Giovanni Brunerol*, detained at  
*Villa France*.

*Paolo*, son of the deceased *Daniel Geimonat*, detained at *Raconis*.

*David Combe Magne*, detained at *Pignerolio*.

*Maria*, daughter of the deceased *David Fantino*.

*Pietro Pelanchion*, detained at *Queyras*.

*Of Bobio:*

Two male children of *David Charbonier*, alias *Feé*, detained at *S. Front*.

*Catherina*, daughter of *Stephano Barridon*, detained at the house of *Giovanni Caimus*.

*Of Roras:*

*Anna*, daughter of *Giovanni Aghit*.

---

*The End of the Second Book.*

---

THE  
THIRD BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
EVANGELICAL CHURCHES  
OF  
The Valleys of *PIEMONTE*

---

CHAPTER I: *The Court of Savoy's Factum, or Narrative of the several Transactions in the Valleys of Piemont in the Year 1655, upon occasion of the Report that was spread abroad of a Massacre of the Protestants in those parts, printed and published in the Italian, Latin, and French Tongues.*

The true Originals whereof, are to be seen, together with the other original Pieces of this present History, in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

For as much as on the one side it is the part of a true and faithful Historian, to make a naked Relation of whatsoever he pretends to give the World a satisfactory Account of, and wherever there is matter of contest, or where several contrary parties and interests fall under the subject of his Discourse, to give everyone (yea though it were the Devil himself) his due: and on the other side, that the Reader may not have one eye open, and the other shut, and that he may the better be enabled to make a right judgment of all things,

after a serious hearing and weighing the Reasons of both sides, according to that of the Tragedian,

*He who determines something without hearing both sides,  
though he may have decided rightly, has not done justice.*

I say, upon this ground, and for this Reason, I thought it might be very acceptable, and indeed necessary, after I have given an ample Narrative of the late Massacre (though backed and propped with never so evident, and authentic proofs), to insert also what the Court of *Savoy* plead in their own vindication, for such horrid and barbarous Cruelties.

Me thinks I hear the ingenuous and *Christian* Reader, thus controverting the matter, and divining the Reasons thereof in his own private thoughts. *Fain would I know what the behavior of those of the Court of Savoy was in this affair; and how they could ever think to carry, the matter so, as to satisfy the World! Did they plainly and openly deny the Fact? that were to deny a noon-day-truth, and to abuse the World in too gross a manner! or did they openly avow the same? certainly they would be more tender of their own Reputation, than by a voluntary confession, to expose themselves and their Prince to the hatred of the whole World!*

The plain truth is, this could not but be a very critical time with those of that Court, who knew right well, that the cry of the poor Peoples Blood was already gone abroad into all the Quarters and Corners of the World, and that it was now high time to be thinking of some way to prepossess the minds of men, at least with some plausible prettexts, for the justification of their proceedings! and where the business was too foul, there to palliate and disguise it! A minute of which Apology was drawn to the life by a Jesuitical Pen (the which the Reader may as easily discern in this Writing, as *Daniel* did the print of the feet in the House of *Bel*), and afterwards published both in *Italian, Latin, and French*; and had not the Author had some peculiar Advantages of diving into, and in some measure of sounding the bottom of those Designs, and to evidence the contradiction and falsity thereof, by such undeniable Arguments, as will better appear in the sequel of this Discourse, possibly it might have gained some credit and belief in the World, at least it could have done no less than exceedingly have abated the Reputation of

the foregoing Chapter. Now to the end that the Author may not hereafter be censured for having either added, diminished, or any way adulterated or sophisticated the genuine sense of this their Relation, he hath inserted the same in its original Expressions, as followeth.

## A Narrative of the several Transactions in the Valley of Lucerna, in the year 1655.

His Royal Highness upon the 25 of January 1655, commanded his subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, by virtue of an order of his Auditor Gastaldo, to transport themselves, within three days, upon pain of death, into the Valley and confines of Angrogna, the Lands of Rorata, Villaro, Bobbio, and the Villages thereunto belonging, as likewise to quit their habitations, and the goods which they possessed in other parts of the said Valley; nevertheless they had liberty to sell those goods, although they were confiscated (as having been purchased contrary to express order), The justice of which command, which is indeed the ground of all the rest, we have made appear by another writing apart, to avoid prolixity in this.

In obedience to this command, those of the pretended Reformed Religion, did accordingly retire within the limits prescribed, notwithstanding at the same time they sent Deputies to his Royal Highness, declaring this command to be contrary to their ancient Concessions, and therefore petitioned that it might be revoked.

His Royal Highness answer to them was, that this Order was conformable both to justice and the intent of their former Concessions. Yet nevertheless, That he was contented graciously to hear what they could allege to the contrary, yea moreover that he would be yet favorable to them in case they would send Deputies to *Turin*, furnished with full Commission, drawn up in a due and legal form, with whom the Concessions might be examined, and afterwards whatsoever should be found equitable, might be concluded and ratified. But withal, in receiving these favors from his Royal Highness, they should promise inviolably to observe the conditions annexed thereunto; And in the meantime they were



warned not to be disobedient, or return to the places which they had then relinquished.

This admonition was reiterated by divers Ministers of state, and members of a Committee constituted for that very end and purpose, consisting of the chief Counsellors of State, and of Justice, as also by the Marquess of Pionezza, partly by word of mouth, and partly by a long Letter, wherein he exhorted them not to omit sending Deputies with such Letters of procuration; And besides all this Christophoro, Earl of Lucerna (as he was commanded), expressly mentioned to them the favors that his Royal Highness would be inclined to accord unto them.

Notwithstanding, they always refused to send Letters of Procuration in a due form, yea on the contrary, they often sent Deputies with Letters, that never so much as passed through the hands of a Notary, and invalid, having given up themselves to the advice of certain seditious persons, who were ring-leaders in the Rebellion, which was, not to suffer themselves to be wrought upon so far as to come up to an accommodation in anything, though they knew the same to be never so just and necessary according to the true meaning and interpretation of the Concessions of their Royal Highnesses: As likewise not to bring in question the Point of Habitation, lest they should be compelled to quit their pretensions, in case they should be convinced, that what they demanded, was unjust.

At the very same time, they writ Letters to Foreign States, desiring their counsel, and how they ought to behave themselves in this business. Amongst others, they wrote to the Ministers of Gesieva, in which they enclosed also other Letters to the Governors of that City, to the same purpose.

The Answer of the Ministers of Geneva was, That if they would be guided by them, they should continue their Requests to his Royal Highness, for the obtaining of a revocation of the said Orders; and though they suffered a repulse, yet they should not desist to renew their instances. Yea, if after all, they could obtain nothing, they should nevertheless obey their Sovereign.

They added moreover this, That they had not delivered their Letters directed to the Governors of that City, lest it should redound to their prejudice (this was their own very expressions, *Ne vobis vitio vertatur*), And of these Ministers, there was but one of the contrary judgement; who indeed in a Letter of his, told the Minister of Perosa, that this was the time to show their teeth to the Wolf.

All which appears by the Authentic Process made, and by the Depositions of the Prisoners, who were legally examined, which also his Royal Highness offers to make evident, whenever there shall be occasion.

From whence it may be gathered, how falsely it is supposed, that the Orders of the 25 of January aforesaid, had respect either to their Religion or Consciences, since that even the Ministers of Geneva themselves advised them to yield obedience to the same.

In Order to this Affair, the Inhabitants of the said Valleys appointed and held a General Assembly, in which were present the Inhabitants of St. Martino, and Perosa, who with the rest consulted about the business (and the Letters were openly read), And the truth is, that whole Assembly, but especially those of St. Martino, and Perosa, with some of the chief Incendiaries of this Rebellion, did give a sufficient proof, that their respect towards their own natural Prince, was much inferior to that of the Ministers of Geneva towards the Duke of Savoy.

In sum, their Conclusion was, never to yield obedience to any such Order, and that Arms were to be taken up whensoever they should be forbidden to return to their houses (which now they had quitted), That the Estates by them unlawfully purchased, beyond the prefixed limits, should not be sold to any Catholic whatsoever, and that those should be severely punished, who should open their lips to the contrary, or should show the least inclination to turn Catholics. For the performance of all which, they all took a solemn Oath, the Ministers thereto adjoining an Act of Excommunication, against all those who should sell their Estates to Catholics.

This being done, they returned by their own Authority into the places prohibited (notwithstanding they still acted their business by way of Deputations, as if they had had no intention at all to break

out into an open Rebellion) And that with such, and so great contempt of his Royal Highness Authority, as cannot sufficiently be expressed.

His Royal Highness did indeed suffer their manners for several days together, and ordered certain persons of the County of *Lucerna*, to lay open before them their error, and the necessity of amending the same. But finding all in vain, he resolved to send the Marquess of Pionezza thither with 500 foot belonging to his Train of Artillery, besides some other of the Militia forces, and 200 horse, not only to punish them by quartering upon them the said Army (who were not however very many), but also to see whether in lieu of the Letters of Procuration which were wanting, those affairs might yet be immediately transacted with the very same Agents of the Communalities, in such sort that they might be brought to yield to such an Accommodation as might satisfy both Justice, and their Sovereign.

Now at the same time that the Marquess of Pionezza set out from Turin, there came to the said City, the Deputies of the Valleys with new Letters of Procuration, but not essentially differing from those that had been already rejected as invalid, and that as boldly, as if they had been far from having been already convicted of any disobedience, and as if they had made no such resolution as is above specified, and in a word, intended to make no other than a sport of the business.

Notwithstanding all which, they were not detained at Turin (which truly might have been done without any infringement of the Passport given them, as being of no force from the time of so formal a disobedience) but they were sent back in peace to Lucerna, their Negotiation being referred to the Marquess Pionezza, who as he was yet upon his journey thither, between Lombriasco and La Torre, signified by the Earl and Prior Rorengo of the said Valley, that he would favorably hear them, and incline to all reasonable expedients for accommodating these affairs, as appears by several reciprocal Letters; but yet there was not one man that appeared before the said Marquess, in order hereunto, nay, on the contrary their Ministers caused papers to be dispersed throughout the whole Valley, That it

was now high time for all to take up arms, according to their former engagement.

The Marquess of Pionezza being now come within two miles of S. Giovanni (and not much farther from La Torre), he sent only a single person, who was accompanied with a Peasant with Orders from his Royal Highness to the places abovesaid, to prepare Quarters, each of them for about 300 footmen, and some horse.

The Houses in S. Giovanni were at this time all dis-inhabited, all those who were fit to carry arms, with many others of all the other Villages, particularly those of San Martino and Perosa, having already transported themselves to La Torre, where they had a very considerable number of Musketeers.

This Order being presented them at La Torre, their answer was, That the Marquess of Pionezza knew well enough that they were now at La Torre, contrary to the command of his Royal Highness, and that therefore it was superfluous to send them his said Highness Orders for the quartering of soldiers, and with this they threw the said Order in a contemptuous manner at the Messenger who brought it; After which, the Marquess of Pionezza drawing up towards them with his Troops, they saluted him with a volley of Musket shot, which caused him to give forthwith command to those very Troops, who falling on with violence, rendered themselves Masters of the place in a very short time, and with the effusion of little or almost no Blood; and the Rebels by the advantage of the Night, and the Mountains, fled without being at all pursued.

This done, the Soldiers took up their Quarters in the said La Torre, to which they did no other hurt or damage, than an Army of Friends are wont to do, when they come in a great Body into a Village forsaken by the Inhabitants, which was, to make use of what they there found. True it is, that the neighboring Villages, who continued Acts of Hostility, and who for several days together sent their Musketeers by the way of the Mountains to assault the Head Quarters of the Army in La Torre were vanquished by force, and sacked. And thereupon the Marquess of Pionezza was also necessitated to increase his Army, by the addition of some of the French Regiments, which were then in Piemont.

This insolent, and unexpected stubbornness of the Rebels, although it afterwards constrained the Marquess of Pionezza to take a stricter course, yet it hindered him not from trying first by all mild ways to soften their spirits, and to this end he sent a Letter, which was accordingly delivered unto them, wherein he admonished those stiff-necked People, to take some course, whereby they might avoid the punishment due unto them, and give his Royal Highness some kind of satisfaction.

Upon the subject of this Letter, the Deputies of some places did indeed assemble, but could never find in their hearts to propound any Expedient for satisfying their Prince: wherefore the Marquess told them, that as their Brethren had committed a most grievous crime by refusing to quarter Soldiers (to which Rebellion they also had been assisting) so now they ought to endeavor yet to repair that fault, by receiving and quartering those Troops which should be sent them by Order; and that if they yielded to this, they might with more honor to His Royal Highness, treat of the means to give him satisfaction. At which time it was likewise declared unto them, that the Towns of St. Giovanni and La Torre, with the Villages depending, could not possibly be comprehended in such a Treaty, as being incapable now of either receiving Soldiers to quarter with them, or their Princes pardon; and left any controversy should arise from thence, the Marquess confirmed it to the Deputies by a clear and distinct writing.

At first, the Inhabitants of Angrogna refused to accept of what was propounded, because their neighbors of La Torre and St. Giovanni were not included: Whereupon the Marquess was compelled to put his Soldiers in battle array, for the assaulting of those Rebels; but at length they submitted, and did receive without resistance, in the lower part of the Valley, a Regiment, and the Currasiers of Livorno: But forasmuch as all the Inhabitants of those places had forsaken their dwellings, and would not furnish the said Troops with anything for their subsistence, being themselves retired to the higher part of the Valley, the Marquess was compelled to send the Regiment of Granse with an Order to quarter in that higher part.

He who commanded the said Regiment, was Mr. De Petitbourg, a professor of the pretended Reformed Religion, and he whom they

call Ayde de Major, who caused all the Orders which were given him to be put in execution. Now the Marquess of Pionezza gave command to him who was the chief and marched in the head of every Troop, recommending the same above all, to the special care of the said M. de P. B. to treat those of Angrogna in the mildest manner they could possibly, as also to take up their Quarters, and provision for subsistence in the higher part of the Valley, but peaceably, and without the least act of hostility, in case the Peasants made no resistance. This Sieur de Petitbourg hath the reputation of a person of so much honor, that there's no question to be made, but he will readily attest the truth hereof, and that he will never say he ever received any Order to the contrary. As likewise his Assistant, who is a Professor of the same Religion, is able to say, whether ever he was commanded to give Order for the committing any act of hostility upon the Inhabitants, while they behaved themselves with moderation, and abstained from provoking the Soldiery evilly to entreat them; which notwithstanding was never done, but in the very heat of the Dispute, and without laying violent hands upon any person incapable of bearing Arms.

Now the Regiment of Granse coming for quarter, in conformity to the Order they had received, they found the Peasants up in Arms; whereupon they sent three or four persons before to appease them, and to signify unto them, that they were come according to Order to quarter in a peaceable manner: With these four was joined a certain person of Angrogna, by name Giacone, who would needs have undertaken to have gone alone, to speak to those (his own Countrymen, as he said), and to persuade them to reason. But the said Giacone was no sooner arrived amongst them, but they let fly a great volley of Musket-shot at those who came along with him, continuing all sorts of hostility as before. Upon this, all the said Troops were constrained to go with their swords in their hands, to make themselves Masters of all the Habitations of Angrogna, as likewise of the Post which is called Il pra del Torno, and afterwards, to seize upon the cattle, and other things which the Peasants had conveyed thither; the greatest part of the men being fled, and not a soul either then or afterwards being there to be found, whether women, old men, or children, having all of them timely withdrawn themselves from those parts.

All these things abovementioned were put in execution by the Regiment of Granse, under the command of Mr. de Petitbourg; who seeing that those of Angrogna were yet dissatisfied, and returned to their habitations which they had before quitted, to renew their skirmishes, and to bring upon themselves fresh ruins, forsook his said Regiment, who notwithstanding remained there for the space of two or three days after. However, there was no occasion at that time, either for them, or any other Troops, of further action, save only some Disputes they had with certain Peasants, who endeavored to regain the Posts which they had lost, as likewise to seize upon some more cattle which they had discovered, and to demolish some few houses which the Peasants made use of, for the continuing and repeating their acts of hostility. Neither can it ever be justly proved, that there was any other thing there acted, or any persons besides a very few men of Angrogna, and those bearing arms, found dead upon the place.

On the other side, where lieth the Valley of Pelice, together with the Villages of Villaro, and Bobbio, there were some Troops who were commanded by the Marques Galeazzo Villa, Now the Regiment of Villa, and that of Chamblay, whose Major's name is Monsu di Montason, as likewise several other Officers, who make profession of the pretended Reformed Religion, are able to attest, whether ever there were committed, or commanded any action of cruelty in those places. Those of Villaro and Bobio made no resistance at all in the quartering of them. But yet they did in a manner all of them quit their habitations, retiring with all their provisions into the Villages, and Cantons of the upper parts of the Valley, by which means, the soldiers were put to this strait, either to die with hunger, or else to go and seek for victuals with their muskets in the said Villages; neither was it ever possible, notwithstanding all the patience they could devise to use towards them, and the Remonstrances they could make to them, to obtain an amicable access, much less to persuade them to part with any provisions of Victuals; Those people choosing rather to suffer themselves to be sacked, and burned, one after another, although they had as a precedent before their eyes, the inhabitants of Villaro and Bobio, who remained yet untouched, and who lived in peace (that little handful of them that was left behind), to whom were joined also

some others, who had at the first withdrawn themselves into the Valley of Queiras, and afterwards returned back into their own Country, to whom likewise was given a portion of his Royal Highness Ammunition bread. At this time, it rained extraordinarily in the Plain, and proportionably the tops of the Mountains were covered with deep snow, whereby many, who seeing the abovesaid Villages thus lost, thought to have saved themselves in the Valley of Queiras, but by the way, and in their flight, were overtaken by the snow, and so miserably perished. Others thinking to escape with their whole families, many of their little ones being quite tired out, what with heavy burdens, and what with the badness of the way, were left behind in the same snow, where some of them were afterwards found dead, together with several men and women, who had been stifled and buried in the great Balls or Sheets of snow that fell from the Mountains. As for those young children, who were found alive, they were taken up in that woeful plight almost dead with cold, and used with all the care, and charity imaginable, being afterwards distributed throughout all Piemont, and a Register was kept, of their names, and of the places where, and the persons to whom they were thus disposed, which may be produced, if occasion require. In like manner, those women who were made prisoners, were with all the care imaginable taken out of the hands of the soldiers, to whom there was given a reward in lieu thereof, and set at liberty, or (if they desired it) were placed out at service in Piemont, and of those also there was a Roll or Register kept. This was now the greatest mortality that happened, which notwithstanding exceeded not the number of 200, adding together both those who perished in the snow, those who died with cold, and those who were slain with the sword. By all which it will easily appear, how false the calumnies of the Rebels are, who to render themselves the objects of pity, and those who chastised them, of hatred, publish to the world, that there was exercised all manner of cruelty upon all sorts of persons, of all ages or sexes whatsoever; which can never be evidenced or made good. The Marquess of Pionezza having promised to some particular persons of Villaro and Bobio, to find some expedient for the obtaining their pardon, conformable to the promise he had formerly made them, they were inclined to receive and quarter the soldiers in a peaceable manner, as is to be seen in a capitulation subscribed by the heads of several houses, wherein was



granted to them the exercise of the pretended Reformed Religion, and wherein were specified the conditions of their pardon, with a reserve only of his Royal Highness approbation, which indeed he would not give them, because the accord was made only with a few particulars, and consequently without any security or assurance, for the due observing the same on their part. Within a few days after, many quitted their habitations, and many offered themselves to become Catholics, to whom were given a *Salvo condotto* or Protection, to abide in their houses for the space of two years, with a promise of pardon at the end thereof, in case they acted nothing against his Royal Highness, and did not renew their rebellion. The same course was taken with divers others, who came thither, from other particular Villages, who voluntarily embraced the Catholic Religion, as also with some who being detained prisoners, made their requests to be admitted as members of the same, and that in so earnest a manner, there was no saying them nay.

The Land of Rorata, consisting of about 25 families or thereabouts, was not at all meddled with before that time. And the Marquess of Pionezza believed that they would not behave themselves worse than those of Villaro and Bobio had done, and thereupon granted them likewise a *Salva guardia*. But *Giosuè Ginavello* resolving that his rebellion should surpass that of all the rest, came with a squadron of soldiers that were the inhabitants of that place, whom he himself commanded, and assaulted several Catholics not far from Lucerna, and set men in Ambuscado in several Posts near Rorata, although that place had never received any other but graces and favors, of which the Marquess finding them so altogether insensible, resolved to attain and break (as he did) the said squadron of *Giosuè*, whereof some were killed upon the place, and others made their escape among the Precipices of the Mountains, and after that to destroy the nest of such like assassins, by the demolishing of this place of Rorata, which was notwithstanding before this time, dis-inhabited.

As to the Valleys of San Martino and Perosa, which were the subjects of his Royal Highness, the Marquess of Pionezza could do no less than make them feel some part of the chastisement due to that their temerity, as having taken up Arms against their Sovereign, without having been grieved in the least by him, or molested about

any matter whatsoever, merely to foment and maintain the Rebellion of those of Lucerna.

However, he desired them that they would by some kind of satisfaction have avoided the necessity of a chastisement, and to this end invited them by Letters, which were sent through the hands of *Sieur de la Bertoniere*, then commanding for his most Christian Majesty in *Pinerolo*, to send someone to treat concerning their affairs and interests, but they would never return an answer. After this, he sent to them the Count *Bochiardo*, one of the Lords of the Valley of *San Martino*, to declare and lay open before them their error, and the convenience of making reparation for the same; by which means (he told them) they might prevent the Armies quartering upon them, and a great damage, which otherwise would be brought upon the Country: this his persuasion soon disposed the minds of the people in general, who accordingly gave a certain writing into the hands of the same Count, whereby the particular inhabitants of the said Valley promised either to depart, or to make their justification, and in case their justifications were not accepted, that then they would sell their estates, and voluntarily become Exiles: But afterwards, the question being put for security, in order to the putting of the said writing in Execution, and certain hostages being thereupon required of them, they were so threatened by some few ring-leaders of the Rebellion, that they refused to do the same. And hereupon it was necessary to send (as the Marquess did) several Troops to quarter both in the Valley *Perosa*, and also that of *San Martino*, in the first whereof, they found nothing but bare Walls, and into the last were sent only 250 men, rather to let the people see, then feel their deserved punishment.

These Troops no sooner appeared in the said Valley, but the inhabitants of *Prahale* came to meet the Marquess *Galeazzo Villa*, who commanded them, and told him that they would all turn Catholics; of which also very many of that Valley had assured the Missionary Father a long time before the said Troops ever came to that place; yea and the greatest part of the other Lands did the same thing. But in the meanwhile, as the Marquess *Galeazzo* returned with his Troops from the Village of *Manestia* to that of *Prahale*, and before that the soldiers had offered the least abuse to the inhabitants of *San Martino* or *Perosa*, one *Giaiero* came to the Village of *Perero*,

and there burned the Prevostura, set fire to the Church of the Missionary Fathers, and took prisoners the Capucin Friars, treating them with all sorts of cruelty, as also he did a Count of the said place, spoiling the Church of the said Missionary Fathers, and committing insolencies against other sacred things, not fit to be reported. Not to mention the imprisonment of one Captain di Villa whom they found alone, merely upon this pretext, that he being a soldier, might possibly be exposed to the like accident.

These troops took up their abode in the foresaid Valleys for the space of two or three days, without offering any offense to any person whatsoever (all the hurt they did was to the houses of the Rebels!) and they were no sooner departed, but immediately came Giaiero from Perero, and made an end of burning what he had begun, sparing not anything which belonged to the Catholics, but committed all to the flames, and put to death many poor innocents, Who had never the least thought of troubling them, and who had moreover suffered great prejudice by the soldiery that was quartered in those parts. And as many of them as did not flee, or were overtaken in their flight, lost their lives, with which notwithstanding they were not satisfied, without the addition of extraordinary cruelties even against their dead bodies. They did the very same thing against the persons, houses, and estates of all the Catholics of the Valleys of San Martino, and Perosa abovesaid, insomuch that there were none left, except some few, who having miraculously escaped the rage of those people, took their flight through the Dominions of his Majesty, and came and cast themselves at the feet of His Royal Highness, to implore his pity and compassion.

This done, the said Giaiero went to San Secondo, and burned a great part thereof down to the ground, and barbarously murdered two Missionary Fathers, together with several women and children, sacked and burned all things belonging to the Mass, and the day after they burned the Church and Vestry of Miradolo. And Giosua Grimaldo, after he had sacked and ruined the places thereabouts, went to burn Lucernetta, and so passed to Villaro, and took prisoners several of those who had but lately turned Catholics: Yea, he came there yet a second time, and shot to death some who had turned Catholics as aforesaid. Finally, this Giaiero, after the firing and sacking of very many Vestries in Garzigliana, S. Secondo, and

Brigherasco, came the second time to S. Secondo, and there cut in pieces all those Officers and Soldiers he found, not giving quarter to any, no, not so much as to any one of the Peasants! He also took prisoner the Missionary Father, and exercised the strangest cruelties in the World against the dead bodies of those whom he had slain; and it is reported for a certain truth, that all this was against his word given, and capitulation made with him in the rendering themselves up prisoners; although the truth is, we find not this otherwise justified, then by the report of one or two which were there left alone, who had been grievously wounded.

This is a true Relation of what passed in the Valley of Lucerna, whereby every man may see, with what impudence those Rebels, who have forcibly brought destruction upon themselves, do now think to spread abroad such strange Reports as they do; thinking thereby not only to excite the compassions of the World towards them for their so deserved chastisement, but also to give a sinister impression against those, who have with much moderation inflicted the same upon them, who so barbarously and inhumanely behaved themselves (thinking themselves not inferior to their own Prince) against those persons over whom they had no authority at all, and by the most extravagant, and most unheard of manner of revenge that ever was practiced, against the most innocent people in the world, their nearest Countrymen and Kinsmen, and such as had not any knowledge or part in those troubles which had happened.

A Summary of the Reasons and Grounds which moved his Royal Highness to prohibit the Heretics of the Valley of Lucerna to inhabit beyond their prescribed Limits.

## I.

The Order of the 25 of January, published by the Auditor Gastaldo, according to his Royal Highness command, against those of the pretended Reformed Religion, is so well grounded upon Justice and Reason, and so conformable to the gracious Concessions of the most serene Predecessors of his Royal Highness, that it cannot

be called in question by any who will but duly weigh and consider the grounds of the same.

## II.

The first Writing which is produced upon this matter bears date the 5th of July 1561, subscribed (as is supposed) by M. de Raconigi, Philippo di Savoia, with a promise to see it ratified by his Highness then reigning, namely, the most serene Duke Emanuel Philiberto. In this Writing the limits are prefixed within which the pretended Reformed Religion was to be exercised, which were the Valleys of Lucerna (not to mention the other Valleys, about which at this present there is no dispute) Angrogna, Bobbio, Villaro, Valguichiara, and Rorata, together with Tagliaretto, and Rua de Bonetti in the Territory of La Torre.

## III.

But now the Limits of Habitation of those of the abovesaid Religion, are not restrained to the forementioned places.

## IV.

However, this Writing was never accepted nor approved of by the Duke Emanuel Philiberto, as by the tenor thereof appears it should have been: Neither is there any Original thereof to be found, much less any Authentic Copy: From whence it may be easily gathered what credit is to be given to it.

## V.

In the same Writing, Article 17, it is said, That wherever there shall be the exercise of the pretended Reformed Religion, there also the Mass and other Services shall be performed after the manner and custom of the Church of Rome; at which Services, as those of the said Religion shall not be bound to be present, or give any assistance, so likewise it shall not be lawful any ways to trouble or molest any who shall be willing to assist therein; But this Article hath been always broken by the most pertinacious obstinacy in the world, as will by and by appear out of the 18 Article, number 5. Then

let everyone judge with what face those of the Valleys can pretend, that the Concession of Habitation granted to them by their Prince, should be made good to them, and that they should not be obliged to observe towards the Prince what he hath so expressly agreed upon with them. But this (though irrefragable) argument is not necessary to be insisted upon at this present, since the Writing itself is of no credit or weight.

## VI.

Yea, on the contrary, it was made void by a general Order and irrevocable Edict of the same Duke Emanuel Philiberto, published at Turin the tenth of June, 1565, subscribed, Emanuel Philiberto, and underneath, Vista, Stroppiana, Calusio; in which, command is given to every one of H. H. subjects, without any exception, who will not profess the Catholic Religion, to depart within two months out of all his Dominions, with liberty to sell his Estate: So that who can doubt in the least, but that this so solemn an Edict hath made void and null the aforesaid Writing, which was neither accepted nor approved (if so be that any such hath ever been in being?) But the invalidity thereof appeareth far more clearly by the express Edict of His Highness Victor Amedeo, bearing Date the 28 of December, 1632, and in the years 1649, and 1653, of His Highness now reigning, which say, that no privilege, grace, or toleration granted to the inhabitants of the Valley of Lucerna, are of any value, but so far, and according as they shall be found interinated. Now the aforementioned Writing was so far from being ever interinated, that it was not so much as ever put in any way to be presented for an Interination, forasmuch as it was never confirmed (as it was necessary it should have been, to render it of any value) nor subscribed by the most serene Duke Emanuel Philiberto, nay, not so much as ever subscribed by Monsieur de Raconigi, Philippo di Savoia, the Original thereof having never been seen by any; no, nor any authentical Copy or Extract thereof. Moreover, the two last Edicts or Concessions of His Royal Highness, of 1649, and 1653, which say, that those of the Reformed Religion cannot challenge any privilege or grace, but so far, and according as they shall be found interinated, have been formally accepted by those of the said Valleys: From whence it may be gathered, with how great

imprudence they pretend (contrary to their own acceptation) to make use of that Writing of the year 1561, which, besides its many other notorious nullities, was never, nor could ever have been interinated.

## VII.

Although, for the reasons above specified, this Writing be of no value, yet by what appeareth even out of the subsequent Authentic Writings, there cannot be justly any question made, whether the foresaid places were the limits of Habitation and Preaching, or no. However, it is likewise manifest by the same following Writings, that in the other parts or places of the Valley of Lucerna, they might not in any wise be permitted either to preach, or indeed so much as to inhabit, except in that form and manner as was specified in the said Concessions.

## VIII.

For indubitable proof whereof, the Answers of the 29 of March, 1602, are to be seen, which were made by the most serene Duke Carolo Emanuel, signed, Carolo Emanuel, and underneath, Achiardi, to the Papers of those of the said Valleys, in which they demanded, Chapter 5, that the Vineyards of Lucerna, and the opposite Hills, might be inhabited for the time to come, as they had been for the time past, by those of the said Religion, and that notwithstanding His Highness Order; who accordingly in his Answer granted it, with this Proviso, That this should be only till the harvest should be gotten in, and after that, it bound them to sell within four months space, their goods, upon pain of confiscation.

## IX.

Who then can in the least call in question, whether that Writing of 1561, were approved or no, when it is evident that it was recalled, and that not only Preaching, but also Habitation beyond the limits prefixed, was thereby prohibited to those of the said Religion, since they themselves confess so much, while they alleged for Reasons, the remote distance, incommodity, and barrenness, and petitioned for permission to inhabit NOTWITHSTANDING THE ORDER (let these

words be observed), and His Highness doth not grant them that neither, but for a certain time; obliging them withal, and that under a penalty, to sell off their Estates, and quit the place.

## X.

But the truth of this business is yet more evident in the Ninth Article, where the very same people demand, that the inhabitants of Bubbiana, Campiglione, Fenile, and Bricherassio, who were retired beyond the River Pelice (and this could be no other than to retire into the limits of toleration) might sell, exchange, or make any contract whatsoever for those Goods which they possessed in the places aforesaid: To which His Highness answered, That those who possessed Estates on this side Pelice, namely, in the said places of Bubbiana, etc. should be obliged to sell them within the term of four months, or that otherwise the same should be confiscate. Wherefore it is most evident, that by virtue of such Orders they were retired into those places, which places, as they are considered from Lucerna, are on this side Pelice, and so went beyond Pelice, namely, to Villaro, Bobbio, etc. Neither did they demand any further privilege, than a liberty to sell and contract for what they had left on this side Pelice; the sale whereof His Highness also granted them within a prefixed term, and that under the penalty of confiscation. Who then can maintain, that the liberty of Habitation, and that indifferently throughout all the Valleys, as well without as within the prescribed Limits, was not prohibited to those of the pretended Reformed Religion, as they would fain make the World believe? And here it will be convenient to advertise the Reader, that the said Memorial was made in Lucerna, and in conformity to that situation, speaks of (*on this side, and beyond Pelice*) as the Answers thereto follow the same form and nature; so that it cannot but be most perspicuous to any who hath but the least knowledge of that Country.

## XI.

Possibly they may allege on their side, the Fourth Article, which saith, That those of S. Giovanni and the confines of Lucerna may be sent as Deputies of the Communalty to negotiate beyond Pelice;



whereunto His Highness Answer was, That only two men of S. Giovanni (and not more, except they turned Catholics) might be elected in the Council of Lucerna.

## XII.

But this Article doth conclude nothing more than, That in S. Giovanni (though in the manner above expressed, it be beyond Pelice) should be a toleration of habitation for those of the pretended Reformed Religion; which is not denied.

## XIII.

We might again allege the Sixth Article, in which they demand, that in the place of La Torre, those of the Religion may have their part in the Council: To which His Highness answereth as before, That two, and no more, may be chosen in to the Council of La Torre.

## XIV.

But neither doth this prove anything more than what hath been already admitted, namely, That those of the said Religion were permitted to inhabit Tagliaretto, and Rua di Bonetti, which are also beyond Pelice; as hath been already specified.

## XV.

In the meantime it is certain, that Lucerna, which according to the manner abovesaid, is on this side Pelice, together with its Vineyards, and the opposite Hills, Bubiana, Campiglione, and Fenile, and generally all that which lies on this side Pelice, as in the Fifth Article, and also Bricherassio, which notwithstanding doth not belong to the Valley of Lucerna, have been prohibited to those of the said Religion, not only as to the exercise thereof, but also as to their habitation.

## XVI.

They cannot any ways make advantage of the Answers given the 26 of June, 1620, to their Papers of Requests, whereof they so vainly

boast, as if they had the virtue and force of a formal Contract, in consideration whereof 6,000 Ducatoons were paid (which notwithstanding is very far from, truth, that being merely a sum of Money paid for the obtaining pardon for their Crimes, whereby they were excluded from the general Pardon which had been published, and his Royal Highness upon consideration of the payment of this sum of Money, granted an Act of Grace to them all); forasmuch as in the said Paper there is not one word mentioned of habitations; but they only desire this, that they may have the Exercise of the said Religion in the places tolerated, which his Highness accordingly grants in these words, *Only within the Limits graciously tolerated*: Wherefore those Answers cannot be referred to anything but to the exercise of Religion, about which there was no Controversy, within the Limits, namely, Angrogna, Villaro, Bobbio, etc. already mentioned, when the Edict was published by Gastaldo the Auditor.

## XVII.

The prohibition of Habitations without the Limits, doth yet more plainly appear by the Order of His Highness dated 23 December, 1622, signed Carolo Emanuel, and underneath Crotti, which takes away all manner of scruple in this business: Moreover, this is as clear by the Edict of his Royal Highness the Duke Vittorio Amedeo, bearing Date the 10 April, 1633, signed underneath, Vista Pissina, Vaudagna; in which it is expressly set down in the following words. *In the Territories of Lucerna, Bubiana, Campiglione, Fenile, Bricherassio, which are places excluded out of the Limits tolerated, to those of the pretended Reformed Religion, many of them, contrary to the Tenor and intention of both our Orders, and the Orders of our Predecessors, possessed Estates there.* And a little after were words declaring the manner by which the Catholics might purchase the same Estates. So that none of the pretended Reformed Religion have so much as the least pretensions left for the recovering of the said Estates; as also it plainly appears by virtue of the Orders published, that those Estates were all confiscated; and at length graciously assigning the said Estates to the Commonalty of the Catholics, declareth them confiscated. Behold then, here are Arguments clearer than Noonday, which cannot but be seen by all but those who willfully shut their eyes, lest they should behold the truth! Behold

then, and observe how Angrogna, Villaro, Bobbio, Valguichiard, and Rorata, are the Limits tolerated for Preaching, and Habitation, together with two Streets of La Torre, namely, Tagliaretto, and Rua de Bonetti only, and no other, because the Inhabitants of La Torre (as Gillius a Protestant confesseth in the History of the Valleys, in the 118 page) were for the most part Catholics, excepting the said Streets, and S. Giovanni, in the confines of Lucerna, beyond Pelice, which alone was tolerated for Habitation, but always excluded as to the exercise of Preaching; and the other places on this side Pelice, have never been tolerated either for Preaching, or Habitation.

## XVIII.

But before we come to the Declaration of his Royal Highness now reigning, let us see how the Professors of the pretended Reformed Religion have observed those things in consideration whereof those Privileges were granted, which they desire not only to enjoy, but would enlarge *in infinitum*, and especially those which concern their Inhabitation.

1. Contrary to Orders, they have purchased Lands and Houses of the Catholics, and by consequence have forfeited the same, yea and deserved other punishments, as may be seen by an Edict of the five and twentieth of February 1602, and another of the second of July 1618. Now to show, that they have purchased the said Estates, it will appear by this (not to mention other Towns) that La Torre which consisted then almost all of Catholics is now possessed almost throughout by those of the pretended Reformed Religion. And the same alteration there is in divers other Lands, from whence appears the necessity of a Remedy.

2. They have exercised Preaching and other Functions of the said Religion, contrary to express Orders prohibiting the same, and particularly those which were published the 15th of February 1602, as appears in the first Article. And consequently they are all guilty of Death, and ought to have their Estates confiscated, who have exercised the same, or been present at them, namely, all the Inhabitants of *La Torre* and *S. Giovanni*, and other places.

3. They have built eleven Churches without the Limits, and contrary to former Concessions, especially those which they themselves suppose of the Year 1561, as is manifest, by the judicial Relation made by the President Fauzone then Referendario to the Duke Victorio Amedeo the last of July 1633, justified by due Information. Not contenting themselves with this Riot, those of St. Giovanni and La Torre did most insolently take away the Bells of the Catholics, as it appears by the same Informations; and those of the pretended Reformed Religion do not at all deny but that the Temple of S. Giovanni, amongst others, is out of the Limits tolerated.

4. Moreover, the Duke Vittorio Amedeo gave commandment for the demolishing of the said Churches, and particularly that of S. Giovanni, as appears by the Answer given to their Memorial of the seven and twentieth of December 1632, subscribed; *V. Amedeo*, and underneath *Claret*; as likewise by many other Orders; but they would never obey the same, contradicting their own very Oaths and Promises of Submission, as may be seen by the Paper of M. R. bearing date the four of April 1640.

5. But neither were they satisfied with all this, for, they proceeded in their barbarous obstinacy, and demolished many Churches of the Catholics, as is clear by their own very Paper, bearing date the ninth of April 1603, and that of the last of September in the same year, where, in the eighth Article they were obliged to rebuild and re-establish the said Churches. In the year 1629, they demolished the Church of Villaro: yea they have in all ages evilly treated the Missionary Fathers, burned their Houses, hindered the Celebration of the holy Mass, and other divine Functions, contrary to the intent of their Concessions, which permitted the same to be celebrated in all the said places. Those of *Religious* Houses, who were sent into Angrogna, Bobio, Villaro, and Rorata, were chased from thence by the fury of the People. After that, in the year 1646, Madame Royale having purchased several Houses for the re-establishment of the said Churches, they were burned by those of Angrogna and Bobio: as for those of Villaro, the truth is, they did not at first burn the Religious Houses, but yet they would not suffer any to sell them Wood, or any other necessities whatsoever, no not so much as the free use of their Well for Water;

and in the end, they burned both the House and Church of the other. At another time they usurped the Estates of *the Brotherhood of the H. Spirit*, set up public Schools, contrary to the abovesaid Edicts, hindered those who had a desire to turn Catholics, made conjurations against those who obeyed his Royal Highness in selling the Goods they had purchased against the intent of the Edicts; and this they practiced against Gioseppe Godiero, to whom the Minister *Leger* refused the Reformed H. Supper, because he had sold a piece of Land to a certain Catholic, and so constrained him to buy it back again. In sum, they have done all that stubborn, enraged, or rebellious Subjects could ever possibly do.

## XIX.

This was the true posture and state of those Affairs till the Year 1653. At which time, having need of a new Pardon from his Royal Highness now reigning, for the excess they had committed in the burning of the House and Church of Villaro, and accordingly petitioning for a Confirmation of their Graces, and Concessions, his Royal Highness did accord unto them the same, but in much clearer terms than in that Edict of 1639. The Contents whereof was, That his Royal Highness confirmed the said Graces and Concessions, according to their form and tenor, that is, as they were interinated, and as they were in use; provided, that there were no abuse therein, and that all this were under the Conditions specified in the said Concessions, and that they would continue their ancient obedience, and such as was due from true and faithful Subjects to their Prince, and that their failing in any of the Conditions there specified, should render the said Confirmation void, and of none effect.

## XX.

Now as to the matter in hand, there are very few of the abovesaid Conditions which they have not broken. First of all, it is not found in the form and tenor of those gracious Privileges, that they were permitted to inhabit in any of the places which they pretend, save only in St. Giovanni and La Torre, whereof we shall speak more in the three and twentieth Article. Secondly, there are very few of those Privileges which are interinated, and those which are not, are of no

force or validity at all. Thirdly, those of the said Religion, have not any pretension of inhabiting on the other side of *Pelice*, in the manner above expressed, but what is sufficiently demonstrated to be abusive. Fourthly, the Conditions expressed in those Concessions are almost all broken and forfeited by their rashness, audacity, and notorious Crimes, having not made good any one point relating to their obedience. But the last Confirmation abovementioned, bearing Date June 2, 1653, is yet much more clearly expressed, as may appear by the following words, *His Royal Highness graciously confirms all the Privileges which have been granted to the Petitioners, according to the form and tenor of the same, as they are interinated, and as they are in usage, without abuse, the benefit whereof it is his intention they should enjoy without any molestation; nevertheless this is to be understood under the Conditions which are therein specified, and particularly, that they shall not make use of foreign Ministers, neither shall they for the future receive any Strangers to inhabit amongst them who profess the pretended Reformed Religion, no not so much as to sojourn as they pass by that way, without the permission of his Royal Highness; That they shall not perform any Function relating to the Exercise of that Religion, whether it be Preaching or otherwise, beyond those limits which have been graciously tolerated them; as likewise, that they shall not molest the Missionary Fathers in their Functions, nor give them any sort of disturbance, either in their Churches and Missions, or without in other places, to them or their Servants. As also that they punctually observe the Contents of those Concessions which have been graciously accorded unto them either by his Royal Highness, or his most serene Predecessors: And that upon the violation thereof, all the said Concessions, Graces, and Tolerations shall be declared null.* What can be more clear than this? And what Conclusion can there be drawn from hence, but only, That this very Confirmation plainly declares a formal Abrogation of all their Privileges, in case of non-observance of all the Conditions therein contained, which was the true state of the Case when the Order of Gastaldo was published.

Neither doth it at all make to their purpose, which they allege, namely, That his Royal Highness in those his Answers, declared that it was not his intention, either to enlarge or infringe their ancient Concessions: For whatsoever is contained in the said Answers, is also found in the form and tenor of their ancient Concessions.

## XXII.

Being not therefore able, as in truth they are not, to deny the establishment of all things as is abovementioned, who can ever maintain, that the Order of the Auditor Gastaldo, which is so conformable to so great a number of Concessions of the most serene Dukes of Savoy, about the point of Habitation prohibited to those of the pretended Reformed Religion, in all places without the Limits of Toleration, is not perfectly well founded according to all manner of equity and justice? yea, and which is more, that it is not accompanied with very much clemency? since he hath permitted them to sell those Goods, which by virtue of, and according to the said Orders were become confiscate.

## XXIII.

If they oppose here, and say, that the places of St. Giovanni, and La Torre are therein comprised, in a part whereof they are permitted to inhabit; It is answered, that the thing is true, but the particular persons of the said Religion, inhabiting the places abovementioned, (the first whereof adjoins, and is a member of Lucerna) have with so much impudence, and contempt, transgressed those Orders, by introducing public Preaching, which is so expressly prohibited, according to the first Article of the Order of the five and twentieth of February 1602, whereby they have incurred the pain of Death, and Confiscation of Goods, not only those who have exercised their Functions, but even all those who have assisted, or been present at the same. And of this crime all the Inhabitants of the said places are found guilty, as also of making use of a Church, which was most of all prohibited; also of taking away the Bells of the Catholics, and not demolishing those Churches which were to be demolished in conformity to so many Commands issued out for that purpose; of having driven out all the Catholics inhabiting the first of the places

abovementioned, and almost all that were in the second, and that notwithstanding express Order to the contrary, and the peril of Confiscation of their Goods, that they incurred thereby. After all this, how can any make the least question or doubt, but that their chastisement was most just, and that simply to transport themselves out of one place into another, between which there is so exceeding little distance, was the mildest punishment that could be inflicted upon them for so great a stubbornness?

#### XXIV.

Not to mention those only of La Torre, and S. Giovanni, but all of them in general, who received Orders to dis-inhabit, whoever offered to dispute, or call the matter into question, whether a Prince had not sufficient power to command one or more of his Subjects to transport and transplant themselves from one Country to another under his Dominions (when he shall judge it convenient for his Service), and to sell their Goods which they have in the place where they inhabit? But who then can scruple the lawfulness of such a Command, when it's matter only of transporting themselves to a place two Leagues distant, or something more? especially where the Order is directed to persons who are Offenders, and who might upon another account be most severely punished; but their Sovereign contents himself with only this? To conclude, who can say, that such a Command as this either strikes at the pretended Reformed Religion, in regard of him who commands; or offends the Conscience, in respect of those who obey? Or that it should move those of the pretended Reformed Religion, to seek protection, as if there were question of doing them an injury, and not of chastising with great moderation his disobedient Subjects?

#### XXV.

Most just therefore, and full of clemency is the Order of the five and twentieth of January published by the Auditor Gastaldo, and full of injustice and rebellion the non-observance and disobeying thereof. A Crime which is so much the more aggravated, by how much the more they have been always pressed on his Royal Highness part, to depute and send to him persons qualified, to



inquire into the ground of this truth, and with sufficient power to oblige those of the said Religion to give his Royal Highness satisfaction as to some other points, upon the occasion of their disobedience, and inobservance of his Edicts, with a Protestation often reiterated, that in case they would herein perform that which was their Duty, and withal could make appear that Privilege of Habitation which they pretended, his Royal Highness would be inclined to accord the same unto them; yea, though they were not able to make it out clearly, his Royal Highness would notwithstanding in some Particulars apply some moderation to the Order of the Auditor Gastaldo. To which (so sweet and mild) expedient, they would never yield or acquiesce, nor send their Deputies with any sufficient Procurations; and when the Ministers of his Royal Highness were sent into the said Valleys, not so much to impose upon them a Burden of Quartering Soldiers, and that such a one as was not any ways insupportable, as some kind of punishment for that their obstinacy; as also to be upon the place, where, without any further trouble, they might confer with their Syndics and Counsellors in La Torre, to adjust (if possible) those Differences then? These men most unadvisedly took up Arms against his Royal Highness in so brutish, raging, and strangely rebellious a manner, that it merited as much, on the one side a most severe and exemplary punishment, as on the other it was altogether unworthy the favor of any State or Sovereign Prince, who ought to consider of how dangerous a consequence it is, to suffer Crimes of such a nature to go unpunished.

## CHAPTER II: *The Animadversions of some able and knowing Friends of the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, upon the Court of Savoy's Factum and Reasons, set down at large in the foregoing Chapters.*

In the foregoing Chapter, the *Christian* Reader hath a faithful Account of what the adverse party is able to allege, either for the justification of their own proceedings, or the aggravation of the others offense and pretended Rebellion; which (the truth is) they have handled in so dexterous a Method, and couched in so smooth expressions, that ordinary capacities in the reading thereof, without a comment, would certainly run a great hazard of having their judgments perverted, and of drinking down the most notorious Impostures in the World, for well-grounded and undoubted Truths. And therefore as on the one side I thought it convenient for avoiding the censure of Partiality, to insert the Narrative and Reasons of the Court of *Savoy*, word for word in their own native Language, wherein they themselves published the same to the World, so on the other side, I thought it the part of a faithful Historian, not to omit anything which might enlighten the understanding of those who shall peruse this Work, and give them an advantage of comprehending fully the very pith and marrow of these subtle Pieces which are composed on set purpose to darken and sophisticate the truth by Jesuitical Distinctions and Equivocations. There needs no further Preamble to this matter.

*Court of Savoy in their Narrative of the several Transactions, etc.*

*His Royal Highness upon the five and twentieth of January 1655, commanded his Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, by virtue of an Order of his Auditor Gastaldo, to transport themselves within three Days upon pain of Death into the Valley and Confines of Angrogna, the Lands of Rorata, Villaro, and Bobio, and the Villages thereunto belonging, as likewise to quit their habitations, and the goods which they possessed in other parts of the said Valley.*

### Animadversion.

Christian Reader, take heed and beware whom you deal with at this your first entrance; 'tis the Devil appears to you in the shape of a Man, though he hides his cloven foot! the Author of the Writing tells you, that the poor Protestants were commanded to *transport themselves within three days, quitting their habitations and goods*; and so far it's truth: But he leaves out the principal part of the Sentence, and that wicked Leaven which seasons the whole Lump, namely, *In case they make it not appear to us within twenty days after, that they are become Catholics*, as may be seen in that famous Order of *Gastaldo*, which is inserted in the Second Book of this History, and 4th Chapter.

### Court of Savoy.

*In obedience to this command, those of the pretended Reformed Religion did accordingly retire within the Limits prescribed.*

### Animadversion.

A very great Argument of their profound obedience and respect to their Prince, and of his severity towards his poor Subjects.

### Court of Savoy.

*Notwithstanding, at the same time they sent Deputies to His Royal Highness, declaring this command to be contrary to their Ancient Concessions, and therefore petitioned that it might be revoked.*

### Animadversion.

And whether they had just reason so to do, or not, the Christian Reader is left to judge, after he hath called to remembrance the Concessions of the year 1621, inserted in the 3rd Chapter of the Second Book, and diligently compared them with the following Authentic pieces, which have been preserved by a miraculous providence, the true Originals whereof are to be seen by the Curious in the public Library of the famous University of Cambridge.

The truth is, this point of *Concessions* is the chief, and most essential point of all, and consequently, the clearing thereof in the beginning of this Discourse, will be of exceeding great use for the better elucidation and deciding the whole controversy.

An Extract of the Duke of *Savoy's* Edict, bearing Date the 5th, of *June* 1561, in favor of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of *Piemont*.

*Which is inserted at length in the 2nd Book, and 4th Article.*

*In the Name of God.*

*His Highness issueth out his Letters Patents, by which it may appear, in what manner his Highness grants an Indempnity to the people of the Valleys of Angrogna, Bobio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, Rora, Tagliaretto, and La Rica di Boneti at the end of Torre, S. Martino, Perosa, Roccapiatta, and S. Bartholemo, and every of these, as also to all such as shall be found to have assisted them, for all offenses by them committed, whether they be damages, deaths, ruins, or fines; well in particular, as in general, either against his Highness, their mediate Lords, or other particular persons within his Highness Dominions, restoring them into his favor as if they had never acted anything against his Highness; and upon this account, receiving them into his safeguard and protection.*

1. *It shall be permitted to those of Angrogna, Bobio, Villaro, Valguicchiardo, and Rora, being members of the Valley of Lucerna, and likewise to those of Pralibece, Roderet, Masel, Maneglia, and Salea, Members of the Valley of S. Martino, to have preaching Assemblies, and other Ministerial Offices, according to their Religion, in their wonted places.*

2. *It shall be permitted them to have the same at Villaro, which is a member of the Valley of Lucerna; And this shall be until such time as his Highness shall make a Fort in the said place; for after*

*that such a Fort is erected, it shall not be permitted to the people of the said place to have preaching, or Congregations within the bounds of the said place: But it shall be lawful for them to erect a place convenient for such like services, in some adjacent place towards Bobio, as they shall find most convenient. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to the Ministers to come within the said bounds, to visit the sick, and perform other necessary duties of their Religion, provided that they neither preach, nor gather together any suspected Congregation. At Tagliaretto and Rua de Boneti, which are the Confines of their Lands, it shall be permitted them to have preaching, and Congregations in the wonted places; provided, that they do not enter into the other Confines of their Lands, to do the like.*

*4. It shall be permitted to those of the Parish which is on the other side of Perosa, who are at present Fugitives for the sake of the said Religion, and were wont to have preachings and Congregations, as also other Ministerial Offices, according to their said Religion, only in the place nominated, and not in any other place within the bounds of the said Parish.*

*6. It shall be permitted to all persons of the Lands of the said Valley, who are at present Fugitives, and do adhere to their said Religion (notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made against their Religion before this War) to return and live in their houses with their families, according to their Religion; and to go to, and return from the Sermons and Congregations which shall be made in the said places, and other administrations of their Religion; provided, that they observe all which the abovementioned promise to observe. And forasmuch as many of the abovesaid will be found in the Land of the said Valley at a great distance from such places, and will thereby necessarily stand in need of visitations, and other Ministerial functions, according to their Religion; it shall be permitted to their Ministers (such as dwell within their limits, without any prejudice to such limits) to visit and perform other Ministerial duties, according as they shall have occasion; only they shall not have public preaching, or such as may give the least suspicion.*

7. *To all the Inhabitants of the said Valleys abovementioned, and to all the forenamed Fugitives, and those who persist in their Religion, as well those of the Territories of the said Valleys, as those of Roccapiatta, S. Bartolomeo, and Miana, their goods that have been confiscate shall be restored to them; provided, they be not confiscate for any other cause than that of Religion, and the present or past War.*

9. *All the Freedoms, Immunities, and Privileges (as well general as particular), which have been granted either by his Highness most Illustrious Predecessors, his Highness himself, or other mediate Lords, shall be confirmed to the forenamed; provided, they evidence the truth thereof by Authentic Acts, and Instruments.*

14. *His Highness shall make a free gift, and irrevocable remission of all the expenses which he hath been at in this War, and of the 8,000 Crowns which the forenamed did owe unto his Highness, upon account of 16,000 Crowns accorded in the former War, commanding that they be as non-subscribed in reference to this Accompt.*

16. *Finally His Highness shall permit all the foresaid of the said Valleys, and the aforesaid of Miana, Roccapiatta, and S. Bartolomeo, of what state and condition soever they be (provided they be not Ministers) to be included in the common society and conversation with his other subjects, to stay, go, and come, in all places and Countries of his Highness Territories; likewise to buy, sell, and traffic in all sorts of Merchandises, provided they refrain from preaching, from drawing together Assemblies, or to raise disputings, as is abovesaid: And those that are in the limits, who have not a settled residence without their own limits, nor any within the Territory of the said Valleys; without their own Territory, and the confines thereof, and those of Miana, Roccapiatta, S. Bartolomeo, shall not usurp beyond their own confines: And these things being punctually observed on their parts, no disturbance or molestation (whether real, or personal) shall be offered unto them, but they shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his Highness.*

17. *Moreover, Orders shall be issued out by his Highness, wherein there shall be sufficient provision made against all disturbances, inconveniences, or plots of malignant spirits, to the*

*end that the abovenamed may peaceably and quietly enjoy their own Religion.*

*18. For the observance of all the premises, and that no inconvenience may arise about the performance and execution of the above-written Articles, Georgio Monestieri of Angrogna, sent by the said Valleys, and Sindicus of S. Constance, and of Ateszani; and Rainbaudo Sindicus of Bobio; Michele Remondet, sent by the Communalty of Tagliaret, and a Rua di Bonetti unto La Torre; Giovanni Ma la-notte, sent particularly by those of S. Jovanni; Pietro Pasquale, sent by the Communalty of the Valley of S. Martino; Thomasso Romano, of S. Germano, sent by the said Communalty, and by the whole Valley of Perosa, do promise for their Communalities respectively, that the Contents of the abovesaid Articles shall be inviolably observed; and in case of non-observance, they do submit to such punishment as it shall please his Highness to inflict on them; promising in like manner to cause this their Engagement to be approved and confirmed (per capita Domorum) by their said Communalities.*

*The most Illustrious Lord of Raconigi doth promise that his Highness shall ratify and approve the above-written Articles to the underwritten, in particular, and in general, granted by the intercession of the most serene Madama, as a pure Act of her special Grace: In witness whereof the foresaid Lord hath subscribed these presents with his own Hand; and the Ministers, in the Name of all the aforesaid Communalities, have underwritten their Names in quor. fid. this fifth June 1561.*

Phillippo di Savoya.

Francisco Valle, Minister of Villaro in Lucerna.

Claudius Bergio, Minister of Tagliaretto.

Georgio Monesterii of Angrogna.

Michele Raymondetti of Tagliaretto.

Now that this very Treaty has been not only acknowledged, but also most authentically confirmed (with all the Privileges, Liberties,

and Rights, therein specified) by the Kings of *France*, who have expressly bound themselves and Successors inviolably to observe the same, as likewise to cause them to be acknowledged, confirmed, and observed by other Princes, in case they should be put by them under their jurisdiction; The *Christian* Reader is desired to have the patience to peruse the following Agreements, and Letters Patents, of the true Originals of all and every whereof, there are most authentic Copies to be seen by all the curious in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

An Agreement of *Henry* the 4th King of *France*, with the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of *Piemont*, who yielded themselves under his obedience *November 1, 1592*.

A most Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, is to be seen in the Public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Forasmuch as the enemies of the most High, Mighty, and most Victorious Prince, *Henry* the fourth of that name, by the grace of God King of *France* and *Navarre*, have of late years, by force of arms, and without just title, usurped his Country and Marquisate of *Saluces*, with other lands and places belonging to his Majesty, on this side the Mountains, which were ancient members of the Crown of *France*, for the recovery whereof, as also to bring under his obedience and subjection the Provinces, and Countries of *Piemont*, *Savoy*, and others at present possessed by the said enemies, and usurpers of the said Marquisate of *Saluces*, His most Christian Majesty did send on this side the Mountains, a good and sufficient Army, under the conduct of the Illustrious Lord *Francis de Bonne*, Lord of *Lesdiguières*, Counsellor in his Privy Council of State, Captain of a hundred Men of Arms of His Majesties trained Bands, and Commander General in the said Army, and Country of *Savoy*, and on this side the Mountains, for the service of his said Majesty; the which Lord of *Lesdiguières*, having transported himself with his



said Army into Piemont, took and brought under the obedience of His Majesty, the Towns and Castles of Perouse, Briqueras, la Tour of Luserne, Mirabouc, Olase, Massel, and Pradellene, and at the same time caused to be summoned the Ministers and Officers of the Churches, Syndics, and Inhabitants of the Valleys of Angrogna, Bobio, Villaro, Tagliaret, and La Tour, and of another place named La Tour, St. John of Luserne, Macel, Rora, Bubiana, Campillon, and Fenil, all comprehended and contained under the name of the Valley of Angrogna, As also of the places of Rocheplatte, St. Barthelemy, and Perustin, comprised under the name of the command of St. Siond, Item, of the places of Perouse, St. Germain des Portes, Pinache, Villaro of Pinache, Pramol, le Talluc, all comprised under the name of the Valley of Perouse; Item of the places of Frusasc, as also of the places of Prals, of Rodoret, le Perrier, le Fayet, Macel, St. Martin, la Manielle, Rioclaret, all comprised under the name of the Valley of St. Martin. Item, of the places of Meana, and Mathias, situated in the Valley of Suse: To this end, the said Lord of Lesdiguieres, deputed and sent to them at several times Mr. Claude Perron, Minister of the Word of God in Pragela, to treat of the means, and conditions whereby the said people and Valleys, and their Inhabitants, might be brought from under the obedience and subjection of Charles Emanuel, possessor at present of the Dukedom of Savoy, under whose power and Sovereignty they pretend to have been until this present, nay even from the beginning of the wars raised in France, in the year 1585, and before; And render and yield themselves under the obedience of his Majesty, taking the Oath of Allegiance to his said Majesty, in such case required and accustomed, before the said Lord of Lesdiguieres: To which the said Minister, Syndics, and Inhabitants of the said Valleys did make great opposition and difficulties, alleging that by the Word of God it was not lawful for them to withdraw themselves, or depart from the obedience and fidelity of their natural and lawful Prince, as also in regard they had not been molested by him in the public, free, and general exercise of the Christian, and reformed Religion, but maintained and preserved in the same unto this present, as well by the late Duke of Savoy, as by his Successor, in the Treaties and Capitulations made with them by the said late Duke, for the Religion, after the War maintained by them against him in the year 1561. Whereupon the said Mr. Perron did remonstrate unto them,

that this present War was not a particular War of the said Charles Emanuel against the most Christian King, but on the contrary, a general War of many Princes of Christendom, combined together to usurp the Kingdom of France, and particularly to extirpate and wholly ruin the reformed Churches of France, England, Germany, and other States of Christendom; in which combination and conspiracy, the said Charles Emanuel is comprehended, and under this pretense and name, hath usurped the State and Marquisate of Saluces, and invaded by force of Arms many Towns and Castles of the County or Provence, abolishing and driving out from every place the exercise of the Reformed Religion, as he hath done lately in the Balliages of Gey, Thonon , and other places which those of Berne had restored to his late Father, where his Soldiers have committed all manner of Plunders, Murders, and wickednesses, defaced, and exterminated both the remembrance and exercise of the Reformed Religion; and that the said Ministers and Inhabitants of the said Valleys, who time out of mind, even before the time of Luther, John Hus, and Wickliff, have been of the said Reformed Religion, finding themselves (as ancient members of the Church) greatly concerned in this business, on which depends their utter ruin and overthrow, if God by his mercy doth not uphold the other Churches, even those also of the Kmgdom of France did likewise remonstrate unto them the ancient alliance that was between them and the Valley of Pragela and others, under the obedience of his said Majesty, joined and allied together time out of mind, by the maintenance of their Religion, which Alliance was not made void by the Treaty made with the said Duke of Savoy, But on the contrary the said Treaty was made, saving, and without prejudice to the said Alliance, by virtue whereof this war being undertaken on the behalf of the said Religion, they cannot without rendering themselves perfidious, forsake them of Pragela, who are now in war with the said Charles Emanuel, for the preservation of the said Religion; Whereupon the said Ministers and Inhabitants of the said Valleys, who had taken up Arms, and put themselves in defense against the said Lord of Lesdiguieres, and to that end had possessed themselves of many places, and narrow passages of their Valleys; being at length persuaded by the reasons above mentioned, as also upon other reasons alleged and proposed by the said Mr. Claude Perron, and seeing the said Lord of Lesdiguieres in Arms, ready to fall on them as the Enemies of his

Majesty, in case they had persevered, and would not have acknowledged him, resolved at length to come to this present Treaty of Peace and Accord, made and agreed upon between the said Lord of Lesdiguieres treating in the name of his Majesty, by the interposition and diligence of the said Claude Perron, and the Deputies of the said Valleys hereafter named; That is to say, Michael Buretin, and Guiglermino Chanforano Syndics and Deputies of Angrogna; Giacomo Moninato, Syndic of Villar; Sebastiano Tecia and Perrone Dalmatio, Deputies of the said Villar; Pietro Ramond, Syndic, and Guiglermino Rostagnolo, Syndic and Deputies of Bobio; Giamone Mondone, Counsellor and Syndic of the said Bobio; Gioanni Morglia, and Ludovico Durando, Syndics of Roras; Gioanni Chanforano, and Gioanni Rostagno, Deputies of Rocheplatte; Birtholeme Rollo, Deputy of the Town of Perouse; Thomas Martinato, and Luygi Bernardo, Deputies of Pinasche; Gioanni Allemano, Deputy of Villar of Perouse; Leoreto Riberto, Deputy of Pramol; Giacomo Galleano, Deputy of St. Germain; Bartholomeo Trono, Pietro Trono, Mallano Martinato, Gaspardo Bonofio, Deputies of the Valley of S. Martin; Gerardo Mageto, and Michaelle Bellonato of St. John of Lucern; Valentino Bolla, Deputy of Bubiana; Stefano Bordoir, and Constanzo Reymondeto, Deputies of Campillon; Pietro Girardo of Meana and Mathias; which Syndics and Deputies, and many others not named in the present Treaty, as well in their own names, as in the names of their Commonalties, and Inhabitants thereof, and for their Heirs and Successors, have agreed, concluded, promised, and sworn to the Articles and Conventions following; which Articles and Conventions the said Lord of Lesdiguieres, because of the desire he had to reduce the said Country to his Majesties obedience, and because that he saw, if this were not done, the said people were resolved to make a War that would have been very long, difficult, and prejudicial to the service of his said Majesty, considering the situation and natural strength of the said Country, composed of Mountains and narrow Passes, by reason of the roughness whereof, the late Duke of Savoy could never bring them under, nor reduce them by force, although he was assisted with Men and Money by the Pope, hath at length granted to them in the name of his said Majesty, and with his good pleasure ordained, accorded, sworn,

promised, and concluded under the General Heads, these following Conditions.

First, That the Inhabitants of the said Valleys, shall no longer remain in the obedience and fidelity that they have heretofore sworn, and at present pretend to owe to the said Charles Emanuel of Savoy; but shall render themselves under the obedience and subjection of King Henry the Fourth of that name, by the grace of God King of France and Navarre, to whom they shall make Oath of Fidelity before the said Lord of Lesdiguières, as is requisite in such case, and as good and loyal Subjects ought to do to their Sovereign Prince, according to that form which shall be prepared for the same purpose, which Oath of Fidelity shall be sworn by the said Syndics and Deputies abovementioned, and others, if occasion shall require. That the said People and their Pastors shall be maintained and preserved in the free, public, and general exercise of the Christian Religion, and Reformed Church Discipline, and that which depends thereon, in all places of the said Valleys where it is at present, without any restriction or modification whatsoever. That even as heretofore, and time out of mind, their Churches have been extended and enlarged from place to place, in the said Valleys, according as the People increased, and got the knowledge of the said Religion, which was effected by the zeal and affection that these People had thereto, and also by the toleration and permission of their Princes and Magistrates; so now it shall be lawful for them to extend the preaching of the Word of God, and the Administration of the Sacraments into all places of the said Valleys, where there shall be any People making profession of the Reformed Religion, and who in body of a Church shall call their Ministers and Pastors without distinction or difference of places, and it shall be permitted to them to assemble themselves, to hold their Consistories, Colloquies and Synods, to treat and order their Church affairs at any time as occasion shall require, without being troubled or molested by any body; and his Majesty shall be most humbly prayed, that he will be pleased to found, erect, and maintain a College for the instruction of the youth of the said Valleys, in such place as shall be advised by the Commissioners that shall be established by his Majesty for that purpose; and it is concluded, that his said Majesty shall permit, that the Churches and Pastors of the Valleys shall enjoy the same Wages,

Estates, Pensions, and Privileges that he hath granted or shall grant hereafter to the Churches and Pastors of France, even of Guienne, Languedoc and Dauphine; And because that the People are almost all of the Reformed Religion, the Roman Catholics not making the hundredth part amongst them, it is agreed at their earnest and instant request, and without which they would neither treat nor conclude, That for to keep them in a greater union, and to give them occasion of having so much the greater affection for his Majesties service, and of remaining his good and loyal Subjects, that his Majesty and the Kings his Successors, shall allow them now and hereafter Officers of Justice in the first Rank; men of the said Reformed Religion, and no other, considering that by their Privileges, they have right of electing the said Judges and Officers; that is to say, they shall choose three, out of whom the Prince shall choose one; All their Franchises, Liberties, Immunities and Privileges, both ancient and modern, shall be maintained and confirmed to them in Piemont, Dauphine, the Marquisate of Saluces, and Territories of France, in the same manner as of right they have used and enjoyed them heretofore. That the Italians, and others, of what condition soever they be, making profession of the Reformed Religion, shall have power to retire themselves into the said Valleys, if they think fit, to live there according to the Reformation of the said Religion, without being troubled, vexed, or molested by any whatsoever. And that the said Valleys shall be and remain joined and incorporated in the State and Crown of France forever, without ever being separated, alienated, or carried away by any occasion whatsoever. And if at any time it should happen, that his Majesty and his Successors shall be constrained to surrender them to the Jurisdiction of any other, they shall be translated with the same Conditions, Privileges, and Qualities that shall be granted to them by the present Treaty, together with their ancient Privileges and Immunities which by the said translation shall be neither changed, renewed, nor altered in any sort whatsoever; which Articles and Conventions above-written, the said Lord of Lesdiguieres in the name of his said Majesty, and with his good pleasure, by reason of the Oath of Fidelity made by them this day to his Majesty before the said Lord, hath agreed, and granted to them; moreover promising them to bring back, and put into their hands a Declaration of the good pleasure of his Majesty concerning this Treaty, within the term of 3 Months. In witness whereof he hath

signed these presents, and caused the Seal of his Arms to be put to it. Done at Briqueras, the first of November 1592, Lesdiguieres.

In the year 1592, the first of November, being Sunday, and the Feast of All-Saints, in the Afternoon, in the place and Town of Briqueras, and in the great Hall of the dwelling house of the Heirs of the late Mr. Michel Signorio, Notary of the said place, before the Illustrious Lord Francis de Bonne, Lord of Lesdiguieres, Counsellor of the King, in his Privy Council and Council of State, Captain of an hundred Men of Arms of his Majesties Train of Artillery, and Commander in the Army raised for the Service of his Majesty in Piemont, the Marquisate of Saluces, and Country on this side the Mountains, sitting on a Chair and Seat of State prepared for that purpose, attended on by Mr. de Callignon, his Majesties Counsellor and President of his Court of Parliament of Dauphine, and Peter de Granet Lord associate of Costigloles, Counsellor of State, and Vice-Seneschal in the said Marquisate of Saluces, Mr. du Port Captain of fifty Men of Arms of his Majesties Artillery, Field- Marshal of the Light-Horse on this side the Mountains, Governor of Montelimard, and of its Jurisdiction, as also of the Sieurs du Villar, D'auriac, D'Hercules, de Praband, and other Gentlemen and Officers of his said Majesty, there present personally appointed; Likewise the Sieurs John Frances Luserne, Christopher Luserne, and Fabrice Luserne, Fellow Lords and Consorts in the Communalty of Luserne, and its Valleys, and the said Mr. Fabrice, acting as well in his own proper Name, as being the Proxy of Mr. Christopher Billon his Father-in-Law, Geffry his Brother, and John James Menfre his Uncle, they being absent and sick, hath promised, that the said Mr. Christopher Billon, etc. shall ratify the whole in good form upon the penalty required by the Law in such case; moreover Christopher and John Mignol Rorengues, and John Galli, all of his said Gentlemen and Earls, Mr. George Cagueran, as well in his own name as in the name of Mr. Philbirt Cocqueran his Cousin being sick, Gaspar de Chasteau Vieux one of the Lords of the said Briqueras, Anthonio Seignorio for his part of the Fief Rural of Briqueras, Joseph Calie, and Bernard Rica, Syndics and Deputies for the said Communalties of Briqueras, Girard Maye, Michel Bellonat, Deputies of St. John of Luserne, as well in their own names as in the names of Bernard Laurens and Lovys de Ludovicis Deputies of Luserne being sick, Anthony

Maresque, and Peter de Nicolai, Syndics and Deputies of Bubiane, Stephen Bodoire and Constans Remondet, Deputies of Campillon, Michel Barettin Syndic, and William Chanforano Deputy of Angrogne, John Bastie Syndic, and Claud Ferrand Counsellor of Fenil, James Molinato Syndics, Battiste Tecia, and Perron Dalmas Deputies of Villar, Peter Reymond Syndic, Willam Rostagnol Syndic, and Stephen Mondon Counsellor Deputy of Boby, John Morglia, Levis Durand Syndics of Rorat, John Chanforan and John Rostaing Deputies of Rocheplatte, John James Bontemps and Bartholomew Rollo Deputies of Perouse, Thomas Martinat, Lovis Bernard Deputies of Pinasche, John Alleman Deputy of Villar of Perouse, Lovis Robert Deputy of Pramol, James Galian Deputy of St. Germain, John Bernarden Jayer Deputy of the Gates of Perouse, Bartholomew Tron, Peter Tron, Malan Martinat, Gaspar Boyno Deputies of the Valley of St. Martin, who according to the deputed power to them given, and the resolution taken by the Counts, Gentlemen and Deputies of Luserne at the general Assembly of the said Valleys held at St. John the eight and twentieth of the last Month, by an Act signed by them, and put into the hands of Mr. Claude Perron, deputed for that purpose by my said Lord, and by him brought to me, the Notary and Secretary, of their own free will and common consent, as well in their own names, as being Proxies, and undertaking for their Consorts abovenamed, and for the Communalities of Briqueras, places of the Valleys of Luserne, Bubiane, Campillon, Fenil, La Tour, Angrogne, Villar, Boby, Roras, Rocheplatte, Monbron, Carciplane, Val Perouse, St. Martin, and Taluc, as they have made to appear by a Letter of Attorney to that end produced, and delivered to me the Notary underwritten, being upon their knees, as well for themselves, as for their Heirs, and their Successors whatsoever for the time to come, and for the Gentlemen and Counts of the said Fiefs, and for the Inhabitants of the said Communalities in general and particular, as far as it doth now, or may at any time hereafter concern any of them respectively have confessed and acknowledged and do confess and acknowledge themselves to be Vassals and Liege Subjects of the most Christian and most serene Henry the fourth, by the grace of God King of France and Navar, Dauphin of Viennois, Marquess of Saluces, their true and Sovereign Lord, of whom they are willing to hold in Homage Liege the said Fiefs and Jurisdictions, Lordships and

Estates, with their Appurtenances and Dependances according to the Lifts or Rolls which they shall respectively give in; swearing and promising by their Faith, and Oath taken upon the holy Bible, lifting up their right hands to Heaven, according to the manner accustomed, and according to the Ordinances of the King, both hereafter and at present to be and remain perpetually Vassals and Liege Subjects to his said Majesty, and to yield to him forever all obedience, fidelity, submission, and service, as they were wont heretofore to render to their Sovereign Prince, and in a word to do, say, and fulfill all that is contained in the new and ancient form of fidelity, and particularly not to assist or counsel any who will or may hurt either in word or deed his said Majesty, his Ministers, Officers, or Subjects, but on the contrary knowing it, hinder them with all their power, or not being able to hinder it, to give notice of it as soon as they can to his Majesty, or his Officers; and if it so happen, that there be any usurpation or wrong done them in their persons and estates, to help and aid them as well in recovering of what they have lost, as in defending and maintaining of them in what they have: and knowing that his said Majesty will justly resent any wrong, revenge, or offend any, they have promised to aid, serve and assist him according to their power, and as much as shall be required of them: furthermore, that any secret of his Majesty, being communicated to them, they shall not reveal it to any, neither shall they promise to reveal it, or cause it to be revealed, but on the contrary when it shall be required of them for the service of his said Majesty, they shall give faithful, profitable, and honest counsel, according to their understandings and consciences, and shall never do, say, or plot anything against the persons, lives, honor and estates of his said Majesty, the Princes of his Blood, or his Officers; but in heart, word and deed, shall observe in all things what faithful men, Vassals and Liege Subjects, owe to their Sovereign and absolute Lord and Prince, as they acknowledge his said Majesty alone, before all and against all without any exceptions whatsoever, beseeching and requiring him most humbly, that they may be kept, protected, preserved and defended by his said Majesty, in the possession of all their said Fiefs, Counties, Jurisdictions, Lordships, Estates, and Properties, with their Rights, Appurtenances and Dependances, conformable to their former establishments. And to the end that there may be no prejudice by any act of fidelity which the said Inhabitants of the Communalty of



Luserne, of the Valley of Briqueras, and other places, are to swear to at present, to the Rights, Homage, and Fidelity, due by the said Subjects to their respective Lords, but that those Rights may be maintained, preserved, and confirmed to the said Lords here present, and requesting the same, the said respective Subjects being here present, and not dissenting.

Thereupon the said Lord of Lesdiguieres, representing the person of his Majesty in this place, hath first declared, that the present act of fidelity shall be held and taken as being done and sworn unto according to the ancient forms in this case used in mutations and changes of Sovereign Lords, and without any prejudice to the particular Rights of Homage and Fidelity, due by the said Subjects to their respective Lords, and furthermore proceeding according to the power which his Majesty hath given him on this side the Mountains, hath received and admitted the said Gentlemen and Counts of Luserne, with its Valley, St. Martin, with its Valley called Briqueras, they appearing under the Faith, Homage, and Liege Vassalage of his said Majesty, and likewise all those Gentlemen, Counts, Lords, and Subjects of the said places abovenamed under the subjection, fidelity, and obedience of his said Majesty for their said Fiefs and Estates every one for himself, or in part concerning them, ordaining as to the other Consorts of the said Fiefs summoned and not appearing at the present day, place, hour, and Act, that there shall be a proceeding against them by way of Reduction, as also the rest contained in the said Letters Patents: and as touching the Statutes, and Privileges of the said Earls, Lords, and Subjects of the said places, he hath commanded that they shall speedily be put into the hands of the said President Mr. Calignon, that they may be read; and for as much as the Petitioners have well and duly enjoyed them, that they may be confirmed as shall be thought fit and reasonable; and in the meantime all things shall proceed according to the forms of the ancient Constitutions, and acts of fidelity of the said Lords and Gentlemen, as it hath been concluded, as well by the Oaths taken upon the holy Bible, as by the giving of the Sword for an Investiture, which ceremony hath been done to them for this cause by the said Lord; and as to what concerns the abovesaid Inhabitants of all, and every of the places abovementioned, by their Faith and Oath taken, by holding of the

holy Bible, and lifting up their Right Hand to Heaven, according to the abovesaid Royal Ordinances, thereupon the said Lord hath commanded me the said Notary and Secretary to receive and make this present Act public. The whole business being done at Briqueras, and (as abovesaid) in presence of Mr. Peter Gilliers, Peter Geffrey, Cheolier and Samuel True, Doctors at Law, it being copied out of and compared with its proper Original by me, the abovesaid Notary and Secretary of my said Lord, underwritten.

GIRARD.

Letters Patents of *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, upon Homage done to His Majesty by the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of *Piemont*, who yielded themselves under His Obedience; Issued out the 25 of *March* 1593.

A most Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Henry by the Grace of God King of France and Navar, Dauphin of Viennois, Earl of Valentinois, and of Dyois, To all those that are or shall be present hereafter, Greeting. Having some while since, sent an Army into Piemont and Savoy, and given the command and general Government of it to our trusty, and well beloved Counsellor in Our privy Council and our Council of State, and Captain of a hundred men of Arms of our Artillery, Francis of Bonne Lord of Lesdiguieres, to recover with our Forces the Marquisate of Saluces, invaded and usurped by the Duke of Savoy from Us, and to bring it under our obedience, as also the said Countries of Piemont and Savoy; and the said Mr. de Lesdiguieres having accordingly passed with the said Army into Piemont, and brought under Our obedience the Towns and Castles of Perouse, Briquieras, la Tour of Luserne, Mirebouc, Osasc, Macel, and Pradellens, and at the same time having sent summons to the Churches, Syndics, and Inhabitants of the Valleys of Angrogne, Boby, Villar, le Tallaire, la Tour, and of

another place named la Tour, St. Jean of Luserne, Macel, Roras, Bubiane, Campiglon, Fenil, which places are all comprehended under the name of the Valley of Angrogne, also of the places of Roachplatte, St. Barthelemy and Prarustin, under the name and command of St. Syond, and of the places of Perouse, St. Germain des Portes, Pinache, Villar de Pinache, Pramol, le Talluc, all comprehended under the name of the Valley of Perouse, and of Frussac, as also of the places of Prals, Rodoret, le Perier, le Faye, Macel, St. Martin of Manielle, Rioclare, all comprehended under the name of St. Martin, and of the places of Meanne, and Matthias, situated in the Valley of Suse, to come and yield themselves under our obedience, and to that end, to depute at several times some person of ability and authority to be sent on their behalf, to treat of the means and conditions, by which the said people and Valleys and their inhabitants, might be persuaded so to do; Whereupon after great difficulties and oppositions on their part, remonstrances, reasons, just causes, and considerations being made on the part of the said Mr. Lesdiguieres, and after that the whole business had been seriously considered and resolved on both sides, the Treaty of Peace, accord, and convention, was made between the said Mr. de Lesdiguieres, for and in our name, and the Syndics and Deputies of the said Valleys, as well in their own names, as in the name of their Commonalties and the Inhabitants thereof, their heirs and successors, for the reducing of the said places, therein specified, under Our obedience, and to remain with the said people and Valleys forever annexed and incorporated to the state and Crown of France, and never to be alienated from it, or separated upon any cause or occasion whatsoever, and for the other charges and conditions declared at large in the Act of the said Treaty, done and passed at Briqueiras the First of November last; all notwithstanding being submitted to our good pleasure, and in regard of the Oath of fidelity, which the said Syndics were to make to us in the said names before the said Mr. de Lesdiguieres, as they did upon the said day. Be it known to all men, that having produced in our Council, held in the Assembly of the Princes of the Blood, and other great and notable persons of our said Council, the said Treaty, Accord and Convention, together with the Act of the Oath made to us, before the said Mr. de Lesdiguieres, and of the fidelity, faith and homage done to us the First of November, by the Earls, and Lords of Fiefs, Counties,

Jurisdictions, and Lordships, as well in their own proper names, as being Deputies and undertaking for their Consorts therein mentioned, and by the Syndics, Commonalties of Briqueiras, places and Valleys abovesaid, We have commended the whole Act, approved, and ratified it, and we do approve, ratify, and confirm the same by these presents; as if it had been made by us in our said Council, to the end that those Articles, agreed on and concluded, be kept, and maintained by us, and by the Kings our successors, without going against them, or suffering any to go against them, in any sort or manner whatsoever. And we have received the said Earls and Lords in the said Names, Syndics and Commonalties, to the said Faith and homage: And in so doing, we have maintained them in the possession of all the said Fiefs and Counties, Jurisdictions and Lordships, Estates and properties, with other Rights and appurtenances conformable to their ancient and former Privileges and Investitures, which they have heretofore well and duly enjoyed, and do yet enjoy, nevertheless, without any prejudice to the Rights, homage and fidelity, due by the subjects of the said places to their respective Lords, in which also, our will is, that they be preserved and maintained, in the same form and manner as they have enjoyed, and do enjoy them, to which end we charge and command our Trusty and well beloved, Those who keep our Court of Parliament and Chamber of Accompts in our said Country of Dauphine, Treasurers General of France, and of our Exchequer in the said Country, and our Judges and other Officers, whom It may concern, to cause these presents, together with the said Articles hereto annexed, under the Counterseal of our Chancery, to be read, published and enregistered, maintained, kept and observed inviolably, and forever, ceasing, and causing to cease, all troubles and hinderances to the contrary; We have also commanded those Officers of our Accompts abovesaid, to cause to be Registered in the Archives of our said Chamber of Accompts, the said Oath of fidelity, Faith and homage to us made and yielded as aforesaid, without any difficulty, that recourse may be had unto them when occasion shall require, for such is our pleasure; and to the end that it be a thing firm and stable forever, We have caused our seal to be put to these presents, without prejudice to our Right in other things, and to that of others, in all things. Given at Crest in the Month of January One thousand five hundred ninety-

three, and in the fourth year of our Reign. *Henry*. And upon the fold,  
*By the King Dolphin*.

*FORSET.*

Read, published and enregistered; The Kings Attorney General  
so requiring: Done at Grenoble in Parliament, the five and twentieth  
of March, One thousand five hundred, fourscore and thirteen. *Boyn  
Visa Contentor, de Verton*; Sealed with great Red and Green silk  
strings, and Green Wax.

*This Copy was taken out of the Originals, by me James Balcet  
Scrivener, Record-Keeper, and Royal Notary hereditary of the  
Valley of Prajella, in Brianson, it having been showed unto me,  
by the Sieur Javel in the Valley of Perouse, and delivered back  
unto him at the same instant, and duly compared: I have  
subscribed it myself, together with him, this last day of May  
1656, though it be written with another hand, which I attest.*

Balcet.

A. Javel.

A Confirmation of the Privileges abovementioned, made  
by the King, 6 *June* 1630.

To the King,  
And to our Lords of his  
Council.

SIR,

Your most humble and most  
obedient Subjects, professing  
the Reformed Religion in the  
Valleys of Luserne, Angrogne,

An Answer to the Paper  
presented to the King by the  
Inhabitants of the Valley of  
Perosa.

Perouse, St. Martin, Rocheplatte, Bartholomew, Taluc, and other places of Piemont, subjected unto your Crown, are come to cast themselves at the feet of your Majesty, to yield their Faith and Homage unto your Majesty, with all the Assurances of a sincere fidelity, and perfect obedience which Subjects owe unto their Sovereign, as they have already done in the person of my Lord the Cardinal of Richelieu, General of your Majesty in Italy. And forasmuch as they cannot, under so happy a Government, but promise unto themselves, that they shall taste his Majesties justice and goodness, and this according to the words which they received of him, whereby he gave them to understand, that the demanding of those things which concern the preservation of the aforesaid Petitioners, as well in respect of Justice and Civil Government, as of the Liberty of their Religion, should be acceptable unto him.

1.

They humbly entreat that your Majesty will be pleased to grant unto all those, which do

I.

The Petitioners are to represent the Privileges mentioned in the present

or hereafter shall make profession of the said Religion in the said places, the confirmation of all the Privileges, Grants, and Customs, which they have obtained heretofore of the Kings of France, by their Lieutenants Generals, and other Officers, and of the Dukes of Savoy, as well in behalf of the Religion, as of the Courts of Justice and Civil Government, together with a full and entire enjoyment of the Edicts granted unto those of the Religion in France, with liberty to appeal, if need require, to the nearest Chamber of the Edict, and with power to traffic in any manner whatsoever, to depart, and inhabit in any part of the Country under the obedience of your Majesty, with the same enjoyment of the aforesaid Edicts, and other Customs, Liberties, and Privileges, which they have, and which the French Natives do enjoy without having need of any other Letters of Naturalization.

2.

That the eleventh Article of the Capitulation of my Lord the Cardinal of Richelieu, may be put in execution; and that

Article, that upon the viewing of them, their Demand may be taken into consideration, according to reason. And in the meantime, it is his Majesties will that they enjoy the same Liberties, which the other Subjects of his Kingdom, professing the said pretended Reformed Religion do enjoy.

II.

Agreed according to the said eleventh Article of the Capitulation.

according thereunto, they may have their Salt out of the Magazine, which your Majesty will be pleased to establish within the said Country, and at the same price, which they were wont to pay to his Highness. And if it shall happen that there should be no Salt in the said Magazine, it shall be lawful for them, to go and seek for some wherever they shall think good.

3.

If any Treaty shall be made with the Duke of Savoy, by which the Petitioners shall remain, as they hope, under the Government of your Majesty, that then you will be pleased to procure unto them the same Liberty to converse, and traffic in the Lands and Countries of his Highness, without any let, hinderance, or molestation whatsoever, by reason of their Religion, and without being forced to do anything against their Conscience.

4.

That it would please your Majesty to order, that the Moneys and Reprisals that have been seized in the hands of the Communalities of the said

III.

The King will take into his consideration, in due time and place, the Contents of the present Articles.

IV.

Granted upon Condition, that the said Communalities shall bring in within three Months a true Account of all the Moneys which they have in



Valleys, belonging to his Highness Subjects may remain in the hands of the said Communalities, till your Subjects of the said Valleys have made their humble Addresses to your Majesty in that behalf.

5.

All which Grants and Concessions, together with those of my Lord the Cardinal of Richelieu, the Petitioners do expect from your Majesties bounty and justice, and that your Majesty will be pleased to grant them your Letters Patents in due form, and to cause them to be published and enregistered, where need shall require. And they will continue their Prayers to God for the preservation of your sacred person, for your long and happy Reign, and the prosperity of your Arms. Signed by Jos. Chanforan, Jos. Gros, Jaques Ardivin, Jean Berton, Deputies of the aforesaid Valleys.

A Copy drawn out of the Original by me James Balcet, Notary, Recordkeeper, and Register Royal, Hereditary of Pragela in Brianson, it having been showed unto me by Mr. Andrew Javel, of Val Perouse,

their hands, belonging to the Subjects of the said Lord Duke of Savoy.

V.

The King hath granted unto the Petitioners, that they shall have such Letters Patents, as shall be thought necessary for the purpose abovesaid.

Done in the camp of Monsieur the 6th of June in the year 1630.

Louys. Boutiller.

and I having delivered the same unto him again, and with him duly compared it. I have subscribed my name, though it be written with another hand, which I confirm. This last day of May 1656.

*BALCET. A. JAVEL.*

Now to make it evident to the World, that the abovementioned Treaty between Henry the fourth and the Inhabitants of the Valleys, together with the Ratification, and after-confirmation thereof is a real thing, and not at all forged by the poor People (as is usually objected against them in such cases), that very Treaty, word for word, without any other alteration, than the trans-placing the parts thereof, with some few literal differences, which destroy nothing at all, as to the substance and contents of it, was registered in the Parliament of Dauphine, as a thing established forever by the King and his Successors, and as unalterable as the Laws of the Medes and Persians. And for this end, to give full and ample satisfaction to all the curious, they have here following a most authentic Extract and Copy of the same, by the hand of Maximin, one of the Secretaries of the Parliament, a person so well known, that there can be no Record in the World of greater credit or belief.

The true Original whereof is to be seen together with the rest in the public Library of the famous University of Cambridge.

The Concessions of the Duke of *Savoy*, granted to his Protestant Subjects of the Valleys of *Piemont*, *Anno Domini* 1603 and 1620.

A most authentic Copy of the true Original whereof is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

The Copy of the Petition.

Most Serene Lord,

The most faithful Subjects and Servants of your most serene Highness, who make profession of the Reformed Religion, according to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Talluco, Meana, Matis, and the Marquisate of Saluzzo, making up one Body in Christ, declare and represent to your most serene Highness their natural and lawful Prince, that being troubled, questioned, and molested, upon the account of their aforesaid Religion, after they have frequently presented their Petitions to your Highness for the freeing of them from such troubles, molestations, and inquisitions, without having obtained anything, but rather continuing from bad to worse, even to an inclination to execute the Penalties contained in the Edicts, and considering that this would bring upon them a total and deplorable ruin, they therefore thought it convenient to declare to you the extreme grief of heart which they are possessed with, and to implore your bounty, that they may enjoy that gracious tranquility which they have enjoyed by the mercy of God, under the good pleasure of their good Princes of happy memory, and of your most serene Highness, which tranquility your abovesaid Petitioners desire may be established and made perpetual, and therefore they cast themselves once more in all humility, at your Highness feet, beseeching you that you would vouchsafe to grant unto them the particulars underwritten, to the end they may live in quiet, and they shall spend both their Lives and Estates for the service of your most serene Highness.

The first.

First, that your Highness would be pleased to vacate and declare

To the first.

His Highness Duff not intended that they should be

null all Molestations whatsoever upon the account of Religion, together with all the proceedings and confiscations which have been made, and especially the pretended confiscation of the Goods of Signora Beatrice Solara and her Children (she having dwelt in the said Valley of Lucerna now above thirty years, and her Children being born in the said Valley), and that they may be restored all into a peaceable condition.

The second.

Moreover to grant them the free preaching and exercise of their Religion in all the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Talluco, Meana, Matis, and the Marquisate of Saluzzo, in the places accustomed, and usual, until this present time.

The third.

Moreover, that all those of this Religion of these Valleys may return and abide in their houses, live in liberty of conscience, use the exercise of their Religion in the places accustomed.

The fourth.

molested for their pretended Religion, for that they abstain from exercising it, out of the places of the Valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa.

To the second.

Provided, they do it only in the Limits tolerated in the said three Valleys, they shall not be molested.

To the third.

As to those of the said three Valleys, they may re-inhabit, his Highness suspending, as to them, the Order which hath been made for those who have Goods without the Limits designed.

To the fourth.

Moreover, that those of the said Religion may exercise and may be admitted to all kind of public offices in the abovesaid Valleys, and that they may traffic through all the State of his most serene Highness, and make their Harvest, and thresh their Corn, without molestation or inquisition because of the said Religion, as also that those who shall lodge and entertain them for assistants, may not be molested, and in like manner those who dwell in the said Valleys shall have confirmed to them all the Privileges and Concessions usual until this present time.

The fifth.

Moreover, To restore to liberty all those who have renounced their Religion.

The sixth.

Moreover, That none upon account of Religion may be chased away, or prohibited to dwell in the Valleys and places petitioned for, nor hindered from exercising public Offices.

The seventh.

Moreover, That poor Cupini detained in Asti now above two

His Highness for what concerns the exercise of public Offices, doth grant it in the said three Valleys, only declaring that they may go and make their Harvest, and thresh their Corn, upon condition notwithstanding that they abstain from publishing their Doctrine.

To the fifth.

It is not a thing which belongs to His Highness to meddle with.

To the sixth.

Provision is made in the answer given to the third and fourth head.

To the seventh.

His Highness will write about him to the Bishop of Asti that he may be set free.

years by-past, only for the said Religion, may be released.

Moreover, His most Serene Highness is most humbly beseeched, That he will be pleased according to his wonted goodness and clemency, that those men which are honest may live quietly in the said Valleys, and for public quietness sake to grant pardon or favor to those who were described or named Bandetti, in the publication made in the Valleys of that Edict published by the illustrious Lord the Chief Justice, by order of his most Serene Highness, and to all their fautors, inciters, abettors, counsellors, and adherents, for the faults, excesses, and crimes by them committed and perpetrated in the tumults passed hitherto, for matters of Religion or otherwise, together with a prohibition of all real or personal molestation of them.

*Pietro Bruno* for the  
Commonalty of Bubiana and  
Champiglione.

*Chiaberto Bodetti* for Villaro,  
Bobbio, and La Torre.

*Gerardo Malano* for  
Angrogna.

His Highness at the request of the Count of Lucerna, Knight of his own Order, is contented to pardon the Bandetti petitioned for. Except notwithstanding those that are written down and noted in the Edict made last by the Lieutenant of Justice Bergera, etc. \_\_\_\_\_ detained now in Pinerolo, and of \_\_\_\_\_ of Angrogna, upon this condition, notwithstanding and that they restore the Churches, and repair the damages done to them. Provided, that the said Outlaw is coming, or others who may hereafter be banished by Justice, they do then take them prisoner living or dead, and keep the said Valleys purged from such heinous malefactors, under the penalty of making good all damages which shall be sustained from such persons, and of other punishment at pleasure. Given in Cunio the ninth of April, One thousand six hundred and three.

Signed,  
*Carolo Emanuel.*  
*V. F. Millet.*

*Most Serene Princess,*

Whereas those of the Religion of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and S. Martino, ought to make answer to his most Serene Highness concerning the Grants obtained from him in Cunio the 9 of April last, upon the Petition presented to him; they not having been able in due time, by reason of divers impediments and causes, to assemble themselves for such answer, his Highness being departed from Mondovi before they could get thither, and he having therefore remitted them, that they resorting to him, he might provide as far as appeared convenient to him, therefore the persons underwritten, elected and sent by the said Valley of Lucerna, in the name of the said Valley, and the others abovenamed, Do render first of all with all humility, infinite thanks to his most Serene Highness, for the said grants and favors to them upon the contents of the said Petition; Unto which they offer themselves to satisfy and conform thereunto, according to the intention of his Highness. But because there are some heads of the said grants which appear somewhat ambiguous,

They humbly beseech him, that he would be pleased to declare the said Grants and heads which are ambiguous as abovesaid, and they shall pray continually to the Lord God for the conservation of his Highness.

As to the second Head, Whether Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Prarustino and Talluco, because they are not of the three Valleys, be included in the said grants and according as it hath been usual.

His Highness declares, that Roccapiatta shall be comprehended in the three Valleys, for the end desired in the Petition, and that in the places of San Bartholomeo, and Prarustino, they may inhabit according to the answer given to the third Head of the memorial alleged.

In the fourth Article, that those who receive and lodge the Harvestmen of the Religion, and that those that thresh their Corn, may incur no penalty at all for so receiving them; and if by chance they should be so interrogated concerning their Faith, they desire to know, in what manner they are permitted to answer such Questions.

*In the eighth, that he would be pleased to declare to whom he gives pardon, and that they may not be obliged, as to the matter of Outlaws, except according to the general Orders published by his most Serene Highness in his Dominions.*

*Chaberto Bodetti, for Bobbio.*

*Giachomo Fontana, for Villaro.*

*Chiaberto Chialmitio, for La Torre.*

*Giovanni Oddino, for Angrogna.*

*Giovanni Appia, for San Giovanni.*

*Antonieto Mallanoto, for San Giovanni.*

To the fourth Article, His Highness declares, That those who receive and lodge the Harvestmen of the Religion, and Threshers, shall incur no penalty, and he forbids both the one and the other, to question or answer concerning the pretended Religion, under penalty of fifty Crowns for everyone who shall do to the contrary.

*Upon the eighth article his Highness declares, That he hath granted grace and pardon to all those that are petitioned for, by the alleged memorial, and not to those who are expected in the Answer made by his Highness to that Head: Provided, that they observe and excuse that which is contained in the said answer, and that for this and they bring back an obligation from all the Communalities within ten days next, and that within the term of three months, they shall make up all the damages done to Churches, which they shall speedily see accommodated with things necessary for saying of Mass and Divine Service to be celebrated therein.*

*Turin 14 May 1603, Signed,  
Margarita.*



## The Copy of another Petition.

Most Serene Lord,

The most humble and most faithful subjects of your most Serene Highness, the people of the Valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, Perosa, San Martino, Meana, Matis, Talluco, Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Prarustino, represent humbly to your most Serene Highness, being those who make profession of the Reformed Religion, That whereas it pleased your most Serene Highness, upon the ninth of April last past, to grant them some heads concerning the liberty of their Religion, exercise, and deportments, Which heads were declared and enlarged upon the 14 of May, by the most Serene Princess Margarita, and by the form of the said heads there ought obligation to be given from all the Commonalties within ten days then next coming, the which they could not execute by reason of the difficulties of the said Valleys assembling themselves together, and also because the people refused to execute the Article concerning the making up again of the Churches, which were presupposed to be damnified, those of the people alleging that they were not the cause of the said damages, and therefore that they, according to their religion, ought not to repair them; but said, they intend to have recourse to your most Serene Highness, to the end that Article might be taken from off them, the which they were not able to do by reason of the absence of your Highness at Nizza; and since it having fallen out that the Captain Gallina and his Company came unexpectedly with fury upon them, against the intention of your most Serene Highness, committing many excesses which have constrained your subjects to take Arms and defend themselves and their children from violence, as the very law of nature commands, seeing a cruel massacre eminent over them, if they defended not themselves, as hath been done also other-whiles in our times; The whole being considered, the poor Petitioners desiring to find some seasonable ease of their sufferings, esteeming themselves to have been all assailed in the person of Villaro and Bobbio, and threatened also with greater ruin, being desirous to live in good peace under the protection and faithful safeguard of your most Serene Highness; and

prostrating themselves humbly at your feet, they pray you will be pleased to grant them the Articles underwritten.

I.

First, to confirm to the said Petitioners the Articles granted till this present day, notwithstanding the elapsing of the said time given them, in consideration of the said impediments, allowing all, as well Natives as Inhabitants, full liberty to stay, inhabit, go, come, traffic, and merchandise through all places of the said Valleys, and in the Estates of your Highness, without being molested by reason of their said Religion; and that in such places where they are not permitted to publish their doctrines, it may at least be lawful for them to answer such as shall ask them whether they be of the said Religion.

II.

Secondly, To free the said men and Valleys from the Article of repairing the Churches again, it not belonging to them in common, because they were not the Authors nor cause of such damage.

First his Highness doth not understand that they should be molested for their pretended Religion; Provided they abstain from exercising it out of the places of the Valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, and perform it only in the limits tolerated in this said three Valleys in which they may re-inhabit, suspending, as to them, the Order made for those who have goods out of the appointed limits, confirming to them the answers given to the Articles of the ninth of April and the fourteenth of May past, notwithstanding the lapse of time.

As to the second, his Highness three of the men and valleys in general.

### III.

Thirdly, In the Article of the Outlaws to declare, that they are not obliged, except to assist the taking of malefactors when they shall be required thereto, every Commonalty to its ordinary Magistrate, preserving the usual privileges of every particular place.

### IV.

Fourthly, for the public quiet of the Valleys, to give pardon to the abovesaid, for all carrying of prohibited Arms, and for all excesses committed for matter of Religion; and as to the business of Villar and Bobbio, that they may be freed from all molestation for the said reasons, restoring all into a good tranquility and to the former condition. And in particular, to give the pardon promised to Giovanni Capello of San Giovanni, Danielle and Michele Chabrioli of La Torre, to Giovanni Baggio, Giovanni Artero, Giacomo Blanco, Davide Graglio, Giovanni Ticolo, Giovanni Lorenzoto of Arbona a Parish of Perosa, and to Bertino Avandeto of Anverso delle Porte, and to Cesare Borstero of Dapione, soldier in

The third His Highness granteth.

The fourth his Highness grants, as to the pardon and general abolition, and the particular petitioned for, excepting only Giovanni Fidschetto, and Danielle Roloe of Angrogna, Daniele Corsero of Lucerna, Filippo Rosso of Villar, Daniele Charboneroto of Bobbio and Giovanni Gaffetto of La Torre, considering the heinousness of their crimes, and reserving the pecuniary penalties belonging to his Vassals, and upon payment of two thousand Ducatoons, besides charges to be paid, according to the assessment of the Senator Guidetto Delegate, made upon the fifth of this present, with the Deputies of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino.

the Fort of Praluiggi, and also to grant a general abolition of all crimes and penalties, as well to the Catholics of the said Valleys, as to those of the Religion, for the quiet of the said Valleys, and for the common good; in particular to the Notaries of the Religion, that they may be freed from the General Inquisition that hath been hitherto made against Notaries.

#### V.

That your Highness would be pleased in full to remit and conserve the said people and men, in that state and liberty, as to Religion and the exercise thereof, which they have enjoyed under the good pleasure of your most Serene Highness, from the beginning of his government, until the beginning of the past and present troubles, notwithstanding any Order and Decree made and published to the contrary.

#### VI.

That in execution of the Agreement made at La Torre in the Valley of Lucerna, by an Act of the most Serene Princess Margarita, upon the 14 of May

The fifth remains provided for in the answer to the first article, His Highness commanding that it should be observed, notwithstanding any order to the contrary.

The sixth his Highness grants it, prohibiting his Treasurer to molest them further and contrary to the form of the things petitioned for, ordering the Auditor Robbio to

last past, and the order given by your Highness to my Lord of Lucerna, upon the Twentieth of the Month of last past, you will make good upon the Tax of the Valleys, the payments made to the Company of Captain Gallina, kept by your Highness in the place of Lucerna for the public Service, and command the Auditor to make a Summary account of the payment made to the said Captain, according to the Tax made by your Highness Order, by the late Lord Governor of Pinerolo, and agreed on concerning the number of the Soldiers with the said Captain, as the said Lord of Lucerna and the Lord Senator Guidetto, sent thither by your Highness, have been informed therein; And that according to the accounts upon those payments, and that agreement, you will command the Treasurer and Chamber of Accounts, to adjust the payment upon the present Tax and Quarters hereafter, according to the form of those Acts upon which the payment hath been made, notwithstanding any Order to the contrary, in reference to the said Agreement and Acts.

take a note of the payments made to the Captain Gallina and his Soldiers, for to allow it them as a debt upon their Accompts.

VII.

That you will command, that the present things may be dispatched without paying for the Seal, Signature, or any other payment, which they hope to obtain of the clemency of your most Serene Highness, for whose preservation and prosperity they shall pray unto the Lord God.

As to the seventh, His Highness remits it to the disposal of the great Chancellor. Given in Turin the 29 of September, One thousand six hundred, and three. Signed,  
*Carlo Emanuel.*

Seen, Provana. Seen, Solaro.  
Seen, by Sicardo Monte Oliveto; duly signed and subscribed,  
*Borsier, Secretary.*

The Names and Surnames of those who subscribed the Original of the Memorial abovesaid.

Giovanni Bonetto Syndic of Angrogna, Giovanni Oddino Consul of Angrogna, Giovanni Appia Deputy for San Giovanni, Danielle Peyroto Consul of San Giovanni, Steffano Mondone Notary and Secretary elected by the Communalty of Bobbio, Steffano Mause of Villaro Con-consul, Giacomo Fontana chosen by those of Villaro, Guiseppe Pelenco of Villaro, Samuel Falco of Bubiana, Bartholomeo Griglio Deputy of San Bartholomeo, Giacomo Gaio for Prarostino, this is the Mark of Giacomo Giarretto Deputy of Prarostino, Paulo Danna Consul of Roccapiatte, Pietro Tersiano chosen for Miano, Pietro Longo Inhabitant of Talluco, in the name of all the other Inhabitants of the Religion which are not present; Jo. Antonio Bonio chosen for Matteo, Tomaso Ballardo, Giovanni Giacomo Bontempo, Stessano Botto, Ugo Poeto, Pietro Botto, Gaspardo Calvo, Giovanni Forengo, Antonio Massetto, Giovanni Lorenzoto, Antonio Botto, Giovanni Bolleardo, Martino Bertolino, Michelle Baudo Consuls, and elected for Perosa. I the abovesaid Jacomo Bontempo, in the name of the abovesaid which were nominated for the Parish of Perosa, and at their Request, have made the present Subscription. I Antonio Martinato, Deputy for Perosa, and Dobione Antonio Grangetto of Villaro chosen for

Perosa, Giovanni Giahero of Pramollo, in the name of the said Communalty, Giovanni Colombato of San Germano; I Davide Laurentio Notary and Commissioner of the Consuls of the whole Valley of San Martino, and other particular Heads of Families gathered together before the most illustrious Lord Senator and Delegate of his most serene Highness the Lord Antonio Guidetto, have subscribed in the name of that Valley, and likewise in mine own name; as also I Giovanni Laurentio have subscribed in mine own name, and in the name of the whole Valley aforesaid, and by Commission as before; and I Giacobbo Trono d' Antonio in mine own name, and as above, have subscribed in the same manner.

Most serene Lord,

The most faithful and most humble Subjects of your most serene Highness of the Religion of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, and of the other places conjoined with them, having in times past obtained of the clemency of your Highness, and also of your most serene Father of glorious memory, certain favorable Grants concerning the exercise of their said Religion, have always endeavored to live conformably to them in a Christian manner under the protection and obedience of your Highness, in which they desire they may always quietly continue; but now finding themselves disquieted upon occasion of the Edicts, contrary to their Grants aforesaid, which are said to be published in certain places of the said Valley of Lucerna, and proceedings being made to the execution of the Penalties contained in the said Edicts, with threatenings of greater damage, they assuring themselves that this doth not proceed from the intention of your Highness, from whom alone, next under God, they expect as from their natural and most gracious Prince a deliverance so necessary, they have thought fit to cast themselves at your feet, humbly beseeching that you would be pleased, according to your wonted goodness, to forbid all molestation of your said Petitioners for matters of Religion, restoring them into a peaceable condition, and for this purpose to confirm and grant them the humble Requests following.

As to the first, his Highness confirms it, and commands that the Grants made unto the Petitioners upon the 9 April, 14 May, and last but one of September 1603, shall be observed as to the Valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, together with Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Prarostino, and the other places in the Grants, as is petitioned, and within the Limits graciously tolerated only, notwithstanding any other Order unto the contrary, and also he gives unto them pardon and remission of all the Penalties incurred for breaking his Orders, and for other faults and excesses committed before the general pardon, notwithstanding the Sentences of the Captain of Justice and the Senate, derogating in this part from that which the said Pardon disposeth, and all this his Highness hath done and doth of special favour, and also upon payment of fix thousand Ducatoons, to be paid at the rate and according as usual, by the said three Valleys upon this condition; moreover that those of San Giovanni shall stop up the Gate of the Church newly made, and not otherwise, nor in other manner.

First, that you would be pleased to confirm all the gracious Grants made to them, as well by your most serene Highness, as by your most serene Father of happy-memory, so that they may continue in the free exercise of their Religion in the places hitherto tolerated and used, notwithstanding any Order published, and as well made as to be made to the contrary, and that you will annul all the proceedings, confiscations, declarations of penalties, fines and inquisitions made upon occasion of the said Orders, restoring all those who have been disquieted or molested for such occasion into a peaceable condition, so that they may hereafter live under the Dominion of your Highness, and that you will command that the said Requests may be granted and interinated for them gratis, freeing them from the payment of the Quos, Decima, Albergo, Sigillo, Signattura, and other charges whatsoever, which they hope to obtain, and they shall pray to the Lord for the happiness of yourself, and of the most serene Princess. Registered 3. 170. Register. First 245. I say



To the second and last his  
Highness grants them. Given in  
Turin the 20 of June 1620,  
signed

Carlo Emanuel,  
Seen Argentero, Seen  
Cernusco, Carron.  
Arnaldo Magalli, Secretary.

245. Registered in the  
Chamber.

### The Ducal Chamber.

Be it known to all men, that upon the Petition presented here on the behalf of the Men of the Religion of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, and the other places adjoining thereto, praying that it would please us to interinate, admit, and approve the answers which his most Serene Highness hath been pleased to give, to the Memorial which they presented to him the Twentieth of June last past, signed with his Highness hand, by which he confirms to the said Petitioners the Grants made them the Ninth of April, the Fourteenth of May, and the Nine and twentieth of September, one thousand six hundred and three, which he commands to be observed as to the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, together with Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Prarostino, and other places of which mention is made in the said Grants, and only within the limits graciously tolerated, notwithstanding any other order to the contrary; pardoning to them also, and remitting all the penalties incurred for breaking the Orders of His Highness, and other faults and excesses committed before the general Pardon, notwithstanding the sentences of the Chief Justice, and of the Senate, Derogating in this point from that which the said pardon disposeth, as well of special favour, as upon the payment of Six thousand Ducatoons to be paid ratably according to what is usual in the three Valleys abovesaid, and also upon condition that those of San Giovanni be obliged to stop up the gate of the Church newly made, and not otherwise, nor in other manner: And tor a second answer to the said

Memorial, his Highness grants them that the dispatch thereof be interinated for them gratis, exempting them likewise from the payment of the Quos, Decima, Albergo, Sigillo, Signatura, and all other fees and charges whatsoever, as is more fully to be read in the said answers, and that they shall be seasonably provided for; Now having seen the Petition above presented here, together with the aforesaid Memorial presented to his Highness containing two Articles, signed with his Highnesses hand, duly expedited, sealed, and subscribed, *Carron*. Dated in this City the twentieth of June last past, as also concluding with Signer *Antonio Ghigliots* Patrimonial Advocate, and having well considered the whole, We have interinated, admitted and approved, and do by these presents interinate, admit and approve, as far as to us belongs, the answers above-mentioned, that the Petitioners may enjoy the profit and benefit of them according to their form and tenor, commanding that they, together with the abovesaid Memorial, be registered in our Registers, that recourse may be had thereto upon occasion. In witness whereof we have granted these presents; Given at Turin, the 17 of August, One thousand six hundred and twenty, by the most illustrious Ducal Chamber of Accounts before mentioned, Duly sealed and subscribed, *Fassioti*.

### Copy of a Petition.

Most Excellent Lords,

The Commonalties and men of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, and other places of the Reformed Religion, have obtained of his most Serene Highness, the here-recited Heads and Answers, confirming to them their ancient Grants and abolitions of some criminal Processes, which were formed against them at the instance of your Highness Exchequer, upon payment of six thousand Ducatoons. The which particulars and abolitions having been admitted by the most illustrious Chamber of Accounts without any difficulty, as appears by the Patents duly sealed, and subscribed *Fassioti*, of the seventeenth of this August of the present year, desiring to obtain the same Interination from the most Excellent

Ducal Senate, they have thought fit to have recourse to. your Excellencies;

Humbly beseeching you that you would be pleased to admit, approve, and interinate the said Heads, Answers. Grants, and abolitions petitioned for, fully and wholly, according to the form, intention, and tenor of the said Heads, and things petitioned. This was underwritten; Reggis, Advocate.

*A Copy of the Decree.*

Let it be communicated to one of the Lords Advocates of the Exchequer, that he may conclude it. At Turin, 30 August 1620. V. Comes.

*A Copy of the Conclusions.*

I have seen, and do not dissent, that the Things Petitioned for should be approved by a Concession, provided it do not extend to such as are condemned to a penalty of money. As likewise that the right of the Officers be preferred, But especially that the Fiscals be prohibited to claim their Fiscals Fee of decimation, and that those who are condemned to corporal punishment, be bound to undertake that these things shall be interinated by their pastor.

*A Memorial from day to day.*

In the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred and twenty, and upon the 4th of September judicially before the most excellent senate.

There hath appeared Mr. Horatio Ballayra, Procurator of the particular Members of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, and the other places conjoined with them, as already at other times he hath given testimony, producing a petition to his most serene Highness with letters of pardon and abolition obtained from him for the process which was formed at the instance of the Ducal Exchequer, contrary to the said particular grants of other heads, as appears by the answers on the margin of that petition or memorial, making request that the said abolition, grants and answers may be interinated, admitted, and approved, according to their form,

intention, and tenor, without any restriction, condition, or qualification whatsoever, even as the said Concessions and Abolitions of the twentieth of June last past, were ratified by the most illustrious Court, as appears from the ratification of the said Court, which he produced on the seventeenth of August last past, expedited in due form, and in observance of the said Abolition, all particular Inquisitions are thereby prohibited, with all other molestation, whether real or personal, according to the form and meaning of the said Letters, for the observation whereof he makes request, otherwise protests against: the non-observance, and that he will have a new recourse to his most Serene Highness to obtain justice, on the one part. And the noble Fiscal General Darmello, on the behalf of the Exchequer, opposeth the asserted Letters, as also the Memorandum of the particular Professors of the Reformed Religion in opposition thereto, concerning the ereption and subreption, as being a thing whereof the matter of fact was not truly related, to which purpose he produced the Acts of Inquisition formed against them, begun under the \_\_\_\_\_, and ended by the sentence of \_\_\_\_\_ with all things contained in those Acts on the behalf of the Exchequer, the product thereof being mentioned and designed only for profit, and did insist that the asserted interination petitioned for should be recalled; Or that however before all other things it should be ordered, that the particulars inquired into, and the persons condemned to corporal punishment, should personally appear in the persons of the Senate, in conformity to the new Orders, causing the same to be observed, and all Acts made or to be made in prejudice of the Exchequer, to be made void, and that he may obtain justice to be done on the other part.

Which the most Excellent Senate abovesaid having heard , they have cited the parties to make their personal appearance before them upon the Fifth of September, then and there to hear their final determination, which they intend to give concerning this affair, according to reason and justice. Given by the said most Excellent Senate.

*The Ordinance,*

In the Year of Our Lord, One thousand six hundred and twenty, and the Fifth day of September, in Turin, judicially, before the abovesaid most Excellent Senate.

There have appeared before us Mr. *Darmello*, the Noble *Fiscal General*, upon the Account of the Confiscation, together with Mr. *Ballayra* the Procurator, in the name of all the particular Professors of the Religion, in the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, Prarostino, Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, and the other places specified in the Acts, according to their former requests, and they insist that all should be done, pronounced, and ordered in conformity thereunto, without any manner of receding or going back from the same, a favorable respect being had to the expenses of each party.

All which being heard, the most Excellent Senate abovesaid hath ordained, that the Concessions made by his Highness, upon the Memorial of the Twentieth of June, concerning the particular Members and Professors of the Reformed Religion of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, should according to their form, meaning, and tenor, be ratified, as they are ratified, excluding nevertheless Captain Capello, especially in regard of the murder by him committed upon the person of the deceased *Tomaso Bertone*; Provided, that they pay to the Officers and Fiscal their respective Fees, and defray the charges of the Process, with whatsoever payments relate to this Article, The which Ordinance as aforesaid Mr. *Ballayra* the Procurator of those of the Religion, hath accepted, and doth accept, as in the Acts are expressed, only so far forth as it shall be profitable, and favorable to his Principles.

And the Fiscal General Mr. *Darmello*, on the behalf of the Exchequer, hath not consented, nor yet doth consent thereunto, but doth protest the nullity thereof, and doth demand that with good supportance, etc. and that reparation be made, with good satisfaction. Signed, and subscribed, *Fassanino*, Secretary.

Extracted out of its true Original by me the Notary, subscribed in testimony hereof,

*Mulazani*, Notary.

These very Concessions were confirmed by Madame Royale, in the Year 1638. And again by his Royal Highness now reigning, upon the 30 of June 1649, and the Second of June, and the 29th of December, in the Year 1653. Upon which very day those of the Reformed Religion having reiterated their supplications to his Royal Highness, to the end that the abovesaid Confirmation of the said Concessions might be *Without any restriction or alteration, notwithstanding any Order made or to be made, or other thing whatsoever to the contrary.* His Royal Highness made them answer at the lower end of their Supplications, in the following terms. *His Royal Highness declares, that it is not his intention that the Concessions which have been expedited in due form, which the Petitioners have obtained of the deceased Duke Charles Emanuel his Uncle, and of others his most Serene Predecessors, should be altered, enlarged, or diminished. In Turin the 29 of September 1653.*

## Court of Savoy

*His Royal Highness Answer to them was, that this Order was conformable both to justice, and the intent of their former Concessions, yet nevertheless, that he was contented graciously to hear what they could allege to the contrary; yea moreover that he would be yet favorable to them, in case they would send Deputies to Turin, furnished with full Commission, drawn up in a due and legal form, with whom, etc.*

*This Admonition was reiterated by divers Ministers of State, and Members of a Committee constituted for that very end and purpose, consisting of the chief Counsellors of State and justice, as also by the Marquess of Pianezza, etc.*

*Notwithstanding they always refused to send Letters of Procuration in a due form, etc.*

*Animadversion.*

1. Alas! what justice was there, or indeed could there be, in driving so many thousands of Souls out of their ancient Possessions and Inheritances, and that within three days, in the very midst of Winter, and upon pain of death, in case they would not damn their Souls by turning Catholics against their Consciences? And to make amends, promised them for their encouragement, to hear their Reasons and Requests afterwards? If they had had the least inclination to hear what they could say in their own defense, why did they first issue out so severe a Decree against them? The truth is, this proceeding is,

- A. Against the Example of God himself, who though he be the supreme and absolute Judge of the whole World (and *who can say unto him what dost thou?*), yet we find that he first cited Adam, and gave him a fair Trial, before ever he turned him out of Paradise, or passed that heavy Sentence against him and his Posterity.
- B. Against the disposition of common Right. For as Festus told King Agrippa, *The Law condemns no man before he which is accused have the Accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the Crime laid against him.* Yea, and which is more, *Restitution of possession is granted when the Judge proceeds against the absent party.* And all Civilians agree in this, namely, *the requirement of a Citation is so that one can defend oneself, and therefore, denying a citation is considered denying a defense, which, when granted in natural law, ought not to be denied.* And to show that a Prince himself cannot dispense with it, they confess it to be by *divine Law, a citation cannot be taken away by the ruler; so that if proceedings have not been initiated against those who have been cited, the case shall be considered null.* Therefore the Order of Gastaldo must needs be void, as being repugnant and contrary both to all human and divine Institutions.

2. To whom were the poor people to address themselves in such a case? Was it not to the Council *de extirpandis hereticis*, from whom *good Lord deliver us!* and let all honest Protestants say, Amen! *O illustrious guardians of sheep, as they say, wolves!* What encouragement have the poor Larks to send their Deputies to the

hungry Kites? or the Lambs to make their humble Addresses to the ravenous evening Wolves, who are hunting greedily after their prey? If it be replied, that there never was such a Council erected at *Turin*; We answer, 'tis true, there is but one great Council that bears that glorious Title, *The Propaganda* and that's at *Rome*, which *Petrarcha* righteously calls *Spear of deception, and temple of heresy, etc.* But it's as true, that under that great Council there is a great number of other great Councils, in the Metropolitan and chief Cities of those Kings and States who depend on the See of *Rome*, and which are subordinate unto it. Yea, the Auditor Gastaldo, while he stiles himself, *General Conservator of the Holy Faith for the Observance of the Orders overseeing the Reformed Religion, etc.* Does he not declare plainly that he himself is a Member of this Congregation? The Marquess *Pianezza* likewise has been constrained to confess, that the Assembly which had judged all those Affairs, fate in the House of the Archbishop of *Turin*, the said Archbishop being President; and if so, what could this be but an Ecclesiastical Assembly?

3. What were the *Letters of Procuration* which they refused to bring before this Assembly? Alas! they were such as must have been, drawn by Popish Notaries, whereby they must have accepted of all that his royal Highness would have been pleased to ordain concerning them, renouncing and disclaiming all their ancient Rights, Privileges and Estates. There is no man can deny, but that the poor people used their utmost diligence to present their Requests to his Royal Highness, and indeed they longed for nothing more, than for such an opportunity as this to inform their sovereign Prince of the truth of all things, and if possible to remove those hard thoughts and sinister impressions, which their malicious Adversaries had so long labored to possess his mind withal: but they could never obtain Audience, although all their Deputies made three distinct Voyages to *Turin* on set purpose, and were always sent back to the Council *de extirpandis hereticis*, being thus banded between one and the other, as Balls between the Rackets, merely to amuse them, and spin out the time till all things were ready for the slaughter of their Brethren in the Valleys. If it be objected that these Requests were not authentic, we affirm the contrary, and say, that they were both signed by the Hands of the Principal of the Valleys, and made



authentic by the Judge of *Lucerna* himself, as the Adversaries well know: neither is there any other reason why they will not allow them authentic, but this, because they were not of their own penning and framing, and because the people were not so unwise and unwary, as to yield to accept of all that his Royal Highness should ordain concerning them, without this Restriction, *Salvis conscientiis, & antiquis concessionibus*.

## Court of Savoy.

*At the very same time they writ Letters to Foreign States, desiring their counsel, etc. amongst others, to the Ministers of Geneva, etc.*

*The Answer of the Ministers of Geneva was that they should have recourse to his Royal Highness, etc. yea, if after all they could obtain nothing, they should nevertheless obey their Sovereign.*

*They added, that they had not delivered their Letters to the Governors, Ne vobis vitio vertatur (May it not be turned against you as a fault), etc.*

### *Animadversion.*

1. That the poor people had such recourse to other States and Princes, as is above specified, is by them denied, and by the other not at all proved.

2. Although the Ministers of *Geneva* might counsel them to yield obedience to his Royal Highness, yet surely they did never counsel them to enslave themselves to the Council *de extirpandis hereticis*, or, to suffer their throats to be cut like Beasts, and to be thrown out of their Houses and ancient Habitations, without either knowing the Cause or Reason thereof. Certainly, the Ministers of *Geneva* never counselled them to accept of the Order of *Gastaldo*, but on the contrary, exhorted them (if they did anything) to have recourse to his Highness, and there to complain of the cruelty and injustice of the same. And thus must these men's Text be read like

the Hebrew, that is, backward, for the right understanding of the same.

3. The *Latin* words *Ne vobis vitio vertatur*, which are said to be taken out of the pretended Letter, is a great Argument that it was none of theirs, for the Assembly of Ministers at *Geneva* (as is well known) write ordinarily in *French*, to those Pastors of other Churches who speak that Language. And therefore if any such Letter was written, it was rather by some private person than that Assembly in general, and so the Adversaries deceive both the world and themselves by imputing the same unto them.

### Court of Savoy.

*All which appears by the authentic Process made, and by the Depositions of the Prisoners, etc.*

#### *Animadversion.*

A poor proof indeed! After they have sifted and shaken the weak Faith of some silly Souls, by setting before their eyes, and inflicting upon their bodies all the torments they can possibly devise, and so at last extorted out of their mouths what was never in their hearts, they then produce their testimonies as valid and authentical, whereas what those poor creatures have confessed at such times, was only what their Tormentors pleased, as several of them, who have since that time by the good hand of Providence escaped their hands, have openly protested before God and Men, that the extremity and horror of pain and torments extorted from them then many things, which they now detest and abhor from the bottom of their Souls. For this the Reader need seek no further proof than the Declaration Reparative of the two Ministers, *Aguit* and *Gros*, above specified.

### Court of Savoy.

*From whence it may be gathered, how falsely it is supposed, that the Orders of the 25 of January aforesaid had respect either to their Religion or Consciences, etc.*

*Animadversion.*

A very strange Paradox indeed! that there should be a condition so plainly inserted in the Order, to oblige them to turn Catholics, and yet the Order not respect at all either Religion or Conscience? The truth is, the words will very well admit of another construction, *The said Order respects neither Religion nor Conscience*, that is to say, there is not so much as any trace of Religion or Conscience in that Orders; so cruel, barbarous, and inhumane is it! What else was the end and drift of this Order, than to force those poor people to apostatize? Either they must quit their Houses and Habitations in the very midst of Winter, and be confined to a Country where it was impossible for them to subsist, with a thousand other cruel circumstances, or else they must, against the persuasions of their minds, and the enlightenings of their Consciences, become Catholics, and to hazard their immortal Souls; What was this but the very same artifice the Heathen used of old to make the Christians revolt? What shall we say of the *Crusade* spread at that time over all *Piemont*? The infinite number of Thieves and Outlaws who were lodged in *La Torre*, and in all the neighboring Monasteries round about? the Plunder and Pardons promised to all who would engage and join for the destruction of the Heretics, with the printed Tickets that were given to the Soldiers for this very purpose? The Order that was sent before to six Regiments of the *French Army* to come speedily from *Dauphine*, as likewise the Letter of the *French Ambassador* Servient to the Lords *Castellains* and Consuls *Pragela*, bearing date 14 *April* 1655 (which was three days before the Marquess of *Pianezza's* Army came), wherein *he forbids those of Pragela to assist the others*? All these circumstances and that bloody Massacre following immediately after, plainly show that the Design was to destroy them as Protestants, Root and Branch, and to cut off their Remembrance from the face of the earth.

If all this be not yet sufficient, yet Count *Bouchard* in his Letter to Mr. *Laurens* and Mr. *Malarot*, bearing date 5 *May* 1655, will

certainly give so much light into this business, that it will not leave the least foundation for a scruple.

An authentic Transcript of Count *Bouchard's* Letter to Mr. *Laurentio* and Mr. *Malarot*, bearing date 5 May 1655.

Most honorable and dear Friends,

I have thought good once more to give you warning of the extreme danger which hangs over your heads, and how easily you may prevent the same; and then if you will not apply a Remedy to the same, but will satisfy your giddy fancy, to behold the utter desolation of our Canton, and will needs appear the only Ranters in all the Valleys, I do protest, as well in the name of all the Lords, the Earls Vagnone and Verdina, as in mine own, that we shall revenge ourselves even unto blood, and ye shall have no manner of trading or commerce, either in *Pignerol*, or in our confines. And that sooner or later you shall repent you of this error, and damage. Wherefore see what course you will steer, and whether you will govern yourselves according to the example of *Prali*, *Rodoretto*, *Salsa*, *Macello*, and *Maneglia*, who have turned Catholics, and have promised for those who are absent, otherwise I swear unto you by the holy Baptism, that the Lord Marquess *Galeazza* hath order to burn, root out, and to demolish every House, as likewise to cut up the Vines and Trees, in the Possessions not only of those who are now in being, but also their Children who are to come. But if God doth not by his holy grace enlighten you, and if you will not become Catholics, nevertheless I advise you to give at least some Hostages that you will not reenter into the Dominions of his Royal Highness, or do any hurt to the Catholics. And if you do this, I believe they will leave you in peace, and not destroy your Houses, and by this means in time all things may be accommodated. I beseech you think well upon what I have said, and tomorrow morning let me have your positive Answer, and what you resolve to do, for the Lord Marquess *Galeazzo* will lodge tomorrow in our Quarters, and if you be but resolved, I do believe I shall avoid the stroke, and cause him to go forth of the Valleys of *M. Malanotto*. Ye have now an opportunity in

your hands, communicate this Letter to your Friends, only see that they be your true Friends. And I beseech God Almighty to assist you. *Rovero* the fifth of *May* 1655.

Your most affectionate Friend to serve you,

*Emanuel Bochiardo.*

*Merolles* likewise who commanded some Forces against those of the Valleys speaks very plain in a Letter of his that he writes from *Turin* the seventeenth of *July* 1655.

An authentic Extract of *Merolles* Letter from *Turin*, 17 *July* 1655.

*You have understood by my former the state of the Valleys in Piemont, and what is befallen the Heretics. By this you will know that his Royal Highness having done me the Honor to confer upon me the Command of one part of the Forces, we pursue those who are come to re-inhabit, those who are yet in the Country stand upon their own defense, but are for the most part put to the rout. They expect indeed some assistance, but though there should come any, it would come too late, that I shall have time enough to destroy the Remnant of those Heretics, etc.*

To all this we may add an authentic Copy of a printed Order of the Marquess *Pianezza*, translated out of the *Italian*, containing the Privileges granted to those who should revolt.

The Marquess of *Pianezza*, Knight of the Order, General of the Infantry of his Royal Highness.

*By virtue of the Authority we hold under his Royal Highness, we permit and grant to N. upon the account of the Testimony of Catholization, given us by the R. F. the chief Missionary, to inhabit in the place of N. And in the very same house where he inhabited before the Troubles, as also to enjoy that Estate which he possessed in the said place, with security to his person, notwithstanding the Crime of Rebellion which he stands guilty of, and consequently the pain of Death and Confiscation of Goods, the which pains both real and personal his Royal Highness graciously suspends, upon the account of his Catholization, and with an intention to spare his life, and to take off the Confiscation of his Estate, for the space of two years next ensuing, provided he live a good Catholic during that time, and do not disobey his Royal Highness Orders. But in case he return to the said Heresy, and renew acts of disobedience against his Royal Highness Orders, then he shall not only be deprived of the benefits now accorded to him, but shall lose his life, as a Rebel both to divine and human Authority, and immediately hereupon the abovesaid Confiscation of Houses, Lands, and Fruits, of whatsoever sort or substance they be, shall be in full force. Given at La Torre of Lucerna the 4 of May 1655.*

P. Claudio di Simiane.

Berton.

The Certificate of the Monk, the true Original whereof was delivered into the Authors hands, and is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of Cambridge.

*I Whose Name is here under-written, do attest, that N. of \_\_\_\_\_ having abjured the Heresy of Calvin, has submitted to the faith and obedience of the church of Rome, promising to live and die in the same. Given at La Torre the tenth of May 1655.*

Fra Prospero da Tarano

Præf. Apostolico.

*and underneath R.*

*Court of Savoy.*

*In order to this Affair the Inhabitants of the said Valleys appointed and held a general Assembly, etc.*

*In sum, their Conclusion was, never to yield obedience to any such Order; and that Arms were to be taken up, etc.*

*That the Estates by them unlawfully purchased, etc. should not be sold to any Catholic, etc. For the performance of all which they all took a solemn Oath, etc.*

*This being done, they returned by their own Authority into the places prohibited, (notwithstanding they still acted by way of Deputation, as if they had had no intention at all to be a Rebellion, etc.).*

*Animadversion.*

1. And was it not high time for the poor people to hold a *General Assembly*, when their sworn Adversary had fully and absolutely determined their destruction?

2. Again, Is it not high time for men to *take up Arms*, in their own defense, who never had the least thought of disobeying their natural Prince, and who had always been liberal of their lives and fortunes for his service, when once they shall see themselves set upon by a barbarous generation of men, who, contrary to all Law and Equity, attempt to cut their throats like Beasts? Does not the very Law of Nature teach all men self-preservation in such a juncture of time?

3. What though they did oblige themselves by an Oath to preserve those small Estates they had left them by their Ancestors, or what they had lawfully purchased according to their concessions in the Year 1561, where that very thing is expressed to them? Who is there that knows anything of those affairs, who knows not that it

has been an ancient stratagem of their Popish Adversaries, to buy out and purchase at any rate, the Lands and Inheritances of the Protestants, and in the meantime to prohibit them to purchase, upon the strictest penalties imaginable, one foot of the Catholics, that so by little and little they might utterly root them out of the Valleys? Surely the History of *Naboth*, who would not sell his Vineyard to King *Achab*, sufficiently justifies the poor peoples behaviors in this case, and shows plainly, that it was not lawful for Magistrates, no! not for the King himself, to compel *Naboth* to sell his Vineyard. And that all the specious pretenses and formalities of Law, with the false witness that was made use of to overthrow him, were not able to hinder the *Dogs* from *licking the blood of Achab and Jezebel*, for shedding the blood of *Naboth*.

4. What likelihood in the world was there, or what ground to believe, that those poor people should consume themselves, and exhaust their small estates by the continuing their Deputies at Court at excessive charges to solicit their Affairs, and not only so, but also expose the lives of their Deputies themselves, who were their chief Leaders, and principal men, to the fury of their adversaries (which would have been in such a case altogether unavoidable) if they had any such Design as here they are accused of, namely of acting an open and plain Rebellion? Was it not much rather on the contrary, an evident argument of their profound obedience and fidelity, accompanied with the greatest innocency? who, though never so harshly used, and never so often repulsed, would by no means desist from presenting their supplications at the feet of their Sovereign, but still contain themselves within the bounds of that humility and respect which faithful and obedient subjects give their Prince.

5. How was that to *return upon their own Authority*, when as they were invited and allured thereto, as Birds to the snare? For,

- A. The greatest part of those who returned, were Tenants to some Catholics, who commanded them to return and Till their grounds, promising them faithfully, that all things should be composed and accommodated, and that not the least wrong in the world should be done unto them; and more particularly, that they should not in so doing become liable to the Penalties specified in the Order of *Gastaldo*.
- B. Upon the complaints which they made of the wrongs and robberies as aforesaid, they had this Answer returned them



by the mouth of *Cristofero Rorenco* a Gentleman of *Luserna*, and Member of the Council *de Propaganda fide*, That they should watch those Thieves, and declare who they were to the President of the Province of *Pignerol*, who was appointed to do them justice. And that in the meantime, they might also till their grounds, provided they brought not their Families along with them, and that the men should go back from time to time to lodge in those other places whither they were retired by Order. Whereupon those honest-meaning people, thinking their adversaries proceeded with the same simplicity of heart as they themselves did, and that it was not his Royal Highness intention to drive them out of their ancient Inheritances, did return back upon the said *Rorenco*'s word and promise. And yet forsooth, this must be imputed to them for Rebellion: *It is easy to find a stick with which to beat a dog!* When once he that has it in his power, is resolved to do a mischief to his inferior, how easy is it for such a one to find or forge a golden and specious pretext for every the most cruel and unhandsome action?

#### Court of Savoy.

*His Royal Highness did indeed suffer their manners for several days together, etc.*

*But seeing all in vain, he resolved to send the Marquess of Pianezza, etc. to punish them by quartering upon them the said Army, etc.*

#### *Animadversion.*

If they were sent to quarter upon the poor people, they did surely execute their Commission to the full, for, instead of contenting themselves with ordinary provisions, ate and devoured the poor people, themselves. Yea many of those bloody wretches had such curious palates, that nothing but the *boiled brains*, and *broiled breasts* of *Barbets* would serve their turns.

Court of Savoy.

*Their Ministers caused Papers to be dispersed throughout the whole Valleys, that it was now high time for all to take up Arms, etc.*

*Animadversion.*

On the contrary, they were the *Monks* and *Mass-Priests* who dispersed papers about the *Valleys*, promising plenary indulgences to all that would go and serve in that War, and in that Massacre; and although in that hurry and confusion, almost all things of that nature were lost and concealed, yet there were some of those very papers accidentally found in the pockets of some of the *Popish* Army, who were slain and taken prisoners in the War.

The Copies of several printed Tickets and other Papers and Pictures which were found in the Pockets of some of the Soldiers in *Piemont*, who had before Massacred the Protestants.

The very Originals of all which were delivered to the Author of this History, and are to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

*In the Paper A.*

In the Paper *A* are several forms of blessing, consecrated to be carried about them for preservation; As for example.

*“May the power of God the Father, the wisdom of God the Son, and the strength of the Holy Spirit, through the intercession of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, Saint Francis, and the Blessed James, deliver you, Lord, from all fever, plague, and sudden death. Amen.”*

*In the Paper B.*

In the Paper *B* is a certain Powder which they call *Latte della Madonna*, or, *The Milk of the Virgin Mary*.

*In the Papers C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K.*

In the Papers *C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K*, are enclosed small pieces of the dead bones of several Martyrs, etc. with the following inscriptions on the backside of the Papers.

*C. Sancti Justine Vierge Martyr – Saint Justin, Virgin Martyr.*

*D. Sancti Lucii Eremita – Saint Lucius the Hermit.*

*E. Sancti Dindari Martyris – Saint Dindari, Martyr.*

*F. Sancti Blasii Episcopi Martyris – Saint Blaise, Bishop and Martyr.*

*G. Sancti Antonii Abbatis – Saint Anthony the Abbot.*

*H. Sancti Antonni M – Saint Anthony the Martyr.*

*I. Sancti Pancratii – Saint Pancratius.*

*K. De la Sancta Sepulcra – Of the Holy Sepulcher.*

*In the Paper L.*

In the Paper *L* are the Pictures of several Saints, as also of *Christ* and the *Virgin Mary*, among which there is one remarkable, whereof the title or superscription is *PRO CONVERSIONE HÆRETICORUM (CONVERSION OF HERETICS)*; all painted in a bloody color.

We leave the *Christian* Readers to make their reflection upon all these idle fopperies, which are in truth no better than sorceries and witchcrafts, and an apt Comment upon the first of the *Romans*, *When they knew God they glorified him not as God, neither were they thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools. And changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and changed the Truth of God into a Lie, etc.*

*Now at the same time, etc., there came to the said City the Deputies of the said Valleys with new Letters of Procuration, but not essentially differing from those that had been already rejected as invalid, etc.*

*Animadversion.*

But how can this agree with that which the said Marquess confesseth in his Letter to the Communalities of *Angrognia, Bobio, and Villaro*, that *he knew not what those Letters were, or what they could be*. And if so, the World may easily judge with what conscience, and for what end they were rejected. That is to say, whatever posture those poor people put themselves into, and how submissively soever they behaved themselves, yet their ruin was absolutely decreed.

*Court of Savoy.*

*The Houses in S. Giovanni were at this time disinhabited, etc.*

*Animadversion.*

And was it not time, when there was *Hannibal ad portas*? This shows plainly that those of *San Giovanni* had certain intelligence of what was designed against them, for his Highness had many times before that sent Troops to quarter among them, and yet they never removed their Habitations for fear of a Massacre.

*Court of Savoy.*

*This done, the Soldiers took up their Quarters in the said La Torre, to which they did no other hurt, than Friends are want to do, when they come in a great Body into a Village forsaken by the Inhabitants, etc.*

*Animadversion.*

Whether this have in it anything of truth or no, the poor people make their Appeal to God, Angels, and Men. And if all the Attestations which have been produced, be not sufficient to gain belief or credit in the World, they are content to refer it to him who is the *Judge of both the quick and the dead*, and who will certainly one day do them right, and *avenge the Blood of those which have been so miserably slain for the Name and testimony of Jesus*.

#### Court of Savoy.

*This insolent and unexpected stubbornness of the Rebels, although it afterwards constrained the Marquess to take a stricter course, yet it hindered him not from trying first by all mild ways to soften their spirits, and to this end he sent them a Letter, etc.*

*At which time it was likewise declared unto them, that those of S. Giovanni and La Torre with the Villages depending, could not possibly be comprehended in such a Treaty, etc.*

*At first the Inhabitants of Angrognia refused, etc. But at length they submitted, etc. But for as much as the Inhabitants refused to furnish the said Troops, etc. the Marquess was compelled to send the Regiment of Grancey, etc. Now they found the Peasants up in Arms, etc.*

#### Animadversion.

The eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth of *April* were spent by the Marquess of *Pianezza* in burning and destroying what was left of the Valleys of *San Giovanni* and *La Torre*, before which time it was not possible for the poor people to obtain the favor to have the least audience of him. But when all was done, he sent one of his Officers to them, who was accompanied with Mr. *Antonio Bastia* of *Lucerna*, who made them a long Narration of what he showed them afterwards in a Paper not signed, to acquaint them, that *as for those of San Giovanni and La Torre there was no mercy for them, but as for the others, they should receive no harm or damage, provided they*

would each of them, to manifest their obedience, quarter a Regiment of Foot, and two Troops of Horse. To this they forthwith made answer by a Letter signed, that considering how their Brethren had been used, they could not but suspect very much such a kind of Quartering imposed on them. But if his Royal Highness be pleased to suffer them to inhabit still in his Dominions, they would continue that inviolable fidelity and obedience, which they had always yielded to their sovereign Prince. But if his Royal Highness had an intent (as it seemed to them) not to permit them longer in his Territories, they humbly beseeched him only to give them time to depart with their Wives and Children, and to seek some other place of habitation, where God should direct them. To this Letter he returned no Answer, but this, that they should have their Deputies ready, as having determined to send a Trumpet for them, which accordingly he did the next morning about two hours before day. When they came there, the Marquess of *Pianezza* refused to hear any of them save only one, *David Bianquis* of *San Giovanni*, who had been their last Deputy at *Turin*, whom the popish party had so far wrought upon, that he was not only himself fully persuaded that there was no danger at all for those places, which were excepted in the Order, but likewise was made use of to lull the rest of his Brethren asleep by all the Arguments he could possibly devise, which he also accompanied with many Oaths and Protestations. In sum, the Marquess began to reprove them for having made themselves guilty (as he said) and complices with those of *S. Giovanni* and *La Torre*; but in the end he made them a great Dinner, and gave them very noble entertainment, and afterwards a Banquet of such fair words and tempting expressions, that at length his Orders were received, and his Forces admitted into *Angrognia*, *Villaro*, and *Bobio*, without any opposition. The truth is, this was contrary to the intention of the wiser sort, who would not consent to have let them in without resistance, save only into the lower part of the Communalty, which would (as they thought) have been sufficient to have received them. But some others who were more credulous, did so oppose this advice, and so prevail upon the rest, that there was not the least resistance made in any place; whereupon they came as far as the *Alp* of *Soirian*, and *La Vachere*, on that side of *Angrognia*, and into the *Alps* on the side of *Villaro* and *Bobio*, and

all this without so much as one Shot made at them by those of the Reformed Religion.

Now these Forces knowing well what Commands they had received, and seeing that the greatest part of the Husbandmen had quitted their Habitations, and that at the day appointed for the Massacre, they were like to have but a few Throats to cut, and fearing that those who were fled, might probably afterwards come to trouble them, they used all possible endeavors for the space of two days together, by very civil and fair usage of those who stayed behind, to entice the others to return back. And on the third day they put all to Fire and Sword, without any resistance of any except some few Countrymen, who being pursued even unto those places where they thought to have been out of all danger, which they had made choice of for a Sanctuary, did what they could to withstand the fury of those Men of Blood, whilst their poor Wives and Children made their Escape through the Snow, in many places fighting sometimes one against an hundred, sometimes more, and that with wonderful and marvelous success, which plainly showed, that the hand of God was in it for the preservation of the remnant of his poor Servants. And although it be true that Captain *Janavel* his Lieutenant, and their small Company, had far better success against those who would have most cruelly murdered them, yet these their Brethren knew nothing at all thereof, and were so small a handful, that it's a Miracle of Providence, that a Soul of them did ever escape.

#### Court of Savoy.

*He who commanded the said Regiment was Mr. de Petit Bourg, a Professor of the pretended Reformed Religion, and he whom they call Ayde de Major, who caused all the Orders which were given him to be put in execution. Now the Marquess of Pianezza gave command to him who was then chief and marched in the head of every Troop, recommending the same above all to the special care of the said Mr. de Petit Bourg to treat those of Angrogna in the mildest manner they could possibly, etc. This Sieur de Petit Bourg hath the Reputation of a person of so much Honor, that there's no question to be made, but he will readily attest the truth hereof, and*

*that he will never say he ever received any Order to the contrary, etc.*

*Animadversion.*

Now then one word for all. The Christian Reader is desired to take very serious notice of, and to weigh every word that goes before, in relation to Mr. de Petit Bourg (which indeed is more to the point than anything which has been yet alleged on our behalf), and to compare it with the said Mr. de Petit Bourg's own Attestation, whereof we produce the true Original, subscribed with his own very hand, and that in the presence of two persons of Honor and credit, which certainly cannot but forever stop the mouths of all the Adversaries of the poor Reformed Churches.

The Declaration of *Mr. de Petit Bourg*, first Captain of the Regiment of *Grancey*, touching the Cruelties that were exercised upon persons of all ages and sexes, among the poor Protestants of the Valleys of *Piemont*, subscribed with his own hand at *Pignerol*, 27 November 1655, in the presence of two other Commanders.

The true Original whereof is to be seen together with the rest in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

*I* Sieur du Petit Bourg, first Captain of the Regiment of *Grancey*, who also commanded the same, having received direction from Prince Thomas to go and join with the Marquess of *Pianezza*, and to receive his Orders (which Marquess was then at *La Torre*), when I was just upon my departure, the Ambassador sent for me, and desired me to speak to Monsieur de *Pianezza*, and to use my endeavor to accommodate the Troubles which were happened amongst those of the Religion in the Valleys of *Piemont*; in order whereunto I then addressed myself to the said Marquess: entreating



*him with much earnestness, that he would give way, that I might undertake the said Accommodation, which I supposed I might have been able to effect. But he refused this my Request, and that divers times, notwithstanding all the Endeavors I could possibly use to persuade him thereunto; and instead of the least mitigation of Affairs that this or any other consideration which I could lay before him did then produce on the contrary, I was witness to many great violences and extreme cruelties exercised by the Banditi and Soldiers of Piemont, upon all sorts of every age, sex, and condition whatsoever, whom I myself saw massacred, dismembered, hanged up, and ravished, together with many horrid confusions. And so far is it from truth, that the whole was done by virtue of those Orders which were given out by me (as is falsely alleged in a certain Relation printed in French and Italian), that I beheld the same with horror and regret. And whereas it is said in the same Relation, that the Marquess of Pianezza commanded me to treat them peaceably, without hostility, and in the best manner I could possibly, the event clearly demonstrated, that the Orders he gave were altogether contrary, for as much as it is most certain, that without any distinction of those who resisted, from those who made no resistance, they were used with all sort of inhumanity, their Houses burnt, their Goods plundered, and when Prisoners were brought before the Marquess of Pianezza, I saw him give Order to give them no quarter at all, Because (said he) his Highness is resolved to have none of the Religion in any of his Dominions.*

*And as for what he protests in the same Declaration, as namely, that there was no hurt done to any, except during the Fight, nor the least outrage committed upon any distracted persons, or Idiots; I do assert and will maintain that it is not so, as having seen with mine eyes several men killed in cold blood, as also women, aged persons and young children, miserably murdered. As for the manner how they put themselves in possession of all the Valley of Angrogna, to pillage, and burn the same entirely, they did it with ease enough, for (excepting six or seven, who seeing there would be no mercy shown them, made some show of opposition) he sent them away without the least resistance, the Peasants thinking rather how to flee than to fight the Enemy. In sum, I deny absolutely, and protest as in the presence of God, that none of those cruelties abovementioned, were*

*executed by my Order, but on the contrary, seeing that I could not procure a Remedy, I was constrained to retire and quit the Conduct of the Regiment, for fear of being present at such wicked actions.*

*Done at Pignerol the 27 November 1655.*

*Du Petit Bourg.*

The Attestation of the two Commanders.

*We whose Names are here subscribed, Captains of the Regiments of the Infantry of Sault and Averno, do under our Hands consent to have seen the present Declaration made by the Sieur du Petit Bourg Captain of the Regiment of Infantry of Grancey, in the City of Pignerol, and by him written, and signed with his own Hand, in our presence; in witness whereof we have signed this present Attestation at Pignerol this 25 November 1655.*

*S. Hilaire Captain of Auvergne.*

*Du Faure Captain.*

If after all that has been alleged for the poor peoples justification, and the others cruelty, there were the least foundation for a just scruple, we might produce very many other Attestations of persons of known probity and integrity; but not conceiving the same to be at all necessary, we shall only content ourselves with inserting an expression of another of the Officers of the Regiment of *Grancey* by name *Mr. de Bevil*, (although a Papist) who was heard to say, and that with Tears in his Eyes, by several persons of credit who were then in his company, as the Prisoners were brought in to *Turin*, *that there was never any War Among the Heathens so cruel or barbarous.* Yea, several of the common Soldiers did at that time in a boasting way tell some of their Acquaintance, that several of the chief Officers had before the first Assault bound themselves with an Oath, not to spare man, woman, nor child of the Protestants.

### Court of Savoy.

*The Land of Rorata consisting of five and twenty Families or thereabouts, was not at all meddled with before the time. And the Marquess of Pianezza believed that they would not behave themselves worse than those of Villaro and Bobio had done, and thereupon granted them a Salva Guardia. But Josue Gianavello, resolving that his Rebellion should surpass that of all the rest, came with a Squadron of Soldiers, that were the Inhabitants of that place, whom he himself commanded, and assaulted several Catholics not far from Lucerna, and set men in Ambuscado, etc.*

### *Animadversion.*

When once the mischief is done, and the cruelties are executed, and the World like to take notice thereof, to the everlasting shame (it may be prejudice) of the Actors, then it's high time for them to endeavor to daub over such their Actions with the untempered Morter of specious pretexts. And this the Author of the said *Factum* (being a Master of his art) most dexterously performs, in all the parts and members thereof, although there is nothing more certain, than that the poor people were in a most fearful and horrid manner provoked to take up Arms in their own defense, as plainly seeing themselves otherwise given up to the spoil, and their poor Wives and little ones exposed to all the cruelties and tortures which either the Devil or his wicked Instruments were able to invent. However, since the adverse party labored to disguise those murderous Actions, and to persuade the World that they are altogether innocent, and in order hereunto so framed the method of their Discourse as to make all circumstances speak for their own advantage, we have judged it necessary to insert the following Narrative of the whole business, which contains the naked truth of all things, as they have been verified both by Papists and Protestants, who were eyewitnesses of all those Proceedings; and whose very original Subscriptions we have delivered into the hands of the Author of this present History.

### CHAPTER III: *A Faithful and most Authentic Narrative, of the Continuation of the War in the Valleys of Piemont, between the Popish and Protestant party, upon the occasion of the Massacre.*

#### ARTICLE I.

In the foregoing discourse, the Reader has abundantly verified all the remarkable passages that happened in the *Valleys* between the *Popish* and the *Reformed* party, from the first arrival of the Marquess of *Pianezza's* forces, at *San Giovanni*, which was about the Seventeenth of *April* 1655, to the fatal and bloody day of the *Massacre*, which was upon the One and twentieth of the same Month. By which time they had made such a havoc of the poor people, and such a desolation throughout the said *Valleys*, that there was now only the little Communalty of *Roras*, that might be truly said to be left entire and untouched. But that those of *Roras* might be in all things made like unto their suffering brethren of the other Churches, and to let the world see that the destruction was designed to be Universal, the Earl of *Christophle* upon this very day sent Three hundred soldiers secretly by the way of *Villaro* to surprise them suddenly, and so to put all to the sword. This party being got upon a certain little Hill called *Rumer*, belonging to *Roras*, were happily met with by some Soldiers belonging to Captain *Joshua Gianavel* (whom God raised up in those days, as a choice instrument of his own, for the preservation of the poor scattered remnant of his people). These soldiers though but seven or eight in number, yet having been before placed in Ambuscado in a convenient Post, for the preventing any inroad of the Enemy, accordingly took their opportunity of firing upon them, and the truth is, plied them so hard, that many of them were killed upon the place, and the rest, guessing by the great number of bullets that flew about their ears, that the men in Ambuscado were six times more than indeed they were, fled back the same way that they came in very great disorder and confusion: Which the others perceiving, improved that their miraculous conquest, by falling upon the Enemies Rear, and chasing them for at

least three quarters of a League, among the Rocks and Woods, doing notable execution upon them as they were fleeing. And thus were Three hundred of those murderers constrained by seven or eight poor Peasants, to quit the Country to their great shame and consternation, as well as the loss of many of their lives.

Now forasmuch as the common report at that time was, that the soldiers sent, as abovesaid, by the Marquess of *Pianezza*, had acted quite contrary to their Orders in all their insolencies, murders, massacres, and Robberies; the members of this poor little Church, presented soon after their complaints to the said *Marquess*, who that he might have the better advantage to deceive and surprise them a second time, made them this Answer, that *those of his Soldiers who went to Roras were no other than Thieves, Robbers, and Outlaws, and that they had in this wholly disobeyed his Orders, and consequently that they had done him a singular kindness in driving them out of their Country.* As likewise, *that he would take a course to prevent their disturbance for the future,* and thereupon published an Order whereby he straitly charged his soldiers not to give them the least causes of future complaints, or molest them in any kind whatsoever.

But as *promises made to Heretics are not at all obligatory* with the men of the Marquess of *Pianezza's* profession, he sent the very next day a party of Five hundred chosen men, to put in execution his first bloody design; But these men as they were passing over a little Hill of *Roras*, called *Cassuler*, were so saluted by Eleven Musketeers, of the *Protestants*, and six men with slings, all under the conduct of Captain *Gianavel*, who had divided them into three squadrons, and placed them conveniently in the Woods, that the Enemy was soon put to flight: And afterwards, this poor handful of despicable men, pursued them for the space of a whole League, slaying a very great number of them, and all without the loss, or indeed hurt, of so much as one man of their own party. By all which the Reader may take notice of the admirable Providence of the great *Lord of Hosts*, in preserving and prospering those who fight his Battles.

The Marquess of *Pianezza*, notwithstanding he had failed in his enterprise the second time, was resolved to try his fortune yet a third

time, and to this end he made new promises and protestations, that there should be no manner of injury in the world offered them, assuring them withal, that the consideration of the Earl of *Christophle* of *Lucerna* their Lord and Patron, who had interceded for them, should have its real effects for their preservation and protection. But whether the *Marquess* his memory were so short, as to make him forget what he had promised, or whether his conscience and honor were troubled with a *looseness*, the morrow after he sent a party of Seven hundred soldiers, who first seized and made good all passages, that so none might escape their bloody hands, and then most inhumanely burned and destroyed whatsoever they met with, throughout all the Communalty of *Roras*.

Hereupon about Seventeen Masters of Families in the said Communalty of *Roras*, whose hearts God had in a very signal manner strengthened to the battle for their poor Brethrens preservation, seeing what usage they must expect, and that nothing but death and destruction waited for them, unless some admirable providence prevented it, as likewise calling to mind those many eminent and glorious deliverances God had vouchsafed to his people *Israel* in their greatest straits and exigences, They were unanimously resolved to cast themselves, with their lives and fortunes, into the hands of the same God and Savior, resting upon his gracious promises, and freely submitting to his good will and pleasure, for the success of all their undertakings.

The chief Captain and Commander of this valiant party, was that abovenamed Captain *Gianavel*, who marching up with his little Troop near the Enemies quarters, took prisoners and carried away, in a most dexterous manner, their Court of Guard, with their Sentinel, from off a little Hill belonging to a certain place called *Ramasiero*, at which bold exploit, the Enemies being not a little amazed, withdrew from the place where they were, resolving to take their march through a little Meadow lying at the lower part of *Roras* called *Piampra*, and so to gain *Villaro* or *La Torre*, But being not nimble-footed enough, for the compassing this their desire, the others met with them at *Piampra*, and there slew a great number of them, without the loss of one man of their own, and also took from them all their booty of Cattle and other things which they had before plundered and taken from the Inhabitants of the neighboring places.

Now the Marquess of *Pianezza* being not a little troubled that all his designs should thus be frustrated, and that all the fair words and specious promises he could now give the poor people, were but *surdo fabulam narrare*, or rather so many warning-pieces, to bid them stand upon their guard, he sent with all possible speed to all those of *Lucerna*, *Bubbiana*, *Barges*, *Bagnol*, *Famolas*, *Cavours*, and the adjacent places, who were able to carry arms, to come and join with a good part of his own Army, to environ those poor people on every side, namely on the side of *Villaro*, the Mountains of *Bagnol*, and the side of *Lucerna*.

But as *its usual for men to decree, and for God to disappoint, and infatuate their Councils as he pleases*, notwithstanding the Rendezvous that was punctually assigned them, they came at least two hours too late, except only the Troop of *Bagnol*, which was conducted by one Captain *Mario* a famous Persecutor, and notorious enemy of the Reformed Churches; This *Mario* being accompanied by a ragged Regiment of Outlaws, Thieves, and Robbers, as also a great number of *Irish* Rebels, assaulted the poor people both on the upper and lower part of the Canton of *Rumer*, who, the truth is, were but Seventeen in number, but it pleased God to put so much courage into their hearts, that they straightway got up to the top of the Mountain, and there, after a long skirmish, forced their Enemies, though never so full of fury and malice, to give back, and to flee before them as far as the Cliff, called *Payro Capello*. In this fight and pursuit the adversaries themselves confessed, that they had lost sixty-five men, besides a great number that were wounded. And indeed it could not be otherwise, for, many of them were so heavy laden with plunder, that the very weight thereof, as they were fleeing among the precipices of the Rocks, caused them to tumble down headlong, and so dashed themselves in pieces.

Now those of them, who by reason of their lighter burdens, and; nimbler heels, had got safe to the said *Payro Capello*, when they came there, found much greater difficulties to contest with them before, for, finding themselves close pursued by the Reformed party, and environed and compassed in on every side, they were forced to take the very cords and ropes wherewith they had bound up their spoils, and fastening the same to some shrubs that grew on the side of the Rock, to slide down at least an hundred (or as some say, an

hundred and fifty) at a time, and from the end of the cord, which reached not within a good Pikes length of the River, to cast themselves into the water, and so swim for their lives. But partly through the violence of the Torrent, and partly through the great confusion there was against them, one falling upon the neck of another, and those that could not swim, catching hold of all those that came near them, the greatest part of them were drowned. Their Captain *Mario* likewise, when it came to his turn, threw himself into the River, and had not several of the soldiers, who were excellent good swimmers, ventured their lives to fetch him out, he had himself marched, with the greatest part of his Troop, into the other world, there to receive together their full pay, for the eminent service they had done to the Prince of Darkness.

This Captain *Mario* was afterwards brought into *Lucerna*, in his shirt, without either hat or shoes, as a man astonished and at his wits end; And soon after he fell into a desperate disease, whereof he died. Before his death he oft cried out in a most despairing manner, that he felt a burning within his bowels, as a just judgement of God upon him, for having burned so many houses, and so many innocent souls in them.

After this Heroic and gallant action, the *Reformed* party being something tired with their hard service, and going to refresh themselves, they perceived, as they were marching along, another Company coming from *Villaro*, whereupon they immediately put themselves in Ambuscado; Their Enemies drawing nigh the place, perceived some of them, but not being able to distinguish by any colors or marks who they were, called out to them for the Word; the *Reformed* made them no answer, but beckoned to them to come on, which they doing in a most careless manner, as being confident they had been of their own party, the others discharged at them on a sudden, and slew a very great number of them upon the place, and pursued the rest as far as the descent of *La Torre*, and *Villaro*. After which remarkable deliverance, Captain *Gianavel* rallied his men together upon a certain high ground not far off, and there in the fight of his Enemies caused them all to kneel down, and with a loud voice to give thanks to the Lord, for that wonderful preservation which he had vouchsafed them.



About three days after, the Marquess of *Pianezza*, being highly incensed by this resistance of the Protestant party, sent the people of *Roras* a Letter by an Express, whereby he straitly charged them to *change their Religion within four and twenty hours after the intimation of that his Order, upon pain of Death, and of having their Houses burned to the ground*. To this Letter the poor people make Answer, that *they would much rather choose Death, than obey any such Order*. The Marquess seeing their constancy, dispatched away immediately no less than eight thousand Men, besides the *Militia* Forces of the neighboring Communalities. These, according to his Orders, were divided into three Squadrons, the one to set upon the poor people on the side of *Villaro*, the other upon the Mountains of *Bagnol*, and the third on that part which looks toward *Lucerna*, which accordingly they effected, not only putting to the Sword Man, Woman, and Child, but also exercising all manner of Cruelties upon as many as they pleased, those bloody Wretches taking much pleasure and delight in torturing those poor creatures, and in taking their young Infants (whose woeful Cries made such a lamentable Echo among the Rocks, as they were hurled through the air from off the Enemies Pikes and Halberds, that it would have melted the Heart of any Christian Soul to have heard it) and dashing their Brains against the Rocks. The number of those that were slain, wounded and taken Prisoners in this Encounter, were in all about an hundred twenty and six, the rest by a Miracle of Providence, escaping the Enemies hands.

After this great Victory of eight thousand over nineteen or twenty Men, with some few old Men and Women, accompanied with poor young Infants, and after they had sufficiently glutted themselves with the Prey they had found in the Country, and turned to Ashes all their Houses and Habitations, and sent their Prisoners in triumph to *Turin* (among whom was the Wife and Children of Captain *Gianavel*), the Popish party marched back to *Lucerna* with great joy and acclamations.

Not long after the Marquess of *Pianezza* wrote a very large and ample Letter to Captain *Gianavel* promising him on the one side very great advantages in case he would but change his Religion: and on the other side threatening him, *that his wife and children should be burned, and a great sum of money likewise given to whomsoever*

*should bring in him the said Gianavel either dead or alive, and that in case he should ever be taken Prisoner, he might easily conjecture how he should be used.* To this Captain *Gianavel* forthwith answered, *That there was no Torment so violent, nor Death so cruel, that he did not much prefer before the Abjuration of his Religion; and that all the Marquesses Promises and Threats did but the more fortify and strengthen his Faith. And lastly, that all though the said Marquess had got his Wife and children in his power and custody, yet he could do no more than kill their Bodies; and as for their Souls, he recommended them, with his own, into the hands of God, if he should ever chance to fall under his power.* And this was the true and naked Answer of the said Captain *Gianavel*, whose heroic Actions ought certainly to be recommended to posterity, and whose name ought to be recorded among the most famous Worthies that ever drew Sword for the Cause of *Christ*, and his poor distressed Members.

This Captain *Gianavel* having gotten together a small handful of Men upon a part of the Alps called *La Pella des Jaimets*, went out upon the two and twentieth of *May* in the evening, and marched about three Leagues from the place, not far from *Bubiana*, which is a little Town a little below *Lucerna*; where he first fought God in Prayer with all his little Troop, and afterwards informing himself of the number and strength of the Enemy, and finding that they were too numerous and powerful to be attacked by such a poor handful of Men as he had with him, he steered his Course towards *Lucernetta*, which is a Village belonging to *Bubiana*, where he was set upon very furiously by those of the Garisson of *Lucerna*, but he resisted them most courageously without loss of a Man, only he himself received a Shot in one of his Legs by a Soldier who had hid himself behind a Tree for that purpose, but lost his life for his pains, for the Captain quickly perceiving from whence that Shot came, lame as he was, made quickly to him, and killed him upon the place.

In the meantime, while these things were acting, it's worth the observing, that the Irish Rebels attempting to render themselves Masters of *Bubbiana*, under pretext of guarding the same against the *Barbets*, the Peasants of the place took occasion to quarrel with them, and afterwards to drive them out, killing a great number of them.

## ARTICLE II.

### The Battles at *Garcigliana*, *San Secondo*, and *Briqueras*.

Upon the six and twentieth of *May*, 1655, Captain *Josue Gianavel* wrote some Letters to Captain *Bartholemi Jahier*, and to those who were retired into *Val Lucerna*, to have a general Rendezvous at *Angrognia*, which accordingly happened very successfully, and the day after, being the seven and twentieth of the same Month, they marched away all together to a certain place in the Plain called *Garcigliana*, but thinking to have entered into the Town, they were met with by a great party of Horse and Foot; this little handful disputed it with them a long time, but in the end were forced to retreat, though not without a Booty of about six Yoke of Oxen, and a great number of other smaller Cattle, yea and some Prisoners also, one whereof offered them immediately fifty Pistols for his Ransom; and all this with the loss of one only Man in their Retreat.

Upon the eight and twentieth of *May*, all the Troops of the Reformed party marched towards *San Secondo*, where having first kneeled down and prayed for a blessing upon their undertakings, they rose up, and encouraging one another in a wonderful manner, attacked the place with incredible courage and valor: and that they might the better approach the Houses where the Enemies had lodged and fortified themselves, they got some Planks, Barrels, and such other things as they could meet with, to defend themselves from the Bullets, which were without intermission shot out of the Houses against them, and so they quickly rendered themselves Masters of the Doors of those Houses, to which they immediately set fire, and got in by force, where they put all the Soldiers they found to the Sword. The truth is, they had been extremely provoked to this rigor and severity by the others cruel usage of their Wives and little ones, which made them in some measure seek a Revenge (besides almost every Room in those very Houses where they entered was stuffed and filled with the Goods of the Protestants), however their Fury and Revenge did not so far prevail upon them, as to cause them to lay violent hands upon any Women or Children, looking upon them as not guilty of the others misdeeds and cruelties.

After this, they set fire to all the Town, plundering the Churches which they found full of their own Goods and Cattle, which the other had brought thither some days before, carrying away about seven of their Mass-Bells.

In this great Encounter there perished of the Popish party that very day no less than four hundred and fifty Men, as was attested by one who helped to bury them; amongst others, a whole Company of *Irish* Rebels, who would rather suffer themselves to be burned alive than take Quarter (a just Judgment from Heaven upon them for all their Cruelties). Of the Protestants there were slain but seven eminent Soldiers, two whereof were of the Valley of *San Martino*, one of *La Torre*, one of *Roccapiatta*, two of *Angrognia*, and one of *San Giovanni*, with about six or seven who were slightly wounded, whereof they likewise afterwards soon recovered.

Upon Monday the fourth of *June*, the Captains *Jahier*, *Laurentio*, *Gianavel*, *Genolat*, *Benet*, and other Officers of the Reformed party went to *Angrognia*, and having called a Council of War, they concluded to alarm the Enemy the morrow after at *Briqueras* and *San Giovanni*: after they had so done, the Captains *Laurentio* and *Jahier* marched by the way of *Roccapiatta*, that so they might come more conveniently to approach *Briqueras*, by the help of the thick Woods in that place, amongst which they shrouded themselves; now having gotten upon a little Hill above the Vineyards of *Briqueras*, Captain *Laurentio* kept his station, that so he might hinder any Relief that might have been probably sent from *San Secondo*, and Captain *Jahier* went down something lower, and set fire to several Houses and Barns, and the neighboring places.

At the sight of this Fire, those of *Briqueras* gave notice to those of *Cavours*, *Fenile*, *Bubiana*, and *Campiglione*, with all neighboring parts, that they might take the Alarm, whereupon the Enemy quickly advanced, but were as quickly repelled and driven back.

In the meantime, there came a party of Horse, about twenty in number, and took up their station at *San Secondo*, for fear lest the Reformed party should make a Sally out that way, really believing that they had a Design to set upon *Briqueras*. Upon this, Captain *Jahier* marched with his Company by the way of *San Giovanni*, and Captain *Laurentio* took another way something higher, but yet they

both met at the place appointed, where Captain *Jahier* finding Captain *Gianavel* engaged with the Soldiers of *Lucerna* and *La Torre* (against whom he had defended himself exceeding courageously), charged them in the Flank, Captain *Laurentio* at the same time advancing against their Front, and seasonably interposing his Company in the very same place where the Enemies thought to have surrounded Captain *Gianavel*, the Popish party were put to flight in great disorder, with the loss of an hundred Men, besides many that were wounded, whereas there was but one Man of the Reformed party slain upon the place.

Upon the second of *June*, three hundred Soldiers of the Enemies went from *La Torre* to bring a Convoy into the Fort of *Mirebouc* situated between the Frontiers of *Dauphine* and *Piemont*. But Captain *Gianavel* being then at the place of *Malbec*, although he had but nine Soldiers with him, fell upon them and fought with them a great while together, to the astonishment of their Enemies, but in the end he was forced to retreat towards *Ville Neuve*, though with the loss of not one of his party, only four were slightly wounded.

After this Captain *Gianavel* with some small parties marched unto a place called *La Pela des Gainets*, from whence he sent word unto those of *Bobio*, *Villaro*, *La Torre*, and other places, who had retired themselves into *Villaro*, *That all those of the Reformed Religion, should within four and twenty hours come out of the said place, where Mass was celebrated, upon pain of being dealt with as Enemies, and that those who through weakness had abjured, and would persist in their Abjurations should depart thence upon the same penalties.* Hereupon all the Papists forthwith went out of *Villaro*, and the Reformed came in to Captain *Gianavel*, all those who were able to bear Arms following him cheerfully, and the other contributing according to their power, towards the maintenance of him and his Troops: as for those who through infirmity had abjured their Religion, they went over the Mountain, and so into the Valley of *Queires*, but however, not long after, they returned like so many wandering Sheep to the true Shepherd of their Souls, and accordingly were received again into the bosom of the Church.

### ARTICLE III.

## The Battles of *Lucerna*, *La Torre*, *Crusol*, *Angrognia*, and *Osac*, with several other Passages and Encounters.

After that those of *Lucerna* were retreated, the very same day the Captains *Jahier* and *Gianavel*, together with some other Officers, held a Council of War, wherein it was concluded, and resolved to make a Sally out, and to surprise, if possible, those of *La Torre*, a great part of whom were *Irish*; but the Enemy having timely notice thereof, killed the first and stoutest of those who had passed over the Bridge at *Angrognia*, which good success of theirs did so animate the rest of their party, that nothing less would content them, than the attempting to surround the whole Body of the Protestant party, and so to cut them off inevitably, but having made many Assaults to no purpose, they were forced at last to retreat into *La Torre*, with the loss of a great number of their Soldiers, besides many others who received very sore and dangerous Wounds.

The next day the Captains *Jahier* and *Gianavel* went before *La Torre*, and at their arrival many of the Soldiers there came out to fight them, but not having a conveniency of sallying forth in a full Body, they were all slain upon the place as fast as they came out; which being seen by their Captains and Commanders, who likewise came out at the noise of their shooting, they considered how great the danger was, and so thought it their prudence rather to call in their Soldiers, than to let them pass over the Bridge of *Angrognia*; whereupon, the Reformed party retreated towards *Angrognia*, to a place called *La Verné*, where there were yet left some few houses unburned.

The next day was employed in a review of their Army, and in holding a Council of War, where it was resolved to send a party against the Communalty of *Crusol*, in regard the Inhabitants thereof had made some Incursions upon them, and committed many Outrages in the beginning of the Massacre. In order hereunto they marched all night (being four hundred ninety and five in number), and passed above *La Torre*, without being at all discovered by them of the place, and a little after midnight they arrived safe at *Crusol*, where they took four hundred Head of Cattle, six hundred Sheep and Goats, with great store of other Booty, and all this without the least

resistance, for as much as most of the Inhabitants of *Crusol* being terribly scared at this sudden Surprisal, cast themselves into the mouth of a most fearful Rock, whence it was altogether impossible ever to get them out. This done, they returned back to one of the Alps of *Villaro*, where they arrived the next day towards evening, and divided the Spoils among the Soldiers.

Now a few hours after their departure, came those of *Lucerna*, *Cavours*, *Briqueras*, *Barges*, *Bagnol*, *Famolase*, and other neighboring places, to the number of 800, who had notice of the Design abovesaid against *Crusol*, and accordingly intended to relieve them: but finding the others were too far gone ever to overtake them, they resolved not wholly to lose their labors, and forthwith fell to plundering the poor people in ten times a more cruel manner than the Reformed had done before, and not only so, but fell out also among themselves about dividing the Spoil, and so destroyed one another instead of doing the least hurt to those of the Reformed party.

It is very remarkable, that upon the very same day that this Enterprise was against *Crusol*, those of *San Secondo* having had notice thereof, came to burn the rest of the houses of *Roccapiatta*, being already advanced as far as the little Hill of *Angrognia*, with intent to have surprised the rest of the Forces that were left in the Camp under the Command of Captain *Laurentio*, and the Brother and Lieutenant of Captain *Jahier*; but these having timely notice thereof, marched up without any delay to the top of the Mountain with one half of the Soldiery, leaving the other half under the prudent Conduct of Captain *Benet* of *San Germano*, who likewise with all possible expedition took his Post upon the said little Hill with seventeen of his Men, and placed the rest in Ambuscado; but the Enemies hearts misgiving them, they retreated in a most shameful and cowardly manner, neither did they any valiant Act that day save only one, which was upon the person of *Giovanni Pietro Ragio*, whom they took as he was coming from *Pinachia*, and binding his Head with a Cord, they strained the same with such violence, that they made it sink into his Brains, and having done this, they sent him to *Turin* to be cured, as he indeed was within a few days after, by a languishing and miserable Death.

About eight days after this, Captain *Gianavel*, having waited in vain at *Angrognia* three whole days for the coming of Captain *Jahier*, to join with him in assaulting the Town of *Lucerna*, resolved to undertake the Onset himself, and to this end began his March from *Angrognia* about the beginning of the night, and arrived at *Lucerna*, by break of day. Being arrived, he first cut off the Pipes that conveyed the Water into the Town, and brake down the Bridge, that no Relief might come to them from *Bubbiana*, *Barges*, and *Bagno*; this done, he assaulted the Town, and quickly defeated two of the Out-guards; but the Regiment of *Monsieur de Merolles*, together with several other considerable parties, being got into the Town the night before, he was to his great grief constrained to retreat, and give over storming the Town, whereas if Captain *Jahier* had come in in time, they had in all probability carried the place in a very short space.

The Friday following, being the eighth of *June*, Captain *Gianavel* having been left alone in *Angrognia* only with his own Company, and some few of *Villaro*, *Bobbio*, *La Torre*, *S. Giovanni*, and *Angrognia*, was assaulted by break of day by the Soldiers of *La Torre*, and others, who having part of them got up to the top of the Mountain, and part of them gone the lower passage to possess themselves of the Gate of *Angrognia* by the way of *San Bartholomeo*, and so thinking to fall suddenly upon Captain *Gianavel* and his Forces, as an high flying Hawk doth upon her Prey. It pleased God so to order Affairs, that at the Sound of the Trumpet, when all should have fallen on, Captain *Gianavel* quickly awaked, and having first sought to God in Prayer, fell upon the Enemy, and got the advantage of the place from them, and after a short Dispute forced them to turn their backs, although there were at least Two thousand five hundred, and all his Company not exceeding three hundred; and not only so, but he pursued them likewise as far as the descent of *Angrognia*, into the Woods and steep places among the Rocks, where he slew a very great number of them.

This Fight lasted without any intermission till about two of the clock in the Afternoon, at which time came in from *Pramol*, Captain *Jahier* with his Men, and that very seasonably for the Relief of Captain *Gianavel* and his Troops; for, these two joining their Forces together (though the one had fought for at least eight hours together),



and with an incredible courage drove the Enemy before them as far as the Temple of *Chabas* in the Commualty of *San Giovanni*, and totally routed them, some of the Foot fleeing towards *La Torre*, and some into *Lucerna*, many of the Horse likewise were forced into precipices and other dangerous places, as they were fleeing for their lives. In this Combat there were slain very many considerable Officers and Commanders of the Popish party, and on the other side likewise Captain *Gianavel* their chief Commander was sore wounded: in so much that his own Soldiers, who loved him very entirely, carried him back (though by force, and full sore against his will), that so his Wound might not be festered, or putrefied, which would have proved exceeding dangerous to himself, and consequently to his whole Company, whose lives and safety were, next under God, bound up in his.

Now Captain *Gianavel* seeing that there was no possibility for him to think of any further undertaking at that present, entreated Captain *Jahier* to give over for that day, and take some time for refreshment of himself and his Soldiers: but Captain *Jahier* being at that season much more passionate than prudent, refused the solid and seasonable Counsel of Captain *Gianavel*, and taking with him about an hundred and fifty chosen Men, whom he had picked out of all the Army, sweetly took his leave of Captain *Gianavel* (it may be not thinking it should be his last), and forthwith departed and marched down into the Plain, where he burned several of the Houses of those who had before burned and destroyed so many of the Protestants, and brought away likewise a considerable Booty of their Cattle and other Movables.

#### ARTICLE IV.

The sad and much lamented Death of Captain *Jahier* and his Company.

Thus far was this Captain *Jahier* exceeding successful in all his Attempts and Enterprises, even to the admiration and astonishment of his very Enemies themselves: but as *all our days are numbered, and the number of our months determined by the Almighty, beyond which we cannot pass one little moment, neither is any device or*

*power of man able to decline his immutable will.* This valiant Captain thinking now in the close of the day to crown all his other eminent Enterprises with some high undertaking, as he was now very near the execution of his Design, lo a Squadron of Horsemen surround him and his five and forty Men (for there were no more with him at that time), at a country House not far from the Town of *Osac*, which is about a League distant from *San Giovanni* and though he and his company did all for their defense that could possibly be expected from the most valiant Champions under the cope of Heaven, killing three Captains with the Commander in chief of the said Squadron, besides a great number of others, yet at last he and five and thirty of his Followers all lost their lives, and as a token of everlasting triumph, the Enemies afterwards cut off the Head of this Captain *Jahier*, and the Heads of his Sons, and carried them to *Turin*, and presented them to the Duke and *Madam Royale*, who gave them as a Reward six hundred Ducatoons.

This man was certainly most worthy of remembrance, and his fame to be renowned to all posterity, especially for his great piety, and zeal for the service of God, and the preservation of his poor afflicted Church and Members; a man whom all the Terrors of Death and ten thousand Torments could never affright, or make him deny his Master; bold as a Lion in all his Enterprises! and for his valor another *Achilles*! but meek and humble as a Lamb in the midst of his Victories, always lifting up his hands towards Heaven, from whence deliverance came, and reciting sweet and comfortable passages of the Scripture (wherein he was versed to admiration) to the great encouragement of all his Followers, and the strengthening of their faith upon all occasions. Besides all this, he was as to his outward parts and accomplishments, a man of a good understanding and sound judgment, but above all of a marvelous active spirit, which activity had he but used with moderation, he had certainly been hardly to be paralleled.

The death of this brave Commander, together with the wound of Captain *Gianavel*, did in that conjuncture of time (as the Reader may easily conjecture) not a little startle the *Reformed* party, But, *as necessity many times puts very inconsiderable men upon bold adventures*, those poor people did not so much lose their courage, as to give up all for lost, but on the contrary took heart, and

assembled themselves shortly after at *La Vachere*, a Mountain of *Angrognia*. From thence they descended into the Plain, where they were twice sorely assaulted, the last of which assaults, was by a dangerous *Ambuscado* of the Enemy, who were at the least Six thousand in number, and they not above an hundred. But Providence so disposed all things, and so guided their hands, and strengthened their hearts, that they slew a very great number of them, amongst whom were several considerable Officers, by name a certain *Bavarian*, who was a Lieutenant Colonel of Foot, and a man exceedingly lamented by all his Soldiers, whereas all that were lost of the *Reformed* party, were only *Michele Bertino* a Sergeant of *Angrognia*, and only a common soldier of *Val Martino* wounded.

It's remarkable, that the son of the said *Bertino*, seeing his father fall dead at his feet, was so far from being dismayed at it (as many would have been), that he immediately stepped into his father's place, with this expression, *Though my father be dead, yet be of good courage fellow soldiers, for God is a father to us all.*

The Monday following, they had a very sharp dispute at *La Torre*, and about *Tagliaretto*, where they killed and wounded a great number of the Enemy, without the loss of any of their own men. It's true that the Enemies during this time, did reap their corn in the Plains of *S. Giovanni*, and *La Torre*, but they were not able to carry it away without a considerable loss of their men.

There came at the same time, and stayed with them till the Peace at *Pignerol*, one Mr. *Andrion* a Major of a Regiment of Horse, with two other Gentlemen who were strangers, and followed by some Volunteers, whose charitable visit of their poor afflicted brethren, and their good counsel and advice in such a conjuncture of time, was exceeding kindly taken, as indeed it deserved no less, it being a singular means to fortify and uphold the feeble and fainting spirits of many a weak brother, who seeing others come in to the help of the Lord against the Mighty, went on with much more cheerfulness and alacrity, as the sequel of this discourse will better evidence.

## ARTICLE V.

### The Battle of *La Vaschere*.

Upon the Eleventh of July 1655, Sieur *John Leger* Pastor of the Church of *San Giovanni*, a person worthy to be remembered for his great pains, and the many eminent services by him performed for the poor Churches of the Valleys, having notice that the Enemies were of opinion that he was come back from his journey with Arms, Money, and Ammunition, and thereby conceiving that they would not fail of making shortly some notable Attempt, to prevent that which they so much feared, went to Colonel *Andrion*, an exceeding valiant Captain, and pressed him to put his design in execution.

The poor people had as yet no standing Army, but the Squadrons of each Communalty quartered at a great distance one from the other, and certainly there had very few days passed over their heads before they had been cut off every man of them, had not their Sentinels been very watchful, but above all, had not Captain *Chanforan* on the one side timely discovered the Enemy, and the poor people on the other side been extremely heartened on to the Battle, by the great valor and singular conduct of the Sieurs *Andrion Michelin*, and *Leger*.

The Enemy was at this time very numerous, having been reinforced with a great number of fresh Troops, which came in to their assistance. These had encamped themselves in the night, within half a League of the *Reformed* party, and in the morning about break of day, they divided their Army into four squadrons, three whereof fell on with a marvelous resolution, in three several places at once, one below on the South side, another on the East side and in the Front, and a third on the North side; the fourth standing still, ready to receive the Assailants in case of need. This fight lasted at the least four hours without intermission, and was the sharpest that ever was fought in open field: But that which made them the more fierce, was their hopes to have beaten back the *Reformed* but one Pistol-shot from a Post which they kept, namely the *Chastelas*, or *Bastion des Classes*; which if they could have once done, they would infallibly have rendered themselves Masters of the Valleys *Perosa*, *San Martino*, and *Lucerna*. But the poor people having lifted up their hearts and voice to the Lord of Hosts, by earnest prayers and supplications (as it was their wonted course upon all such occasions) Major *Andrion*, and the two other Captains which he had brought with him to assist those of the Valleys, gave such Orders as were

necessary, encouraging the soldiers exceedingly, insomuch that they kept their ground, and gave not back a foot, except some few who had been partly tired out with hard service, and partly grown faint for want of food: some there were likewise, who had no powder left, and others who had no flints in their fire-locks; But these the Sieurs *Leger* and *Michelin* employed in rolling down great stones upon the Enemies heads, as they came to attack them, which indeed proved very successful, and did such execution upon the Enemy, that it made them abate much of their fury, and whereas in the beginning of the Combat their cry was always *Advance, Advance, You Relics of Jahier!* the *Reformed* party began now to cry as fast, *Advance, Advance, You Relics of S. Secondo!* And herewith they ran upon those Massacrers like so many Lions, who turned their backs, and fled towards *La Torre*, and *Lucerna*, with all possible speed, leaving behind them Five and fifty, who were slain upon the place, and about Forty who were killed in the flight, besides many others who were carried either dead or sorely wounded to *Lucerna*. The Enemies themselves confessed, that they lost in this encounter at least Three hundred men, among which were many Officers of a *Bavarian* Regiment, Two soldiers of which Regiment assured Captain *Laurentio* of *Val San Martino*, and many others of the *Reformed* Religion, that out of their Regiment alone, there died that day no less than an Hundred and fourscore.

It's very remarkable at this time, when there were such multitudes of dead, wounded, and dying men, brought into *Lucerna*, the Syndic of the place (by name *Baptista Bianco*) an honest Roman Catholic, but less superstitious than many others, chanced to let slip the following words, *Heretofore the Wolves devoured the Barbets, but now the Barbets devour the Wolves*. Which words being soon after reported to Mr. Marolles the chief Commander at that time in *Lucerna*, he threatened him sorely to put him in prison, and to give him the *strappado*, which did so terrify the poor man, that he fell sick and died within a short time after.

Two days after this fight at *La Vashere*, the Enemies being much enraged at their great loss, spread themselves all over *Angrognia*, and began to set the corn on fire, which being perceived by those of the Company of *La Torre*, who were at that time on the top of the Mountain of *Tagliaretto*, they gave speedy notice thereof

to those of *S. Giovanni*, and *Angrognia*, who immediately made towards them, and charged them so fiercely, that they were forced to flee, leaving the greatest part of their Ammunition behind them.

In the meantime, Captain *Belin* assaulted the Town of *La Torre*, killed the Sentinel, and some of the Soldiers upon the Works, and gave the Town such a hot alarm, that they fled out almost all of them towards the River *Pelice*; and it's really believed, by some who were eyewitnesses of that action, that had he then had but a few more men with him, he had certainly made himself Master of *La Torre*, that very day.

## ARTICLE VI.

### The Battle of *La Torre*.

Upon the Eighteenth of *July*, the General of the *Reformed* party gave Order to fall upon the Town of *La Torre*, which was accordingly put in execution: The first that made the onset was Captain *Belin*, who being followed by many other Officers and soldiers, they quickly made a considerable breach in the Garden wall next to the *Convent*, which good success did so animate the rest of the Troops, that they fell on with incredible courage, and in a short space burned both the *Convent*, and the greatest part of the Town down to the ground. Those in the Fort finding themselves so hardly beset, began to parly about the surrendering it up to the besiegers upon honorable terms; But there coming some horse from *Lucerna* very seasonably for their relief, and the others being not so provident as to prevent their coming (which they might very easily have done) they were frustrated in their design.

## ARTICL VII.

Besides the abovementioned Battles, there were several other skirmishes in divers places, where the *Reformed* party had considerable advantages against their Enemies, all which for brevities sake, we shall here omit, and only content ourselves with a List of the names of those among the poor people of those among the poor people of the *Valleys*, whose memorable actions deserve to be preserved to all posterity, and they are as followeth.

1. Captain *Bartholemi Jahier*, of *Pramol*.
2. Captain *Josue Gianavel*, of *Roras*.
3. Captain *Belin*, of *La Torre*.
4. *Stephano Revel* of *Roras*, Lieutenant to Captain *Gianavel*.
5. Lieutenant *Peyronnet* (alias *Gonnet*), of *Villa Secca*.
6. Captain *Jacopo Jahier* of *Pramol*, brother to *Bartholemi*, before named.
7. Captain *Giovanni Albarea*, of *Villaro*.
8. Lieutenant *Giovanni Pellene*, of *Villaro*.
9. Captain *Giovanni dal Podio* (alias *dal Sarret*) of *Bobio*.
10. Captain *Bennet*, of *San Germano*.
11. Lieutenant *Michele Ruffin*, of *San Germano*.
12. Captain *Junin Peyrot*, of *Prali*.
13. 14. Captain *Berton*, and *Junon* of *Angrognia*.

## CHAPTER IV: *General Animadversions of Some able and knowing Friends of the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont, upon the Court of Savoy's Grounds and Reasons, for justification of the Order of Gastaldo.*

If it were not altogether needless, and we were sure it would not be looked upon as a work of mere super-errogation, after so clear a Refutation of each particular Article of moment in the Court of *Savoy's Factum*, and the recital of so many Authentic proofs and Attestations, part whereof were signed and subscribed by considerable persons of their own party, who were eyewitnesses of those horrid cruelties, and, which is more, by those whom they themselves call to bear witness for them (as being persons of honor and reputation) whose Attestations do most palpably contradict whatever they affirm, and confirm whatever they contradict; We say, if we thought it necessary to make any additional animadversions upon the sequel of their discourse, there were nothing more easy in the world, then to discover the same falsehoods and equivocations in this, as in the former part of their writings: But we are really persuaded that whosoever seriously peruseth, and thoroughly digests the Refutation of that first piece of theirs, will never have the patience so much as to cast his eye upon the second; And we should in repeating and refuting the same, but rake up a noisome Dunghill to offend the ingenuous Readers: wherefore all we will add, shall be briefly thus.

### I.

If the poor people had been obnoxious (as is pretended) to their Princes displeasure, and consequently merited so severe a punishment, why were they not first legally cited, as is before mentioned? We know that *Adam* had offended, and God might immediately have rooted him out of *Paradise*, as being the absolute Judge of all the World, yet we find that he gave him a fair and a Legal trial before he pronounced the sentence of his banishment. From whence Civilians conclude, that, *Citatio* is *jure Divino*; *Nec à*



*principe, posse auferri citationem; and, si non processit citatio actus redditur nullus. Citation by divine law; Nor from the prince can the citation be taken away; and, If the citation was not properly served, the act is rendered null.*

## II.

Their Popish adversaries hired (as is strongly presumed, and generally believed) a company of Thieves to rob the poor people of their Original Writings and Instruments, as they were returning from *Cavours* where the Treaty was concluded, and now they demand of them where they are. May not the poor people with a much better countenance demand of them what they have done with them?

## III.

The Capitulations of *Hen. 4*, with those of the *Valleys* in the year 1592, which we have already inserted, and which were registered in the Parliament of *Dauphine*, show plainly that there were such Concessions accorded to those of the *Valleys*, in the year 1561. Besides that the very same Concessions are mentioned by a famous Writer of their own, by Name Thuanus (whom the adversaries themselves make use of in their Apology for the House of *Savoy*, printed at *Chambery* 1631), wherefore observe his following words.

*Finally, it was agreed and recorded in these documents that a forgetfulness of past events would be established, and that the Prince, out of clemency, would grant his subjects in Convallensia the freedom of conscience. They were allowed to hold gatherings in designated places within prescribed boundaries, which they were not permitted to exceed. BEYOND THESE BOUNDARIES, the rural pastors could still visit and console the sick, perform other religious duties, but not deliver sermons. If they happened to be questioned about their doctrine, they were free to respond without fear of punishment to life or property. Furthermore, all those who were away from home due to their religion, despite any prior promises or renunciations of their faith, were allowed to return home and embrace the religion handed down by their ancestors. They could attend sermons and catechism classes, provided it was within permitted locations, and so on.)*

And after in the same page at the end —

*These acts of Cavortius were not subscribed by Junius.*

*Philip Subaudus, Count of Raconia, on behalf of the Prince, subscribed.*

To this may be added that of *Johannes Tonsus* of *Milan*, who in the Life of *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*, printed at *Turin* in the year 1596, speaking of this Negotiation, says in express terms, that this Duke *Philip Subaudus kindly received them in good faith*, and how could this have been truly said, if those Concessions had been disavowed by his Highness? In the next place, *Rorenco* in his History recites an Edict (where, by the way, the Prince himself *Charles Emanuel* speaks), wherein it is plainly said, that those Concessions of 1561, had been granted to those of the Protestant Religion. Moreover, the said Prior *Rorenco*, in the same History, confesses that he received the said Capitulations of the year 1561, from the hand of the great Chancellor. *The said Grand Chancellor handed me a copy of the Concessions of 1561, entrusting me with the task of informing him how they were observed.* Now, who can? who is so void of reason and understanding, as ever to believe that the great Chancellor knew not what were the true Concessions which *Emanuel Philibert* had granted to his Protestant Subjects? And though the said *Rorenco* would fain have recanted what he had so premeditatedly written, yet the many Contradictions he ensnareth himself in thereby, clearly evidence, that what he did, was out of a slavish fear of a severe Censure from the Church of *Rome*, rather than any new discovery of the truth of those Transactions. We shall add one proof more, and that shall be out of *Theodore Belvedere*, Prefect of the *Missionary Friars* in the Valley of *Lucerna*, who in his Relation, dedicated to the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, and printed at *Turin* with license of Superiors in the year 1636, says expressly, that *his Highness of Savoy did grant to those of the said Religion the abovesaid Concessions*. What proofs can we have better than from their own Writers? *No better or more effective proof can be obtained by the confession of a party; for it surpasses all other forms of evidence and is even admissible against a matter already adjudicated.* What

shall we say of the Popes great Complaint in the *Conclave* (as is related in the History of the Council of *Trent*) that the Duke of *Savoy* had granted the said Concessions to those of the Reformed Religion? which Capitulations the Duke did not at all deny, as the story tells us, but rather sent to the Pope to excuse himself, by letting him know the Reasons why he had so done.

#### IV.

What if the poor people had no better proof for their Right of Habitation than their long possession of those places? Do not the *Civilians* tell us, that *Possession is presumed to have permanent validity*. And that Possession hath *the Effects on public Instrument*. As also, *By possession of such a length of time that the beginning of which is not remembered, even those things which otherwise are unimpressed are prescribed against*. Now it clearly appears by the *Catastri*, or Registers of the Communalities, and by a great number of authentical Deeds and Instruments made by sworn Notaries, that the Ancestors of the Protestants of the Valleys have inhabited time out of mind (yea and professing the same Religion), in those very places out of which they are now driven; and if all this were insufficient, yet this truth hath been abundantly verified by the formal Attestations and Depositions of the very *Roman Catholics* themselves, who are their near Neighbors, and that before the Magistrates of the respective places, *that from their childhood they have always known the Protestants to inhabit there*.

#### V.

Why should then the Court of *Savoy* (since it's manifest that there were such Concessions), so (against their own consciences) upbraid the poor people about the Originals? and make the World believe they cannot be found? if there were anything that made as much against the poor people, as it makes for them, they should quickly be brought to light. It's like when they say they cannot be found, they mean, that they cannot be found so as to let the poor people know so much, according to that Principle which the Jesuit *Emanuel* teaches concerning the Confessor, namely, *One can swear that they know nothing, with the understanding that they are still*

*obligated to speak.* And indeed in the Court of *Savoy* the undoubted truth of these Concessions is so well known to all the chief Ministers of State, that they never before this called it into question.

## VI.

What if the formality of Ratification had unhappily (as it was not) been omitted, why should extremity be used by their Prince who ought to be the common Father of all his Subjects? Why was not his bare promise enough for the preservation of their ancient Rights and Privileges? Let the Adversaries consider a little that Saying of witty *Seneca*, (it's no disgrace for them to learn of a Heathen) concerning Conventions both verbal and written, *Would that no formal agreement bound the buyer to the seller, nor were contracts and agreements guarded by impressed signs; rather, let good faith prevail, and let a fair-minded spirit prevail. But necessity has favored the best, and they prefer to compel trust rather than merely expect it. Oh, the shameful confession of deceit and wickedness to humanity, more binding than oaths!*

## VII.

As for all those Accusations which are in the sequel of that Writing laid to the charge of the poor Protestants, the pale and black faces of hatred and malice may be so clearly perceived through their painted vizards, that the best way of refuting them, is to slight them, and instead of putting ourselves to the trouble of an Answer, desire them to call to mind the bitter Curses that are mentioned in the holy Scriptures against those who *remove the ancient Landmarks, and who take away the garment of the fatherless, and oppress the widow in the gate.* But above all, that dread full place in the 33 of *Isaiah*, *Woe to thee that spoilest, and wast not spoiled; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee: when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled, and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee.*

THE  
FOURTH BOOK  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
EVANGELICAL CHURCHES  
OF  
The Valleys of *PIEMONTE*

---

CHAPTER I: *The mediation of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland with the Duke of Savoy, and their Letters to the States General of the United Provinces, in favor of the poor distressed Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont.*

Thus far the *Christian* Reader hath a faithful Account of all the warlike Proceedings between the *Catholic* and the *Reformed* Party in the Valleys of *Piemont*, upon the occasion of the *Massacre* in the Year 1655, and that both as to the matter of Fact, and also the Grounds and Reasons alleged on either side for the justifying of their Actions (the Author hath now put the weights into the Readers hands, and leaves it to him to put both into the Ballance, and try whether weighs the heavier!), it remains, that you know, how all these things were resented by the neighboring Princes and States, which cannot but be a thing of great use to Posterity, as well as satisfaction to the curiosity of those who live in the present Age. For certain it is, that from the first beginning of the Reformation, there was never known such a marvelous unity in the cause of Religion, nor that so many Princes and States were ever interested together in one Affair of the like nature, the glory and renown of all which, next

under God, is most certainly due, and ought in all equity to be ascribed to his most serene Highness the Lord PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, etc. as will evidently appear by the sequel of this History.

Upon the first publication of that most severe Order of *Gastaldo*, which was a forerunner of the following Massacre, the Evangelical Cantons of *Switzerland* (whose proximity gave them an advantage of receiving the news of those parts before most of the other Protestant Princes and States) wrote a Letter to the Duke of *Savoy* in the poor peoples behalf, as follows.

Copy of a Letter written by the Evangelical *Cantons* of *Switzerland* to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Savoy*, in favor of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of *Piemont*. Translated out of the *High Dutch*.

An authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, signed by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt* Under-Secretary of State of the City of *Zurich*, is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Most Serene Prince,

*We have been informed that the Subjects of your Royal Highness professing the Reformed Religion, have both heretofore, and of late, until this present, remained in hopes, that your Royal Highness should follow the Example of your most glorious Predecessors, in confirming graciously to them the liberty of their consciences, but contrary to all such hopes, it has been signified to some amongst them, that they must quit their Habitations, and retire themselves elsewhere whereupon they have both in general and particular, been exposed to very great terrors, perplexities and troubles: and for as much as that communion of Religion which we have with these poor afflicted ones, hath moved us to a cordial compassion of their miserable condition, we have thought fit to apply ourselves to your Royal Highness, with all due respect, by our instant intercession for*

*them, nothing doubting, but that as you have been pleased in a neighborly manner to assure us of your unfeigned affection, and good correspondence, and that, as we, on our parts, have endeavored to answer the same by all ways possible, and this in truth, and by real effects, as occasion hath required; so also, that you will graciously accept this our Intercession, and let your Subjects sweetly find and feel the benefit of it, as our Brethren in the Faith. Wherefore we beseech your Royal Highness graciously to look upon your said Subjects with an eye of compassion, and to suffer them hereafter to remain peaceably in their Habitations, and favorably to confirm to them the liberty of their belief; especially considering that as all faithful Subjects ought, and our Christian Religion teaches, they have always demeaned themselves peaceably and quietly, with submission and obedience in all things that touches not their conscience (which is in the power and government of God alone), upon which account they are worthy of the continuation of that favor. In this gracious Concession by us hoped for, the Almighty God will certainly take pleasure, and will in a fatherly manner recompense your Royal Highness for the same. As likewise it cannot but tend to the joy and consolation of your greatly afflicted Subjects, and oblige them to pray so much the more ardently and heartily, that God the Governor of the World will be pleased from henceforth to bless your Royal Highness with all prosperity; and we likewise shall with joy entertain this gracious Grant, and acknowledge it as a singular testimony of your favorable affection towards us; and shall not fail, according to our power, to reciprocate all kinds of friendly and acceptable services; in the meantime most heartily wishing your Royal Highness all increase of happiness, We remain,*

Your most affectionate Servants, the Burgmasters, Advoyers, Landamans and Councils of the confederate Protestant Towns of  
*Zurich, Berne, Glaris, Basle, Schaffhouse, and Appenzil.*

To this Letter of the *Evangelical Cantons*, the Duke of Savoy not long after returned a Complemental, but cold Answer, which indeed was little better than a plain Denial of their Request and Mediation. The said Answer was as follows.

The Duke of Savoy's Letter to the *Protestant Cantons* the sixth of *April* 1655.

Translated out of the *French* Copy, which was communicated to the Author by Mr. *Schmidt*, Under-Secretary of State at *Zurich*.

Magnificent Lords, most dear and special Friends, Allies, and Confederates,

*Our Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion, have for many years together committed an infinite number of excesses and transgressions, both against Our Orders and the Orders of Our most Serene Predecessors, yea even against those conditions which are expressed in those very Concessions and Privileges that we have granted them. The last of these Riots happening upon the day of the Nativity of our Lord, in the year 1654, hath constrained us to take notice of so high an insolence, and to administer a convenient remedy to the same; which notwithstanding hath been accompanied with so much mildness and moderation, That instead of chastising them according to the merit of their crimes, and disobedience, We were contented only to command them to retire themselves into those parts of our Dominions, where they were permitted to dwell by the orders and Concessions abovesaid, and to quit those places where they were not permitted to inhabit; so that their punishment consists in no corporal pain (although they deserved a heavy one) but simply in a new Order which we have made for the reducing of them to the punctual observation of the foregoing Edicts to which they were before obliged, although they had committed no crime. The truth is, at the beginning they yielded obedience to this Order, which yet continued for but for very few days, for, soon after, not acknowledging at all the great bounty that we had used towards them, they returned to their former transgressions and disobedience; And not content therewith, they have under false pretexts had recourse to you, for the obtaining that Letter of Recommendation which you wrote to Us of the 5/15 of the last Month; As if we had out of design, or of Our own accord, begun to trouble and molest them, and as if we had not on our part used such sweetness and benignity as we ought to have used towards them;*



*Whereas on the contrary, being very far from having the least design of forcing their consciences as they have pretended (a thing whereof we had never the least thought) Our intention was only to oblige them to observe the Orders established by Us, and our most Serene Predecessors, upon which terms we would never in the least have diminished those favors, privileges and concessions, which have been granted to them. We have been now the more desirous to let you understand all these things particularly, that so you might better know the esteem that we have of your Amity and good neighborhood, and how much we consider your Recommendations, which had certainly produced the effect that you wish, if things had been of that nature and in such a condition, as that they would have permitted us to condescend to what you desire, And upon this occasion, We judge it Our duty to desire you to remember, that the disobedience of Subjects towards their Sovereigns, together with the boldness that they take to make their addresses to foreign States, under feigned and false pretexts, thereby to maintain and uphold themselves in such disobedience, is a thing extremely pernicious, and of a very dangerous consequence: And as in the last revolt of your own Subjects, the horror that We had of their Rebellious attempt, moved us not to afford them any help, or favor, either directly or indirectly; so likewise We hope, that your prudence will move you to testify the same affection and deportment towards Us, in abstaining from giving any countenance or encouragement to Persons who have not on their side any foundation or appearance of reason, to uphold their vain and insolent temerity.*

This is that which We promise Ourselves, from the good correspondence which is betwixt us, and from the ancient Union and Confederacy you have had with Us, whose hearty prayers to God are, That he would vouchsafe you a long and happy life, under his blessed and holy protection.

From *Turin* the 6 of April 1655.

Magnificent Lords, Most dear and special Friends, Allies, and Confederates, your very good Friend, Ally, and Confederate.

The Duke of Savoy, King of Cyprus.

C. EMANUEL.

Upon the 29th of *April*, being the *Lord's Day*, was the news of that horrid Massacre brought to the Council of *Zurich*, who immediately assembled, and gave orders for a public day of Humiliation throughout all their Territories, as likewise for the making a Collection for their relief, and for the communicating the doleful news of the said Massacre, to their *Protestant Neighbors*.

Amongst others, they sent a Letter to the *States General*, bearing date the 30th of *April*, wherein they represented to their *High and Mighty Lordships*, the sad condition of the poor people, requesting them to consult about some expedient of accommodating those affairs.

---

Copy of a Letter from the *Protestant Cantons* of *Switzerland* to the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, 30 *April* 1655.

Communicated to the Author by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, Under-Secretary of State at *Zurich*.

*Most illustrious, most mighty and our very much honored Lords,*

*Having at the instant received sad News concerning the most lamentable estate of our Brethren of the Faith in Piemont, as you may see by the Copy of a Letter, etc. We thought ourselves obliged by the sacred Rights of Faith, Union, and Communion, to acquaint your most illustrious and most mighty Lordships therewith, being very much assured you Will be pleased according to your wonted piety and Christian charity, throughly to consider and lay to heart this affliction of Joseph. This persecution is smoothed over with a very fair pretext by the contrary party, but in the meantime there is not any who loveth the Church of Christ, that will not easily be persuaded of the Subtleties and Treacheries which the Adversaries use both on the one side and the other.*

*Being grieved, and moved by a true cordial and most ardent Sympathy, We beseech you again and again, most Mighty and most Illustrious Lords, that you would so favor, consider, and lay to heart the cause of those afflicted ones, as that you will be pleased to*

*administer those means, which, according to your prudence and power, you shall judge conducive for relieving and saving of those miserable and afflicted ones, not only by Prayers to the Father of Mercies for them, and by Alms which their miseries earnestly cry for, but also by pacifying their Prince towards them, or at least by obtaining for them a liberty of transmigration; which We also shall endeavor to do as much as lies in our power. The sovereign Lord of all things have mercy upon his Church in all places, own their Cause, and his most mighty arm divert all their miseries and adversities. To whose divine protection We heartily recommend your Lordships, Given in haste the thirtieth of April 1655, sealed with the private Seal of the City of Zurich.*

Your most illustrious and most mighty Lordships  
very affectionate Servants,

The Consuls and Senators of the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland  
to wit, Zurich, Berne, Glaris, Basle, Schaffhouse, and Appenzil.

## CHAPTER II: *The Negotiation of Mr. Gabriel Weis, The Deputy of the Evangelical Cantons, in the Court of Savoy, in the behalf of the poor distressed Protestants and the Valleys of Piemont.*

Upon the Fifth of *May* following, they sent *Monsieur Gabriel Weis* the Captain General of *Bern*, in quality of their Deputy, with a Letter to the Duke of *Savoy*, in the behalf of those poor afflicted and persecuted subjects.

Upon the Eighteenth day of the same Month, Monsieur Weis arrived at *Rivol*, where then His Royal Highness resided with all his Court. Who having audience, requested in very respective terms, the Re-establishment of those who had survived the Massacre, the enjoyment of their Ancient Privileges, the free Exercise of their Religion, and the enlargement of their Prisoners. This done, he delivered the following Letter into the hands of the *Duke*.

A Letter of the Six *Protestant Cantons of Switzerland*, to His *Royal Highness of Savoy*, 6/16 of *May* 1655.  
Translated out of the *High Dutch*.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, signed by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, the Under-Secretary of State of *Zurich*, is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Most Serene Prince, etc.

*We have with due respect received the Letter which your Royal Highness was pleased to write to us in answer to Ours, and have likewise understood the Contents thereof, whereby we look upon ourselves as obliged both for our own discharge, and the discharge of your Royal Highnesses Subjects, who profess the Reformed*

Religion, to tell you, and to beseech your Royal Highness, that you will take and interpret in good part, as well our former, as this present Letter of Intercession, both which have proceeded from an honest and good intention; and that you would firmly believe, that we have not at all been informed, nor sought after, by your Royal Highness said Subjects to intercede in their behalf, but that we have received the news from other hands, and that the Communion of Faith, and Christian pity, together with our own natural inclinations, have moved us to intercede for them, having as Neighbors and Confederates, an ancient and singular confidence in your Royal Highness, and that we should be very sensible and much troubled, if those poor People should come to suffer, not having committed any offense, or given the least occasion: Wherefore, as we shall not at all believe you will permit it, so we once more most, earnestly and instantly beseech your Royal Highness, to be pleased to continue graciously to those your Subjects, the Concessions obtained from your Predecessors of glorious memory, That so they may find, to their great comfort and consolation, the effects of our Intercession.

The Answer which the Duke of Savoy (or rather Madame Royale his Mother) gave to this Letter, and to that which Major Weis had delivered by word of mouth, was in effect this; *That although they were not obliged to give an Account of their Actions to any Prince in the world, yet nevertheless, out of the respect they bare to that amity which they had contracted with his Masters the Cantons, they had given order to the Marquess of Pianezza, to acquaint him with the truth of all those affairs.*

Not long after, the said Major Weis came to the speech of the Marquess of Pianezza, who made him a long Narrative, wherein he endeavored to justify all his proceedings, with whatsoever had been acted by the forces under his command, and to lay the load and blame of all upon the backs of the poor people, Protesting again and again, *That he had never the least Design in the world to impose upon their Consciences or their Religion, and that whatsoever reports had been spread abroad in the world concerning a Massacre, and strange cruelties exercised against them, were mere forgeries, and had no foundation at all of truth in them.*

To this *Major Weis* replied, That *First, as to the Massacre, it was a thing so publicly known and evident, that it could not possibly be concealed or denied; And secondly, as for the poor peoples right of habitation, in the places questioned and contested, he conceived it was founded upon justice and equity, forasmuch as it was not only accorded to them in the Concession of Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, but also purchased of his Royal Highness for six thousand Ducatoons, which were actually paid by them upon that very account.*

The *Marquess* told him, that *he did not at all deny their Instruments and Authentic Writings, but that they were all conditional; As for example, that the Catholic Religion ought to have been freely exercised in all those places, which they notwithstanding would never permit. In sum, that their continual habitation in the places contested, for the space of ninety years together, could be truly called no other than a ninety years Rebellion and disobedience.*

Mr. *Weis* still pressing the sad and miserable condition of those who had escaped the Massacre, and the necessity of finding some expedient for accommodation, both as to the releasing of the prisoners, and the re-establishment of all, for the future, in peace and quietness. The *Marquess* advised him to treat with the poor people, and to cause them to desist from hostile Acts, assuring him that they would find his *Royal Highness* disposed to embrace all propositions of that nature.

*Monsieur Weis* accepting this offer, transported himself, in order thereunto, into the Valley of *Perosa*, which is in the Dominions of the *King of France*.

Here, by the way, it is to be observed, that at this time by the wonder-working Providence of God , and his blessing upon the poor Peoples endeavor, for the preservation of the remnant of their Wives and little Ones, they had faced about upon the Enemy, and began to dispute the matter with so prosperous a success, that their Enemies began to fear whereto this business might tend, and what effects it might produce. And therefore the *Marquess* had no better game to play, than to get their swords out of their hands by such a stratagem as this.

Upon Mr. *Weis* his arrival at the place abovesaid, he propounded to the poor people what the *Marquess* had advised him (though out of an honest end than the *Marquess* intended it); But the poor people having learned by long and woeful experience the *Marquesses* devices, gave him this Answer, *That in case the Six Evangelical Cantons would pass their words that the Treaty propounded should be carried on upon honorable terms, and in Order thereunto would advise them to a cessation, they were most ready to hearken thereunto (as they returned them most hearty thanks for what they had already done on their behalf), Otherwise, they were resolved never to confide in those who had so often deceived and betrayed them, and whose principle was, not to keep faith with those whom they account Heretics.*

Hereupon, Mr. *Weis*, having no Instructions to enter upon a Treaty, nor to give a Categorical Answer to the poor Peoples demands, returned back to the *Marquess* of *Pianezza* to obtain, if possible, the enlargement of the Prisoners, or at least permission to go and visit them, and discourse with them; But both the one and the other being refused him, he demanded his second Audience, which was granted him upon the Twenty-fourth of *May*, and so returned home to his superiors, with the following Letter, which the *Duke* of *Savoy* sent by him, in answer to theirs of the 6/16 of *May* 1655.

The Duke of *Savoy's* Letter to the *Protestant Cantons* of *Switzerland*, 23 *May*/3 *June* in answer to theirs of 6/16 *May* 1655.

Translated out of the *French* Copy, which was communicated to the Author by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, Under-Secretary of State at *Zurich*.

*Magnificent Lords, most dear and special Friends, Allies, and Confederates.*

*Although it be not a Custom for Princes to give an Account of the Resolutions they take concerning their Subjects, to any but God*

alone, nevertheless the esteem that We have of your Friendship hath invited Us to represent to Mr. Gabriel Weis, by a sincere and true Relation, the ground of Our proceedings against our Subjects of the Valley of Lucerna, S. Martino, and Perosa, as likewise by what Falsities they thought to have covered under the cloak of Religion, their ancient Rebellion, so longtime endured by Us; and the moderation that We have used towards them, in inflicting upon them but one part of that punishment which they have so justly deserved. And although your Deputy came in such a time when they suffered themselves to be transported by so strange and sottish an obstinacy and blindness, and consequently in a time, when we were least of all obliged to lend an ear to anything in their favor, or on their behalf, yet we have assured him (to the end that we might manifest how much efficacy your intercession hath with Us), that We would be inclined to hearken to any such terms of moderation, as might evidence the marks of our piety and clemency even towards those people who have least deserved it; provided in the meantime, that this no way infringe or lessens our Authority, and that obedience and service which is due to Us, and that there be left to justice, and to the necessity of an exemplary Demonstration thereof, that part which the Rules of a good Government do require. But for as much as Mr. Weis your Deputy appeared unwilling to meddle with that affair, but would rather leave it to be decided by others, We told him, that We could not consent to treat with our rebellious Subjects, while they continued to act rebelliously, and abuse our obedient Subjects; and that if they had really any such intentions, they ought first to put a stop to those violences and attempts, as we for our parts intended to suspend the just punishment that was due to them, until there were some Agreement concluded, as is usual and necessary in all long Treaties and Negotiations. Now because the said Mr. Weis conferred with them by word of mouth, and yet (as he says) could get no certain Resolution from them in this matter, there could be nothing more done therein. And we have only this satisfaction left Us of having shown upon this occasion the inclination that we have to clemency, and the singular desire of gratifying, as much as in lies, such good Friends and Confederates as you are, according as we have always given good and sufficient proofs of that esteem which we have had of your good correspondence and affection towards us, by the expressions of a reciprocal affection towards you upon all



*occasions. So we beseech God Almighty to have you in his protection.*

*Most Magnificent, etc.*

*Your good Friend and Confederate, the Duke of Savoy, King of  
Cyprus.*

*C. EMANUEL.*

*From Rivoli, 3 June 1655.*

### CHAPTER III: *The several pathetic Letters of his Highness the Lord PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England, etc. to his Protestant Neighbors, in favor of the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont.*

Mr. *Weis*, upon his return home, gave an Account of his whole Negotiation to his Superiors, whose Deputy he was, who seeing that their Intercession had no better effects, were discouraged from proceeding any further in the business, but resolved rather to expect and see what would be done by other Princes and States. And the plain truth is, this Affair had thus in all probability fallen asleep, and come to nothing, had it not been awakened, and that in a most lively and vigorous manner, by his Highness the Lord *Protector* of *England*, who, so soon as ever the News thereof was brought him, was so deeply affected with the poor peoples calamities, that he was often heard to say, *That it lay as near or rather nearer his heart than if it had concerned his nearest and dearest Relations in the World.* Neither indeed were the effects of his charity and Christian compassion at all inferior to those his zealous, earnest, and pathetic expressions.

The first Letters of advice that were brought his Highness the Lord PROTECTOR of *England*, etc., about this business, were in the Month of *May*, in the Year 1655, at which time he did not only seriously invite the good People of the Nation to seek the Lord by Prayer and Humiliation in reference to their sad condition, and stir them up by his own Example, and by a public Declaration to a free and liberal Contribution towards their succor and support (as shall be hereafter more particularly specified), but he awakened all his Protestant Neighbors professing the same Faith and Religion with himself to join with him in this work. And that there might be nothing wanting on his part for the poor peoples comfort and re-establishment, he sent a person expressly in quality of his *Envoy* both to the King of *France* and the Duke of *Savoy* to mediate on

their behalf. A particular Account of all which the Reader shall have in their order as followeth.

That which we will insert in the first place shall be his Highness Letters to his Neighbors of the Reformed Religion, which certainly deserve to be recorded to posterity, as a Christian Example to all Princes and States in future Ages, as also that the Generations to come may speak of his famous Acts, and bless God for having raised up so mighty and powerful an Instrument for the preservation of his poor afflicted Church and People.

A Letter of His Highness the Lord Protector of *England*, etc. To the King of *Sweden*, in the behalf of the poor *Evangelical Churches* in the Valleys of *Piemont*.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was communicated to the Author, by the Right Honorable Mr. *Secretary Thurloe*.

*Most Serene King,*

We are fully persuaded, that the report of that most cruel Edict is lately come into your Dominions, whereby the Duke of *Savoy* hath utterly ruined his Subjects of the Alps, professing the reformed Religion, having given Command that they should be driven out of the places of their inheritance, unless they would within Twenty days relinquish their own and embrace the Roman Religion, by which means many having been slain, the rest being plundered and exposed to certain destruction, do at this present wander up and down with their Wives and little Ones, through desolate Mountains where Snow lies continually; being even ready to starve with hunger and cold; and We verily believe that your Majesty is much troubled at these things. For, that the Protestant Name and Cause, although in the lesser matters they differ among themselves, is common and in a manner one and the same, the hatred of Our adversaries alike to all doth easily demonstrate; And that the Kings of *Sweden* your Royal progenitors have always joined their Cause with those of the

Reformed Profession, bringing also into Germany their Arms to defend without distinction the Protestant Religion, no man is ignorant: We have therefore thought it necessary to represent unto your Majesty what hath come to Our knowledge of the sad and miserable condition of these poor distressed people, and to let you understand the grief and sorrow We are afflicted with on their behalf, as We have also done the same to Our other friends and Allies of the same Profession, and that We have already written Our Letters in the most effectual manner We could unto the Duke of Savoy on the behalf of these poor innocent men: And We do not doubt but your Majesty, detesting such inhumane and barbarous Massacres, and out of your known zeal and love to Religion, hath already, or will also interpose your Mediation, and apply yourself to the Duke of Savoy, for the revoking that cruel Edict, and for recalling back to their habitation and estates that small remainder of those poor men which are yet left unbutchered. And certainly, if there be any bond, if any Charity and Communion of Religion be either to be believed or observed, such a multitude of Our guiltless Brethren, members of the same body of Christ, cannot suffer, but that the whole body should suffer, and have a fellow feeling with them, and indeed what principles these cruelties and Massacres proceed from, and what they threaten to Us all. We count it needless to advise your Majesty, whose wisdom and zeal will lead you to such Counsels as shall be most proper for the relief and comfort of these miserable and disconsolate men. We having writ this not to admonish your Majesty, but to let you know Our sense of their sufferings, and Our readiness to communicate with you in what may tend to their succor and for the support of the Protestant interest in the world. In the meantime, We heartily recommend your Majesty unto God Almighty. Given at Our Palace at Westminster, the 25 of May 1655.

*Your Majesties good Friend,*

OLIVER P.

A Letter from his Highness the *Lord Protector of England*,  
To the King of *Denmark*, in favor of the poor

*Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont,*  
bearing Date the 25 of *May* 1655.

An authentic Copy of the true Original whereof was  
communicated to the Author by the Right Honorable  
Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*.

*Most Serene King,*

We suppose your Majesty hath heard ere now, by how severe and merciless an Edict, *Emanuel Duke of Savoy*, hath for the cause of Religion, driven out of their Native Country his Subjects which inhabited the Valleys of the Alps, men harmless, and such as for many Ages have been famous for their retaining of the more pure Religion, and that very many being slain, he hath exposed the rest destitute and naked, to all kinds of mischiefs and miseries in desolate places, and We believe you have thereupon been affected with sorrow, as it became so great a Defender and Prince of the Reformed Profession. For indeed, according to the Rule of Christian Religion, if any number of our Brethren do suffer calamities and miseries, we all ought to be touched with the same sense of them; and truly, if we be rightly informed of your Piety and Prudence, no man apprehends better than your Majesty, what danger the event and example of this fact doth portend to the whole Protestant Profession. We have therefore been willing to write unto you, plainly to signify, that We have the same grief for this calamity of Our most innocent Brethren, with the same Opinion and Judgement concerning the whole matter, which We hope to be in you. For this cause, We have sent Letters to the Duke of Savoy, wherein We have earnestly desired of him, that he would pity those miserable people, by giving ear to their Petitions, and not suffer that cruel Edict to continue in force. And if your Majesty and other Princes of the Reformed Religion, will do the same (as We believe you have already done) there is hope that the mind of the most serene Duke may be mollified, and that he will at least lay aside this his displeasure, to satisfy the intercessions and instances of so many Neighbor-Princes: But if he shall resolve rather to persist in his purpose, We do declare, that We are ready to take such a course, together with your Majesty, and the rest of Our Allies of the Reformed Religion, whereby We may, as much as in us lieth,

speedily relieve the Wants, and provide for the safety and liberty of so many poor distressed people. In the meantime, We pray God to bless and prosper your Majesty. Given at Our Palace at Westminster the – day of May. Anno Domini 1655.

*Your Majesties good Friend,*

Oliver P.

A Letter of his Highness the *Lord Protector* of *England*,  
etc.

To the *High* and *Mighty Lords*, the States General of the  
*United Provinces*, in favor of the poor Protestants of  
the Valleys of *Piemont*.

An authentic Copy of the true Original whereof was  
communicated to the Author by the Right Honorable  
Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*.

High and Mighty Lords,

We suppose that ere this time, by sundry Advertisements and Expresses from the neighboring parts, you have heard of the late Edict of the Duke of Savoy against his Subjects dwelling in the Valleys of *Lucerna*, *Angrogna*, and other places of his Dominion, who have been ancient Professors of the orthodox Religion, by which Edict they were enjoined to quit their Habitations, stripped and turned out of all, in case they would not within twenty days embrace the *Roman* Religion; as also with what rigor they have proceeded by virtue of that Edict against Men both innocent and helpless, and (which most nearly touches Us) such, who are our Brethren in *Christ*, very many of them having been slain by a party of Soldiers sent against them, the rest plundered and driven out of their Houses, in so much that they are forced with their Wives and Children to wander about in desolate Mountains, exposed to the miseries of continual hunger and cold. Now what trouble of mind and sense of our Brethrens calamity those things have wrought in

you, We cannot but collect from our own sad apprehension. For, seeing that we are united by the same bond of Religion, it cannot otherwise be, but that we must be moved with the same affections in so heavy an oppression of our Brethren. Your Lordships for your parts have given ample testimony of your piety towards the Professors of the true Reformed Religion, wheresoever scattered and oppressed in the most difficult and adverse times of the Churches; and we for our part, had rather be found to fall short in anything, than in our zeal and affection towards our Brethren, which suffer for the Cause of Religion, being ready to prefer the peace and prosperity of the Churches, before our own ease and safety. For this cause we have written to the Duke of *Savoy*, entreating him to bear a more favorable mind and inclination towards those harmless men, his Suppliants and Subjects, and that he would restore to them their Houses and Estates, and grant them their ancient liberty in Religion, as also to the King of *France* to mediate with the said Duke on their behalf; and we have likewise written as to yourselves, so to other Princes and States of the Protestant Religion, whom we conceive this case doth principally concern, that they would join their endeavors with ours in this Intercession. For, if an Example of so evil a consequence should take effect according to the intentions of those who contrived it, we need not instruct your wisdoms into what danger Religion will be reduced thereby. And if so be the Duke may be persuaded and prevailed with by our joint Entreaties, it will be a good and satisfactory return of the labors and endeavors employed therein. But on the other side, if he shall continue in this resolution utterly to destroy, and even drive to utmost desperation those men, among whom our Religion was either planted by the first Preachers of the Gospel, and so delivered down pure and uncorrupt from time to time, or else reformed and restored to its primitive purity more early there than among many other Nations; We hereby declare ourself ready to advise in common with you and the rest of our Brethren and Allies of the Reformed Religion, by what means we may most conveniently provide for the preservation and comfort of those distressed people. Given at our Palace at *Westminster* the 25 of *May* 1655.

Your high and mighty Lordships good Friend,

OLIVER P.

A Letter of His Highness the Lord Protector of *England*,  
etc. To the *Cantons* of the *Swiss* professing the  
*Reformed Religion*, in favor of the poor *Protestants* of  
the *Valleys of Piemont*.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was  
communicated to the Author, by the Right Honorable  
Mr. *Secretary Thurloe*.

Most noble Lords,

As we doubt not, but the late Calamity of those People in the Alps who are of the same Profession in Religion with ourselves, is come sooner to your knowledge than to ours, who being under the Dominion of the Duke of Savoy were required by an Edict of his, to forsake their native Country, in case they would not within three days give assurance of their embracing the *Roman* Religion. And soon after were assaulted by force of Arms, many slain, and others driven into banishment, and do now miserably wander with their Wives and Children over desert and snowy Mountains without house or shelter, in want and nakedness, ready to die of cold and hunger: so we have far less cause to doubt but that you, so soon as the report of these things came to your ears, were affected with the same sense that we are, of so great calamity; and perhaps with so much the more sad apprehension of their misery, by how much you are nearer to them than we are; for, we very well know your singular zeal to the orthodox faith, together with your great constancy in retaining, and your fortitude in defending the profession thereof. Seeing therefore by the most intimate communion of Religion, you, together with us, are Brethren or rather one Body with these afflicted men. Of which Body no member can suffer without the sense, pain, detriment, and danger of the rest of the fellow-members. We thought good to write unto you, and to signify how much we judged it the concernment of us all to help and comfort our exiled and disconsolate Brethren, by such means as shall be thought proper and convenient; and thereby to provide, not only for the removal of their present evils, but also to prevent their further growth, or any danger which may happen to us all by the example and consequence of this



action. Hereupon we have written Letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein we have entreated him, that of his clemency he would deal more gently with his faithful Subjects, and restore them (being now almost undone) to their Estates and native countries. We hope that he will be entreated by our, or rather by the joint entreaties of us all, and that he will readily grant what we so earnestly desire. But if he shall appear otherwise minded, we are ready to advise with you about such means as may be most conducing to the redress and relief of these poor innocent men, and our dear Brethren in *Christ*, who groan under so many injuries and oppressions, and which may preserve them from a most certain and causeless destruction, whose safety and preservation, according to your wonted piety, doth (we are confident) lie very near upon your hearts. Given at our Palace at *Westminster* the 25 of *May* 1655.

Your Lordships good Friend

OLIVER P.

## CHAPTER IV: *Mr. Moreland's Negotiation in quality of his Highness Envoy to the King of France, and Duke of Savoy, in the year 1655.*

Upon the three and twentieth of *May*, in the year 1655, *Samuel Morland* Esquire; received Orders to prepare himself, in order to the carrying a Message from his Highness to the Duke of *Savoy*, to entreat him to recall that merciless Edict or Order of *Gastaldo*, and to restore the remnant of his poor distressed Subjects to their ancient Liberties and Habitations; as likewise in his way to deliver a Letter from his Highness to the King of *France*, to solicit his Majesty to employ his power and interest with the Duke for the same end and purpose.

In obedience to this Command, the said *Mr. Morland* set out from *London* upon the six and twentieth of *May* 1655, and on the first of *June* he arrived at *La Fere*, where the King and the Court of *France* were then residing; immediately upon his arrival, he according to his Instructions delivered the following Letter from his Highness the Lord *Protector* to the King of *France*.

Translate of a Letter from his Highness the *Lord Protector* of *England*, etc. To the King of *France*, in favor of the poor distressed *Protestants* in the Valleys of *Piemont*.

An authentic Copy of the true Original whereof was communicated to the Author by the Right Honorable *Mr. Secretary Thurloe*.

Most Serene King,

The lamentable Complaints which have been brought unto us from those poor distressed people, which inhabit, and who profess the Reformed Religion in *Lucerna*, *Angrognia*, and other Valleys, within the Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, who have of late been

most cruelly massacred, as also the frequent sad tidings that we have received concerning the plundering and exiling of others, have drawn these Letters from us unto your Majesty, especially seeing we have also been informed (but how truly, as yet we know not) that this Massacre has been acted partly by some Troops of yours, which had joined themselves with other Forces belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*. But we have been very loath to give any belief to these things, seeing it cannot be thought agreeable to the purposes and proceedings either of good Princes, or of your Majesties most prudent Ancestors, who conceived it to be chiefly both their own interest, and also very much conducing to the peace of their Kingdom, and of all *Christendom*, that their Subjects professing that Religion, should be permitted to live in safety, and free from injury under their government and protection; who being obliged by this clemency of their Kings, have often times performed eminent service for their Sovereigns both in Peace and War, Upon the same consideration also, the Dukes of *Savoy* have been induced to treat their Subjects, which inhabit the Valleys of the Alps, with the same favor; who also being very ready upon occasion for the service of their Prince, have not at any time spared either their lives or fortunes. Now we do not doubt but that your Majesty hath such an Interest and Authority with the Duke of *Savoy*, that by your Intercession and signification of your good will, a Peace may very easily be procured for those poor people, with a return into their native country, and to their former liberty. The performance whereof will be an action worthy of your Majesty, and answerable to the prudence and example of your most serene Predecessors; and will not only very much confirm the minds of your Subjects, that they need not fear the like mischief any time hereafter, but also engage your Confederates and Allies, which profess the same Religion, in a far greater respect and good affection to your Majesty. As to what concerns us, what favor soever in this kind shall be granted, either to your own Subjects, or shall, by your means, be obtained for the Subjects of others, it shall be no less acceptable to us; yea truly it will be more acceptable, and valuable, than any other profit and advantage, among those many which we promise unto ourself from the friendship of your Majesty. Given at our Palace at *Westminster* 25 May 1655.

OLIVER P.

Mr. *Morland* about three days after his Arrival at *La Fere*, received the King's Answer to his Highness Letter in relation to the Affairs of the Valleys, as follows.

The King of *France* to his Highness the Lord *Protector*, in Answer of his the 25 of *May* 1655.

An authentic Copy of the true Original whereof was communicated to the Author by the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*.

*Monsieur the Protector,*

*Since I was advertised that the Duke of Savoy had taken an occasion, from the passage of those Troops I sent into Italy, for the assistance of the Duke of Modena, against the Invasion which the Spaniards had made upon his Country, to chastise (as he hath since given me to understand) the Rebellion and disobedience of some of his Subjects professing the pretended Reformed Religion, and that those People had desired me that I would permit them to put themselves under Covert from that Persecution, which they say was made against them out of hatred to the Religion they profess, I immediately dispatched away (as a testimony that I approved in no sort the Conduct or Course that was steered in the employing my Forces in a business of this nature without my Command, although it was done under pretense, of making them lodge in the Valley of Lucerna) and sent several of my officers towards the Duke of Savoy to put a stop to the Chastisement or ill-usage which was said to be continued against some of them that still remained in his Country, and sent to the Duke of Lesdiguieres, Governor of my Province of Dauphine, to gather them together, and by treating them gently, to give them a sense of the effects of my protection. And now that by your Letter dated the five and twentieth of the last Month, I am*

*informed that you are touched with the calamity of these poor People, I am very glad I have already prevented you in your desire, and I shall still continue my Instances with that Prince for their relief and comfort, and that he would consent to their establishment in their dwellings in the respective places of his Dominions, which they enjoyed by Concession from the Dukes of Savoy his Predecessors; yea, I have advanced so far, as in that case, even to be answerable for their fidelity and obedience in such sort, that I have grounds to hope, that my Mediation will not be unprofitable. As to what remains, you have well-judged in this affair, not to believe that I had given any order to my Troops to do such an Execution as this was; and the truth is, there was not any appearance such a Suspicion could possess the spirit of any person well informed, that I should contribute to the chastisement of any Subjects of the Duke of Savoy, Professors of the pretended Reformed Religion, and yet in the meantime give so many Marks of my good will to those of mine own Subjects who are of the same Profession, having also cause to applaud their fidelity and zeal for my service, they on their parts not omitting any occasion to give me proof thereof, even beyond all that can be imagined, and contributing in all things to the welfare and advantage of my Affairs. This is all I can say in Answer to the Letter: but yet I shall not conclude without a Request to you, that you would be assured, that upon all occasions you shall find the esteem I have of your person, and that from the bottom of my heart, I beg of the Divine Majesty, that he would have you in his holy and divine safeguard.*

*LOUIS.*

*And underneath D' Aumenie.*

Mr. *Morland* having received this Letter of his Majesty, and dispatched the business for which he was sent to that Court, advanced his Journey towards *Savoy*, and upon the one and twentieth of *June* he arrived at *Rivole*, which is about eight or ten Miles on this side *Turin*, where the Duke was then with *Madame Royale*, and all the Court.

Upon his arrival at *Rivole*, he demanded Audience of his Royal Highness, according to his Orders, in quality of his Highness the Lord *Protector's Envoy*: the Duke accepting thereof, appointed him to repair to *Turin*, where he should be met by the Master of Ceremonies, and by him be conducted within a day or two to *Rivole*, to have his Audience. According to this Answer Mr. *Morland* went on to *Turin*. A few hours after he arrived there, the Master of Ceremonies came to his Lodging, and after a very civil Salute in the Duke his Master's name, conducted him to a certain Lodging appointed him by special order of the Duke, where he was very nobly entertained, from whence about two days after, the said Master of Ceremonies accompanied him in the Dukes own Coach to *Rivole*, where he had his audience and spake to the Duke in the presence of *Madame Royale* his Mother, in the following terms.

Copy of Mr. *Morland's* Speech to the Duke of *Savoy*, at his first Audience, in quality of *Envoy* from His Highness the *Lord Protector of England*, in the behalf of the poor distressed *Protestants* in the *Valleys of Piemont*.

*May it please your most Serene and Royal Highness,*

I am sent by the most serene Prince *Oliver*, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, unto your Royal Highness, whom he heartily saluteth, and with a very high and singular affection of mind toward the person of your Serene Highness, wisheth you life, a long reign, and prosperous successes in all your affairs, together with the love and affections of your people: And this, respect doubtless is due to your merit, whether a man consider the most noble inclination and royal extraction of your Highness, together with the High expectation which the world hath from so many most eminent virtues, or whether by perusing the Monuments of Time past, he call to mind the ancient Alliance of our Kings with the Royal family of *Savoy*. As for myself, though I be a young man, I confess, and have not much experience in affairs, yet

it pleased my most Serene and most gracious Master to send me, being one that is very much devoted to your Royal Highness, and a great lover of all the people of Italy, to negotiate even Matters of grand importance, for so those affairs are to be called, wherein the safety of many poor distressed people, and all their hope, is comprehended; which indeed consisteth wholly in this, if so be that by all their loyalty, obedience, and most humble Petitions, they may be able to mollify and appease the mind of your Royal Highness, which hath been provoked against them. In the behalf of these poor people, whose Cause truly, even commiseration itself may seem to make the more excusable, the most Serene Protector of England is also become an Intercessor, and he most earnestly entreateth and beseecheth your R. H. that you would be pleased to extend your mercy to these your very poor subjects and most disconsolate Outcasts; I mean those, who inhabiting beneath the Alps, and certain Valleys under your Dominion, are Professors of the Protestant Religion. For, he hath been informed (which no man can say was done by the will of your H.) that part of those most miserable people, have been cruelly massacred by your forces, part driven out by violence, and forced to leave their native habitations, and so without house or shelter, poor, and destitute of all relief, do wander up and down with their wives and children, in craggy and uninhabited places, and Mountains covered with snow. Now what, or what manner of cruelty have not those soldiers of late dared to act, or hath been omitted by them? Oh the fired houses which are yet smoking, the torn limbs, and ground defiled with blood! Virgins being ravished, have afterwards had their wombs stuffed up with gravel and Rubbish, and in that miserable manner breathed out their last. Some men an hundred years old, decrepit with age, and bedridden, have been burned in their beds. Some infants have been dashed against the Rocks, others their throats cut, whose brains have with more than Cyclopean cruelty, being boiled and eaten by the Murderers! What need I mention more? although I could reckon up very many cruelties of the like kind, if I were not astonished at the very thought of them. If all the Tyrants of all Times and Ages were alive again (which I would have spoken without any offense to your Highness, seeing we believe none of these things were done through any default of yours) certainly they would be ashamed when they should find, that they had contrived nothing (in comparison of these

actings) that might be reputed barbarous and inhumane. In the meantime, the Angels are surprised with horror! men are amazed! Heaven itself seems to be astonished with the cries of dying men, and the very earth to blush, being discolored with the gore-blood of so many innocent persons! Do not, O thou most high God, do not thou take that revenge which is due to so great wickednesses and horrible villainies! Let thy blood, O Christ, wash away this blood!

But it is not my business to make a Narrative of these things in order as they were done, or to insist any longer upon them; and that which my most Serene Master desireth of your Royal Highness, you will better understand by his Own Letters, which Letters I am commanded with all observance and due respect, to deliver to your Royal Highness; to which if your Royal Highness shall (as we very much hope) be pleased to vouchsafe a speedy answer, you will thereby very highly oblige my Lord Protector, who hath laid this thing deeply to heart, and the whole Commonwealth of England; you will also by an act of compassion most worthy of your Royal Highness, restore life, safety, spirit, Country, and estates, to many thousands of poor afflicted people, who depend upon your pleasure; and me you will dismiss back to my Native Country, with exceeding joy, and with a report of your eminent virtues, the most happy Proclaimer of your Princely Clemency, and one forever most obliged to your Royal Highness.

When Mr. *Morland* had thus expressed himself to the *Duke* in the presence of *Madame Royale*, and all the Court, he presented him with His Highness the Lord *Protector's* Letter, a Copy whereof here follows.

A Letter from His Highness the *Lord Protector* of the Commonwealth of *England*, etc. To the *Duke of Savoy*, in the behalf of his poor distressed Subjects professing the *Reformed Religion* in the *Valleys of Piemont*.



An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was communicated to the Author, by the Right Honorable Mr. *Secretary Thurloe*.

*Most Serene Prince,*

We have received Letters from several places near your Dominions, whereby We are certified, That the Subjects of your Royal Highness professing the Reformed Religion, have of late, by your express Order and Command, been required, under pain of death, and confiscation of their Estates, within three days after the publication of that Order, to depart from and abandon their houses, dwellings, and possessions, except they would give assurance to relinquish their Religion and become Catholics within twenty days; And that when they in all humility addressed themselves to your Royal Highness, petitioning a revocation of that Edict, and that being received to former favor, they might be restored to the liberty granted them by your most Serene Predecessors, yet part of your Army fell upon them, most cruelly massacred many, imprisoned others, expelled the rest into desert places, and Mountains covered with snow, where some hundreds of Families are reduced to such extremity, that it's to be feared they will all miserably perish in a short time with hunger and cold. When an Account of these things was brought to Us, truly We could not but be moved with extreme sorrow and compassion, upon the news of so great a calamity befallen this most miserable people. And seeing We acknowledge that We are not only in respect of humanity, but through communion of the same Religion, and so by a brotherly relation wholly conjoined and concerned with them, We conceived that We could not either satisfy Ourselves, or answer Our duty towards God, or the bond of brotherly Love and Charity, or the Profession of the same Religion, if being touched with a sense of sorrow in this calamity and misery of Our Brethren, We should not also use all Our endeavor, so far as in us lieth, to remove their so many unexpected miseries; Therefore, We in the first place, most earnestly desire and entreat of your Highness, that you would be pleased to call to mind and consider the Acts and Ordinances of your most serene Predecessors, and the Liberty by them granted time out of mind, and

confirmed to their Subjects of the Valleys; In the granting and confirming whereof, as they did that which questionless is of itself most pleasing to God, who intended, that the Law and Liberty of Conscience should remain only in his own power, so it is not to be doubted, but that they had also a respect to the merits of their Subjects, whom they had found valiant and most faithful in War, and always obedient in time of Peace: And as your serene Highness hath exactly followed the steps of your Ancestors, in all other things that have been both graciously and gloriously performed by them, so We beseech you again and again, that you would not depart from them in this, but that you would abrogate this Edict, or any other that hath been made for the disquieting of your Subjects, upon the account of the Reformed Religion; that you would restore them to their Native habitations and estates; that you would confirm to them their ancient Rights and former Liberty, cause reparation to be made of damages, and take such order that an end may be put to their vexations. Which if your Royal Highness shall grant, you will do a thing acceptable to God, comfort and revive those miserable and distressed people, and give satisfaction and content to all your Neighbors professing the Reformed Religion, especially to Ourselves, who shall esteem your favor and clemency towards them, as the effect and fruit of Our mediation; which will oblige Us to make all returns of good Offices, and be a means not only to lay a foundation of a good correspondence and friendship, but also to increase it, between this Commonwealth and your Dominions. And this We promise Ourselves from your justice and clemency: Whereunto We desire God to incline your heart and mind; and so we heartily pray, that he would confer on you and your people Peace and Truth, and prosperous successes in all your affairs. Given at our Palace of Westminster 25 May 1655.

*Oliver P.*

After Mr. *Morland* had made an end of speaking, and delivered this Letter into the hands of the Duke, his Mother *Madame Royale* told him, that *as on the one side she could not but extremely appaude the singular charity and goodness of his Highness the Lord Protector towards their Subjects, whose condition had been represented to him*

*so exceeding sad and lamentable, as she perceived by that Discourse of his, so on the other side she could not but extremely admire, that the malice of men should ever proceed so far, as to clothe such fatherlike and tender chastisements of their most rebellious and insolent Subjects, with so black and ugly a Character, to render them thereby odious to all neighboring Princes and States, with whom they so much desired to keep a good understanding and friendship, especially with so great and powerful a Prince as his Highness the Lord Protector; and withal, she did not doubt, but that when he should be particularly and clearly informed of the truth of all passages, he would be so fully satisfied with the Dukes proceedings, that he would not give the least countenance to those his disobedient Subjects. But however, for his Highness sake, they would not only freely pardon their rebellious Subjects for those so heinous crimes which they had committed, but also would accord to them such Privileges and graces, as could not but give the Lord Protector a sufficient evidence how great a respect they bare both to his Person and Mediation.*

After this, Mr. *Morland* was accompanied back to *Turin* by the Master of Ceremonies, according to the special Order of the Duke, where he was entertained with all the outward demonstrations of civility and respect imaginable during the time of his abode in that place.

Within a few days after his first Audience, he was visited by *Marquess a Santo Thoma* the chief Secretary of State, who communicated to him some *Latin* Papers, which were the very same with the Duke of *Savoy's Factum and Reasons*, which are inserted in the third Book of this History in the *Italian* Tongue, excepting some few Additions and Alterations, and that those first Pieces were not couched in altogether so exact a method, as these last are. These Papers the said Secretary took the pains to read over himself to Mr. *Morland*, making large Comments upon each Article as he went, and at the end a long Exhortation to Mr. *Morland*, to give a favorable Relation of all the Duke his Master's proceedings.

When Mr. *Morland* had heard all that the Secretary would say, he told him, that *notwithstanding all that he had either seen in those Papers, or heard from his mouth, there were very many difficulties*

*which appeared to him not easy to be answered; and though he had no Instructions to enter into any Treaty concerning this affair, yet if the Marquess were pleased to leave the Papers in his hands for a few days, he should make such Animadversions upon several of the Articles therein contained as those Informations he had received from others would enable him, to the end that Contrary things, when placed next to each other, become more evident.*

To this the Marquess replied, that he would take the Papers with him at that present, because they were not fairly written, and within two or three days he would send them in a more legible character which accordingly he did, enclosing them in the following Letter.

A Copy of a Letter from the Marquess *a Sancto Thoma* chief Secretary of State, to *Samuel Morland* Esquire; his Highness *Envoy* to the Duke of Savoy.

The true Original whereof is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

*Illustrious Lord,*

*I transmit to your Lordship two documents: one containing a true and accurate account of events in the Valley of Lucerna, and the other demonstrating the fairness and justice of the recent edict promulgated by Auditor Gastaldo. There remains a third, shorter document that contains some general annotations on the aforementioned two, which your Illustrious Lordship will receive today. Meanwhile, I kindly request that your Lordship excuse any delay in the mission and, if the character is perhaps not quite elegant. However, if your Lordship finds anything in these writings that requires further interpretation, I would greatly appreciate it if your Lordship would inform me out of his kindness, and I shall elucidate any difficulty found in these writings. I wish your Lordship all ease and goodwill with my whole heart in the meantime. From the castle of Ripularum 10 July 1655.*

*Your Illustrious Lordship's devoted servant.*

Marquess à Sancto Thoma.

Mr. *Morland* upon the receipt of this Letter and the enclosed Papers (which were, as is abovesaid, no other than the first and rude draft of the Court of *Savoy's Factum* and *Reasons*, etc. which are inserted in the third Book of this History) immediately drew up short Animadversions upon all the Articles of moment by the help of those Papers of Intelligence which he had received before and soon after his arrival at *Turin*. These Animadversions (which it's altogether needless to repeat, they being virtually comprised in those general Animadversions of some knowing Friends of the Protestants, which are at large set down by way of Answer to the Court of *Savoy's Factum* and *Reasons*) Mr. *Morland* sent to the said Secretary of State enclosed in the following Letter.

*Copy of a Letter from Samuel Morland Esquire; his Highness Envoys, etc. to Marquess à Sancto Thoma the chief Secretary of State. Turin 2/12 July 1655.*

*Illustrious Lord,*

*In the unfolding and revolving papers that I encountered in the writings concerning the Protestants, there were several points that, in my view, could be accommodated in response to almost every article, once they are organized in order. Therefore, I have decided that, in order to better illuminate the truth and also to satisfy the most serene Protector of England in all matters, I will present the same to the illustrious Lord for examination. Since these were originally written in French, I would prefer not to translate them into Latin unless there is a suspicion that I have invented them myself or altered the true and genuine meaning of any particular word. Furthermore, I do not wish to engage in disputes on these matters or argue with evidence. With utmost humility, I implore your Royal Highness to communicate what and how much you may grant*

*to these most wretched and afflicted subjects in favor of the most serene Protector, at an appropriate time.*

*From my lodging in Turin, 2 July 1655.*

*Your Illustrious Lordship's devoted servant, Samuel Morland.*

About four days after this, the said Marquess sent me his Reply to those Annotations I had before sent him, enclosed in the following Letter.

Copy of a second Letter from the Marquess *a Sancto Thoma*, chief Secretary of State to *Samuel Morland Esquire*; his Highness Envoy to the Duke of Savoy.

The true Original whereof is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of Cambridge.

*Illustrious Lord,*

*During the time when this army was advancing against the enemy, burdened as usual with multiple tasks, I was compelled to delay my response to their annotations collected from the writings and papers of the Reformers that are widely circulated. These annotations, lacking any firmness of reason and truth, collapse on their own. Therefore, it was easier for me to reply than if a new argument had emerged from the sharpness and perspicacity of Your Illustrious Lordship. Hence, I believe entirely that they will be persuaded by the faith and truth I present, just as they have graciously turned their benevolent gaze toward the rebellious subjects, thanks to the supreme clemency of the Protector of England. How quickly they will confirm this in the Treaty, in the name of the Most Christian Majesty, with His Excellency Lord de Servien, which is already underway. And I deemed it necessary to convey this to Your Illustrious Lordship, who will not lack joy, that the services rendered by the Most Serene Protector, in the name of the royal Highnesses, have not been without the desired outcome.*

*Meanwhile, I would like to assure the royal Highnesses that their estimation of my merits grows day by day, and I remain devoted to them with utmost respect and deference. Given at the Castle of Ripularum, 17 July 1655.*

*Your Illustrious Lordship's devoted servant,*

Marquess à Sancto Thoma.

Now for as much as the Answer or Reply to Mr. *Morland's* Annotations, specified in this second Letter of the Marquess à *Sancto Thoma* is virtually included and comprehended in the Court of *Savoy's Factum* and Reasons inserted in the third Book of this History, except some sharp and angry expressions, it will be an ease to the Reader, and a civility to the Author of them, not to insert them.

During the time of Mr. *Morland's* abode at *Turin*, he had several serious Conferences with the *French* Ambassador Mr. *Servient*, upon the subject of the Massacre, and also that of the poor peoples ancient privileges. In one of which Conferences *M de Servient* told Mr. *Morland*, who pressed him very hard to intercede in their behalf, that *he did verily believe that Emanuel Philibert had made such Concessions as were insisted on by the People, namely, in the year 1561. And that he did verily believe his Royal Highness, and Madame Royal his Mother might easily be pacified towards them, and be inclined to accord to them the same and greater Privileges than his Royal Ancestors had done, were there not some Powerful Persons in the Court, whose zeal for the Catholic Religion prompted them to make the worst Constructions and Representations of all things to their Prince. However, he advised Mr. Morland by all means not to add fuel to the fire, but rather to endeavor to satisfy and appease his Highness the Lord Protector, by a sweet and moderate Relation of all those Proceedings.*

He was also frequently visited, and very civilly used by the Jesuits and others of the Ecclesiastics, who spared no pains to persuade him, and to make him believe, that all the Reports that had gone abroad in the World in favor of the poor People were pure Fictions and *Chimera's*, and had no foundation or color of truth.

When Mr. *Morland* had remained in *Turin* his time appointed, he pressed for his Dispatch, which was accordingly granted him; and having taken his leave of the Duke in a second Audience, and received his Answer to his Highness the Lord *Protector's* Letter, he set out of *Turin* upon the 19 of *July* 1655, towards *Geneva*, whither he was commanded to repair by his Highness Order. The Dukes Answer to his Highness Letter is as followeth.

A Letter of the Duke of *Savoy* to his Highness the Lord Protector of *England*, 20/10 *July* 1655, in answer to his of the 25 *May* 1655, old Style.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was communicated to the Author, during his abode at *Turin*, by *Marquess à Sancto Thoma* chief Secretary of State.

Most Serene, etc.

We have received a Letter from your most serene Highness of the 23 of *May*, sent to me by Mr. *Morland*, touching the Rebellion of our Subjects that profess the pretended Reformed Religion, by which we have not without admiration understood, that many things have been brought to your Highness ear, which are no less contrary to truth than to that great justice and clemency which we have always used to those Rebels, and directly opposite to that singular benignity, whereby, not as a Prince justly stirred up by the rebellious contumacy of his Subjects, and provoked by their petulant and audacious behavior, but like a loving Father we have chastised them more mildly than they deserved, that so we might recall those who are gone astray, into the straight path of obedience, and reduce this stubborn People unto that fidelity and duty, which they owe to us their Sovereign, by the Laws both of God and Man. Wherefore we have thought it necessary, both by word of mouth, and by writing to give a good account of all things to the said Mr. *Morland*, who with utmost care and diligence (as his manner is) hath endeavored to find out the causes of things and the truth of what hath happened, that by him your Highness may be informed of all things the more readily



and sincerely, which being really made known unto you, and the equity of things done being prudently considered, we are persuaded your Highness will not in anywise approve of them, but be much astonished, when you shall find that our Subjects in those Valleys ought justly to be esteemed highly guilty of Rebellion, contumacy, and inhumanity, especially because they have particularly and largely received so many favors and fruits of clemency, not only from our Ancestors, and my late Father, but also from us who at present reign. And although no clemency at all ought to be shown them, they having disoblged us, their Neighbors, and all *Piemont*, and chiefly because they grow rebellious every day more and more, and make light of the good offices that have been done for them by Mr. *Morland*, yea moreover have since his residence here dealt most cruelly with our obedient Subjects; nevertheless that all the World may see how much power and force your Highness Intercession for those Rebels hath upon us, we are content to suffer our clemency to extend so far as to satisfy you in what you desire, and shall pardon those our rebellious Subjects of *Luserna*, *S. Martin*, and *Perouse*, for their late Rebellion, without any exception of crimes or persons, although they have been already prescribed, and put into the grand Catalogue, which Pardon truly is altogether without Precedent, seeing that throughout the whole World there is a contrary custom, whereby the Authors and Fomenters of Rebellion are excluded from all grace. We shall likewise permit to our said Subjects a free exercise of Religion within the usual Limits, confirming unto them all the Privileges, Favors, and Concessions which they enjoyed in the times of our most serene Father and Grandfather of happy memory; and we will remit all the Goods and Estates that are confiscated within the said Limits, and which are fallen to us for high Treason, and many other Crimes committed; neither will we impose any Burden, or demand the Expenses of the War, although in times past, in like cases and for much lesser Crimes our most serene Predecessors have done otherwise; and as for those estates that lie in prohibited places, which are confiscated upon a double account, as well because of the acquisition and retention of them contrary to our Edicts, as in regard of this Rebellion, we have not thought fit to take the Forfeiture of them, but have been willing for your Highness sake to let them be converted to the profit of the said Subjects, and have permitted them to sell them or change them for

other, provided they contain themselves within the Limits tolerated, according to the form of the said Concessions. And truly we conceive, that greater favor could not have been shown our said Subjects, if they had presently repented of their Fault, and begged pardon, thereby deserving it, and had not studied to add wickedness to wickedness, and stirred up the indignation of their Prince by their rash and heady behavior, and by multiplying their Crimes as they have done ever since your Highness interceded for them. But this is our hope, that by how much greater the Pardon is which we grant, so much the greater will be the love, obedience, and fidelity of the Rebels repenting of the Faults they have committed against us; and that your Highness will for the future preserve and maintain that good will which you have largely expressed in your Letter towards us; and that you will daily more and more strengthen those Bonds of Amity by which in times past the Kingdom of *England*, and the State of *Savoy* have been nearly allied to each other. Lastly, we are easily induced to believe, that the high esteem which we have of your admirable endowments of mind, singular prudence, and heroic virtues, most celebrated throughout the whole World, will, according to your generosity, procure a return of reciprocal Arguments of Respect and Honor. We wish your Highness all happiness. From our Castle of *Rivola* 20 July 1655.

EMANUEL

## CHAPTER V: *A brief Account of the notable and famous Collection in England, Wales, and Ireland, for the Relief of the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont, in the Year 1655.*

Soon after the Departure of the said Mr. *Morland* out of *England* towards the Duke of *Savoy*, his Highness the Lord *Protector* being not satisfied with saying to *those that were naked and destitute of daily Food, Be ye warm, and be ye filled, without the actual giving them those things which were needful to the Body*, did forthwith publish a Declaration, expressing his earnest desire, that the good People under his Dominions might be grieved with the *Afflictions of Joseph*, and might be stirred up to a free and liberal *Contribution* towards the succor and support of their poor distressed Brethren; to which also he encouraged them by his own princely Example, casting into the Treasury no less than two thousand pounds *Sterling* upon his own private Account.

Now that the *Christian* Reader may be fully satisfied that all these pious Inclinations of his *Highness* had their blessed effects, both upon the hearts and spirits of his Subjects, and likewise that the Money thus collected had its real extent to the poor People, for whom it was intended, in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and relieving the sick amongst them, he is desired to peruse the following Extract of a large and distinct Account, which was not long since printed and published by special Order of his *Highness* and the *Council*.

A Narrative published by the special Order of his Highness the Lord *Protector*, and his *Council*, for the better Satisfaction of all those who have already contributed towards the Relief of the poor Protestants of the Valleys of *Piemont*, and for the Encouragement of those who

are yet behind, to the performance of so good and charitable a Work.

*His Highness the Lord Protector having received Intelligence about the Month of May, in the Year of our Lord 1655, that many hundreds of the poor Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont (otherwise known by the name of Waldenses) within the Territories of the Duke of Savoy, were most cruelly massacred by a Popish party; and having upon his spirit a deep sense of their Calamities, which were occasioned by the faithful Adherence to the Profession of the Reformed Religion, was pleased, not only to mediate by most pathetic Letters in their behalf, to the King of France, and Duke of Savoy, but did also seriously invite the People of this Nation to seek the Lord by Prayer and Humiliation in reference to their then sad condition, and future Relief: and from a confidence that the good People of this Nation would be sensibly touched with the Afflictions of Joseph, and in that day of their Brethren's trouble, manifest a suitable Resentment of, and sympathizing with the Sufferings of their fellow members, professing the same Faith and Religion with themselves, did forthwith publish a Declaration, expressing his earnest desire, that the People might be stirred up to a free and liberal Contribution towards their Succor and Support: For the Management of which Collection, certain Instructions were also agreed upon, and annexed to the said Declaration: And for the more effectual promoting of the Work, his Highness appointed a Committee, consisting of persons of known Honor, Fidelity and Integrity, to consider and advise from time to time how the Moneys that should be thereupon raised, might be employed with most advantage and certainty for the Supply of those poor distressed Members of Christ, according to the true Intention of the Givers; amongst whom likewise there were two select Persons of very considerable Estate and Reputation, appointed to be Treasurers for the receiving in the said Moneys, whose names, together with the number and names of the Committee abovesaid, for the better satisfaction of the Reader are here inserted, namely,*

*Lords of his Highness most Honorable Privy Council.*

*Lord Commissioner Fiennes.*

*Earl of Mulgrave.*

*Lord Fleetwood.*  
*Lord Viscount Lisle.*  
*Sir Gilbert Pickering.*  
*Sir Charles Wolseley.*  
*General Disbrow.*  
*General Montagu.*

*Colonel Sydenham.*  
*Lord Strickland.*  
*Major General Skippon.*  
*Colonel Philip Jones.*  
*Mr. Rouse.*  
*Mr. Secretary Thurloe.*

*Other Lords and Gentlemen.*

*Lord Richard Cromwel.*  
*Lord Lambert.*  
*Lord Chief Justice Glynn.*  
*Lord Chief Justice St. John.*  
*Lord Whitlock.*  
*William Steel Lord chancellor*  
*of Ireland.*  
*Lord Widdrington.*  
*William Pierpoint Esquire.*

*Sir Gilbert Gerrard Baronet.*  
*Sir John Trevor Knight.*  
*John Crew Esquire.*  
*Major William Packer.*  
*Colonel John Bright.*  
*Colonel William Purefoy.*  
*Colonel Tobias Bridge.*  
*Colonel John Bridges.*  
*Edward Cresset Esquire.*

*Ministers.*

*Mr. Philip Nye.*  
*M. Edmund Calamy.*  
*Mr. Joseph Caryl.*  
*Mr. Nicholas Lockier.*

*Mr. William Jenkins.*  
*Mr. Peter Sterry.*  
*Mr. Daniel Dike.*  
*Mr. Thomas Harrison.*

*Treasurers.*

*Sir Thomas Vyner.*

*Sir Christopher Pack.*

*Knights and Aldermen of London.*

*Neither was this his Highness Christian care and tenderness left unanswered by the open hearts and hands of many charitable and compassionate souls, both of this Nation and Ireland, who upon the publishing of the abovesaid Declaration and Instructions, did most freely and cheerfully contribute towards the seasonable refreshing the bowels of their poor afflicted Brethren.*

*True it is, some Parishes and particular Persons of note there were, amongst whom there was at that time observed some kind of backwardness to this good Work (yea many there are to this very day, who do not appear within the Returns to have contributed anything towards it); however means were also used for supplying that defect, and that by a subsequent Proclamation, which was afterwards reinforced by his Highness punctual Orders to the Justices of Peace in the several Counties, to examine in their respective Divisions at what places no Collections had been made; and in case of Collections made, where the Money had not been sent up, and to cause a speedy Return to be made thereof; by which means, through the great goodness of God and blessing upon his Highness endeavors (though it may be justly feared that there were Defaults in some places, and the Money not to this day delivered in to the Treasurers) there were considerable Sums in a short space of time brought in, and carefully lodged in the Treasury, ready to be issued out and distributed, as there should be ways and means found for the safe conveyance thereof into the respective places, where those poor wretches had then their abode, which was in the clefts of ragged rocks, and in the caves of snowy mountains.*

*For this very end and purpose his Highness (continuing his care for carrying on this Work) did at the same time constitute and appoint Mr. Pell (his Resident with the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland) and Mr. Morland (whom he had not long before sent as his Envoy to the King of France and Duke of Savoy, in their behalf) as his Joint-Commissioners Extraordinary for the management of this Affair beyond Sea, who were likewise furnished with suitable Instructions and Commands, to the end that by their special inspection and care, the collected Moneys might not only be remitted from England into the Valleys, with expedition, security, and at the easiest rates; but likewise, that being thus conveyed, they might be actually distributed and laid out for the clothing of the Naked, the feeding of the Hungry, and relieving the Sick, and that with all possible equity and just proportion, having a due respect to the greatest Sufferers, and most necessitous amongst them; the which was accordingly performed by the abovesaid Mr. Pell and Mr. Morland; and the way and method which they then propounded to his Highness and the Council, being approved, things were*

*immediately put in execution; and his Highness, upon advice from time to time with the said Committee, did order the remitting of several Sums of Money into the Valleys, through the hands first of Mr. Pell and Mr. Morland jointly, and afterwards through the hands of Mr. Morland singly (who by his Highness Order resided at Geneva for the space of one whole year, commencing from the twentieth of November 1655, for that very end) according to the several Conjunctures, and pressing Seasons of the poor Peoples necessities, as they were by him from time to time represented to his Highness and the Council.*

*Upon Mr. Morland's Return into England, an Account was by him tendered to the said Committee in January last, for the Moneys so remitted beyond Sea, and then a Sub-Committee was appointed to receive and examine the same (namely, Sir Thomas Vyner, Sir Christopher Pack, and Mr. Cresset) who had also power to call to their assistance any such person as they should think fit as an Auditor, for the punctual Examination and Adjusting of the said Account; which Sub-Committee did on the 21 of January last past, make Report to the said Committee, That they had perused and examined the Account, both as to the Moneys sent from hence, and that which was by him taken up there, and that upon the whole, they found it to be justly stated in the Book delivered by Mr. Morland.*

*Now to the end that public notice may be given what Moneys have been received upon the said Collections, what Sums have been issued out and transmitted beyond Sea, and what yet remains in stock; And to the end that all the good People of this Commonwealth may receive full satisfaction, and be well assured that no part of the said collected Moneys either hath been, or shall hereafter be diverted from the charitable intention of the Donors, but solely employed and disposed to those very Uses to which they were originally designed, his Highness hath thought fit to appoint the publishing of the following Account.*

An Abbreviate of that Accompt which was delivered in to the Right Honorable the Commissioners appointed by His *Highness* and the Council, for the management of

the Affairs of the poor *Protestants* in the *Valleys* of *Piemont*, in the Month of *November* 1657. By Sir *Thomas Viner*, and Sir *Christopher Pack*, Knights, Treasurers for receiving and issuing forth the moneys collected in *England, Wales* and *Ireland*, for their relief.

	£.	s.	d.
<i>Given by His Highness in particular:</i>	2000	00	00
<i>Within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Weekly Bill of Mortality:</i>	9384	06	11
<i>County of Middlesex 62 Parishes:</i>	0950	06	01
<i>Berkshire 127 Parishes:</i>	0555	09	09
<i>Bedfordshire 120 Parishes:</i>	0282	09	07
<i>Buckinghamshire 180 Parishes:</i>	0498	02	03
<i>Cambridgeshire 158 Parishes:</i>	0497	02	00
<i>Cheshire 68 Parishes:</i>	0224	02	11
<i>Cornwal 171 Parishes:</i>	0527	03	10
<i>Cumberland 80 Parishes:</i>	0145	16	03
<i>Derbyshire 129 Parishes:</i>	0236	07	10
<i>Devonshire 417 Parishes:</i>	1965	00	03
<i>Dorsetshire 235 Parishes:</i>	0901	00	07
<i>Durham 68 Parishes:</i>	0291	07	00
<i>Essex 379 Parishes:</i>	1512	17	07
<i>Glocestershire 144 Parishes:</i>	0305	05	01
<i>Hampshire 244 Parishes:</i>	0740	09	05
<i>Herefordshire 157 Parishes:</i>	0185	11	07
<i>Hertfordshire 127 Parishes:</i>	0737	03	00
<i>Huntingtonshire 76 Parishes:</i>	0143	17	10
<i>Kent 363 Parishes:</i>	1346	18	03
<i>Lancashire 85 Parishes:</i>	0472	19	03
<i>Leicestershire 224 Parishes:</i>	0383	19	06
<i>Lincolnshire 552 Parishes:</i>	0797	09	08
<i>Monmouthshire 101 Parishes:</i>	0162	00	00
<i>Norfolk 586 Parishes:</i>	1014	01	05
<i>Northamptonshire 280 Parishes:</i>	0676	12	04
<i>Nottinghamshire 176 Parishes:</i>	0311	02	09
<i>Northumberland 19 Parishes:</i>	0317	11	09



<i>Oxfordshire 244 Parishes:</i>	0923	05	06
<i>Rutlandshire 50 Parishes:</i>	0068	00	06
<i>Shropshire 108 Parishes:</i>	0234	16	11
<i>Somersetshire 413 Parishes:</i>	1080	01	10
<i>Staffordshire 125 Parishes:</i>	0320	08	03
<i>Suffolk 401 Parishes:</i>	1184	08	00
<i>Sussex 220 Parishes:</i>	0650	10	01
<i>Surrey 103 Parishes:</i>	0723	17	05
<i>Warwickshire 184 Parishes:</i>	0495	11	03
<i>Westmerland 37 Parishes:</i>	0063	18	05
<i>Wiltshire 276 Parishes:</i>	0580	19	06
<i>Worcestershire 103 Parishes:</i>	0262	09	00
<i>Yorkshire 484 Parishes:</i>	1786	14	05

## WALES.

	£.	s.	d.
<i>Anglesey 39 Parishes:</i>	0019	06	11
<i>Brecknock 7 Parishes:</i>	0006	03	08
<i>Cardigan 10 Parishes:</i>	0010	05	09
<i>Carmarthenshire 54 Parishes:</i>	0025	16	11
<i>Carnarvanshire 40 Parishes:</i>	0022	05	05
<i>Denhighshire 9 Parishes:</i>	0027	04	08
<i>Flintshire 25 Parishes:</i>	0058	08	08
<i>Glamorganshire 106 Parishes:</i>	0160	07	03
<i>Merionethshire 8 Parishes:</i>	0003	00	01
<i>Montgomeryshire 16 Parishes:</i>	0027	19	03
<i>Pembrookshire 95 Parishes:</i>	0057	16	01
<i>Radnorshire 7 Parishes:</i>	0001	14	04
<i>The particular Gift of several persons:</i>	1735	02	00

*The total Sum of the collected Moneys, as well what was given  
by His Highness in particular, as what was received by the  
Treasurers:*

38097    07    03

Whereof paid for and towards the Relief of the said poor  
in the *Valleys of Piemont.*

£.                    s.                    d.

*By His Highness the LORD PROTECTOR , being His free Gift:*

02000      00      00

*By Warrants upon several Bills of Exchange:*

17700      00      00

*To Mr. Morland to be paid according to Order:*

00200      00      00

*To Christiana Uldrick:*

00100      00      00

*To John Benthouse:*

00020      00      00

*To Captain Raymond:*

00150      00      00

*To Petty Charges disbursed about the same:*

00063      17      00

---

Summa:

20233      17      00

---

*So resteth in ready money:*

17863      10      03

£.      s.      d.

*Paid since this Account was made up, upon several Bills of Exchange, by Order:*

01530      00      00

---

*So resteth in ready money but:*

16333      10      03

*By Sir Thomas Viner, and Sir Christopher Pack, Treasurers.*

An Extract, or Abbreviate of the Accompt delivered in to the hands of the Right Honorable Commissioners for the *Valleys of Piemont*, by *Samuel Morland* Esquire, as well of the moneys that were remitted from *England*, to the poor Protestants of the said *Valleys*, before, and during the time of his residing in *Geneva*, in Quality of His Highness *Commissioner Extraordinary*, for the management of those Affairs, as of the Moneys which he remitted since his Return, by the Order of His Highness and the Council.

The Accompt of the Collected moneys for the poor Protestants of Piemont is Debtor.

Anno 1655:

June 7 – *Sent by His Highness upon His private Accompt, to the poor people at the beginning of their Troubles, and remitted by Mr. Lucas Luce, at 56 pence sterling for every French Crown of 3 Livres:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Turnois.</i>	<i>Den.</i>
2000	00	00	025486	12	06

*Gained in the remission by the Exchange upon the said 2000£. as in fol. 98:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Turnois.</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0001	16	03	000023	07	06

August 6 – *Remitted by Major Chamberlain at 56 pence per Fr. Crown, fol. ibid:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Turnois.</i>	<i>Den.</i>
7500	00	00	096428	11	00
9501	16	03	121938	11	00

Received by *Samuel Morland* Esquire, during his abode at *Geneva*, as His Highness Commissioner Extraordinary, for the management of those Affairs.

1656:

February 27 – *Received of J.N. by Contract, as in fol. 101, made good by the Treasurers in England at 54 3/4 pence per crown in the following Species, namely, 2614 French gold Louises at 10 Liv. 10 Sols the Louis, and the rest in silver Louises, at 3 Liv. the Louis, which amount in all to 92054 Liv. 16 Sols:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Turnois.</i>	<i>Den.</i>
7000	00	00	092054	16	00

*Part of the above said 92054 Livres 16 Sols, namely 85607 Liv. 17 Sols, 9 Den. was put out to Interest by Mr. Moreland in*

*the interval, between his receipt thereof, and his Orders to distribute the same, as fol. 102.*

March 13 – 21000 Fr. *Liv. in gold Louises, from 13 March to 21 April, at ½ per 100:*

<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Turnois.</i>	<i>Den.</i>
137	00	00

March. 5 – 11517-17-00 *in silver, from 5 March to 23 April, at the same price:*

<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Turnois.</i>	<i>Den.</i>
105	05	00

March 14 – 35704-15-09 *in silver, from 14 March to 25 April, at the same price:*

<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Turnois.</i>	<i>Den.</i>
267	15	00

April 1 – 17385-05-00 *in silver, from 1 April to 17 April, at the same price:*

<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Turnois.</i>	<i>Den.</i>
055	00	00
85607	17	09

Cast up at 54 pence *per* French Crown

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
142	07	00		001872	00	00

Gained by the Species, upon the 2614 gold *Louises* abovesaid.

*Received 2614 gold Louises, at 10 Liv. 10 Sols the Louis, and delivered out at 11 Livres the Louis:*

<i>Liv.</i>	<i>Sols.</i>	<i>Den.</i>
1307	00	00
1872	00	00

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
7142	07	00		093296	16	00

Received by Mr. *Morland* since his return into *England*,  
by Order of His Highness and the Council, with some  
other Additional Accompts.

1656/7:

January 27 – *Received of the Treasurers, and remitted into the  
Valleys at 54d ½:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
2000	00	00	026422	00	00

1657:

July 28 – *Item, received of the Treasurers, and remitted upon the  
same Accompt, at 55d.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
1000	00	00	013089	00	00

November 25 – *Item, received of the Treasurers, and remitted upon  
the same Accompt, at 55d.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
1500	00	00	019635	00	00

*Item, received of the Treasurers by Mr. Morland, 2 per 100 for the  
remission of the last four Sums, namely, the 7000£, the 2000£, the  
1000£, and the 1500£, which he remitted:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0200	00	00	059146	00	00

*Item, received of the Treasurers by Mr. Morland, for several persons  
who have been very active for the poor people from the very  
beginning of their troubles, by the special Order of His Highness,  
the Council, and Commissioners:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0230	00	00			

*Received of the Treasurers by Christian Ulrick, as in fol. 96:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0100	00	00				

*Item, received by John Benthouse, fol. ibid.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0020	00	00				

*Item, by Captain Raymond, fol. ibid.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0150	00	00				

*Received by several other persons of the Treasurers, for petty charges, fol. ibid.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0063	17	00				

---

5263	17	00				
------	----	----	--	--	--	--

---

*The total Sum of all the Receipts:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
21908	17	03				

## The Accompt in General.

*Given by His Highness in particular, for the Relief of the poor Protestants of the Valleys upon the first News of their Troubles, as in Folio 4:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>
2000	00	00

*By the good people in England and Ireland, as in fol. 95:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>
36097	07	03

*Gained and advanced in the Remission of part thereof as abovesaid, That is to say, 142£, 7s, 0d by Mr. Morland, and 1£, 16s, 3d by Mr. Lucas Luce, upon the first 2000£:*

	<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>
	00144	03	03
Summa totalis:	38241	10	06

The Accompt of the Collected moneys for the poor Protestants of Piemont is Creditor.

Anno 1655:

*Paid into the hands of the poor People in the beginning of their Troubles, as by their Acquittance, fol. 100:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00		025510	00	00

*Item, Money disposed by Order, as in fol. 99, and paid by Acquittance for Bedding, Linen, Corn, Cloth, etc., as in fol. 100:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00		094672	00	00

*Deducted by Mr. Calandrine for transportation, provision etc., as in fol. 99:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00		000830	11	00

*Disbursed by Mr. Pell and Mr. Moreland for conveyance of 95,598, Liv. from Geneva to the Valleys, fol. ibid.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
------------------	--------------	--------------	--	----------------------	-------------	-------------

0000	00	00	000926	00	00
9501	16	03	121938	11	00

Disbursed by *Samuel Morland* Esquire, during his abode at *Geneva*, as His Highness Commissioner Extraordinary, for the management of those Affairs.

1656:

May 29 – *Paid into the hands of the poor Protestants, as by Order in fol. 102, and Acquittance, fol. 103:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00	027506		

*Allowed J. N. 2/5 percent, by Agreement, for his care and trouble in securing 85607 Fr. Liv. 17 Sols, 9 Den.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00	00034		

*Paid Commission and Charges of Conveying the aforesaid, 27506 Liv. 10 Sols, into the Valleys, that is to say, at 2/3 percent, upon 27690 Livres, 10 Sols:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00	000184	00	00

1656/7:

January 14 – *Paid into the hands of the poor Protestants of the Valleys, as by Order fol. 106, and Acquittance, fol. ibid.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00	065340	00	00

*Allowed J. N. for charging part of the 65340 Liv. into gold:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
------------------	--------------	--------------	----------------------	-------------	-------------



0000	00	00		000115	02	00
------	----	----	--	--------	----	----

*Paid Commission for remission of the 65340 Liv. from Geneva into the Valleys, that is to say, 2/3 percent, upon 65894 Liv. 6 Sols, as in fol. 104:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00		000439	04	00
07142	07	00		093926	16	00

*Paid by Mr. Morland since his return, with some other additional Accompts.*

1657:

*April 5 – Into the hands of the poor Protestants, as by Order fol. 107, and Acquaintance, fol. ibid.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
2000	00	00		026126	00	00

*Item, paid Commission and for charges in Transportation:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00		000295	00	00

*October 24 – Paid into the hands of the poor Protestants, as by Order fol. 108, and Acquittance, fol. Ibid.:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
1000	00	00		013003	13	00

*Item, paid Commission for charges in Transportation:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00		000078	07	00

January – Remitted to the poor Protestants by Order; fol. 109, Acquittance *ibid.*:

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
1500	00	00	019505	09	00

Item, paid Commission for charges in Transportation:

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00	000136	11	00

*Paid by Mr. Morland to them who undertook to remit the three sums last mentioned, namely, 7000£, 2000£, and 1000£, in all 10000£, at 2 percent, for advancing the moneys beyond seas, and provision; besides what hath been allowed them for transportation, etc. as abovesaid:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0000	00	00	000926	00	00

Item, paid to, and distributed among several persons, who have been very active for the poor people from the beginning of their Troubles, by Mr. Morland, according to the special Order of His Highness and the Council:

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0200	00	00			

*Paid by the Treasurers Christian Ulrick by Order, as in fol. 96:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0100	00	00			

Item, to John Benthouse, fol. *ibid.*:

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0020	00	00			

Item, to Captain Raymond, fol. *ibid.*:

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
------------------	--------------	--------------	----------------------	-------------	-------------

0150      00      00      |

Item, to several other persons for petty Charges, fol. *ibid.*:

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
0063	17	00			
5263	17	00			

The total Sum of all the Disbursements:

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Liv. Turnois.</i>	<i>Sols</i>	<i>Den.</i>
21908	00	03			

### The Accompt in General.

*Paid out by the Treasurers as by the foregoing Accompt, in sundry sums, as fol. 96:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>
21763	17	00

*Gained in the Remission of part thereof, and received by the Protestants of Piemont, as abovesaid:*

<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>
00144	03	03

*Remains in the Treasurers hands, ready to be distributed as there shall be occasion, as fol. 96.*

	<i>P. Sterl.</i>	<i>Shil.</i>	<i>Pence</i>
	16333	10	03
Summa totalis:	38241	10	06

S. MORLAND.

As for the moneys that yet remain in the hands of the Treasurers, the good People of this Nation are desired to believe and be assured, that it hath hitherto been His Highness exceeding great Care, that no part of the Collected Moneys might be distributed or delivered out, but by the advice, and through the hands of persons of known Honor and approved Fidelity; so likewise it shall be His constant endeavor, that what yet remains, or still hereafter be collected and laid up in the hands of the Treasurers (who are as ready now as ever, to receive what shall be further collected ) shall be improved for the best advantage of those for whom it was (or shall be) solely intended: For which end and purpose his Highness, after mature Consultation had both with his Commissioners at home, and his public Ministers abroad, hath already caused some part thereof to be put out to Interest in sure hands (but so, that it may be called in upon urgent occasion) and for the future will take such resolutions, as the Necessities of those poor people, and the circumstances of their condition shall require, which (the Lord knows) is now as sad as ever in many respects, and without the same miraculous hand of providence that hath hitherto preserved them, must in a short time inevitably perish. Wherefore if there be any charitable Souls who have yet contributed nothing to the relief of their poor distressed Brethren, let them please to peruse the following Discourse, and it may be they may find there such Arguments as may awaken them, and quicken their hearts to the performance of so good and Christian a Work.

CHAPTER VI: *The Notable effects of the Intercession of His Highness The Lord Protector of England, etc. for the poor distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont, upon the spirits of the Neighboring Princes and States of the Protestant Profession, with divers of their Letters upon that subject, with the intended Negotiation of the Commissioners Extraordinary from His Highness the Lord Protector, and the States General of the United Provinces.*

Having in the foregoing Chapters given an Account not only of *His Highness* Mediation and Intercession with the King of *France* and *Duke of Savoy*, in the behalf of the poor distressed Churches in the *Valleys of Piemont*, but also His many serious and pathetic Letters to His *Protestant* Neighbors, to join with him for the obtaining of their re-establishment, it will not now be unacceptable to acquaint the world with the blessed fruits and effects of those his Christian and Princely endeavors, and how far they influenced the spirits of those of the same belief and profession with himself.

It would be almost an endless (at least too voluminous) a work to recite here all the particular Letters which were written in those days from one Prince to another upon this occasion, I shall therefore content myself with some of those which more immediately concern the carrying on of the present discourse, and which more naturally lead us to the after transactions.

Those I shall begin with, are the Letters of the *King of Sweden*, the *States General*, and the *Evangelical Cantons*, in Answer to those of His Highness the *Lord Protector of England*, etc., bearing date the 25 of *May* 1655, which are inserted in the foregoing Chapter; In which Letters they express a very deep sense of the poor peoples miseries, and as great a readiness to join with him in whatsoever ways and means he should think most proper and conducible for the

restoring them to their ancient privileges and habitations. And for the greater satisfaction of the curious and knowing Reader, I have here inserted the said Letters in their own native and original expressions.

A Letter from the King of *Sweden*, to His Highness the *Lord Protector* of *England*, etc., bearing date the 13 of *June* 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof was communicated to the Author by the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*.

WE, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, by the Grace of God King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, Great Prince of Finland, Duke of Estonia, Karelia, Bremen, Werden, Stettin, Pomerania, Cassubia, and Vandalia, Prince of Rugia, Lord of Ingermanland and Westmaria; Also, Palatine Count of the Rhine, Bavaria, Jülich, Cleves, and the Mountains, and to our most serene and esteemed friend, OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Republics of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all their dominions, greetings and prosperity.

Most Serene and Most High Lord Protector, Good Friend;

*We have learned partly from your letters and partly from the rumors about the fate of the Protestants in Savoy, and this has deeply affected us. Not only because it is a matter of humanity to pity the unjust fate of the innocent and harmless, but also because the common name and cause of the Protestants, as well as the hatred from the other side, weigh heavily upon us. Indeed, the efforts made by our Majestic Kings of Sweden to uphold the rights and strength of the Protestants have been evident throughout the years of war in Germany, waged without any discrimination of causes. The peace treaty concluded in Osnabrück with our Most Serene and Most Powerful Brother, our Beloved Emperor, and the Holy Roman Empire stands as a testament to this.*

*We are equally committed to competing for this honor alongside our illustrious predecessors. It is our heartfelt promise that we will intercede with the Duke of Savoy through our letters, striving to revoke or mitigate that harsh and rigid edict. We hope that those expelled from their homes and still wandering, surviving by the sword and flame, may be allowed to return to their rightful places. In this manner, we believe that Your Highness can be assured of our deep understanding of their suffering and our sympathy for the Evangelical religion professed by the most afflicted.*

*Furthermore, we have no doubt that Your Highness, with equal determination, will act before the Roman Emperor to prevent those devoted to the Evangelical Religion in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia from enduring perpetual persecution and exposure to hatred, contrary to the Osnabrück agreements and the freedom of conscience. This responsibility weighs heavily upon us both, as we seek stronger evidence that the cruel beginnings of the other side are aimed at the destruction of the Evangelicals. We stand ready to collaborate with Your Highness in devising strategies to mitigate these hardships and support the cause of the Evangelicals with united effort.*

In the meantime, we wish Your Highness the very best. Given in our Royal Stockholm, 23 June 1655.

Your good friend,

CHARLES GUSTAVUS.

Cantherstenus.

A Letter from the *States General* of the *United Provinces*,  
to His Highness the *Lord Protector* of *England*, etc.  
Bearing date *June 12, 1655*.

An authentic Copy of the true Original whereof was  
communicated to the Author, by the Right Honorable  
Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*.

Most Serene and Most High Lord Protector,

*We received your letter written in Westminster on the 25th of May, just a few days ago. In it, we certainly observed the great signs of your piety and Christian love and charity with much joy. It was not a small consolation for us in such troubled times, and almost defeated circumstances of our brethren from Taurine Alps, that Your Highness undertook their cause with such fervor and zeal. However, just as the brutal slaughter and carnage of innocent people struck our hearts most bitterly, we are equally moved by the same zeal to provide counsel, assistance, and support to our most wretched fellow believers, even those scattered and cruelly dispersed followers of our Lord Jesus Christ. We are prepared to give the orders we have already given, and more, as the situation requires. Our most distinguished and prudent envoy, Neportius, will explain to Your Highness in greater detail what we have done in this matter.*

Most Serene and Most High Lord Protector, we pray to the Almighty *GOD* that by promoting the common good of the Orthodox religion, Your Highness may long remain unharmed.

Given at The Hague on June 12, 1655.

*G. Hoolck.*

To Your Highness, devoted and faithful Friend,

The General States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands.

By their command

MUYSSE.

A Letter of the *Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland* to his Highness the *Lord Protector of England*, etc., 17 June 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was communicated to the Author by the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*.



*Most Serene and Most High Lord Protector; Lord to be honored.*

*In the most pious and heartfelt sense, your Highness has mourned the deeply distressing affliction of the Brothers of Taurin Alps and their dire need. The expressions of their grief and tears have profoundly moved us, even more so due to the inhuman cruelty they have endured. Both your Highness's letter addressed to us and the accounts from other kings and states, as well as the Duke of Savoy himself, have amply confirmed this. Your exceptional piety and unwavering zeal for Orthodox Religion deserve singular praise and glory among all faithful. Consequently, we are compelled to seek an audience with the Duke of Savoy through a solemn embassy. Until now, our efforts to alleviate the suffering of the afflicted have been unsuccessful through mere letters or simple missions. To this end, a precursor has set forth today to notify the aforementioned Duke and request a cessation of hostilities. Subsequently, our envoys will follow on the eleventh day of the old-style month of July, with all possible haste. We earnestly implore your Highness to consider our heartfelt desire and ardor to assist our fellow believers in their dire need. Whether through a highly anticipated embassy or at least by sharing our counsel through repeated letters, we hope to facilitate their safe return and ensure their steadfast well-being. We also reveal our intent to the United General States of Belgium, who, we trust, will not deny aid to innocent and grievously oppressed brethren. With hopeful anticipation and divine favor, we pray that your Highness's endeavors and governance may forever bring glory to Almighty God, solace to the Church Militant, and perpetual joy to all the righteous. Given on the seventeenth day of June in the year 1655. By the seal of the devoted citizens of our Federation, fortified in the name of all of us of the City of Zurich.*

*Your Most Honorable Excellencies,*

Consuls, Sheriffs, Husbandman, and Senators of the Evangelical  
Cantons of Helvetia, namely Zurich, Bern, Glarus, Basel,  
Schaffhausen, and Abbatiszellani, as well as the Confederates of  
the same Religion in Rhætia, Geneva, Saint Gall, Mühlhausen, and  
Bienna.

By the three foregoing Letters may easily be discerned how much his Highness Intercession had quickened and warmed the spirits of the King of *Sweden*, and the two other States; if it were not a Work over tedious, the like effects of this Intercession might as easily be instanced in the King of *Denmark*, the *Prince Elector Palatine*, the *Elector of Brandenburg*, the Duke of *Virtemberg*, and all the other *Protestant* Princes and States, of those parts of the World, all which did either by their Letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, or otherwise sufficiently declare their deep resentment of that bloody Massacre, especially the *Landgrave of Hessen*, whose Letter to the said Duke is so full of zealous and pathetic expressions, that I cannot but recommend the same to the *Christian* Reader, in a particular manner.

Translate of a Letter from the Landgrave of *Hessen* to the Duke of *Savoy*, 23 July 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof was communicated to the Author, during his abode at *Geneva*.

SIR,

*Having lately received the news of that cruel Massacre committed upon the Protestants, who are commonly known by the name of Waldenses, inhabiting your Valleys of Angrogna and Pragela in Piemont, I could not easily be brought at the first to give credit to such a doleful story, as not being able once to imagine that ever their Adversaries had been so audacious, as to exercise such barbarous cruelties upon poor innocent people, who lived peaceably under the Government of your Highness, and in a perfect obedience, without giving the least offense to any, and who for so long a time together, have had protection and security both from you and from year ancestors; And indeed I so much the less imagined this, out of the persuasion I had that their Enemies had learned by the experience of so many ages. That Persecutions and Butcheries are not the means to suppress our Religion, but rather to preserve and*

spread abroad the same. *But this news having been written and confirmed to me from so many places, and that with circumstances altogether deplorable, so that I could no longer remain in doubt thereof, it hath seized me with horror, and consequently being moved with compassion, and pity towards so many thousands of souls in such extreme distress, who have been most cruelly robbed and Spoiled of their lives and estates, by the cruelty of their furious and sworn Enemies, and that without distinction either of sex or age; I have thought it my duty as a Christian Prince interested in the preservation of those of my Religion, to write this present Letter to your Highness, and to beseech you not only to command and suffer; that the Remainder of those poor innocent people who have escaped the violence of their Persecutors, be established in their Lands, Goods, and possessions which are yet left them after this great desolation, but also that they may find the effects of this powerful protection; and that you would be pleased for this end, to favor them hereafter by hearing their complaints, and by taking cognizance of them yourself as a good and a righteous Prince, from whom they ought to expect all the effects of Justice, Clemency, and Bounty, Whereas those who term themselves of the Congregation for the propagation of the Faith, and for the extirpation of heretics are their declared Enemies, and instead of turning souls to righteousness by the sword of the word, have employed the temporal sword, the fire, the Rope, and all the barbarous cruelties that outrageous men could possibly invent for the Bodies of those poor creatures, and to destroy them from off the face of the Earth. I most earnestly beseech your Highness, to grant the requests aforesaid, and to be assured of my inviolable affection for your interests and service, and that I shall account it a happiness to have an opportunity of giving you Real testimonies of the same; as being etc.*

Cassel 23 July 1655.

William Landgrave of Hessen.

To all this might be added divers consolatory and *Christian* Letters written from several particular Churches in very many places and parts of *Europe*, to their poor distressed Brethren in the *Valleys*

of *Piement*; To wit, from *Frankfurt*, *Zurich*, *Hanaw*, *Flushing*, *Middleburgh*, *Clairac*, *Bergerac*, and the like, together with large contributions according to their respective proportions and abilities, The Authentic copies of many of which Letters are to be seen, together with the rest of the Original papers and manuscripts, in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

These were the first Fruits of *His Highness* Intercession, and Mediation for those poor afflicted Churches, and the good effects of that near Union and Communion of all the Churches of *Christ*, and his members, throughout the *Protestant* world. Which is so much the more worthy our serious observation, in as much as it would possibly be very hard, out of all the Histories of former Ages, to furnish us with the like example of a sweet harmony and mutual consent of so many different Nations and States, in any one thing whatsoever relating to *Religion*. And certainly had not these beginnings been stifled in the birth, by that unhappy *Treaty* concluded at *Pignerol* in the year 1655, God alone knows to how great a flame these little sparks might in time have been blown, and what remarkable changes and alterations might hereby have been produced throughout all Christendom for the advantage of the *Church Militant*.

The expectations of all men were indeed at this time raised to a very high pitch, and their eyes fixed upon all the *Protestant* Princes of *Europe*, to see whether they would put up such an open affront to their cause in general, as this was, or whether they would with an unanimous and joint consent, improve their power and interest for the preservation and re-establishment of their poor distressed Brethren in Christ.

Neither was this expectation of the World at all lessened or diminished for several Months together; but on the contrary, every day more and more heightened and enlarged. His Highness *The Lord Protector* of *England* had already sent his *Envoy* to the *King* of *France* and the *Duke* of *Savoy* on the poor peoples behalf, and likewise openly declared, that he would further own their business by a more considerable deputation, if the necessity of their Affairs should require: And accordingly, so soon as ever he had received Mr. *Morland's* report from *Geneva* of his Negotiation at *Turin*, and

fully understood the whole matter of Fact, he constituted no less than three *Commissioners extraordinary*, to whom he gave most ample Instruction for the undertaking a formal Treaty with the *Duke* and the effectual re-establishment of his persecuted Subjects, to all which may be added his frequent and most pathetic Letters, whereby he had invited all his *Protestant* Neighbors (as has been already shown) to join with him in so good and charitable a work.

*The States General* seeing how heartily their cause was owned from the first beginning by his Highness, had not only written a Letter to the *Duke of Savoy*, to entreat him to be favorable to them, but had also deputed their *Commissioners extraordinary* to join with those of His Highness for the better effecting the ends aforesaid.

And the *Evangelical Cantons* of *Switzerland*, that so *a threefold cord might not be easily broken*, being countenanced and encouraged by the two other States, had resumed their courage, and chosen Four *Ambassadors* to be assisting to their Commissioners in the putting an happy issue to this Affair.

These four *Ambassadors* (the proximity of their Country to that of the *Duke* giving them that advantage) were the first that set out in this expedition. They began their journey about the beginning of *July* 1655, and the plain truth is, as matters fell out, *they made much more haste than good speed* in this their Negotiation, as will more particularly appear in the following Chapter.

About the middle of *July* 1655, the Lord *Radulph D. Ommerem* Ordinary Commissioner at the Assembly of their High and Mighty Lordships from the Province of *Gelderland*, received Orders to repair to the Court of *Savoy*, in quality of their *Commissioner Extraordinary*, as also in his way to visit the *Evangelical Cantons*, and after a serious representation in a public Audience, of their High and Mighty Lordships deep resentment of those barbarous cruelties which had been committed upon the poor *Protestants*, and an assurance of their readiness to join with the *Lord Protector* and them in any Counsels tending to their settlement and re-establishment, to deliver their Lordships the following Letter.

A Letter from the High and mighty Lords, the States General of the *United Provinces*, to the *Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland*, July 14, 1655.

*An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof was communicated to the Author by Mr. Andrew Schmidt Under Secretary of State at Zurich.*

*Most Excellent Lords,*

*We have within these few days received your Letters sealed and dated at the City of Zurich, on the 17th day of the foregoing Month, wherein according to your singular and indeed Brotherly affection towards our afflicted Brethren beyond the Alps, ye do exhort us that we would relieve them with some supply of Moneys, but especially endeavor by an Embassy of ours also, that those poor Exiles may be restored to their former dwellings, and that such provision as is requisite may be made for their safety in time to come; in which business as your piety is most commendable and to be praised by all, and your most Christian zeal hath affected us with no small joy, so we would not have your Lordships unacquainted, that we have some days past chosen one of our Senate, a Person eminent for piety, Prudence, and quality, who is with all speed preparing himself for his journey very suddenly to declare unto your Lordships the most intimate thoughts of our mind, And our purpose concerning this whole affair, and to join Counsels, whereby that most miserable multitude of poor exiled people may through the mercy of God be brought back again to their Native Country, So concluding with this good hope and confidence of success, we beseech God Almighty that he will be pleased to crown your Lordships Counsels with prosperous Successes in your Affairs, and particularly for the benefit of our Brethren living beyond the Alps, who are so cruelly persecuted.*

Given at the Hague,

July 14th, 1655.

Mr. *D' Ommeren* having finished his Negotiation with the *Evangelical Cantons* in *Switzerland*, passed on towards *Geneva*, where Mr. *Morland*, the *Lord Protector's Envoy* then resided after his Negotiation at *Turin*, that so, according to his instructions, he might the more conveniently communicate and correspond with him, in order to his future management of those Affairs.

About the latter end of the Month of *July* 1655, *George Downing* Esquire received Orders from his Highness the *Lord Protector*, to hasten his journey to *Geneva*, and there to join with Mr. *Pell* (his Highness *Resident* at *Zurich*) who was likewise commanded to be there ready, and with Mr. *Morland*, who had resided there some Weeks before in his return from *Turin*, and from thence to repair to the Duke of Savoy in quality of *His Highness Commissioners Extraordinary*, there to join with the Ministers of other *Protestant* states, for the composing and accommodating those unhappy Affairs.

In his way to *Geneva*, he had Orders to make some little stop for a few days at the Court of *France*, and to deliver (as he did) the following Letter from *his Highness* to the *King*, for the better promoting that his expedition.

A Letter from His Highness the *Lord Protector* of *England*, to the King of *France*, 31 *July* 1655.

An Authentic Copy whereof was communicated to the Author, by the Right Honorable *Mr. Secretary Thurloe*.

*Most Serene, and most Potent King:*

I am apt to believe by the Letter which your Majesty was pleased to write to me, in answer to mine of the twenty-fifth of May last, that I was not deceived in the confidence I had, that the inhumane and barbarous slaughters which were acted by your Troops, upon the professors of the Reformed Religion in Savoy, were without your Orders: and was very glad to understand that your Majesty had so timely signified your dislike of this Action to your own Officers, as

done without your command, as also that you had taken notice of this so great cruelty, to the Duke of Savoy, with so much goodness and humanity, interposing your favor, interest and Authority with him for the re-establishment of those poor exiled people in their dwellings and possessions, from which they had been driven. Our hope truly was, that the Duke would in some measure at least, have given ear to your Mediation, But being informed that these instances of your Majesty on their behalf, have been without any real fruit, as those also have been which were made unto him by other States and Princes upon the same subject, I thought myself concerned to send this Gentleman our Commissioner Extraordinary to the Duke of *Savoy*, to let him more fully know my sense and apprehension concerning the inhumane cruelty acted upon those of the same faith with us, and this out of hatred to the Religion that they profess. And truly, I shall hope for the better success in this Affair, in case your Majesty shall please to second your former endeavors in this kind, with some more effectual means for their relief; and that as your Majesty hath already undertaken for the fidelity and obedience of those poor people to their Prince, so you will be pleased also to undertake for their security and protection, that the like unreasonable calamities and injuries be not inflicted upon them in time to come, which being a thing just and noble in itself, and agreeable to that protection and freedom, which with all candor and clemency you continue everywhere to your own Subjects of that Religion, We cannot but expect it from your Majesty. Besides, you will gratify the professors of the same faith in your own Dominions, who have given so great proof of their fidelity and zeal to your Majesty, and the welfare of your affairs; And lastly, you will satisfy the world, that the Counsels of *France* were not in this action, although some of their Ministers and Commanders were; Especially if your Majesty shall duly punish such Ministers and Officers, who have presumed upon their own Authority, and at their own pleasure, to commit such horrible cruelties upon innocent and blameless persons. In the meantime, seeing your Majesty doth declare how justly you detest this most barbarous Massacre, We doubt not but you will give shelter and protection to such of those afflicted and distressed people as shall flee for refuge into any of your Dominions, and not suffer any of your Subjects to give any aid or assistance to the Duke against them. It remains only, that We do assure your



Majesty of the great esteem and value We have of your friendship and Amitie, the real effects whereof We shall not be wanting to make good upon any occasion.

*Given at Our Palace of Westminster, July 31, 1655.*

Mr. *Downing* had hardly dispatched his Message at the *French* Court, but he received Intelligence from *Turin* and other parts, that the *Switzer* Ambassador had concluded (or at least had consented to) a Treaty which the *French* Ambassador *Servient* had huddled up between the *Duke* and the poor people his Subjects, which made him the more hasten his journey to *Geneva*, there to confer with Mr. *Pell* and Mr. *Morland*, and to inform himself fully of the truth of all things.

Upon his arrival at *Geneva*, which was in the beginning of *September* 1655, he met with Mr. *Pell* and Mr. *Morland*, and upon conference had with them, he soon found that that report whereof he had had some hint upon the way, concerning the unhappy Treaty concluded at *Pignerol*, was no other than a real truth, and that now the state of those affairs was quite altered, and all things set upon a new Basis, and consequently upon the perusal of their joint Instructions, that that their Negotiation was at an end. Thus oftentimes, *Beautiful woman ends up as a fish from above. And when men's hopes and expectations are raised to the highest pitch, then are they all frustrated and blasted in a moment. 'Tis in the power of man to appoint, but its God alone who disposeth of the events of all things as he pleaseth.*

About 8 days after Mr. *Downing's* arrival at *Geneva*, he received Orders for his speedy return into *England*, and Mr. *Pell* and Mr. *Morland* their Instructions to continue their abode in that City, for the management of the moneys collected in *England, Wales*, and *Ireland*, for the relief of the poor *Protestants*, of which the Reader has already had a distinct accompt in the foregoing Chapter.

Not many days after Mr. *Downing's* departure (which was about the 12 of *September* 1655), arrived Mr. *D'Ommeren*, Commissioner Extraordinary of the *States General*, thinking to have there met with

*His Highness* Commissioners, and accompanied them from thence to *Savoy*; but alas, 'twas all in vain, and he came too late for anything, unless it were to hear and see the sad countenances and mournful speeches of many honest and understanding persons, upon the occasion of the late Treaty. Which was indeed a business of no small consequence, and therefore it will not be amiss that the Reader have a distinct and particular account thereof in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER VII: *The Negotiation of the four Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland, in the Court of Savoy, and the Treaty concluded at Pignerol. Together with a Copy of that Relation which they themselves sent their Superiors the same time.*

An authentic Copy of the true Original of which Relation, signed with Mr. *Andrew Schmidt* (the Under Secretary of State at *Zurich*) his own hand, is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Having thus far conducted the courteous and patient Reader, and through a multitude of crooked paths and difficult passages, brought him safe to that famous and lovely City of *Geneva*, where he has for a while reposed and recreated himself, and there also given him the acquaintance of the public Ministers of the two powerful States of *England*, and the *United Provinces*, I must now entreat him (though I fear he will be very loath to leave that his good company behind him), to take yet one voyage more over the *Alps*, where it may be he may see that which will abundantly satisfy his curiosity, though not his expectation.

It was in the Month of *June* in the year 1655, that the *Evangelical Cantons* being now assured to have their Addresses to the Court of *Savoy*, seconded by the other *Protestant* States, at least by those of *England* and the *United Provinces*, resolved upon an *Embassy* to the *Duke*, and in Order thereunto deputed Major *Weis* to take a second journey to *Turin*, to desire both of the people and of their Prince a Cessation of Arms and all hostile Acts, that so those affairs might be in a better readiness for the coming of their Ambassadors; And this they also signified in a Letter of theirs to the *Duke*, which they sent at the same time by the hands of Major *Weis*.

A Letter of the *Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland*, to His  
Royal Highness of Savoy, the 17 of June 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, and that  
signed by the hand of Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, Under  
Secretary of State at *Zurich*, is to be seen, together with  
the rest, in the public Library of the famous University  
of *Cambridge*.

Most Serene, etc.

*Having understood with great joy, as well by the Answer your  
Royal Highness sent us by the hands of Major Weis our Deputy, as  
also by the verbal Relation he has given us since his return, that that  
his Deputation was not unacceptable to your Royal Highness, which  
was sufficiently evident by the favors he then received; As likewise,  
that for our satisfaction, and to give us a mark of that respect you  
bear us, you have been pleased to give an ample information of the  
state of those Affairs, which affordeth us sufficient ground to think  
that your Royal Highness would not be displeased that he should be  
employed and use his endeavors for an amicable Accommodation of  
all things; We thought ourselves obliged to return your Royal  
Highness our humble thanks, both by this our Letter, and also by the  
mouth of our said Deputy, for the singular affection you have  
testified towards us; and at the same time instantly and earnestly to  
entreat you, that you would vouchsafe graciously to hearken to, fully  
to credit, and favorably to answer what he shall further represent  
unto you in our name, touching your poor Subjects: Whereby your  
Royal Highness will more and more oblige us to improve our utmost  
interest for a requital of this your favor, and to seek all occasions  
possible to give you some real demonstration thereof by our friendly  
and neighborly service, and by the true offices of Confederates. In  
the meantime we beseech the Almighty from the bottom of our  
hearts, that he will be graciously pleased to preserve your Royal  
Highness in prosperity, and to give you all things according to your  
hearts desire. Given and sealed in our name with the seal of our most  
dear and ancient Allies of the City of Zurich, the 17 of June 1655.*

(Your Royal Highness)

*Most affectionate Servants, true friends, and Confederates, The Burgo-Masters, Advocates, Landamans, and Counsellors of the Evangelical Cantons Allies, namely Zurich, Berne, Glaris, Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzil.*

Major *Weis* having received this Letter, with his Instructions, repaired the second time to the Court of *Savoy*. He arrived about the beginning of *July* 1655, where having demanded Audience, and represented the occasion and ground of his second coming, he delivered the Letter of his Superiors into the hands of the Duke.

The Answer that *Madame Royale* (the Dukes Mother) then gave to Major *Weis*, was in effect the same with the following Letter, which the *Duke* wrote to his Superiors not many days after, upon the news he had received that the four Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons* abovesaid, were already upon their way for *Turin*.

A Letter of his *Royal Highness* the Duke of *Savoy*, in answer to that of the *Evangelical Cantons*, of the 17th of *June* 1655, delivered by the hands of their Deputy, Major *Weis*. Received by the Ambassadors at *Aigle* the 9/19 of *July* 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, signed by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt* (Under-Secretary of State at *Zurich*) his own hand, is to be seen, together with the rest, in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Most noble Lords; Our most dear and special friends, Allies, and Confederates,

*We have received your Letter of the 17th day of the last Month, by the hands of Major Weis, your Deputy, who having declared unto Us his Commission, and the good Inclinations of your Lordships, as*

*to all that concerns us and Our Interest, we could not but return you our thanks, with the same demonstration of that good Correspondence which we have always maintained and evidenced on our parts. In the meantime we are glad, that we have given your Lordships an infallible proof hereof upon the first Voyage of Major Weis into these parts, from this place, and that without being able at all to prevail with those Rebels in anything that might make way for a Treaty on their behalf (so great was their obstinacy and hardness of heart), The King of France signifying his intentions to intercede for the pardon of those Rebels, and the respect we bear to his Majesty, not permitting us to refuse his Mediation, we have remitted the management of this business wholly and entirely into his hands: Wherefore his said Majesty being engaged therein, we can by no means, without abating that respect we owe to him, admit of any competitors in an Affair which he hath alone undertaken. Notwithstanding, we shall be very glad if the Rebels will give us an opportunity of doing anything for them upon this occasion, which may be for your satisfaction, which shall be always much in our hearts to do, and whereof we should readily give you an assured testimony in the granting that truce which Major Weiss has propounded to us, if it would consist with our Dignity to accept such a thing of our Rebellious Subjects after their refusal of that our first offer to them of the very same thing. Besides, that that truce which your Deputy propounds in Order to the Coming of your Ambassadors, seeming now altogether needless as to any mediation for the reasons above-specified (which we have acquainted him with more particularly by word of mouth) as it would be acceptable to us in any other thing, so the said truce would be of no use in this Conjecture, inasmuch as the cause of that demand is now become void, to which we shall add this, That his most Christian Majesty having absolutely charged himself with this Affair, we cannot accept either the truce or any other thing of that nature, without offering an injury to that respect which is due from us to him: You are so Judicious, that without all question, you will be of the same judgement with us, and will acknowledge that we cannot otherwise behave ourselves towards so great a King who has the management of this business in his hands, and that all we have to do in it, is only to expect the issue and success thereof, as we expect of those our just complaints which we have made by our former Letter, and which*

*we now reiterate by this concerning the ill treatment which has been used towards our Subjects in your Dominions, since the insurrection of our Rebels, yea and ever since the return of your Deputy, without the least foundation of equity or reason, hoping that you will give us due and just reparations, and likewise severely punish the injurious proceedings of the Physician Guerin, whom we have sent you back as a testimony of the esteem we have of that Amity and good Correspondence, which we have strictly kept with you, and therefore may reasonably expect a reciprocation from you in this Conjunction, for the Conservation of that good Union, the interruption whereof would be of a very dangerous consequence, as you may in your prudence foresee;*

*And upon this ground we pray,*

Most noble Lords, most dear and special Friends, Allies, and Confederates, that God will take you into his safeguard and Divine Protection.

*Given at Rivole.*

Your good Friend, *Ally*, and Confederate,  
The *Duke* of *Savoy*, King of *Cyprus*, etc.

*Emanuel.*

By this Letter of the *Duke*, it is very easy to divine, that it was his great desire, and design that the said Ambassadors should be discouraged from advancing their journey towards *Turin*, and if they had not been already upon their journey, we will not quest on what other counsels might have been taken, but the said Ambassadors being already at *Aigle* before this Letter came to their hands, they resolved to hold on their way towards *Turin*, where they also arrived upon the 14/24 of *July* 1655.

Upon their arrival, they found very small or rather no preparations at all made for their Mediation, or entering upon a Treaty with the *Duke* (as they had hoped to find) neither could *Major Weis* in all that interval of time procure liberty to have the least Correspondence in the World with the poor people of the Valleys.

All that they could learn was from the Secretary of the *French* Ambassador *Servient*, who was then newly come from the Valleys, and brought word that he found the People in general much inclined to peace and an Accommodation.

The truth is, that Secretary (by whose Orders I leave the Reader to guess) had taken a very effectual course to bring them to an accommodation of this nature, for at that very time he summoned the chief conductors of the poor people who were then in the Valley of *Perosa*, in the name of the Ambassador his master to give him a meeting, in order to the propounding something (as he pretended) to the people in general; But while he was amusing them with such like discourse, the Enemy with their whole Army of Horse and Foot, furiously assaulted those of the poor peoples companies which were left behind upon the side of *Angrognia*, without their commanders, and had execution answered the design they had been all of them miserably cut in pieces.

These Ambassadors about three days after their arrival at *Turin* (having been in the meantime very nobly treated by the special Order of the Duke and *Madame Royale*) were, with their Train conducted by Count *Miradour* the Master of Ceremonies in two of the *Dukes* Coaches to *Rivole*, where they had their Audience, and where after a short speech they presented his *Royal Highness* with the following proposition in writing in the *French* tongue.

---

The Proposition of the Four Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons* of *Switzerland* to the Duke of *Savoy* at heir Audience the 17/27 of *July* 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof was Communicated to the Author by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, Under-Secretary of State at *Zurich*.

Most Serene Prince,

*We are commanded in the first place, and before all things, to salute your Royal Highness with all sort of respect and reverence, in the name and on the part of all the Evangelical Cantons of*



Switzerland, *Our Lords and Superiors, with an offer of their most affectionate services, true Amity, and good Correspondence: And in the next place, to represent in a due manner the condition of your poor Subjects professing the Reformed Religion in the Valleys of Lucerna, Angrogna, Saint Martino, and the Neighboring parts. The said Evangelical Cantons having been informed by Letters from France in the Month of February last, concerning that severe Order which the Auditor Gastaldo caused to be published against the professors of the said Religion, whereby they were commanded upon pain of death, either to quit their houses and Estates, or at least to sell their said Estates to the Catholics, within the term of three days, upon pain of confiscation, have been moved by the Communion of Faith to a very great commiseration of their condition, even so far as to write to your Royal Highness a Letter of Intercession in the behalf of those your Subjects, with all sort of respect, promising themselves, that undoubtedly, upon the consideration of that ancient good amity, and understanding that has passed between the most Serene House of Savoy, and the Commonwealth of Switzerland, your Royal Highness would be pleased favorably to accept of their Mediation, according as you have expressed in your answer to our Superiors; and forasmuch as in that Letter of yours, you seemed to give them in part to understand that you had some cause of jealousy and suspicion that your said Subjects of the Valleys had to them given informations of their condition, and had otherwise had recourse to foreign states, and consequently rendered themselves guilty of Treason and Rebellion against their own natural Prince. The said Evangelical Cantons have judged it convenient, yea very necessary, to acquit those your poor suspected Subjects before your Royal Highness, and at the same time to reiterate their Intercession for their re-establishment and restoration, together with their free enjoyment of those rights and concessions which your Ancestors of glorious memory have accorded to them, and which likewise your Royal Highness has confirmed unto them. In the meantime, it is notoriously evident, with how much rigor and violence some have proceeded against those poor people, which notwithstanding we impute not to your Royal Highness (as being a thing so contrary to your Virtue, Glory, and Clemency), but rather to those ill affected persons, who hunt after the ruin and extirpation of that little flock. This extreme misery and affliction has so stirred up the hearts of our*

people, that our Superiors have had very much difficulty to restrain several thousands of their Subjects from running in to the help and succor of those their distressed and oppressed Brethren; And we are informed, that the said readiness has been observed in the subjects of other states. For which reason, and for the preventing so dangerous an inconvenience, they resolved to send us in quality of their Ambassadors towards his Royal Highness most earnestly and instantly to entreat you (as we do with all sort of respect and reverence) that you would be pleased graciously to consider the cause of those poor afflicted Christians, that so they may have their goods restored them, and receive satisfaction for their losses, and that in such sort, that for the time to come they may enjoy the same with security and liberty of conscience: As also, that it would please your Royal Highness to cause to be released those poor prisoners which are detained either at Turin, or elsewhere, and to set at liberty as well the persons, as the consciences, of those who have been carried away into several places of Piemont, and there made to abjure and renounce their Religion since the beginning of the late troubles, and that without the incurring any punishment. And as your Royal Highness will in this do an action becoming your Greatness (which will exalt the glory of your Clemency), so we are assured that your Subjects will make no other use of this your grace and clemency, then to continue a perfect acknowledgement thereof, and by a constant humility and obedience to your commandments, as to the commandments of their natural Prince and Sovereign. Yea, in case they should fail of their duty towards you, we have already charged them, and we shall employ our utmost endeavors for the disposing of them thereunto, and we shall herein do all good offices and apply all possible remedies for an accommodation; And for this end and purpose, we intreat your Royal Highness to permit us to send some to visit those poor people on our behalf, and to know of them their present state and condition. And being fully persuaded that you will favorably accept of this our Intercession and offer, which we make you, especially considering that it proceeds from a most sincere affection, and from a state that is extreme desirous continually to preserve and cherish that perfect amity and good Correspondence which for so many years has been maintained between your Royal Highness and the Helvetian Commonwealth, we shall join our prayers to those of the poor afflicted people for the

*preservation of your Sacred person, the prosperity of all your Royal Family, and of your Arms, the destruction of your real Enemies, and the enlargement of your Dominions. And forasmuch as it is very convenient to put a stop to so great disorders which daily fallout, we most affectionately beseech your Royal Highness to give us our speedy and favorable resolution in this business, and an assurance of that gentle and mild Treatment, which (we hope) you will please to accord to your poor Subjects: For which we shall be perpetually obliged upon all occasions to testify our acknowledgements, as being,*

your Royal, Highness most humble,  
and affectionate Servants;

Solomon Dirtzel,  
Charls fon Bonnetten Uaumarien,  
Benoitt Socitt,  
John Jacob Stockar von Nuferit.

The proposition was this, which the said *Ambassadors* then made to the *Duke*, and some days after, namely, upon the 20/30 of *July* 1655, they were visited by the *Baron* of *Greisie*, one of the Counsellors of State, who was likewise empowered with a Letter of credence from his *Royal Highness*, to treat with them. This *Baron* of *Greisie* brought with him in writing the *Dukes* answer to the abovesaid Proposition, the sum and substance whereof, was partly to lay heavy accusations and charges of *Rebellion*, and obstinacy upon his Subjects, and consequently a justification of all the Court of *Savoy's* proceedings against them, and partly to show them, that notwithstanding all this, his *Royal Highness*, upon the account of the *King* of *France* his interposition (into whose hands he had wholly remitted that Affair) had already offered those his Subjects an ample pardon and *Amnesty* of all the crimes and offenses they had committed, together with the free exercise of their Religion in all their ancient bounds and limits. Withal the said *Ambassadors* had the liberty of transporting themselves into the *Valleys*, and of speaking with the people there face to face: Whereupon the morrow after, they went to *Pignerol* and there concluded (or rather were

witnesses to the concluding of) a Treaty, which shall be inserted in the close of this chapter, in its own Native Language.

Now because the management and transaction of this affair was somewhat intricate, and by very many much censured, the Author hath no way so safe for the acquitting himself (as to matter of impartiality and integrity) to the Judicious Reader, then here to insert that very Relation which those four *Ambassadors* sent their Superiors while they were yet residing in those parts.

Extract of the first Relation, which the Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons* sent their Superiors from *Pignerol* 1/11 of *August* 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, signed by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, Under-Secretary of State at *Zurich*, is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Most Honored Lords and Superiors:

We have received your Lordships Letter of the 22nd of July, with the enclosed, as also that of the Deputies of the six Evangelical Cantons assembled at Baden, bearing date the 7th of the said Month, in favor of some Merchants of St. Gall. By our last of the 20/30 of the same Month, your Lordships have already understood that we have had Audience of his Royal Highness at Rivole, as also the substance of that Answer which was given us in writing, and that at length we concluded to take a journey to this place. But for as much as it was Saturday in the Evening before we had Audience of Prince Maurice, after which we received the Letter of those of the Valleys, sealed by the Ambassador himself; we arrived not till Sunday the 22nd day here at Pignerol (about six hours riding from Turin) whither we were accompanied by the Baron of Greisy, according to the special commandment of the Duke. As soon as ever we were arrived, Monsieur de la Betonniere Lieutenant to the King, and Commander here in the absence of Monsieur de Pienne, came

to give us a visit, together with some Lords of the City, who saluted us, and proffered us all manner of Amity and Kindness. We likewise sent immediately to the French Ambassador to give him notice of our Arrival, whereat he testified much joy, and offered us all good offices in this Affair which we had undertaken. But in a more particular manner, those poor people of the Valleys who visited us the same evening, were overjoyed at our arrival, as firmly hoping that this our Mediation would put a happy end to their troubles.

Upon Monday the 23rd of *August*, we called before us those of the Valleys, among whom were the Sieurs Leger, and Le Preux and also Captain Giairo, and having conferred with them as much as was necessary, and informed ourselves of all that had passed hitherto, together with their present state and condition, we declared unto them at large your Christian compassion, and cordial inclinations towards them, as likewise we freely communicated unto them our proposition, and his Royal Highness answer thereunto, and showed them by what way and means they might best proceed, which they received of us with great thankfulness. As to what remains, we have understood by those informations which have been given us, that the cruelties exercised against them (notwithstanding those of the Court of Savoy endeavor either to extenuate or utterly to deny the same) are to our great grief too true, and such as would even move a heart of Adamant, to hear the particulars related. True it is, that hitherto they have been offered the favor of a Patent of Grace from his Royal Highness, but, they could not by any means get their permission of habitation to be extended beyond those places where they were permitted to have preaching. The truce was prolonged upon the 26th. This morning We saluted the Lord Ambassador, and after Dinner we were also visited by him, who offered us to contribute whatsoever lay in his power for the good of that affair, according to that special command which he had received from the King. In the evening, there came to us the Count *Truchi* Advocate Patrimonial of his Royal Highness, who proffered to justify the proceedings of his Royal Highness against those poor people of the Valleys, and to this purpose made a long and ample discourse in *Italian*, wherein he endeavored to demonstrate how much those of the Valleys had transgressed. The very same evening the Ambassador Servient summoned the poor people to come before him the next morning,

and upon their desire that we should also be there present, he likewise sent for us at the same time by his Secretary. Accordingly on Tuesday morning, we went to his Lodging, where we found Monsieur de la Betonniere, Count Truchi, the Baron of Greisy, as also the Father Rorenc, Prior, and Count of Lucerna, and the Collateral Perroyn. As also the Sieur Leger, and with him eight or ten more of those of the Valleys. In this meeting the said Sieur Leger had permission to Represent in an ample manner both by word of mouth and also by Reading of several Papers and writings, their privileges and interest, which he performed with that Discretion, Meekness, and strength of Reason, that the Ambassadors and the other Lords wondered at, and were pretty well pleased with it. But Count Truchi notwithstanding endeavored in His Highness name, to refute whatsoever the said Sieur Leger had said, the scope and drift of whose Discourse was this, That the poor people of the Valleys ought to prostrate themselves before their Prince, with Halts about their Necks, and in this posture to beg their pardon; Whereupon matters were further remonstrated to him until this conference, which lasted four hours, ended in a friendly manner, with a purpose to consider more seriously and thoroughly of this matter, of all the discourse of this said Count Truchi, this was principally remarkable, that he would undertake to maintain, that notwithstanding these poor people of the Valleys had formerly obtained concessions, yet the same could not extend further than the life of him who granted them, and that it was lawful for the Successor to revoke them, as not being at all obliged thereby.

This Afternoon we conferred further with those of the Valleys concerning the Forenoons action, and advised them to address themselves to the Ambassador, and to know his sense upon their exhibited righteous cause, as also to entreat him to maintain them in the same. In the meantime we gave a visit to Count Truchi, and were invited next day to Dine with the Ambassador. The same Evening the said Ambassador sent again to us, and gave us to understand that by reason of certain urgent affairs he could tarry no longer in this place, and therefore entreated us to assist him in dispatching the business, whereunto we offered our endeavors, on condition that there might be a due care had of those poor peoples just reliefs. Meanwhile we received advice from all parts, how much peace was

desired on all hands, and that on his Royal Highness part it was wished, that those of the Valleys would absolutely yield themselves up to the mercy of their Prince, entertaining hopes that in so doing they should certainly obtain whatsoever they desired. But neither they nor we could hold it advisable to adventure without further security.

Upon Wednesday the 21<sup>st</sup>, we Dined with the Ambassador, where before Dinner we had an hour and an half Conference with him: His project was, that either the Lands and Country which were taken from them, namely, Campiglione, and Fenile, should be exchanged (notwithstanding the many great difficulties because of the inequality of the same, and that the possessors would be loath to part with them), or else the people of the Valleys should wholly and entirely refer themselves to the grace and favor of Madame Royale, nothing doubting but that she would procure for them of their Prince all that they desired; or that they should even without more ado make the best of, and improve the places yet left them, excepting St. Giovanni, La Torre, Lucerna, Campiglione, and Fenile, as well as they could. Or lastly, that they should submit themselves to the Laws at Chambery. He also held fit, that those of the Valleys should not be any more molested by foreign Missionaries. Again, that so soon as ever the peace should be finished, the soldiers on both sides should go join with the Army in Italy. Upon all this we likewise declared our minds, and plainly stuck to, and insisted on an absolute pardon, a restitution of their goods, and restoring of their liberties both spiritual and temporal. The cessation of Arms is prolonged again to the 3/13 of the next Month, and the said Ambassador, notwithstanding other important affairs which called him to Turin, resolved to stay in this place, and not to move until the Treaty be perfected.

This Evening came those of the Valleys to us, complaining greatly, that the Sieurs Leger and Michelin were (without their knowledge) cited to Turin by reason of a murder which they should have committed upon the person of a certain Clergyman of the other Religion, by the report of a certain Villainous person named Bartholomew Berru, undoubtedly instigated thereunto by the contrary party, and upon that very account lately pardoned and absolved of divers heinous offenses by him committed, while both

of them were forthwith condemned without being heard. Hereupon there was order given that the said Berru should be taken out of their Army, whither he was presumptuously returned, and brought prisoner to this place, that so he might be examined, and the innocence of the others made manifest: how he will be further proceeded against time will show.

On Thursday the 26<sup>th</sup>, we consulted among ourselves, as also with those of the Valleys, how to proceed in this business, and with common consent it was then concluded, that we ought to stick to our former resolutions, and that therefore those of the Valleys should, make another address to the Lord Ambassador and be very importunate with him, that their business might be advanced the speediest and the best way that might be possible. Now after a large conference about the proposals which the Lord Ambassador had made, having found that the exchanging of the Lands, would not be expedient for the reasons heretofore alleged, and would but prolong the business, as likewise that it was very dangerous to cast themselves absolutely upon the mercy and mediation of the Dutchess, And not so much as mentioning the reference of that affair to any foreign Judges Decision and those of the Valleys having returned thanks, and conferred apart among themselves, declared to us, that for the speedier obtaining of precious peace they were ready to quit Campiglione, Bubbiana, and Fenile, as places where they must ever live in great fear and apprehension, without being able to enjoy the liberty of their Religion. But as to Lucerna, that they would gladly keep indeed, especially because of the Market, and the Trade and Manufacture of that place. Nevertheless that they were ready to surrender even that place also, rather than obstruct the peace: Yea in case of extremity they would quit Briqueras to boot, but on the other side they desired to keep St. Giovanni and La Torre, and there to have likewise granted them the free exercise of their Religion.

In the Afternoon the Valley-men came to us again, to acquaint us, that the Lord Truchi had been with the Ambassador, and that their business was not bettered thereby, because the said Lord Ambassador, would by no means grant them Lucerna, and would only permit the one half of the Lands in question to be exchanged for others, but as for the other half, they should be paid for the same, or else the business should be referred to the Judge at Chambery,



and so the poor people feared that all this is but a design to disappoint them by delays.

The Lords Truchi and Greisy came the second time to us, and would needs persuade us by a long discourse, that his Royal Highness had sufficient cause to take from them La Torre and St. Giovanni according to the grounds and reasons delivered by them in writing, which we afterwards communicated to the people, and were refuted by them.

On Friday the 27<sup>th</sup>, the Baron of Greisy brought us news, that his Royal Highness would never freely yield the concernment of St. Giovanni, and La Torre, but rather suffer the business to be decided by foreign Judges without Savoy. But this we could not advise the people to yield to, who declared themselves thereupon, that they would choose rather to quit Lucerna also, provided that La Torre and San Giovanni might remain entire to them.

Soon after this we were visited by the Lord Ambassador, who also proposed unto us the same thing that the Baron de Greisy had before done, representing that he had done hitherto what lay in his power; But on the Dukes part it was held needful that those of the Valleys should be chastised for the grievous enormities they had committed, by depriving them of San Giovanni and La Torre; as for the rest, that the one half of their Lands should be exchanged, and the other paid for; That Lucerna was not to be obtained upon any terms, and that he judged it their best course to yield up themselves wholly to Madame Royale, and to beg her intercession, or else to seek Judges on both sides, somewhere without Savoy and Piemont: Nevertheless by reason of our further serious and earnest instances, he would labor that San Giovanni and La Torre may remain to them, without the exercise of their Religion, which could not be granted unto them, forasmuch as in the Year 1620, they were forced to Wall up the Church at San Giovanni, and since liberty themselves to preach in either of those places, so that hereby they are not at all abridged as to the exercise of their Religion, in those parts.

On Saturday the 28<sup>th</sup>, Mr. Leger and eight more of the Valleys came and informed us, that the Ambassador had before them declared himself much displeased, that the Lord Pianezza Would not admit of his proposal on their behalf, and had withal acquainted

them that it was not possible to make the exchange of their Lands. The Duke would rather buy them out altogether, and that San Giovanni and La Torre must likewise be abandoned by them. But nevertheless since he the said Ambassador did apprehend their request to be reasonable, he promised to make further instances, and rather to write to the King his Master, and expect more effectual Orders. He proposed also, that the matter might be brought before impartial Judges of both the one and the other Religion; to which he added, that it was no small condescension of a Prince to subject himself to foreign Judicatures.

On the Lords day in the Morning, being the 29<sup>th</sup>, we were accompanied by some of the Valleys, to hear a Sermon Preached at Pinachia, where we found a great multitude of the poor banished people of the Valleys, to the number of about 1600 young and old; there met us about 60 Musketeers, who also conducted us back again, together with several Gentlemen strangers, who out of a zeal to Religion had joined themselves to those of the Valleys, and did then and since apply themselves unto us, highly commending the valor and resolute courage of those of the Valleys, whereof there were about 1000 in arms, and five or six hundred others. Those poor people were exceedingly rejoiced at our arrival, and we were treated at the forenamed Pinachia.

On Monday the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, the Lord Truchi proposed another expedient, namely that at S. Giovanni and La Torre, those of both Religions should separate themselves as to their habitations and Lands, and that each party by way of exchange one with another should keep their dwellings and Lands separately, that so all occasion of future strife, which for the most part did proceed from the cohabitation of those that were of different Religions, might be prevented, yet notwithstanding they should not only permit, but they themselves should also contribute thereunto, namely that the Fort of La Torre should be repaired, and if that should not be satisfaction to those of the Valleys, that it should be referred to three impartial Judges without the Princes Dominions, two of them Catholics, and the third a Protestant, by whom the matter may be decided.

The proportion of Truchi we immediately communicated unto those of the Valleys, and directed them to himself, that so they might

more fully comprehend his meaning, and this being done, they came back to us again, and declared that this proposition was not disliked by them, were it not for a new difficulty, arising from a design (as they conceived) to deprive them, together with Lucerna of a parcel of Land called *Les Vignes*, close by Lucerna, over against Rorata, inhabited by about thirty or forty Evangelical Families, which they could by no means yield unto, although the full values of all the said Habitations and Lands should be paid unto them in like manner with the rest, because they knew not where else to bestow about eighty Families driven out of Lucerna, Campiglione, Fenile, and Bubbiana, the Papists not being permitted to sell them ought. Whereunto they added, that hitherto there had been no dispute concerning *Les Vignes*, but that they had enjoyed a peaceable possession thereof. And as touching the Forts, they were a great grievance to them, and they hoped that France itself would be a means to hinder the same by reason of Pignerol, whereupon we promised then again to contribute our best assistance.

Mr. Morland has written by an express to Major Weis, and in his Letter desires that we would not over hasten the Treaty, for that he hoped shortly to receive Orders from his Highness concerning this business, And if the Treaty should not succeed well, and that we thought fit to send for him, he would willingly cooperate in all ways possible, all which being communicated to Mr. Leger and Mr. Preux, it was thought expedient to defer the answer till we should see what would become of the Treaty.

Now when those of the Valleys had again been with the Lord Ambassador, they acquainted us, that he made great difficulty, not only concerning *Les Vignes*, which he reckoned among the places on this side the River Pelice, which were judged to be forfeited, but also that they must gratify their Prince in repairing the Fort of La Torre, both which propositions were exceeding grievous unto them. Hereupon we went ourselves to the Lord Ambassador, and did most earnestly desire redress in this behalf, who likewise promised herein his utmost assistance. As for the rest of the points of the people of the Valleys, we have in like manner examined them, and not finding them unreasonable, have given way to present the same to the Lord Ambassador.

On Tuesday the 31<sup>st</sup>, those of the Valleys were both Forenoon and Afternoon till Night with the Lord Ambassador, where they set before him the rest of the difficulties, most of which are already known to your Lordships, and to almost all of them they received a favorable answer, so that they were tolerably well satisfied.

This day the Deputies of the people of the Valleys had further conference with the Lord Ambassador, and the Lord Truchi, concerning the points yet in debate, and have obtained an indifferent good resolution about them. As to the remaining obstacles, we shall interpose ourselves further, and that effectually, hoping that the business (through Gods assistance) will come to a good issue, which we expect with patience and comfort, being resolved not to remove, nor to depart the Country, until this affair attain its hopeful determination, and we shall not be wanting to inform your Lordships of all further occurrences: In the meantime we heartily wish your Lordships all happiness and prosperity in your Government, and recommending you wholly to God's gracious protection, and ourselves to your Lordships constant favor, we remain

Your Lordships most obedient willing Servants,

Solomon Hirtzel,  
Carolus von Bonnsteten,  
Benedict Socin,  
John Jacob Stockar.

Given at Pignerolio, and sealed with the Seal of our much honored fellow Ambassador, the Governor Hirtzel, the 1/11 of August 1655, late at night.

To the four Evangelical Cities of the Cantons Zurich, Berne, Basil, and Schaffhausen, this was sent.

That this Copy is fully agreeing with the Original, is attested by Andrew Schmidt, Under-Secretary in the City of Zurich.

Extract of the second Relation, which the Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons* sent their Superiors from *Pignerol* 9/19 of *August* 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, signed by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt* Under-Secretary of State of *Zurich*, is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

*Right Honorable, etc.*

By ours, dated August 1. Your honors (we suppose) understood what past till that time in the affair concerning the Evangelical professors in the Valleys of Piemont, and how far it was then advanced, not doubting but by that and what hath since fallen out, your Honors will discern thus much, that according to our instructions and the Letters sent unto us from your honors (the last whereof with the papers mentioned bearing date July 28, was delivered unto us last Sunday night over Aigle) we have contributed our best endeavors, according to what we conceived, upon the consideration of the case, might prove advantageous to those good people.

As an addition to which Relation, your Honors may be pleased to take notice, that on Thursday the second of this instant, Mr. Leger, and Mr. Lepreux, together with some other people of the Valleys, came to us, informing us, that they had received news, namely, that their men were in a good posture, and more came daily in to them out of the neighboring parts, as also, that in case of necessity they were sure of more supplies to follow; entreating us, to recommend certain proposals in their behalf unto the French Ambassador. Whereupon we failed not to visit the said Lord Ambassador, and to recommend the foresaid proposals of these people unto him, to the utmost, whom indeed we found pretty well disposed, so that he engaged almost upon every point, to do the best he possibly could in their behalf: But most unexpectedly, there arrived in the instant the Lord Count Truchi, making great complaints unto us against our dear friends of the same profession, they were ever finding new devices, and most unduly went about to force their business from

the Prince according to their own wills; which was not to be obtained in this manner, but they must refer themselves in the particulars unto his Royal Highness Clemency, And that though more favors may be showed them, yet the same could not be inserted in the Instrument, by way of conditions, to bind his Royal Highness thereby. Nevertheless, that which his Royal Highness should be able to do upon our Intercession (of no small esteem with him), the same should be performed as well, though not inserted in the Instrument, etc.

Hereupon we not only showed the necessity thereof unto the said Lord Count Truchi, but also imparted it to Mr. Leger and Lepreux with their Associates, and advised them better to inform the said Lord themselves.

On Friday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> instant, Mr. Leger, and Lepreux, with the rest of the Valley-peoples Deputies, were with the Lord Count Truchi, as also with the French Ambassador, making their Remonstrance, and receiving thereupon a project in writing of what was intended towards them, which did not at all content them. In regard whereof, upon their address to us for advice, and having pondered the business and circumstances thereof, we advised them, that our opinion was, they should sit down together, and having weighed every article well, put it in due form in writing, and if then they would communicate it with us, we should be ready to advise them further. After Supper they returned to us, relating how they had exhibited those their explained articles unto the Lord Ambassador, and had most earnestly solicited, that they might be granted them, which nevertheless he refused to take at their hands, and was not a little moved against them; when immediately after in came the Baron de Greisy, confirming the same, and saying, That the Lord Ambassador, and Count Truchi stood almost resolved to abandon that Treaty altogether, and to be gone, intimating so much, as if we had enticed the people of the Valleys to such innovations, as he termed them. Hereupon we not only ourselves remonstrated what was needful unto him, but caused also the people of the Valleys to clear themselves before him at large, in such sort, that at last he was satisfied, and entreated us next morning early (by his Secretary) that we would further assist the revising thereof, together with the Lords Truchi and Greisy, and contribute our best Offices to the business.

Having thereupon sent for the said Deputies of the Valleys, and remonstrated unto them the Exigency of the several points or articles, as also understood their opinions jointly and severally, we repaired to the Lord Ambassador, where, in the presence of the Lords, de la Bertonniere, Truchi, Orenco, Greisy, Berroquin, and some other Gentlemen and persons of worth and quality, besides the Deputies of the Valleys. We debated the matter point after point, and put it in writing, and of that which was agreed upon, we caused four Copies to be made, and one of them we sent that very day to the Court for a Ratification.

Towards the evening the Deputies of the Valleys came to us, and kindly thanked us for our pains taken this day, praying us that we would be mindful of those things, which could not be fully cleared, in the foresaid transaction concerning the Fort at LaTorre, the set term of years wherein they should be exempt from all burdens for the securing of it that the value of those estates which they are to part with, within the River of Pelice, shall, in case they cannot sell off themselves, be paid then in ready money, at a certain time, etc. all which we promised to transact for them,

Sunday the 15th of August, we again attended the worship of God at *Pinache*.

Monday in the evening, the Patent arrived from the Court, and was communicated to the Deputies of the Valleys, and by them the next morning, being Tuesday, unto us, together with an ample deduction of what points therein they find themselves aggrieved with, desiring our advice about it, which was, that they should forthwith duly and diligently remonstrate their grievances to the Lord Count Truchi, and humbly pray for redress and amendment. This also they did accordingly; But could obtain nothing, by reason whereof the French Ambassador entreated us again by his Secretary, to come to him that Afternoon, and to help the perfecting of the accommodation. Whereupon being fully informed first, what was yet defective, and having imparted our advice therein to them of the Valleys, we repaired at the appointed hour unto the Lord Ambassador, before whom and most of the above-named Gentlemen the Instrument was read all over again; and the Deputies of the Valleys, of whom a considerable number was present, were heard

what they had to object, Matters being debated for three hours together *pro* and *con*, till the whole was in a manner corrected and amended at last to their content; save only, That after we were withdrawn, when nothing wanted but the subscription of the people of the Valleys, they refused the same, upon this ground, that there was not the least mention made in the Instruments of either our mediation or intercession; Insomuch, that after Supper the Baron de Greisy came to us, to acquaint us therewith, and how much the French were offended by it, praying us to induce the said people, to subscribe, offering himself, in regard the Lord Ambassador would suffer none at all in anywise to be put into the said instrument of peace besides himself in his kings behalf, to help to advise how this business may be transacted both to our and the Valley-peoples content; to whom we were not wanting to answer what was requisite.

On Wednesday, yesterday morning, the Deputies of the Valleys came to inform us at large of the same thing, representing unto us, That since not only your Honors from the beginning, but we also hitherto had so faithfully engaged and undertaken for them, they were ready, rather not to accept of the peace at all, if honorable mention were not made in the Instrument of your Honor, or us, according to desert.

To whom we replied, that indeed the thing was just, and we would endeavor ourselves, to get it obtained in a certain way. But that in case we should not prevail, yet we would by no means hinder the peace, but attend how we shall be otherwise considered, according to the intimation given. Hereupon we repaired to the Lord Ambassador, and had conference with him about this matter, He resented it very highly in his Majesties behalf, who alone, upon the application of the Lord Protector of England, the Lords States General of the Netherlands; and of your Honors, had charged himself wholly with the business, and took it ill that any other in any kind whatsoever should be mentioned in this Treaty of peace; Nevertheless, he offered us his Letters to your Honors, to give ample testimony of our faithful endeavors in this Negotiation, desiring the like of us; Besides, hopes were given that we should receive the like attestation on our behalf from his Royal Highness. For this cause we were content to acquiesce, rather than the happy peace should be delayed any longer, and more charge and trouble be brought upon



the people of the Valleys. In the time of this visit of the Lord Ambassador, we like wise recommended the cause of the people of the Valleys in general, and especially desired that the Fort at La Torre might speedily be slighted, wherein he promised his best endeavors.

Hereupon, we caused the Deputies of the Valleys to come before us, and disposed them to subscribe the yesterday's agreement, who then together with our Secretary, repaired to the Lord Conte Truchi, and subscribed it, as was desired and immediately after the Patents, and several Copies of them (one whereof we keep in our hand, for informations, and till all things shall be performed) by our great trouble, care and painfulness, and to the good satisfaction of the people of the Valleys, were at last completed, which the Lord Conte Truchi took along with him to Rivoli, to get the same confirmed and recorded, which we expect will be done. And whereas the truce was to end tomorrow, the same is now prolonged to Tuesday next, and we doubt not but in the Interim the peace will be accomplished.

Yesternight we had Letters from his Highness the Lord Protector's Deputy, Mr. Morland, and this day we answered the same, as your Honors may see by the Copies here annexed.

Thus your Honors see again the state of affairs; and we question not your being favorably satisfied with our performances hitherto, considering the present condition of things, we having not been wanting to contribute the utmost of our care and zeal in the business, we pray God to vouchsafe his gracious blessing to the whole, that this transaction of peace may not only be confirmed, but speedily executed, and steadfastly maintained, and that our dear fellow Brethren of the same profession may effectually enjoy the fruit thereof.

Commending your Honors to the most High for to bless and prosper your Government, and ourselves to your favors, We rest,

Your Honors, most obedient;

Salomon Hirtzel,  
Carolus von Bonnsteten,  
Benedict Socin,  
John Jacob Stockar, a Nuferen.

Given at Pignerol, and in the name of us all; Sealed with the Seal of our Honored Fellow Ambassador Governor Hirtzel this 9/19 of August 1655.

To the four Evangelical Cities of the Honorable Confederate.

The foregoing Copy being compared with the Original doth agree therewith. Testified by Andrew Schmidt, Under-Secretary of the City of Zurich.

The Extract of the third and last Relation, which the Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons sent their Superiors from *Pignerol*, 11/21 August 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, signed by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt* Under-Secretary of State at *Zurich*, is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Honorable, etc.

By our former, dated two days ago, Your Honors have already understood what hath past in our Embassy from the first, till that time. Yesterday we received another Letter of Mr. Morland from Geneva, which your Honors may peruse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and you may understand by the last, after what manner, by means of the journey taken by the Lord Count Truchi, and his removing (as he told us) of all remaining difficulties, the instrument of peace was ratified, sealed and subscribed by their Royal Highnesses, and in the best manner entered and recorded, as well by the Counsel, as by the Exchequer; Accordingly the instrument made in this behalf was showed us this morning by him the said Lord Count Truchi, and will be delivered likewise to the Deputies of the Valleys, whom we do hourly expect here; The execution hereof will follow without fail, by reason whereof we shall be constrained to stay yet a day or two,

and, as soon as things are cleared, return to Turin and Rivoli, and prepare, God willing, for our journey homewards; which we could not but intimate unto your Honors by this opportunity, praying God, that he himself will be pleased effectually to prosper and bless the execution and constant observation of this peace, to the comfort of our dear fellow Brethren, and to keep your Honors, etc.

Your Honors most obedient willing Servants,

Salomon Hirtzel,  
Carolus von Bonnsteten,  
Benedict Socin,  
Johan Jacob Stockar, a Nuehoren.

Given at Pignerol, and in the name of us all, Sealed with the Seal of our Fellow Ambassador, Governor Hirtzel, this 11/21 of August, 1655.

Directed to Zurich, Bern, Basil, and Schaffhausen.

This Copy agreeth with the Original; attested by Andreas Schmidt, Under-Secretary of the City of Zurich.

An Extract of the fourth and last Relation, of the four Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons*, which they sent their Superiors, dated from *Turin 21/31 August 1655*.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, signed by Mr. *Andrew Schmidt* Under-Secretary of State at *Zurich*, is to be seen, together with the rest of the Original Papers and Manuscripts in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

Right Honorable, etc.

We doubt not but your Lordships have by our two last of 9/19 and 11/21 of this Month, and the enclosed Papers sufficiently understood by this time, how the instrument of Peace was approved of by their Royal Highnesses, and ratified by their seals and subscriptions, as also entered or recorded both by the Council and the Exchequer, and showed unto us. Thereupon the said Instrument, and the Certificate of it being recorded, was on the same eleventh day delivered into the hands of the people of the Valleys, and it was agreed, that in pursuance thereof, they of the Valleys should withdraw their forces the Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday following, and the Duke his on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; Which also was performed accordingly, and effectually found to be so by some of ours, whom for that very end we had sent to those parts. So not doubting, but touch will be kept, as was signified, we thereupon last Sunday was sevensnight, in the Church at Pinache, after Sermon, both by word of mouth and writing, took our leave of the people of the Valleys in a considerable number there assembled, reminding them of what was requisite; upon which they not only then and there, but the next and following days likewise at Pignerolio, both by word of mouth and by a solemn writing, drawn and signed by some of their principal Leaders, returned us all possible thanks for our Offices and benefits undertaken and performed on their behalf, in the names of your Lordships.

Monday and Tuesday the 13/23 and 14/24 we were making ourselves ready for our return hither, expecting in the interim all things should proceed; And to that end we made several visits, and among other also to the French Ambassador, and were also revisited by him. And for the Friars and others belonging to the Duke, in hold among those of the Valleys, being set at liberty on Monday, above threescore also of the said people imprisoned at Turin, Men, Women, Maids, and Children (forty whereof had already fallen from the faith, out of frailty, but since returned again to our Churches, with a great deal of sorrow), were set free on Tuesday morning, and after some refreshment with meat and drink, beyond the ordinary Treatment, being furnished with a small piece of Money they were brought on their way toward Pignerolio; and there presented to us, and we having friendly spoken to, and dismissed them again with

some Moneys for their journey, they gave us many thanks with tears in their Eyes, and after they had been entertained with a Dinner by the Deputies at Pignerolio, they repaired joyfully homewards. Since therefore we saw, that the peace was really executing without further impediment, we departed in God's name on Wednesday morning the 15/25 of this Month, from Pignerolio back to Turin, in company of the Baron de Greisy, and were by the way at Orbazan, nobly entertained by Order of his Royal Highness, as also since our return hither we are still defrayed by his appointment.

As soon as we arrived here, that day there came also an express from Geneva, with your Lordships two Letters, of the ninth and tenth of this Month, together with a Copy of Mr. Morland's Letter, whereunto we answered according to the Copy here enclosed. Wherein your Lordships shall see, how gladly we would have entertained the Cooperation of the English and Holland Commissioners, and what the reasons are which disabled us, on our parts, to protract the execution of the peace according to Mr. Morland's desire. And indeed, our suffering the Treaty to proceed thus far, was (among other things) even because the time of the English and Holland commissioners could not be precisely known; nor was there any certain notice as yet given concerning it: Besides, it was much to be feared, the business might have been delayed till Winter, when it would have been impossible for the poor people of the Valleys to have subsisted any longer in those Mountains. And though those Commissioners had come, yet it is a question whether this their Cooperation in the Treaty of peace might not have been disputed, even as our own was, and so by reciprocal manifold returns of writing and contesting, the business might have been protracted too far, or incumbered with other inconveniences, seeing his Royal Highness had given the point of Mediation, wholly to his Majesty, whom other states also themselves had entreated to take the same upon him: Besides, that the French Ambassador had plainly declared, That in case the people of the Valleys did not in such outward concernments accommodate themselves to reason, His King would renounce them all protection and refuge in his Country, and not suffer or endure them therein any longer. We pass by other Motives which are fitter to be declared in due time by word of mouth. Since our return hither, we have not been wanting to press

and urge the performance of the article made apart, couching the slighting of the Fort at La Torre, and have likewise received good assurance, that it shall be effected; only the same hath been retarded, through the Courts mourning for the Dutchess Dowager of Mantua, sometimes Governess in Portugal, sister to the Father of his R.H. who in her journey out of Spain departed this life at this Court. Besides, the Dutchess Royal her own indisposition hindered, that we could not press the business further at Court; Nevertheless, we are resolved to press in good earnest, as soon as Audience shall be admitted in Court again. For this cause also we are not able as yet punctually to advise your Lordships of the time of our departure hence, but rest confident that the business, by means of our instant soliciting, will shortly obtain its full accomplishment, and we thereby be enabled to speed our return in God's name. So recommending your Lordships together with us to the Divine Protection, and ourselves to your Lordships grace and favor, We remain,

Your Lordships most obedient;

Salomon Hirtzel,  
Carolus von Bonnsteten,  
Benedict Socin,  
Johan Jacob Stockar.

Turin the 21/31 Augusti, 1655.

To the four Evangelical Cities of the Helvetian Confederacy, Zurich,  
Bern, Basil, and Schaffhausen.

The Copy attested by Andrew Schmidt, Under Secretary of Zurich.

*These are the true Relations which the four  
Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons abovesaid sent*

*their Superiors from Pignerol, and Turin, the Latter whereof were accompanied with Copies of the Patent, or Articles accorded by His Royal Highness to His Evangelical subjects of the said Valleys. The which said Patent and Articles were at the same time printed at Turin, and published by the special Order of his Royal Highness.*

Copy of a Patent of Grace and Pardon, accorded by His *Royal Highness* to His Subjects professing the *Reformed Religion* in the *Valleys of Piemont*.

Faithfully translated out of the printed Copy published at *Turin* according to special Order, by *Gio. Sinibaldo*, Printer to *His Royal Highness* and of the most Honorable Chamber, 1655. Which is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

### A Patent of Grace and Pardon by his R.H.

Granted to the men professing the pretended Reformed Religion in the three Valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, with the places of San Bartolomeo, Roccapiatta, and Prarustino, they quitting in the meantime the places beyond Pelice, observing the conditions specified in the said patent of Grace, and not departing from that obedience which they owe to his Royal Highness.

CHARLES EMANUEL, By the Grace of God Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piemont, and King of Cyprus, etc.

It is the part of a good and generous Prince, not only on the one side to vanquish and suppress by force of Arms his Enemies that violently oppose him, and by severe chastisements to restrain the disobedience of the people and keep them within due limits. But also

on the other side, with Mildness and Clemency to exercise acts of mercy towards those, who lying prostrate at his feet, do with the greatest submission and acknowledgement of their offenses, in all Humility implore the same.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the people of the pretended Reformed Religion of the three Valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, and of the places of Roccapiatta, S. Bartholomeo, and Prarustino, having taken arms against our Forces, and in an hostile manner resisted the execution of our commands, and so rendered themselves obnoxious to our indignation, And having now with tokens, and expressions of their regret, represented their exceeding sorrow for opposing our orders by taking up arms, and accordingly had recourse to our goodness, and most earnestly entreated of us pardon for these offenses by them committed and that we would be pleased to re-establish them entirely in our grace and favor, and according to the example of our Predecessors to grant unto them certain articles concerning the exercise of their Religion; And forasmuch as it hath pleased his most Christian Majesty the King of France, by Monsieur de Servient his ordinary Commissioner in his Counsels of State, and his Ambassador Ordinary here residing with us, to do several offices, to the end that we would vouchsafe to receive the said people into our grace and favor, we being willing to manifest to the World that tenderness and affection which we bear to our people, when they depart not from their due obedience, And how much the interposition of his Majesty, and that singular respect which we bear to him prevails with us. By these presents of our certain knowledge, full power and Sovereign Authority, being moved by the entreaties and Counsels of Madame Royale, our Lady and Mother, unto whom we have always born so great a respect; as also together with the advice of our Counsel, exercising the greatest Clemency towards them.

1. First, We do confirm to the said people of the pretended Reformed Religion the favor which we granted unto them in our writings of the 2 and 4 of June, and the 29 of December 1653 according to the form and tenor of the same. Besides, we do grant them a perfect oblivion, and do freely remit unto them all their oppositions of our Orders, and all manner of excesses that they have committed from the beginning even to the end of these present



troubles; Annulling all confiscations, prosecutions, condemnations, and declarations, both of real and personal punishments, and all other actions by them committed, which either in the general or in particular, might be a ground for molesting them, as well those which are listed in this last conjuncture, as Giovanni, Leggero, Isaac, Lepreux, Giovanni, Michelino, Ministers, and all others whomsoever, who either have been troubled for the time past, or may be for the time to come, for what has been acted; As also all strangers of what condition or Country soever, who have afforded any Aid, Favor, or Counsel, to those of the said Religion; prohibiting by these presents all those of our Senate of Piemont, all Judges, Ministers, Officers, Magistrates, and Bailiffs, and all others whom it may concern, to give them any manner of molestation for the said fact, or the dependents of it, restoring them all into the same state of peace, that they formerly enjoyed, and also receiving them into our favor, and under our Royal safeguard and Protection, as they were before.

2. Those of the pretended Reformed Religion are nevertheless obliged to quit those habitations and Estates which they had in the places beyond Pelice, and their confines signages, respectively, namely, Bubbiana, adding thereto Lucernetta, Fenile, with Campiglione, and Gresigliana: And although they have, or have had in times past, any estates or habitations, they shall not be permitted for the time to come to inhabit in the said places, nor within their confines, nor to inhabit, or possess there any estates, no more than in the Bourg and place of Lucerna; Not prohibiting in the meantime but permitting, as by these presents we do permit, the said people, who are to quit, as abovesaid, their estates beyond Pelice, to sell their said estates to particular Catholics, between this and the Feast of All Saints, which falls on the 1 of November next ensuing; And as for the estates which shall not be sold within the said term of time, according to the price which shall arise from their respective Instruments, in case they are not to be found, we shall regulate the price, by having respect to the Titles of the Neighboring Lands, distinguishing between the better and the worse, which shall be made by knowing Men, who shall be chosen by both parties; and until such time as such contracts for sale shall be made, the same persons shall enjoy the said estates, and gather the fruits thereof.

Nevertheless, those of the said pretend Reformed Religion shall enjoy and inhabit the Vignes of Lucerna that are towards Rorata, as they shall be limited by certain confines, that is to say, comprehending all which they possessed before these present troubles, save only that they may not be permitted to preach in the said Vignes. They shall in like manner be permitted to inhabit and exercise their Religion in the place and confine of Rorata, as is declared and comprised in all the foregoing concessions, and according to the tenor of the same.

3. In like manner, those of the pretended Reformed Religion shall be permitted to live together with the Catholics in S. Giovanni, but yet are not to have any Church, or preaching, living in all other circumstances as they were formerly wont, and according to the intent of the precedent concessions. And for the better satisfaction, as well of the Catholics, as those of the pretended Reformed Religion, which have their habitation in the said places of S. Giovanni, they shall proceed to the dividing of the Territory and Register of the said place, leaving that part which shall belong to the Catholics United to the Commualty of Lucerna. So that the remainder which shall appertain to those of the pretended Reformed Religion may make a community distinct from the other; provided nevertheless, that both parties shall consent thereto, as it is here supposed they do consent thereto, and also that our Patrimony shall receive no damage thereby, and to this end we shall always depute a Delegate whenever we shall be desired.

4. As to La Torre, they shall be permitted as abovesaid, to re-inhabit that place, and in their liberties to have the exercise of their Religion accordingly as in time past.

5. As to S. Secondo, they shall have no habitation, save only in their accustomed places of Prarustino and Bartholomeo, where we permit them to exercise their Religion, as we did permit them before these presents, And they shall proceed to the separation of the said two places of Prarustino and S. Bartholomeo, from the remainder of S. Secondo after the same manner as is prescribed in the 3 Article concerning the place of S. Giovanni. As for Bricherasio, those of the Religion shall have no habitation either in the place or liberty, provided that payment be made in lieu of the improvement of those

estates which shall be found belonging to them in those Liberties, and of the Price which shall be made of those estates of which they are possessors, within the time abovementioned; with this reserve, that there be provision made for a continuation of the retention of the said goods, and also for a larger concession according to our good pleasure, when we shall be intreated, as well by the said people of the pretended Reformed Religion, as by the Catholics, and when we shall find it commodious so to do.

6. Forasmuch as we are informed that the losses suffered upon the occasion of the abovesaid troubles are such, as they cannot for some time be in a capacity to pay those general impositions that are made upon the rest of the Country, we therefore favorably remit unto them all those charges which otherwise are due for the space of five years following, namely, comprising the remainder of the present year, together with a Declaration, that for the first three years, 56, 57, and 58, they shall be Exempted, not only from Winter-quarts, subsistences, utensils, and distribution of Corn, but also from the very tax, and all other charges. And the two following years 59, and 60, they shall obtain the said favor for all aforesaid, except the tax which they shall pay the said two years. Which time being expired, they shall pay all charges due, according to the proportion of the rest of the Country. We do likewise favorably remit unto them, for the remainder of the years past, that which has not yet been assigned. And as for the parts assigned and due to the particular Creditors, we offer them a prolongation of the payment thereof until the year following, provided that they pay the interest every 6 Months, and in the meantime we do prohibit all to whomsoever this may appertain, to give them any trouble or molestation.

7. We do permit to the said people the free exercise of their Religion, and Liberty of Conscience in all the places comprised in the abovesaid concessions, which shall neither be enlarged nor diminished.

8. We do grant and shall see it performed, that they be permitted to have free-trade and commerce, for buying and selling any Commodities whatsoever, save only Lands; And to negotiate and gather in their harvest, and have their threshing-floors, and traffic with the same freedom as our own subjects, without being in

danger to be troubled about their Religion, yea not by the Magistrates themselves, whether Ecclesiastic, or Secular; provided, that in those places they neither buy any house or habitation, to reside there.

9. As we have declared and established, that throughout all our Dominions the Mass shall be celebrated, and also all other functions of the Church performed after the manner of Rome, and the same to be in all places granted to the said people of the pretended Reformed Religion, as well for habitation, as for habitation and exercise; and being requested to employ and depute other of our Subjects, either Secular or Regular, and not employ the Fathers, and Missioners that are strangers, and hated by the people, and hereupon there may some accident fall out which may disturb the public peace. We do therefore declare, that our pleasure is to place Religious men of our Subjects either secular or Regular, as it shall seem best unto us, and we shall be careful that such persons shall be established against whom there may be no just exception. And as to the celebration of the Mass, our Subjects of the pretended Reformed Religion shall not be obliged any way to contribute unto it. But on the other side, they shall neither directly or indirectly cause any disturbance or impediment to the other.

10. There shall not any molestation be given by us, or our Officers, to any of those of the three Valleys and places abovesaid, which from the beginning of these troubles even to the execution of this composure, have abjured their Religion, although they should use the Liberty of their Conscience; Notwithstanding their abjuration and promise, they shall not be treated as guilty of a Relapse.

11. The prisoners of each side, comprising both Women and children, in what place soever they be within our Dominions, shall be set at liberty without any ransom, so soon as ever they shall be known.

12. The people abovesaid shall exercise public Offices in the form that was granted unto them in the Memorial of the 9<sup>th</sup> of April 1603, and the third Article of the Memorial of the 3 of June 1653.

13. We confirm the concession already made to the Communalty of La Torre, to have a Market-Town, and we shall give necessary Orders, to the end, that it may be entered by our Chamber.

14. As for the places above tolerated, we do declare, that Legal successions shall not be at all hindered under any pretext of Religion.

15. None of the said pretended Reformed Religion shall be forced to embrace the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion, neither shall their children be taken from their Parents in their Childhood, namely, the Males while they are but 12, and the Females but 10 years old.

16. To the end that all manner of impediment to the truth may be removed, we do Order, that in case any of the Catholics be informed of any matter which concerns any of the pretended Reformed Religion, he shall not be hindered from speaking it openly in the place of Judicature, or the Marketplace. We do likewise prohibit that any of the pretended Reformed Religion be abused or mocked by any ignominious or opprobrious names.

17. We confirm the freedoms, Prerogatives, and Privileges, heretofore granted in the places of the said three Valleys, and the other abovesaid places, as they have been heretofore granted respectively, and entered; And we do ordain, that they be again entered anew, according to the form of the foregoing concessions.

18. In case the Ministers or Pastors be troubled upon occasion of Criminal causes, our pleasure is, that they shall be summoned to the first and second appearance, as other particular persons of the said Valleys: And that they shall not be cited before our Sovereign Magistrates, except in case there be proof made, against other particulars *to the right*.

19. There shall be excepted out of this our favor concerning confiscation, such place and part of those ruined houses in all the aforesaid Lands, as shall be found necessary and chosen by us for the building of a Church and house, for the exercise of the Catholic Religion, which places shall on our part be declared fifteen days after the publication of these presents and interination made of the

same; If so be that the said people do not choose rather to rebuild those Catholic Churches which are now ruined.

20. For this purpose we do command all our Magistrates, Ministers, and Officers to observe, and cause to be observed these presents, according to their form and tenor; And particularly our Magistrates, Senate, and Chamber, to cause them to be entered without the payment of any Customary Fee, that so they may be perpetually and inviolably observed: Provided that those of the pretended Reformed Religion do observe out their part that which is declared and established by these presents, and that they depart not from their due obedience. For such is our will and pleasure, as likewise that the same Faith be given to the Copy of this present Act, Printed by our own printer Sinibaldo, as to the very Original itself.

Given in Rivoli the 18 of August 1655.

C. Emanuel.

V. Morozzo, De S. Thomas.

Interinated in the Senate and Chamber the 19 of the Month abovesaid.

Besides what is contained in the said Patent, as to their particular clause concerning La Torre, mentioned in the fourth Article, the following Article is accorded, whereof there indeed ought not to be any mention made in the said patent. But upon a full consideration of the whole matter, that which followeth is nevertheless here disposed.

Although in the Patent of Amnesty accorded by his Royal Highness to the men professing the pretended Reformed Religion in the three Valleys of Lucerna, S. Martino, and Perosa, as also in the places of S. Bartholomeo, Roccapiatta, and Prarustino, by the

Mediation of the most Illustrious, and most excellent Lord of Servient, Counsellor Ordinary in the Council of State of his most Christian Majesty, and his Ambassador in ordinary with his Royal Highness abovesaid, there be no mention at all made, either of the demolition or retention of the Fort of La Torre, yet notwithstanding the truth is, that concerning the said Fort is (by the Mediation of his Excellency, who in the name of his said most Christian Majesty has interposed and concluded the agreement, adjusted, debated, and ordained the following Article, whereof his Excellency, to the end that there might be no doubt made about it, hath made this present declaration, which he accordingly subscribed. At Pignerolio the 17th of August 1655.

Here follows a Transcript of the fourth Article of the abovesaid Agreement.

### III.

As to La Torre, they may inhabit there as abovesaid, and in the Borders thereof have their exercises conformably as in times past, his Royal Highness retaining notwithstanding the Fortification, concerning which, it is said, that in the patent of pardon *there ought not to be any mention thereof*, but that it be reserved to those of the Pretended Reformed Religion to have recourse to the feet of his Royal Highness, to beseech him, that according to the testimonies which they shall manifest of their obedience and faithfulness, so it will please him to demolish the same, or at least transfer it to the place of the old Fortress; and in order thereunto they shall declare, that they will interpose the requests of the Lords Ambassadors of Switzerland, whom his excellency promiseth to assist with his good offices. But yet with this Declaration, that whether his Royal Highness be consenting or not to the demolition, or translation, the said Agreement shall always have its effects, and this although his Royal Highness should think fit to refuse the said requests.

E. SERVIENT.

By my Lord, C. F. Canon.

The abovesaid Patent was adjusted in Pinarolo, and before his Royal Highness had signed it, The Men professing the Pretended Reformed Religion made the following act of submission before the most Illustrious Lord Gio. Giacomo Truchi, Count of Paglieres, Counsellor of State, Senator, and Advocate Patrimonial General of his said Royal Highness, and by him particularly deputed for this Affair.

In the Year of our Lord 1655, upon the 18 of August, the particular persons underwritten, being personally constituted Deputies for the men professing the pretended Reformed Religion in the three Valleys of Lucerna, S. Martino, and Perosa, and in the places of S Bartholomeo, Roccapiatta, and Prarustino, by virtue of the Authority which they hold by their Letters of procuration contained in an instrument bearing date the 8th of this present August, which was received by the Notary, and Secretary in the Office of Perosa, Gio. Thomaso Bernardi, as well in their own names, as in the names of the abovesaid, from whom they derive their Authority, do declare, promise, and submit themselves, that forasmuch as it hath pleased his Royal Highness to accord unto them the Patent in the form abovesaid they will acknowledge the same as the effect of his extraordinary Clemency, and receive it as a particular grace, with most humble respect, and that they will execute, and yield obedience to the commands and orders of his Royal Highness in all things, and for all things, as his most obedient and faithful Subjects: In testimony whereof, they have subscribed their names. Given in Pignerolo the day and year abovesaid, and witnessed by

Giovanni Legero, Minister in General.

David Legero, Minister.

Gio Michellino.

Paolo Imberti.

Stefano Revello.

Gulielmo Malanotti.

Giovanni del Podio.



Bartolomeo Genolato.  
Giacomo Giaiero.  
Benedetto Roberto.  
Giovannino Peirotto.  
Francesco Laurenti.  
Bartolomeo Bellino.  
Michele Berruto.  
Gianon de Gioanoni.  
Giovanni Pelenco.  
Francesco Saretto.  
Filippo Fornarone.

Subscribed MARTA.

In Turin by Gio. Sinibaldo, Printer to his Royal Highness, and of the most Honorable Chamber, 1655.

At the very same time that the abovesaid Treaty was concluded and ratified by both parties, Ambassador *Servient* did himself dictate to his Secretary the forms of several Letters of thanks (as it was attested to the Author by several who had seen the very hand writing) in the poor peoples name, to the *Lord Protector of England*, the *King of France*, the *States General of the United Provinces*, and others who had appeared in their behalf; which Letters the Deputies of the said Valleys, were afterwards made to Copy out, and sign with their own hands, and so they were dispatched away with all possible speed according to their several addresses.

Now what the said Ambassador Servients end was in this, whether it were to ingratiate himself with the *Duke of Savoy*, or (being a great zealot in his profession) to gratify all the *Catholic* party by so signal and meritorious a service as this was, Namely, first, to prevent the further Interposition of those two powerful States of *England* and the *United Provinces*, in so ominous a conjuncture of time as that was, or secondly, to put the poor people into an incapacity of ever recanting what they had done, I leave the

prudent Reader to Judge, by scanning and comparing all circumstances. Sure it is that he intended at the same time not only to have satisfied the *King* his *Master* (who had given him very strict commands, to use his best endeavors for the procuring good and honorable conditions for the poor people), but also to have satisfied his Highness the *Lord Protector* of *England*, as it should seem by the following Letter, which was written by the four Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons* to his Highness at his earnest request.

A Letter of the Four Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons* of *Switzerland* to his Highness the *Lord Protector* of *England*, at the request of Ambassador *Servient*. Dated from *Turin*, 15/5 *September* 1655.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was Communicated to the Author by the Right Honorable Mr. *Secretary Thurloe*.

*Most Serene and most Potent Prince.*

Forasmuch as the business of a pacification betwixt his Royal Highness the *Duke* of *Savoy*, and his Subjects professing our Religion, is through the goodness of God happily effected, so that being restored not only to their ancient habitations, but to all those rights which they enjoyed at any time heretofore, they may enjoy a secure and lasting peace; and whereas the Lord of *Servient* Ambassador hereof the most Christian King, hath performed all manner of good offices for the attaining thereof, we conceive that it concerneth us, to give him this testimony of the truth. WHICH HE DESIRED OF US, as we do give and declare, by virtue of these presents; That he hath performed the office of a Mediator with very great dexterity, and deserved well of the aforesaid Inhabitants of the *Valleys*. As to what concerns other matters, your Highness will do an action becoming your piety and renown, if you shall be pleased to continue to those people that favor and protection which you have once already vouchsafed to extend unto them, and with your wonted munificence supply those contributions that have been made for their relief by ourselves and others, which are now wholly spent;

even as we hope you will, beseeching Almighty God from our hearts, that it may please him to heap all manner of Blessings upon your Highness, and always preserve you in peace and safety.

Given at Turin, the 5/15 of the Month of September 1655. And Sealed in the name of us all, with the Seal of our well beloved Colleague, the Lord *Solomon Hirtzel*, Proconsul of the City of *Zurich*.

*Your Highness* most ready for all Services.

The Ambassadors of the Reformed Cantons of *Switzerland* with the Duke of *Savoy*.

Solomon Hirtzel, Ambassador of *Zurich*.

Charles a Bonnsteten, Baron of Vanmarck, etc. Ambassador of Berne.

Benedict Socinus, Ambassador of Basil.

John Jacob Stockar, Ambassador of Schaffhausen.

## CHAPTER VIII: *The many Grievances and sad effects of the Treaty concluded at Pignerol, with a true Description of the present state and condition of those poor People.*

These and such like were the *glorious* appearances of the Treaty made at *Pignerol*. The poor people were made believe that they had obtained a most happy Peace, and that they should enjoy the blessed fruits and effects thereof themselves, they, and their Childrens Children, so long as the Sun and Moon should endure. As for the *Switzer Ambassadors* (as it appears by all their Narratives and Letters) they looked upon themselves, as having been instrumental in the bringing about and perfecting a work of such importance, that the whole Protestant World would have been extremely satisfied therewith. And Ambassador *Servient* doubted not, but that his Negotiation (as he had now handled the matter) would most certainly prove a very acceptable service to all persons.

In the meantime this Treaty coming to be published to the world, and more thoroughly examined by wise and sober men, was found to be no other than *a Leper arrayed in rich clothing, and gay attire!* A Treaty as full of *grievances*, as poor *Lazarus* of sores. The greatest part of the Articles directly clashing with the peoples interest and ancient privileges, and the remainder made up of expressions, that look as many ways, as there are points in the Mariners Compass. In sum it cannot be more fitly compared to anything, than to *Ezekiel's Role* which though it were *as sweet as Honey* in the poor peoples Mouths, yet there was written within nothing but *Lamentation, and Mourning, and Woe*: And indeed, the *Switzer Ambassadors* had no sooner turned their backs, and departed towards their own Country, but a numberless number of grievances and difficulties, almost inexpressible, came crawling out of the said Treaty, like so many hornets out of a rotten or hollow Tree, and from that very day to this have never ceased stinging the poor people to Death, as will more particularly be shown in the sequel of this chapter.

The Author will not here undertake to determine where the failing was in the management of this affair, neither indeed is it a

subject so pleasing to him as to enlarge much thereupon. He will only say this in the general, that it was a great unhappiness that the Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons* suffered themselves so far to be wrought upon by the importunity of Ambassador *Servient*, and the Court of *Savoy*, as not to prolong the concluding of that Treaty till the coming of the *English* and *Holland* Commissioners, especially having been so earnestly entreated and requested so to do, by Mr. *Morland*, his *Highness Envoy*, who was then at *Geneva*, and had sent no less than three several expresses with Letters, in his Highness the *Lord Protector*, his Master's name, to that purpose (as they themselves acknowledge in their own *relation*) some whereof came time enough to their hands, and before anything was concluded. Besides that one of those very *Ambassadors*, by name Mr. *John Jacob Stockar*, had declared himself so much against it, as appears by the following attestation of Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, who was then Secretary of the Embassy, which attestation the said Ambassador *Stockar* delivered to Mr. *Morland* with his own hands at *Geneva*, in his return home from *Turin*, desiring him with very much earnestness to communicate the same to his Highness the *Lord Protector* of *England*, with all possible expedition.

The Attestation of Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, Secretary of the Embassy of the *Evangelical Cantons* of *Switzerland*, to the Duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1655. Delivered into the hands of Mr. *Morland* by Ambassador *Stockar*, the 16 of September 1655.

The true Original whereof, both signed and sealed by the said Mr. *Andrew Schmidt*, is to be seen in the public Library of the famous University of *Cambridge*.

I who have here subscribed, do attest by these presents, that Mr. *Stockar*, Ambassador from the Town and Canton of *Schaffhausen* to his Royal Highness of *Savoy*, during the Treaty at *Pignerolio*, did make many instances to the Ambassadors his Colleagues, not to hasten the said Treaty, but rather to defer the conclusion thereof until

the arrival of the Ambassadors from England and Holland, showing them by all sorts of reasons how dangerous and prejudicial this proceeding would be, not only to the Inhabitants of the Valleys, but also to the common cause of all the Protestants: And when, notwithstanding all this, he could not be heard by them, he protested that he would not be responsible for that which might follow. Made at Geneva this present 17/27 of September, in the year 1655.

*locus* **O***sigilli.*

Andrew Schmidt, Secretary of the Embassy.

The day before Ambassador *Stockar* delivered the foregoing attestation into the hands of Mr. *Morland*, he had a conference with the said Mr. *Morland* and Mr. *D' Ommeren* (Commissioner extraordinary of the States General) where he told them, that he and his Colleagues, having finished their Negotiation at the Court of *Savoy*, and being now upon their journey home into their own Country, he had a great desire, for his own particular, to take *Geneva* in his way, that so he might have thereby an opportunity of acquainting the Commissioners Extraordinary of his Highness the *Lord Protector of England* and the *States General* with what had passed in their whole Negotiation, And the rather because he had heard, that the late *Treaty* which they had concluded had given great distaste to many honest people. In sum, he assured them that, *as his Colleagues had solemnly promised him, that as to the business of hastening or precipitating the Treaty, they would take the Blame of all upon themselves, and also give him under their hands an Attestation that he never consented to any of their Actions, so he would at the next General Assembly of the Cantons by a public remonstrance, clear himself before all the World, and wash his hands of all the evil consequences of that Affair*, desiring the two Commissioners abovesaid; and that with all earnestness, to communicate what he had then told them to their Masters, and to assure them of his Innocency in this thing, as also that in case his service might be accepted of, he would employ and hazard both life and all that he had for the redressing this Affair.

The morrow morning after, at a conference he repeated the same words, adding, *that he had to the utmost withstood the other three Ambassadors, insomuch, that many times they had almost come to blows, and that when time served, he would declare what he thought not then convenient to speak or write.*

These expressions of Ambassador *Stockar* to the said Commissioners, and several other of his friends, raised the expectations of very many to hope for great matters at the next *Assembly* of the *Evangelical Cantons*, which was to be held at *Payerne*, in the beginning of the following Month *October*, when, and where their Ambassador were ordered to give in an account of their whole Negotiation.

At this meeting assisted *John Pell* Esquire, his Highness Resident at *Zurich*, and Mr. *D'Ommeren* abovesaid, in the name of their Masters, to see what further resolution the *Evangelical Cantons* would take in relation either to the nulling or redressing of the late Treaty of *Pignerol* which was now so universally declaimed against by all the *Protestant* party: And in conclusion, after hearing the report of their Ambassadors (where it is to be noted that Ambassador *Stockar* never so much as appeared, notwithstanding all he had a little before protested) they delivered the following resolution to Mr. *Pell*, and Mr. *D'Ommeren* beforementioned.

A true Copy of the Resolution of the *Evangelical Cantons*,  
at their Assembly at *Payerne*, October 3/13, 1655.

As it was there delivered in writing to Mr. *Pell*, and M. H. *van Ommeren*, as Extraordinary Commissioners from *England* and the *United Provinces* for the affairs of *Piemont*.

It having been deliberated by the Deputies of the laudable Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland, upon the report made by the Ambassadors deputed by the said Evangelic Cantons to his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, touching the Massacre of those of the

Reformed Religion in the Valleys of Piemont, and consideration being had on the one side of the vigilancy, care, and good endeavors of the said Ambassadors for the obtaining and procuring from his said Royal Highness a good and sure peace for those of the Valleys abovesaid, and on the other side, that notwithstanding all they could do, his said Royal Highness would not accord unto them any other Patent, but such a one whose preface and several of the articles are judged prejudicial. And principally, that neither the Ministers of his Highness the Lord Protector, nor of the States General of the United Provinces had either interposed in, or been present at the transacting of that affair; And upon a mature deliberation, as touching the whole matter, it has been resolved upon the first point, that thanks be given to the said Ambassadors, as hereby we do return them our thanks, for that care and diligence which they have shown, for the well acquitting themselves of their charge and upon the other point, it has been thought convenient to advise with his Highness the Lord Protector, and the Lords the States General aforesaid (whose hearts the good God hath inspired with a most ardent zeal for the good of the Reformed Religion, and particularly for this present affair) touching the ways and means of meliorating, and further elucidating the said Articles, and particularly to join the Offices of this State, with those of their said Highnesses, in case they see it convenient, for the engaging of His most Christian Majesty to employ His interest with his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, for the said Melioration and Elucidation. Or otherwise, to make such farther reflections as the good of the Cause, and the conjuncture of time shall permit. And the Ministers both of His Highness the Lord Protector, and the Lords the States General, who are here present, shall be entreated to communicate with all expedition this sincere and good intention of the Evangelical Cantons, to the Lords their Superiors.

Done at Payerne the 3/23 October 1655.

Compared with the Register, by Andrew Schmidt Secretary of the Assembly.



How this resolution of the *Evangelical Cantons* was privately resented by the two other states, the Author will not take upon him here to determine, however sure it is, that here the matter rested and fell to the ground, neither did there follow any such conjunction of Counsels, for a melioration and elucidation of the Treaty abovesaid, as is hinted in the said Resolution.

In the meanwhile the poor people began to taste more and more the bitter fruits of that unhappy Agreement, and ever and anon were ready to despair under their grievous and intolerable oppressions, as shall be hereafter specified more at large. They were the poor *Laboring Heifers*, the *Patent* was the cruel *Yoke* that so sorely pinched their *Galled Necks*, the *Articles* were the *heavy burdens* that were laid upon their backs, *Andrea Gastaldo* was the *driver*, who with his orders and injunctions, like so many sharp goads, always *pricked* and *pushed* them forward, to accept by force those sad conditions which were offered them.

About the latter end of *December* in the Year 1655, Ambassador *Servient* began to write very sharp Letters to the poor people of the *Valleys* (which his private zeal, as is supposed, did prompt him to, rather than any command from his Master); The contents whereof were to threaten them with many ill consequences, in case they refused to sit down and be contented with the Treaty made at *Pignerol*.

About the 12th of *March* in the same Year 1655, came *Monsieur de Bais*, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Lyons*, as *Envoy* from his Majesty of *France* into the *Valleys*: upon his arrival there, he called some of the Leaders of the poor people to him at a place called *Cassina*, which lies between *S. Giovanni* and *Pelice*, where, after he had delivered them a Letter from the *Duke de Lesdiguieres*, wherein he much exhorted them to accept of the Treaty, he told them the King had received information, that they had a design to make an Insurrection against their Sovereign Prince, That they were prompted to this by foreigners with whom they held correspondence, and who furnished them with vast supplies of Moneys: And that thereupon his Majesty had given him a command

to assemble the Deputies of the *Valleys* to understand their grievances, and let them know that his intentions were, that the Treaty which had been made at *Pignerol*, should be punctually executed, both on the one and the other part. And that he would maintain the poor people in peace according to the tenor thereof.

In obedience to this command, the poor people had a general assembly some days after, where, after they had made an ample justification by word of Mouth of all their proceedings, from the first beginning of their late troubles, delivered into Mr. *de Bais* hands, a Paper of their grievances, accompanied with two pathetic Letters, one to the King, and the other to the Duke *de L'Esduiguières*, bearing date the 29 of *March* 1656, which Letters and grievances, because they contain in them matters of great consequence, and in a manner the marrow of the whole business which we now Treat of, the Reader will find them all here inserted in Order.

A Letter of the Evangelical Churches of the *Valleys* of *Piemont* to the Duke of *L'Esduiguières*, 29 of *March* 1656.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was Communicated to the Author, during his abode at *Geneva*.

MY LORD,

*We have received with all the respect we could Monsieur de Bais, Mareschal de Camp, and Commander of the Lyons Regiment, sent hither by you, according to his most Christian Majesty's order. This is not the first time we have experimented the clemency of that great Monarch, which is such and so great, that it moves him to stoop to take notice of Us who are the most inconsiderable persons in the whole world; neither is it the first time that we have observed tokens of your Lordships good will towards us, in testifying a fellow-feeling of our miseries and desolations: And we should be the most ingrateful of all men, if we had not a particular care of evidencing*

*to the world our desires not to walk unworthy of the same, as we certainly should do, if we should have but the least thought of that crime of Rebellion and Insurrection, of which some ill affected men have not only accused us before His Royal Highness, but also before his most Christian Majesty, which is the cause that we have taken the boldness to write to him, and to protest, as in the presence of God, whose lively Image his Majesty is, that our conscience is clear; and that in all our actions, as to this particular, we are wholly innocent, and that we had rather suffer (as we have done) all sorts of outrages, than to make the least breach of that respect and obedience, which good subjects owe to their Sovereign Prince; And as we hope, that our Protestations will find more credit before His Majesty, than the calumnies of our Enemies, so we shall continue to acquit ourselves of our duty towards his Royal Highness with so much zeal and sincerity, that He shall not give the least credit to the false reports which have been spread abroad to the prejudice of our innocence. We know right well that we cannot justly merit the indignation of Our Prince, without incurring Gods displeasure. You see by this what are our Principles, and what are our intentions, from which we have been so far from being turned aside by the solicitations and persuasions of any Foreigners, that on the contrary, all those who have any ways espoused our interests, have by their constant and powerful exhortations much strengthened us in this our design.*

*My Lord, as to the pretext which is grounded upon those Alms which we have received out of other Countries, it has no foundation; For, divers good people of France, of our Communion, whom his Majesty owns as his faithful Subjects, and who hold his Authority as inviolable, as we do that of our Prince, have bestowed upon us their charitable benevolence, in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole Court, and the approbation of His Majesty: And in effect, there's no man was ever known to take exceptions, that poor miserable men, after the losing of their whole estates, after the burning their houses, and plundering their goods, should receive the charity of those who have taken pity on them, to prevent their perishing by hunger, to which condition we were reduced, and that in such extremity, that without such a supply, the want of all things had made an end of what the sword and fire had left behind them.*

*All persons who are not swayed with passion, may judge from hence, my Lord, what it could advantage us to rip up a wound afresh, that was not yet perfectly healed. Our desires tend to no other than to Peace, and we unnecessarily beseech the God of Peace, that he would bestow upon us, and preserve unto us that rich treasure. And we adore his Divine Providence, who has inspired His most Christian Majesty with so much goodness and bounty, as to be inclined by his Interposition for the reparation of the Grievances of the late Treaty, to procure our re-establishment: And to testify how much this advantage is laid to heart by us, we have together with the Letter we wrote to His said Majesty, sent a Memorial, which represents the said Grievances. We also entreat your Lordship to put life into the said Letter, by the testimony which you are able to give of our innocence, and lamentable estate, as also of the profound respect and reverence we bear to His Majesty. This charitable act which we hope from your Lordship, will oblige us to continue our prayers for your prosperity, and to remain inviolably so long as we live.*

My Lord,

Your most humble and obedient Servants, the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Lucerna, Angrogna, Perosa, and S. Martino*, professing the *Reformed Religion*, and for all in general,

FELIX LEGER, ETC.

A Letter of the Evangelical Churches of the *Valleys of Piemont* to the King of *France*, the 29 of *March* 1656.

An Authentic Copy whereof, was Communicated to the Author, during his abode at *Geneva*.

Sir,

*The greatest Monarchs, and those whom their Heroic virtues have exalted above all others, as so many Suns among the lesser Stars, have always counted it their glory to communicate their benign influences to the most miserable sort of men, in imitation of*

*the King of Kings, who has his Throne in the highest Heavens, and yet dwelleth also in the lowest hearts. This is that, Sir, which your Majesty, who is the lively Image of the living God, has practiced towards us, and which shall oblige us to continual thankfulness to your Majesty, as also to most ardent and more than ordinary payers to the Almighty for your prosperity, hoping that since he has put into your heart thoughts of Peace and Charity for us, you will cause us experimentally to taste the good fruits thereof. And that you will not be diverted from such intentions, by those sinister impressions which either ignorant or ill-affected men have endeavored to possess you with against us (as we have understood by that Letter which my Lord the Duke of Lesdiguieres did us the honor to write us, and by the discourse made by Monsieur de Bais, his Envoy by your Majesty's Order), For so far have we been from ever having the least thought of taking up Arms against our Sovereign (as we are accused), that we have rather always hindered our people from having the least impressions upon their spirits of these violences and extortions, which have been and are always offered against us, without any contradiction, even against the intentions of His Royal Highness, to force our patience (if possible) to make some disorder. We shall always persist in the same course, and shall search a remedy to our evils by ways of respect, which are just and conformable to those Instructions which we sucked in together with our milk, and which are suitable to that duty which true Subjects owe to their Prince. Neither has it ever happened that any foreign Countries who have been touched with our desolations, and poured oil into our wounds, and espoused our interest, did ever incite us to a Mutiny: And as for those Alms which they have bestowed upon us, it has been for no other end than to prevent hunger, cold, nakedness, and other necessities from dispatching those who had escaped the sword amongst us: Neither did they ever make any remonstrances, which tended to any other than the exhorting us to repentance towards God, patience towards those who evilly treat us, and humility, fidelity, and obedience towards our Sovereign, all which are duties to the performance whereof by Gods assistance we shall never be wanting. In the meantime, Sir, we are confident that since the Treaty made at Pignerol by the interposition of my Lord de Servient, your Majesty's Ambassador, has not answered those good intentions which you have always had for the procuring for us a firm and sure*

*peace, whereby we may be restored to the same state and condition, that the most Serene Predecessors of His R. Highness always maintained us in, according to our ancient Concessions, you will please to continue your powerful and gracious interposition with His Royal Highness, for the meliorating our conditions, and for the procuring the amendment of such Articles wherein we are really injured, the Elucidation of such as are obscure and ambiguous, and the addition of such as are known to be equitable and necessary for the public tranquility, according to that minute which we have drawn up, and delivered to M. de Bais at his demand, to be by him presented on our behalf to your Majesty. Especially considering, that those two particulars which are the most prejudicial (namely the Preface, and the Article concerning the Fort), were never signed by our Deputies, who on the contrary opposed the same; And what they did sign, they did without Authority, contrary to our intentions, and without communicating the matter with us. And therefore we cannot be justly deprived of that which Nature, and the Law of Nations, the possession of so many Ages, Our Concessions, and justice itself gives us. Which is also that we desire, and hope so much from the clemency and equity of His Royal Highness, by the powerful and gracious interposition of your Majesty.*

*Sir, in hope thereof, we shall inviolably continue that fidelity and obedience which we owe to His Royal Highness (our natural Prince and Sovereign) and shall pour out our souls before the Divine Majesty, for the prosperity of your Royal Majesty, being with all manner of respects,*

SIR,

Your most humble and most obedient servants, the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Lucerna, Angrogna, Perosa, and S. Martino in Piemont*, Professors of the *Christian Reformed Religion*.

And for all, FELIX LEGER, etc.

The Grievances of the Treaty made at *Pignerol*, Delivered into the hands of *Monsieur de Bais* to be sent to the King.

## Translated out of the French Copy.

1. First, in the Preface there is this point prejudicial, that it speaks of us, as of *Rebels* and disobedient, who have taken Arms against his Royal Highness our natural Prince and Sovereign, and thereby, as guilty persons and worthy of his indignation, we are made to ask pardon for those outrages which they pretend we have committed, and so we are plainly involved in the crime of Rebellion, against which we do now and have always protested, having never done any action that may come within that compass, no, not when the whole State was in an uproar, nor even when they came to destroy us, as they did the last year; for, though we had very great cause of suspicion, as it is but too manifest by the event, and had paid for the most part to the squadron of Savoy their Winter quarter, yet my Lord Marquess de Pianesse, had no sooner charged us in the name of his Royal Highness to receive his forces, but without making the least resistance, we let them come in and do whatsoever they would, and our Deputies never consented to such expressions.

2. In the second place, we find ourselves aggrieved in this. That His Royal Highness doth grant us nothing but under the name of *Grace* and *Toleration*, that so he may repeal it whensoever he please, according to the maxims of some of his Ministers, especially of the Count *Truchi* his Agent, who maintained stiffly, that *the Prince, without any other cause whatsoever but only of his own pleasure, may repeal what he hath granted in a way of grace*; whereas to speak truly, touching the Right of habitation and the liberty of *Religion* in the Valleys, we have neither received it from the most Serene Dukes of *Savoy*, nor from any other Prince in the world, but we have it from God, and enjoyed it as pure Birthright from father to son, before ever the most Serene Dukes of *Savoy* did possess *Piemont*; And the truth is, we cannot find that any one of them did ever make a Grant for the first Introduction thereof; or that the tenor of the most ancient Concessions were any other, then to leave to our Forefathers the enjoyment of the Exercise of that *Religion* which they had received of their Ancestors. Moreover, in the same Patent, we are sent back to the Grace granted upon the second, and the fourth of *June*, and the 29 of *December* 1653, which is all full of uncertainty, and was never confirmed, and hath also a relation to other Concessions, the

Clauses whereof being both doubtful and harsh, have served to color a multitude of troubles. Wherefore we have always entreated and do still entreat, that all may be expressed in plain terms, and that it may please his Royal Highness to admit of the term of *Amnesty*, instead of that of *Grace*.

3. But above all its most observable, how they have proceeded with our Deputies in the said Treaty: For, whereas the Count *Truchi* had delivered unto them a *Patent* duly signed and sealed, which contains but 20 *Articles* (as we have made appear by the Original) there was another printed that contains one and twenty, drawn doubtless out of such another Copy, which had been confirmed in the Chamber of the *Exchequer* and in the *Senate*, on purpose for the fostering of an ill design which the said Lord knew very well how to shift off, when we found fault with this inequality, by his laying the fault upon the Secretary, saying, it was easy to be corrected: But it was sufficiently apparent afterwards, that though he did set down an Article which faith, that we consented to the building of a Fort at *La Torre*, yet it never entered into the thoughts of any one of our Deputies, who were very far from signing it, notwithstanding all the violent and earnest applications that were made unto them about it: And although, for the persuading them there unto, it was cunningly insinuated unto them, that it was but a Formality required for the honor of his Royal Highness, and but for a few days, *he desiring no stronger Fort than the heart of his Subject*, They were nevertheless too much afraid of the sad Consequences of a Garrison, the fruits whereof we reap now at this very time, they breaking into the very houses of our Peasants, and murdering them, and are not punished for it. And if we come to lay hold upon such Offenders, and deliver them safe to their Officers, or into the hands of Justice, we get nothing but vain promises of Chastisement; the Prison doors are opened unto them, and the Spanish Monks, who swarm here among us, undertake for them all. Therefore, after so many surprisals, and having seen by experience that instead of a fort, they have secretly filled up the neighboring *Covents* with Arms and men to fall upon us unawares, it is impossible for us to inhabit betwixt two Forts that cutoff all relief from us whensoever they shall be moved by the instigation of our adversaries to destroy us.



4. The violation of the second is fully manifest, since they have driven all those of the *Religion* almost out of all *Piemont*, where they were dispersed, and at last, out of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, *Val de Sture*, *Contat* of *Barcelonne*, *Praviglierm*, *Festeeonne*, *Biolet*, *Bietonnet*, and also from *Meanne*, and *Matis*, though they were comprehended in the old concessions, and had the Valley of *Lucerna* given them on purpose for a place of refuge; and now they are driven out of the best part of the same, being compelled to sell their Estates which they have possessed time out of mind, and where we have (and shall at all times make it appear that we have) right to inhabit, not only by birth, but also by all the concessions of the most Serene Predecessors of his Royal Highness, and particularly, by those that are confirmed even in the first article of the *Patent*, whereof the order published by the Auditor *Gastaldo* is a manifest Breach.

5. In the third article they have taken away from us the liberty of preaching in all the Territories of *Giovanni*, which we have also always enjoyed in the sight and knowledge of the whole World; And likewise in the year 1620, when his Highness Royal by the instigation of some ill affected people, commanded the Gate of the Church to be shut up, which was built there, he did not then forbid, nor at any time since, the public exercise that hath been always performed in all the other places of the said *Communtalty*; Nay himself hath always fed this people with hope that he would restore the use of it unto them again, which is a thing that they now expect from his justice and Clemency.

6. In the 6<sup>th</sup>, The exemption from taxes for six years is not a means sufficient to put those people into any condition of living, who are destitute of Houses, Goods, Cattle, Linnen, and that live but upon Alms; Therefore we humbly pray, that a full exemption may be yet continued unto us for ten years at least, and that after that time we may be no more charged with Taxes and Imposts over and above what is laid upon the *Roman Catholics*, and this, in regard that in the six years the year last past is comprehended, and of the next following years there are but two that are fully exempted.

7. The 7<sup>th</sup>, Also hath great need of explanation, concerning *Those places comprehended in the former Concessions for the exercise of Religion*; For, the ancient concessions do not name them,

but refer them to the custom and toleration, from whence many difficulties do often arise, whereas this ought to be added, That *we may have Preaching in all the places where it was commonly used at the beginning of the troubles*. And it would be requisite also that those places were particularly named, to prevent all occasion of controversy for the time to come.

8. In the 8<sup>th</sup>, Although, if it be taken according to its true sense and meaning, it doth not deprive us of the liberty of buying and selling, or of contracting for Lands and inheritances with the *Roman Catholics*, in the said *Valleys*, seeing these things are comprised in the old Concessions, whereof mention is made in the seventh and the foregoing Article, but rather confirms that that liberty, in regard it forbids it only *In other Dominions of his Royal Highness*. Nevertheless, seeing that contrary to the said Concessions, and the practice of all times, our Adversaries have sometimes endeavored to extort contrary Orders, and might do so again for the future, it were just, that this liberty of buying and selling all things one from another (at least in the said *Valleys* and those places that are annexed) should be more clearly specified. For seeing the *Roman Catholics* buy of us freely, we being indebted in great sums both to private men and to some *Communalities*, they would soon purchase all our best Lands and inheritances, and so by degrees root us out of the Country without recovery.

9. In the 9<sup>th</sup>, There should be added this, That if his *Royal Highness* will have *Mass* to be said in the places where those of the *Religion* do inhabit, than that it be not exercised within their Lands, seeing all the concessions and the *Patent* itself doth free them from contributing anything towards the *Mass*, or those that shall say it; which particular hath not been observed, seeing they seize upon the houses of private men against their will, to celebrate the *Mass* in them, though they oppose themselves never so much.

10. The eleventh Article, which declares no more but that *our prisoners which are within the Dominions of his Royal Highness shall be set at Liberty when it is known where they are*, is also made void, and of no effect, because our Adversaries have transported many of our Captives, young Children especially, out of his *Royal Highness* Dominions, or else have hidden or removed them into

several places, even within this Land, Insomuch that no certain notice can be had of them; and some others there are whom they refuse flatly to give us. Therefore we most humbly petition, that it will please his Royal Highness to cause a Proclamation to be made through all his Dominions, *enjoining all those that have any prisoners, or who do detain any of those of the Valleys, forthwith to deliver them without any excuse, or demand of charges, and to bring back and restore those that have been transported into other places, within such a time as his Royal Highness shall be pleased to appoint, and that upon pain of Death, or otherwise, according to his pleasure.*

11. In the 12th Article, That his Royal Highness would be pleased, to admit the same expressions which are found in the old concessions, especially in those of 1603, to be duly confirmed without altering or restraining them, by which expressions it is declared absolutely, that those of the *Religion* in the said *Valleys* shall be admitted *to all sorts of offices indifferently, as the Roman Catholics*, and not be bound to any act contrary to their *Religion*, as it appears by the *Patents*, and the Oaths taken by the Attorneys and notaries, etc. whereas in the tenor of the late *Treaty* they have introduced some modification upon the Offices of the notaries, and tacitly deprive us of the other.

12. In the 13th, Where the Agreement made formerly at *La Torre* is confirmed, it were requisite to express therein, *that there may be also one Fair at least in the year; And an impost of salt*, since we see that for want of having expressed it, though it be understood and granted in all the other places of the Land that have desired it, as being no way prejudicial for the service of his Royal Highness, yet they have endeavored to exclude it through the persuasions of some private men who are interested, and to make the said agreement, void and of no effect.

13. As for the 15th Article, That none may take our Children from us before they be ten or twelve years old, it gives license to the *plagiaries* or *Men-stealers*, to take away our Children after the said term: But to speak plainly and put all out of doubt, it is requisite to have it expressed, that none may take them from us at any time whatsoever.

14. In the eighteenth, It ought to have been expressed. That *the Ministers shall not be bound to appear where there is any inquisition*, seeing they cannot do it without apparent danger, as the maxims and common practice of the Roman Clergy have sufficiently taught us; And *that those who have been banished for not appearing, may be restored to their former Estates, and that henceforward if any one of them be accused, his Royal Highness would be pleased to act only by the ordinary Judges of the places where they dwell, or else by Commissioners.*

15. The nineteenth Article, *Exempting some places from confiscation*, doth imply, *that all our Estates are Confiscated*, and by consequence doth *Condemn us as guilty of Treason*; which reflects also upon his *most Christian Majesty*, who hath had so much Clemency as to mediate for us.

“Besides the aforesaid defects in the Articles that have been quoted, there remain these following particulars, which would not be granted to our Deputies, and upon which we humbly pray, that a due Reflection may be made.

1. That having been always very faithful to the service of his Royal Highness our Sovereign, and yet cruelly Massacred, Burned, and Pillaged, contrary to his intention, he would be pleased to give order that justice may be done upon those that have been the chief Authors, and the Actors.

2. That his Royal Highness would be pleased to repeal the Order published by the Auditor *Gastaldo*, as being contrary to all our ancient concessions, and likewise all those Orders that my Lord Marquis *de Pianesse* hath caused to be published during the troubles, and to command that every one may be restored to the possession of that estate, which appertained unto him before the War in the usual places, according to the said Concessions, making void all contracts made, or to be made to the contrary, provided that the Money which may have been disbursed be repaid.

3. That we may be no more subject to the actual Quartering of Soldiers, for this is the pretense which they took the last Year, as well as since the year 1624, and at other times to destroy as, But let it suffice that we contribute proportionably with the rest of the State, as soon as the time of the exemption shall be accomplished.

4. That no more Missionaries may be sent into the Valleys, but that there may be only some secular Priests, forasmuch as those Missionaries, partly by their Rapes, partly by seditions and false reports, have always been fomenters of all the disorders that came to pass.

5. That all things may be re-established in the same condition as they were before the troubles, with liberty of Conscience, and a free exercise of Religion, and the dependances thereof, in all the usual places, and license to the Ministers to go and visit the sick wheresoever they live. Besides the liberty of Preaching, especially in those places where we are not mingled with the Roman Catholics.

6. That we may not be subjected unto the Counsel *de propagandâ de*, nor to any of its members, nor to the Inquisition.

7. That if his Royal Highness do free from Taxes those Estates that are given to the Roman Clergy, and the estates of those that shall abjure the Reformed Religion, it may be in such a manner, as we be neither directly nor indirectly the more taxed for them, even as his Royal Highness hath put us in hope by his decree of 1649.

8. That our Churches may be annexed to the Synod of *Dauphine*, as well as the principality of *Orange*, seeing they equally help to make up one and the same body with the Subjects of his Majesty, the inhabitants of *Val Perouse*, and seeing there are also in the said Valley some Churches and Pastors who depend on the aforesaid Synod, as well as on that of the Valleys.

9. That by an express Declaration, all marks of Infamy may be taken off from the memory of those that have been executed, and who died during our troubles.

10. That no Castelain, Podesta, or Officer of Justice, being persons of the said Valleys, may be established among us, nor in those places where their friends are living, or where their interest lieth, and where they are suspected, or are likely to be partial.

11. Likewise, That no Roman Catholic of the Valleys may buy any action against the Communalities, or against any men among them, seeing the great abuses and inconveniences that happen thereby, even to the prejudice of the Service of his Royal Highness.

12. That to keep the Commerce from being interrupted, all sorts of people of what condition and quality soever they be, that pretend to be, or are indeed. Creditors either to the Commonalties, or to private men, may be prohibited from seizing upon their Persons, Cattle, Merchandises, Wares, and other Goods, but that they be obliged to sue for the payment of such debts upon the place, by the ordinary forms of Law.

13. That the Legal succession which in the 14th Article of the Patent is restrained to the three Valleys may be extended to all the Dominions of his Royal Highness, and that it may not be diverted for the cause of Religion, and that all forfeitures that are, or shall be made on the contrary, may be declared void.

We hope from the Equity and Clemency of his Royal Highness, that he will so much the sooner grant us the things aforesaid, for that there is nothing in them but what we have quietly enjoyed under the happy Government of his most Serene Predecessors of Glorious Memory, according to their Concessions, and nothing but what may tend to satisfy us in the clearing of those points which (as experience hath showed us) have been wrested to a wrong sense, and to represent the true meaning and the Equity of the particulars therein contained, that so we may once for all take away from the Disturbers of our Peace all occasion of troubling the public tranquility, and be able in peace and security to give unto God that which belongs to God, and to *Caesar* what is *Caesars*; As we do protest before God and his Holy Angels that we ever have had, and will ever have the same for our end. And to the end that those things beforementioned, when they shall be ratified in the form as aforesaid, may stand firm, and inviolable, we humbly supplicate his most Christian Majesty, that he will be pleased to procure unto us this favor from our Prince, that all may be put into the form of a Transaction, and confirmed not only in the Chamber of *Turin*, but also in that of *Chambery*; and that many Original Copies may be drawn, and delivered into the hands of those to whom it shall 'appertain.

The King of *France*, upon the receipt of the abovesaid Letter and Grievances, was much affected with their sad condition, and had not some malignant spirits endeavored by all means imaginable to beget sinister impressions in his mind against them, such is the natural sweetness and candor of *that Princes* disposition, and so prone upon all occasions to Acts of Mercy (among his many other *Princely* and *Heroic* qualities), that without all question he would have improved his power and interest with the *Duke of Savoy*, for their relief and re-establishment. And therefore all the instances that were in those days made by his Ambassador *Servient*, and his Envoy *Monsieur de Bais*, for the ratification of the Treaty concluded at *Pignerol*, must be interpreted either as actions proceeding from the private zeal of two persons, or else as Acts and Ordinances merely wherein *His Majesty* was surprised, Contrary to his own personal and Princely inclination.

But however it was, so it happened, that from that time forward to this very day, some leading men in the *Court of Savoy*, have used their best endeavors to lay yet more heavy loads upon their backs than ever they did before.

In their Orders of the 20 of *April*, and 6 of *October*, 1656, and 24 of *August*, 1657, they summoned the poor people to pay their Tax for the year, 1655 (which is contrary to the abovesaid Treaty) in the meantime exempting all the *Catholic* Cohabitants from the same Tax; In the *Dukes* Answer to their humble supplication of the 6 of *October* 1657, among other things, they were absolutely prohibited the exercises of their *Religion* in *San Giovanni*, as appears by the following Extract of the said poor peoples supplication, and the *Dukes* Answer.

### *Extract of Supplication and Response.*

*In the Territory of San Giovanni, preaching has always been prohibited, and even more so, the instruction of the youth in the claimed Reformed Religion, which is mere dogmatism. This prohibition is based on reasons that often stem from the Patents of 1655 and earlier, which have been confirmed. However, His Royal Highness expects the supplicants to promptly rectify the*

*transgression by refraining from introducing the aforementioned instruction and any other exercise of their religion in the place of San Giovanni. Given on the 6th of October, 1657.*

Carlo Emanuel.

V. Morozzo.

*His Royal Highness has been pleased to allow them the use of their instruction, which has never been contradicted up to now, and they also consider it to be clearly granted by the Patents, etc.*

Ibid.

*In the entire happy Domain of C. Emanuel of Glorious Memory, neither he nor his Most Serene Predecessors have ever encountered any disturbance due to the aforementioned Instruction or doctrine. This fact is attested not only by the most venerable Roman Catholics in the vicinity but also by the ancient records of the University of S. Giovanni.*

By an Order of *Gastaldo* bearing date the 14 of *December* 1657, those persons who appeared not at the time and place appointed, to receive the price of their goods and possessions which they were not permitted to keep, were summoned at another time and place, for the same purpose, or else to be proceeded against and severely punished as contumacious persons.

By an Order of *Gastaldo* bearing date the 20th of *December* 1657, those of the Communalty of *S. Giovanni* are summoned to *Turin* in the persons of their Syndics and Counsellors, for their exercising of Ministerial functions and instructions of youth in the said Communalty, and great provision was made for a double penalty in case of failing.



In the Dukes Answer to an humble supplication of the poor People, bearing date the 25 of *January* 1658, they are again (amongst other things) strictly prohibited the exercise of their *Religion* at *S. Giovanni*, in the following terms. *For this reason, it is desired that His Royal Highness the subjects refrain from the instruction and other exercises as mentioned above; otherwise, the procedure already communicated will continue.*

It would be almost endless to repeat all the *Edicts, Orders, and Injunctions* made against those poor People, since that cruel *Patent* in the year 1655, with all the depending grievances. And therefore I shall only present the Reader with the following Letters, wherein he will have most Authentic Narratives of their present state and condition, and so I shall close up this discourse, which I fear will be judged by some to be too prolix and tedious.

Copy of a Letter from the four Ambassadors of the *Evangelical Cantons* of *Switzerland*, to *Monsieur de Servient* Ambassador of the *French King*, with the *Duke of Savoy*: Bearing date the 30 of *November* 1657.

*Most Illustrious Lord,*

Having heard with extreme grief, concerning our most dear friends of the Religion in the Valleys of *Piemont*, not so much from themselves as from the mouth of others, that contrary to the Patent granted by His Royal Highness two years since, they still in divers particulars suffer many great troubles and injuries, and this without doubt by the suggestion and persuasion of their Adversaries, and calling to mind that your Excellency was not only present at the Treaty of *Pignerol*, and did advance the Conclusion thereof, and therefore is rightly informed of all the particulars that were transacted in it, but hath always promised us to do your utmost endeavor to see the said Treaty punctually observed, to the end that these poor afflicted People may be wholly re-established in Peace; Therefore according to the good affection that we have conceived of

your Excellency, we have thought it more fit to importune your Excellency, by these presents, than to suffer our Lords and Superiors to send directly to his Royal Highness the Intercession which they had intended, being in great hopes that your Excellency hath not only the power, but an inclination also to do good to those poor People; and thereupon we most humbly beseech your Excellency, not only to help them in general, by causing the said Treaty to be better observed, That so these people may by this means come to enjoy Peace, and that according to the express tenor of the Patent they may be re-established in their former condition, in the good will of their Prince, and in his Regal protection and safeguard, as they were heretofore, But also to recommend most earnestly unto him these points that follow. Your Excellency may remember, with what humility, submission, care and supplication, these people have desired, from time to time, that they might be freely exempted from the building of the new Fort; and that His Royal Highness would rest confident of this, that they would approve themselves so obedient and submissive, that it should plainly appear there was no need to bridle them by such a Fort, and that there might remain no ground for any troublesome jealousy, which otherwise might be conceived of them; and that they might be also delivered from those many troubles which they stood in fear of: Therefore seeing his Royal Highness and his Ministers did make so little reckoning of this Fort, that it was expressly declared it should not stand longer than till the Winter was past, it being then insisted on (as they said) only because the reputation of the Prince was concerned in it for the present, and that they had no mind to keep up that Fort any longer, much less to trouble these People with it. Now (my Lord) put case that the demolishing thereof could not be so soon obtained (as was promised) yet those soldiers that lie in it ought to be kept in so good order, that none should have cause to complain of them justly, no not so much as in the least thing; But truly we see the contrary by Experience, and that fruits of all kinds whatsoever, belonging to the neighbors which are of our Religion, are spoiled and carried away by that Garrison; That many robberies are committed in houses; that the goods of divers are carried away by force; In a word, the Inhabitants are laden with reproaches and injuries, are beaten, are wounded, and which is more, the honesty of chaste women is attempted, and many other outrages altogether inexcusable are

committed, and though all these things are faithfully represented in their proper place, nevertheless they remain unpunished. Therefore our greater hope is, that your Excellency will graciously consider these things, and will find out means to remedy them. Furthermore, your Excellency is not ignorant, that according to the Patent, those who make profession of our Religion in *St. John*, were to have their habitation, together with the Roman Catholics, and that in all other places likewise, none ought to be contemned, abused, or called by ill and odious names because of their professing the Reformed Religion, much less to be hurt either in their bodies or goods; Now if you will see how this hath been fulfilled, you shall know it by this, that some of ours in *St. John*, who were constrained by reason of their Commerce and Calling to go and traffic in *Piemont*, have been in the meantime dispossessed of their Estates, and to the end their Adversaries might get in with more ease, they have laid wait for their bodies and lives.

Your Excellency may remember also, how after this same manner in the third Article of the Treaty made at *Pignerol*, they, from the beginning, on the behalf of His Royal Highness, would have forbidden wholly the Exercise of Religion in *St. John*; but after a long dispute they would needs take away the Temple, and exercise of preaching from the Reformed; and for the rest, they should have leave to do according to their custom, as the former Concessions did permit them; But let your Excellency consider with what equity they can deny them (as they do most severely) the Catechisms and Instructions, which have been exercised there since the Reign of Duke *Philibert Emanuel* of glorious memory, till now, the Magistrate both seeing and knowing the same, who also at the coming out of the People caused them to be stopped, and held a Council of the University of *St. John*.

Forasmuch also as the 4th Article of the aforesaid Patent doth grant in plain terms, together with the free exercise of the Religion in general without any limitation, liberty of Conscience within all the places that are comprehended in the former Concessions, which ought not to be restrained nor extended further, we leave it to your Excellency to consider, whether contrary to this Article and the continual exercise of Religion, they can deny in the said places (as they do) Liberty of Conscience to strangers and others that would

embrace our Religion; and whether they can, contrary to all custom, give a new interpretation to the Patents (namely) that they are only to be understood of those that are born Reformed? But let your Excellency chiefly consider, that although according to that which hath been granted unto them, concerning the free exercise of their Religion in all the Concessions, they could without contradiction or opposition supply the want of the Ministers born in the Country, by receiving others from the neighboring places, in such sort that they have had no need to ask any such permission either of his Royal Highness, or of his Ministers; and although the said Patent did no way speak against it, yet nevertheless this privilege was of late not only questioned and called an usurpation and Abuse, but also some Months since, several Ministers that were sent unto them from the Synod of *Dauphine*, have been taken away from them and banished out of the Country: As also a Minister of the next Valley of *Clusone*, who had exercised the Holy Ministry there among them, for the space of about thirty years, and within the Dominions of his *Royal Highness*, together with one Mr. *Armand* a Physician, hath been turned out and Banished, so that by this means many Churches and Congregations are deprived both of the Food of their Soul, and of comfort for their Bodies, although they were promised also, that if they humbly required such a permission, as they have done by five several petitions (wherein they used the most submissive and earnest expressions and most conformable to what was desired) it should be graciously granted unto them; Nevertheless we hear, that after many Repulses, they have only given them leave for one year to enjoy the Ministry of some of those strangers; And among the rest they named one Mr. *Saurin*, who had retired himself into *France* a long time before, so that these poor people are still in new troubles, and consume themselves in charges greater then they can bear.

We must confess also, that we thought as the inhabitants of the Valleys also did, considering the 6th Article, that the rest of the debts that had been remitted unto them from the year 1655, ought to be understood of all that was left unpaid, and not only of the time that was remaining, but seeing that on the contrary, they have been compelled to pay the rest of the debts till the very time of the Treaties made at *Pignerol*, notwithstanding many humble addresses made to the Court in that behalf, which were not considered, we hope

together with them, that through the Intercession of your Excellency they shall receive a Reciprocal promise for the year 1659, of a consideration, or reimbursement, for what may have been paid. And although those that dwell on the other side of the River *Pelice*, excepting some few, have at last condescended unto that, namely, to receive according to the Patents the Tax and the price of their estate, nevertheless they have almost been all forced to lose a considerable part, and are deprived thereby of all hopes and means of buying other estates within the places allowed unto them.

In the meantime, the *Roman Catholics* are forbidden to sell to the Reformed, either Lands, or Houses, or to farm them unto them, even within the limits where they are allowed to dwell; which is "both contrary to the custom which hath been practiced hitherto, and to the Patent, which doth not deny them the buying of any Lands or Inheritances out of the places permitted.

We forbear the mentioning of many other grievances and troubles which they suffer, without being able to get any relief by law or otherwise, as the taking away of their Church-yards in some places, and the cunning devices which have been used to deprive them of their unmovable goods, now of this house, now of that piece of ground, anon of another, and the like, especially in *St. John* and *La Tour*, besides many Reviling's and Ignominious Reproaches which are cast upon them, which would be too long and too tedious to relate, but are without question already well known to your Excellency; all which things seem to be done to no other end, but by little and little wholly to deprive those poor people at last of the freedom both of their Souls and Bodies, because they cannot remedy themselves by any Court of Justice, in the administration whereof they have so little hope that things shall be carried without favoring of parties, that on the contrary they have cause to bemoan themselves, that under color of Justice they are too often exposed to many intolerable injuries.

Now forasmuch as the above-mentioned things have so palpably, contrary to our expectation, happened to our friends and associates of the Religion, they touch our hearts so much the more; in regard we were present in the name of our Lords and Superiors, at the aforesaid Treaty, and because we are also in some measure

Interested therein: nevertheless we neither will nor can imagine that his Royal Highness, or his Ministers, would seek the ruin of their most faithful and most obedient Subjects, but that they intend rather, that with the aforesaid Patent, the Royal word shall be observed exactly, and that by virtue thereof, those poor oppressed people shall be maintained under the Protection and Royal assurance, as they have been formerly, and shall be hereafter effectually defended thereby, against all their adversaries (who maliciously endeavor to wrest the true meaning of the Patents) that so they may at last feel the true effects of his natural Clemency.

Wherefore we are so much the rather encouraged humbly and affectionately to supplicate (as we do at this time) your Excellency, That in consideration of what hath been transacted and concluded at *Pignerol*, by your efficacious mediation, for the good of those people, our associates in the Religion, and that for your own Interest and Honors sake, and because of the praise and glory that will redound thereby, and in answer to the great hopes that you have so often given us on that behalf, and in consideration of our affection and private friendship, your Excellency will be pleased to take once more upon you the care of those poor people of the Valleys, and to procure unto them from his Royal Highness that which is indeed true, sincere and unquestionable sense and meaning of the Patent for the time to come, and a more full and absolute observation of the same for the future, and to recommend them unto him effectually, not doubting but by your Excellencies efficacious interposition, some good may be obtained for the relief of those people; for which favor, your Excellency will greatly oblige, not only the aforesaid people of the Valleys, but ourselves also, who will repute it as done to our own selves; assuring you, that if we can requite the good Offices received of your Excellency, we shall show ourselves always very ready and prone unto it; Beseeching the most High, that he will be pleased to preserve your Excellency and us in continual prosperity.

Given in the name of us all, and signed with the Seal of the most noble, and most prudent Mr. *Solomon Hirtzel*, Senator and Proconsul of *Zurich*, our most Honored *Colleague* in the Embassy, the 30 Day of *November* 1657.

*To his Excellency the Lord de Servient.*

Item

*To his Excellency, the Lord Count Truchi.*

*As also*

*To his Excellency the Lord Baron de Greisy.*

*Your most humble and most affectionate Servants, the Ambassadors of All the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland, namely, of Zurich, Berne, Glaris, Basse, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, who were sent in the year 1655, to his Royal Highness of Savoy.*

Some Months after this, his Highness the *Lord Protector of England*, having received Intelligence of all proceedings, wrote to the *King of France* and his Ambassador there, as also to the *Evangelical Cantons* on the poor peoples behalf, and that in very pathetic terms, as followeth.

Copy of a Letter from His Highness *the Lord Protector of England*, etc. to the *Lord Lockhart* His Ambassador Ordinary, at the French Court, in favor of the poor *Protestants* of the Valleys of *Piemont*, 26 of May 1658.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was communicated to the Author by the right Honorable Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*.

*The continual troubles and vexations of the poor People of Piemont professing the Reformed Religion, and that after so many serious instances of yours in the Court of France on their behalf, and after such hearty recommendations of their most deplorable condition to His Majesty in Our name, who also has been pleased upon all such occasions to express very deep resentments of their miseries, and to give Us no small hopes of interposing his power and interest with the Duke of Savoy, for the accommodating of those*

*affair, and for the restoring those poor distressed creatures to their ancient privileges and habitations, are matter of so much grief to us, and lie so near Our heart, that notwithstanding we are abundantly satisfied with those many signal marks you have always hitherto given of your truly Christian zeal and tenderness on their regard, yet the Present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction, begetting in Us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed members of Christ, do really move Us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care, desiring you to redouble your instances with the King, in such pathetic and affectionate expressions, as may be in some measure suitable to the greatness of their present sufferings and grievances, which (the truth is) are almost inexpressible. For, so restless and unplaceable is the malice and fury of their Popish adversaries, that, as though they esteemed it but a light matter to have formerly shed the innocent blood of so many hundreds of souls, to have burned their houses, to have raised their Churches, to have plundered their goods, and to have driven out the inhabitants beyond the River Pelice, out of those their ancient possessions which they had quietly enjoyed for so many ages and generations together, they are now resolved to fill their cup of Affliction up to the brim, and to heat the Furnace yet seven times hotter than before. Amongst other things.*

1. *First, they forcibly prohibit all manner of public Exercises at San Giovanni, which notwithstanding the Inhabitants have enjoyed time out of mind, and in case they yield not ready obedience to such most unrighteous Orders, they are immediately summoned before their Courts of Justice, and there proceeded against in a most severe and rigorous manner, and in sum, threatened to be wholly destroyed and exterminated.*

2. *And forasmuch as in the said Valleys, there are not found among the Natives men fitly qualified, and of abilities for Ministerial functions, to supply so much as one half of their Churches, and upon this account they are necessitated to entertain some out of France and Geneva, which are the Duke of Savoy's Friends and Allies; Their Popish Enemies take hold of this advantage, and make use of this stratagem, namely to banish and drive out the Shepherds of the*



flocks, that so the Wolves may the better come in, and devour the Sheep.

3. *To this We may add their strict prohibition of all Physicians and Chirurgions of the Reformed Religion to inhabit in the Valleys, and thus they attempt not only to starve their souls for want of spiritual food and nourishment, but to destroy their bodies likewise for want of those outward conveniences and helps, which God has allowed to all mankind.*

4. *And as a Supplement to the three former grievances, those of the Reformed Religion are prohibited all manner of commerce and trade with their Popish Neighbors, that so they may not be able to subsist and maintain their Families, and if they offend herein in the least, they are immediately apprehended as Rebels.*

5. *Moreover; to give the world a clear testimony what their main design in all these oppressions is, they have issued out Orders whereby to force the poor Protestants to sell their Lands and houses to their Popish neighbors, whereas the Papists are prohibited upon pain of Excommunication to sell any immovable to the Protestants.*

6. *Besides, the Court of Savoy have rebuilt the Fort of La Torre, contrary to the formal and express promise made by them to the Ambassador of the Evangelical Cantons. Where they have also placed Commanders, who commit the Lord knows how many excesses and outrages in all the neighboring parts, without being ever called to question, or compelled to make restitution for the same.*

7. *If by chance any murder be committed in the Valleys (as is too too often practiced) whereof the Authors are not discovered, the poor Protestants are immediately accused as guilty thereof, to render them more odious to their neighbors.*

8. *There are sent lately into the Valleys several Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot, to take up fresh Quarters in all those parts, as is pretended, which hath caused the poor People out of fear of a massacre, with great expense and difficulty, to send their wives, and little ones, with all that were feeble or sick amongst them into the Valley of Perosa under the King of France his Dominions.*

*These are in short the principal Grievances, and this is the present state and condition of those poor people even at this very day, whereof you are to use your utmost endeavors to make His*

*Majesty throughly sensible, and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual Orders to His Ambassador, who resides in the Dukes Court, to act vigorously in their behalf. Our Letter which you shall present his Majesty for this end and purpose, contains in it several reasons, which we hope will move his heart to the performance of this charitable and merciful work. And we desire you to second and animate the same with your most earnest solicitations, representing unto him how much His own Interest and Honor is concerned in the making good that Accord of Hen. 4. His Royal Predecessor, with the Ancestors of those very people in the year 1592, by the Constable of Lesdiguières, which Accord is registered in the Parliament of Dauphine, and whereof you have an Authentic Copy in your own hands, whereby the Kings of France oblige themselves and their successors to maintain and preserve their ancient Privileges and Concessions. Besides that, the gaining to himself the hearts of that people by so gracious and remarkable a Protection and Deliverance, might be of no little use another day in relation to Pignerolio and the adjacent places under his Dominions.*

*One of the most effectual remedies which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present, is, that the King of France would be pleased to make an exchange with the Duke of Savoy for those Valleys, resigning over to him some other parts of His Dominions in lieu thereof, as in the Reign of Hen. 4. the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke for La Bresse, which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his Majesty, as well for the safety of Pignerolio, as for the opening a passage for His Forces into Italy, which if under the Dominion and in the hands of so powerful a Prince, joined with the natural strength of those places by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable.*

*By what We have already said, you see Our Intentions, and therefore We leave all other particulars to your special care and conduct, and rest,*

26 May 1658.

OLIVER P.

A Letter from His Highness *the Lord Protector of England*,  
etc. To the King of *France*, the 26 of *May* 1658.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was  
Communicated to the Author, by the Right Honorable  
Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*.

Most Serene and most Potent King,

Your Majesty may remember, that at the time when the Treaty began, about the renewing of the Alliance between Us (which how happily it was entered upon, the many advantages of both Nations, and the many inconveniences thence arising to Our common Enemies, do sufficiently testify) there fell out that miserable Massacre of the People of the Valleys, whose Cause being on every side deferred and afflicted, We With utmost affection and compassion recommended to your Clemency and protection. We do not think, that your Majesty hath of yourself been wanting in any office of so much piety and humanity, to make use either of that authority or interest whereby you ought to prevail with the Duke of Savoy; As for our part, We and many other Princes and State, have not failed to interpose by Embassies, Letters, and Intreaties. At length, after a most inhumane slaughter of persons of both Sexes, and of every age, a Peace was concluded, or rather a more concealed course of hostility, induced under the name of Peace. The conditions of Peace were agreed on in your Town of Pignerol; hard ones indeed, but such as those poor People, that have endured all manner of outrages and cruelties, would readily acquiesce in, though hard and unjust, if so be that they were observed; but they are not observed; for by a false interpretation of each of them, and by several shifts, the true meaning is eluded, and faith violated; many are cast out of their ancient possessions, many are prohibited the exercise of their Religion, new payments are exacted, a new Fort is erected to yoke them, out of which the Soldiers oftentimes breaking forth, do either plunder or kill all that they meet; moreover, new forces are of late privately prepared against them; and those who profess among them the Roman Religion, are bidden to withdraw for a time; so that all things now again seem to look toward the slaughtering of those most miserable creatures, who were left alive in the former butchery.

Which thing I entreat and beseech your Majesty you will not suffer to be done; nor permit, I do not say any Prince (for so great a cruelty cannot enter into the heart of any Prince, much less befall the tender age of that Prince, or the mind of his Mother), but those most salvage murderers, to use so great a license of outrageous tyranny; who while they profess themselves the servants and followers of Christ our Savior, who came into the world to save sinners, do abuse his most merciful name and meek precepts, to the most cruel massacrings of innocent persons. O that your Majesty, who are able, and, being advanced to so great dignity, are worthy to be able, would rescue so many your poor Petitioners out of the hands of bloody men, who, having been lately drunk with Blood, do thirst after it again, and count it their greatest craft to derive the envy of their cruelty upon Princes themselves: But let not your Majesty suffer the Borders of your Kingdom to be defiled by that cruelty. Remember, that those very people yielded themselves under the protection of King *Henry* your Grandfather, a great friend of the Protestants, when the Duke of Lesdiguieres, passing through those places, where the most convenient passage is into Italy, pursued his victory against the Duke of Savoy, who was then retreated beyond the Alps. The instrument of that their yielding or submission remaineth to this day among the public Records of your Realm, wherein it is among other things excepted and Provided, That the People of the Valleys should not be rendered up to any in time to come, but upon the same conditions as they were received into the protection of your Majesties victorious Grandfather. The same protection they now implore, and humbly beg of his Grandchild; Their earnest desire is, that in some way of exchange, if it can be effected, they may become your subjects, rather than remain his under whom they now are. If that may not be, then that they may obtain patronage, compassion and refuge from you. There are also reasons of State which may persuade your Majesty not to cast off the people of the Valleys; but I would not have so great a King be moved by any other reasons for relief of men in so great calamity, than by the obligation of Faith given by your Ancestors, as also by your own piety, and the innate bounty and greatness of your Royal mind. So the honor and renown of this so glorious an Act, will be entirely your own; and thereby your Majesty may expect to find as long as you live, prosperity and Blessings from the Father of Mercies himself and from his Son

Christ the King, whose name and doctrine you shall vindicate from detestable villainy. Given at Our Court at Westminster, May 26, 1658.

A Letter from His Highness *the Lord Protector of England*, etc. To the *Evangelical Cantons* of Switzerland 26 of May 1658.

An Authentic Copy of the true Original whereof, was Communicated to the Author, by the Right Honorable Mr. *Secretary Thurloe*.

Most Illustrious and most Magnificent Lords,

Concerning your poor distressed Neighbors of the Valleys, how grievous and intolerable things they have suffered from their Prince upon the Account of Religion, as we are even astonished, by reason of the monstrous cruelty, when we call them to mind, so we thought it needless to write them unto you, to whom they are better known. We have seen Copies of the Letters which your Ambassadors, who were persuaders and witnesses of the Peace lately made at *Pignerol*, wrote to the Duke of *Savoy* and the President of His Council at *Turin*, wherein they particularly manifest and evince, that all the Articles of Peace have been broken, and that they have been made use of for the deceiving, rather than the securing of those miserable people. And unless they will patiently bear that violation of Articles, which hath been continued immediately from the time of concluding that Peace to this present, and which groweth more grievous every day; unless also they will basely submit and give up themselves to be plainly trodden under foot and utterly undone, the same calamity hangs over their heads, and the like massacre as that which wasted and afflicted them with their wives and children in so miserable a manner about three years ago, and if they should undergo the like again, it would quite root them out. What then can those poor distressed creatures do? who have hitherto had no way open for petitioning, or breathing, or any certain refuge; They have to do with wild Beasts or with Furies, in whom the remembrance of former

slaughters hath wrought no repentance, or compassion towards their own Countrymen, no sense of humanity, or a being satisfied with bloodshed. These things are, in plain terms, not to be endured, whether we regard the safety of our Brethren of the Valleys, who have been most ancient Professors of the Orthodox faith, or of Religion itself. As for our part, who are remote in place at too great a distance, whatever was in Our power We have heartily both performed, and shall not cease to perform; but as for you, who are very near, not only to the miseries and outcries of Our Brethren, but also to the fury of the same Enemies; for the sake of God consider, and that speedily, what it concerns you to do at this time; consult your own prudence, piety, yea and your fortitude, what help, what relief you can and ought to extend to your Neighbors and Brethren, who otherwise are ready to perish. It is the same cause of Religion, for which the same Enemies would have you also destroyed, yea, for which at the same time they would have destroyed you in the foregoing year, during the Civil War among your Confederates. Next after the help of God, it seems to be only in your power to provide, that the most ancient stock of the more pure Religion may not be destroyed in those remains of its old faithful Professors, whose safety being now reduced to the extremity of hazard if ye neglect, take heed that the next lot do not shortly befall yourselves. While We are thus exhorting you in this brotherly and free manner, We in the meantime do not faint or wax weary; but that only which We are able to do, living so far off, We have done; We have contributed Our utmost endeavor, and still shall, both for procuring the safety, and relieving the necessities of them that are in danger and want. God give to both of Us such tranquility and peace at home, and so prosperous a state of affairs and opportunities, that We may employ all Our power and strength, and all Our endeavors, for the defense of his Church, against the fury and rage of their Enemy.

Given at Our Court at Westminster, the 26 day of May, *Anno Dom.* 1658.

What effects this *His Highness* Mediation, and these His most pathetic Letters will hereafter produce, is the earnest expectation of all the friends of those poor afflicted people; And it is to be

hoped, that they may in some measure answer those good ends for which they were intended, although the following Letter lately written by the *Duke* to the *Evangelical Cantons*, gives but very small hopes, that there is as yet much good intended for them.

A Letter of His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy to the  
*Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland*, Turin the 9 of  
May 1655.

*Most Magnificent Lords, Most dear and special Friends, Allies,  
and Confederates;*

*Those who have given you advice that Our subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion could not obtain the execution of that Patent which we accorded to them in the year 1665, have informed you contrary to the truth, forasmuch as we have not failed them in one title, but have observed all things whatsoever We then granted to them, although We were not at all obliged thereto, since they on their part have so much failed, and do still continue even to this time that their failing, and infraction of many of the Articles of the said Patent, as you may see by the Answer that the President Truchi makes to those your Deputies, who came into Piemont the same year. By which you may also know the reason why We delayed this our Answer. In the same, you may take notice of the enormous crimes of those of the said Valleys, together with the false and injurious calumnies they make use of, and in sum, of their formal Rebellion and disobedience. And yet notwithstanding, all this has not been able to move us so far as to deprive them of the effects of Our Clemency, nor to inflict on them that chastisement which they have deserved. In which Our patience is beyond all belief, since that they, knowing how deeply they had provoked Us, did believe that We ought to take up Arms for the reducing them to that obedience they owe to Us, and so took up Arms themselves first, and knowing likewise how fruitless this resistance was like to be, sent their movables and their families out of the Country, there being on Our side neither Soldier nor Peasant who had any Order so much as to*

*approach the Valleys, nor indeed was there, any other token of our displeasure that they could take notice of, except it were, the gentle prosecution (and that by the way of ordinary Justice) of the assassination and high Treason, committed by those of La Torre, in the murder of their judge or chief Magistrate, as he was actually in the exercises of the functions of Civil judicature, as also of their other crimes and disobedience. What We now tell you, is so publicly known to all those foreign Ministers who reside in Our Court, that it would not be at all necessary to add, that even they themselves could not in the least doubt thereof. And hereupon (We revoking no Order; nor recalling any of Our Troops nor doing any other thing of that nature, than letting them know of themselves the groundless foundation of their fear; as to anything on Our parts, which notwithstanding had been just and righteous, in respect of the conscience of their crimes) they have brought back their Families and household stuff above a Month since, into their houses, where no person has at all molested them, save only as is above specified.*

*By this now you see what has been Our carriage, and also what has been that of Our subjects, and the truth is, we have been extremely surprised to see, that you should be thus inclined to abet and own their unrighteous cause against Our just cause, and instead of acknowledging Our great goodness towards them, to receive their calumnious complaints against Us, as if they were founded upon solid reasons. In the meantime, you have never taken the least notice in the world of those complaints which We made to you of the infractions and disobedience of those our subjects of the Valleys, and though We entreated and requested you to write unto them, and to exhort them to observe the Patent of 1655, yet you have never done it in the least, although the Sieur Salomon Hirtzel the chief of your Deputies promised the Baron of Greisy in his Letter of the 20/30 September 1656, to do the same. Besides all this, you never disposed yourselves as good friends and Confederates, to give Us any satisfaction in the world for those Libels printed in your Cities, which are stuffed with an infinite number of ignominious lies invented against Us. All these things have lien very near unto us, and it much grieves us to see, that you correspond not with what We have done for you, as often as occasion has presented itself; For, you know very well, that when your subjects took up Arms against*



*you, We had no manner of communication in the world with them, much less did We assist them by recommendations, by Counsels, or by pecuniary supplies; Nay, we refused so much as to hearken to those Reasons which your subjects alleged against your Government, But even then when you had your sword drawn against the Catholic Cantons touching matters of Religion, We employed Ourselves, and that successfully, by the mediation of Our Ambassador, for the restoring of Peace and tranquility in your Country. This is that which We entreat you to reflect on, hoping that in the end you will give Us cause to say, that We are satisfied with the evidences of your Amity and good correspondence. And upon this ground we pray God, Most Magnificent Lords, most dear and special Friends, Allies, and Confederates, that he will keep you in his holy safeguard and protection.*

Your very good Friend, Ally, and Confederate,

*The Duke of Savoy, King of Cyprus,*

C. EMANUEL.

From Turin 9 May 1658.

There were also some other Letters written to the *Switzer Ambassadors* from the *Court of Savoy* to the same purpose, but I forbear here to insert them, it being high time to put a period to this discourse. The truth is, I have been something more tedious, as hoping to have closed all with the happy tidings of their Deliverance, after so many hundred years of *Egyptian bondage*. But it's my unhappiness that I am forced to leave them where I found them, *among the Potsherd, with sackcloth and ashes spread under them, and lifting up their voice with weeping, in the words of Job, when he was in the depth of his misery and anguish; Have pity on us, have pity on us, O ye our friends, for the hand of God hath touched us. To this very hour they hunger and thirst, and are naked, and buffeted, and have no certain dwelling place, 1 Corinthians 4:11.* To this very day, they labor under most heavy burdens which are laid upon their shoulders by those rigid *Taskmasters* of the *Church of Rome*. To this very day the enemies of the Truth *plough and make long furrows upon the backs* of those poor creatures, By forbidding them all

manner of traffic or commerce for their sustenance; By robbing them of their goods and Estates; By driving them in a most savage manner from their ancient houses and habitations, and forcing them to *sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage*; By banishing their Ministers, who are *the shepherds of the flocks*, that so the *wolves* may the better come in, and *devour the sheep*; By ravishing their young women and maidens; yea by murdering many innocent souls, as they pass along the highways about their private occasions; By cruel mockings and revilings; By continual menacings and threats of another Massacre, if possible, seven-fold more bloody than the former: What shall I say? Those very Valleys where they inhabit at this day, are by the indefatigable industry of their Popish adversaries made no other than a prison or dungeon, to which the Fort of *La Torre* serves as a door, where they may let in (when they please) a troop of murderers, utterly to destroy and exterminate those poor silly wretches. To all this I must add, that notwithstanding all those large supplies, which have been hitherto sent them, either from *England* or Foreign States, yet so great is the number of those hungry creatures, and so grievous are the oppressions of their Popish enemies, who lay in wait to bereave them of whatsoever is given them, and snatch at every morsel of meat that goes into their mouths, that verily, some of them are at this very day ready ever and anon to eat their own flesh for want of bread. *The tongue of the suckling is ready to cleave to the roof of his mouth, And the young children ask bread, and no man gives it unto them:* And in many places *the young and the old lie on the ground in the streets.*

*In sum, Slight grief talk, Great ones are speechless.* Seneca's Tragedy, in Hippolyt (Phaedra).

Their miseries are more sad and grievous than words can express; and they are in a manner dying, while they yet live: *No grapes in their vineyards: No cattle in their fields: No herds in their stalls: No corn in their garners: No meal in then barrel: No oil in their cruse:* The stock which was gathered for them by the good people of this and other Nations wasting apace, and when that is once spent, they must inevitably perish, except God *who turns the hearts of Princes as the Rivers of water*, be graciously pleased to incline the heart of their Sovereign Prince to take pity on his poor, harmless, and faithful subjects; who are so far from any thoughts of

*Rebellion or disobedience (as some would fain force both Him and his Royal Mother to believe) that could they but have any assurance of enjoying the freedom of their consciences in peace and quietness, they would be the first who would sacrifice their lives and fortunes, for the good and preservation of their Royal Highness. To whom I shall give this my last and final farewell, in no other language then what Peter sometimes used to the scattered Churches in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible And undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you, who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed unto the last time; wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season (if need be) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; That the trial of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise, and honor, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ; to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.*

---

*FINISH*

---